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EDITED BY
 CHARLES H. GRANDGENT
 SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

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PUBLICATIONS
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VOL. XVIII, 1.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XI, 1.

I.—THE STORY OF HORN AND RIMENHILD.

From a Middle-English poem narrating the events of the Trojan war,¹ we learn that formerly in England, when folk gathered "at mangeres and at grete festes," they listened gladly after meat to the "fair romance" of *Horn*, which "gestours" were then wont to recite; and, having this romance before us, we can readily understand the reason of its popularity: it interests us, as it did our forefathers, not only because it tells a tale of an ever-pleasing type, but also because it purports to record native English tradition.

Mi leue frende dere,
Herken & ge may here,
& ge wil vnder stonde;
Stories ge may lere
Of our elders þat were
Whilom in þis lond.

These words, with which, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a minstrel secured the attention of English auditors to a version of the story of Horn, form an appeal to which we also willingly respond. Not content, however, with simple enjoyment of the story as such, we nowadays, in a scholarly

¹ MS. Laud 595 in the Bodleian, fol. 1 ff.; see Warton-Hazlitt, *History of English Poetry*, 1871, II, 122-23.

spirit, are disposed to inquire more deeply as to its significance. We desire knowledge concerning its origin, the historical conditions that it reflects, the scene of action of the happenings, the relation of the unlike redactions in which it is preserved. Questions on these points have, in truth, been asked over and over again since the time of Bishop Percy; but satisfactory answers have not been forthcoming, and still dispute is rife. Just now, indeed, interest in the many vexed problems that the tale presents seems greater than ever before. Within the last two years the oldest of the English versions has been twice re-edited in England, by Mr. Joseph Hall, of Manchester, for the Clarendon Press, and by Dr. George H. McKnight, of Ohio State University, for the Early English Text Society, while a third new edition, by Prof. Morsbach, of Göttingen, is announced to appear shortly. Some results of his investigations in the subject Prof. Morsbach has already made known in an interesting article;¹ and Dr. Otto Hartenstein, of Kiel, in his doctor's dissertation recently published,² has traversed the whole field of discussion with thoroughness and care. A glance at the extensive bibliography (occupying some twelve pages) that accompanies his work will suffice to indicate how much comment the story in its different forms has evoked. Since, however, no theory regarding the origin and development of the story commands general assent, since no theory, indeed, even to most of its advocates, has seemed more than fairly probable, I have been led to examine the subject anew, and would now offer those results of my investigations which appear to be of value. The opinions I have reached after renewed examination of the cycle from various points of view, will be seen to differ much from those now current. I shall be happy if they prove to have sufficient foundation in fact to ensure acceptance by the scholarly world.

¹ *Die Angebliche Originalität des frühmittelenglischen "King Horn"* (Festgabe für Wendelin Foerster, Halle, 1902, pp. 297-323).

² *Studien zur Hornsage* (Kieler St. zur engl. Phil., Heft 4), Heidelberg, 1902, pp. 1-152.

I.

Of the several extant versions of the tale of Horn and Rimenhild, two only are of real importance in determining its fundamental character: ¹ 1, the simple song of an English minstrel known as the *Geste of King Horn*² (which will be referred to here as KH), written about the middle of the thirteenth century; and 2, an elaborate French poem entitled *Horn et Rimenhild*³ (HR), composed in the century preceding.⁴ Although in its present shape KH is much later than HR, it evidently represents a more primitive form of the story. This earlier form, however, it does not reproduce exactly. Written primarily, it seems, for public delivery before audiences of plain people, it is unaffected in tone and unadorned in style. To suit the purpose of its production, the theme is treated succinctly, with but little detail. In comparison with

¹As to the late English romance *Horn Child*, see below, Section VIII.

²For enumeration of the editions, etc., see Hartenstein, pp. 3 ff. Quotations are here made from Hall's edition, Oxford, 1901. Though otherwise admirable, this edition contains a very inadequate and confused chapter on "The Story" (pp. li-lvi).

³Ed. Fr. Michel, Bannatyne Club, Paris, 1845; ed. Brede and Stengel (*Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen*, VIII), Marburg, 1883. Quotations are here made from the Cambridge MS. as printed by Brede and Stengel.

⁴By a strange blunder, which many (even some of the latest, e. g., Hall, p. liv, McKnight, pp. viii, xii, Billings, *Guide*, p. 5) of those who have written about the English poems have unhappily made, this poem has been thought younger than KH, and much labor has been wasted trying to show either that it was, or that it was not, based on the latter. As a matter of fact, while there has been no final determination of the exact date of HR, all romance scholars are now agreed that it antedates the oldest English version. For example, Gaston Paris (*Manuel*, 2nd ed., p. 248) puts it about 1170; Söderhjelm (*Rom.*, xv, 593, n. 2; 594) "au milieu ou vers la fin du xii^e siècle;" Suchier (*Gesch. d. franz. Litt.*, 1900, p. 109) in the reign of Stephen (1135-1154); Gröber, however, (*Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, II, 573) thinks this too early a date. For a discussion of the question, see Hartenstein, pp. 19 ff, who concludes: "Es ergibt sich aus dem Vorherstehenden auf Grund sprachlicher (Suchier, Söderhjelm) wie rhythmischer (Vising, Gnerlich) Merkmale als Entstehungszeit des uns erhaltenen RH etwa die Mitte des 12. Jh."

KH, HR is a very sophisticated product. While the former has only some 1,550 short lines, the latter comprises about 5,250 alexandrines. In tone HR is courtly and feudal, in style elaborate and refined. It is fashioned in the guise of an epic *chanson de geste*, and contains abundant evidence of having been composed by a well-informed, cultivated, and pious man for the upper classes of Anglo-Norman society.

The precise relation of these two poems to each other, we need not for the moment discuss. Whatever be the immediate source either may have had, it is clear that ultimately both go back to a lost Anglo-Saxon version of the same narrative. To discover the features of this account, both, then, must be carefully examined, for neither has exclusive authority. KH is an imperfect guide chiefly because of the condensation and simplification that the material has undergone. On the other hand, HR must be treated with caution for the opposite reason, that in it the theme is much expanded by the introduction of extraneous material, the whole, moreover, being conceived in a foreign spirit. Those features in which the two versions agree, we may safely regard as original, and inasmuch as most of the incidents in KH find parallels in HR, we are justified in relying on its account in the main; but HR, being older and more detailed, may of course have preserved original features not in the English song, or there in varying form.

In brief, the narrative is as follows: The king of a land called Sudene is slain by hostile seamen, who thereupon take possession of his realm. His young son Horn they set adrift with several companions helpless on the sea. After a day and night their boat is cast ashore by the wind in the country of Westernness, in Britain, and the youths speedily make their way to the residence of the king near by. There they are treated with all kindness and as time passes grow steadily in favor. Horn especially distinguishes himself by his unusual beauty, accomplishments, and prowess, and the princess Rimen-

hild engages him in love. Their intimacy is betrayed by a traitorous friend; the king will accept no explanations; and Horn is banished from the land. Before they separate the two lovers agree to be faithful to each other for seven years, and Rimenhild gives Horn a ring as a keepsake, to inspire him in struggle. Leaving Britain, he journeys by boat to Ireland, where also he wins renown and is offered the Irish king's daughter to wife. He refuses without offence and remains there in all honor until he hears that his lady is to be married against her will to the king of Fenice (Reynes). Collecting a body of Irish followers, he returns in haste to Britain (Westerness), gains access to the wedding-feast in disguise, and reveals himself to the unhappy bride by putting the ring in the beaker of wine that she offers him to drink. Finding her still true, he assembles his men, slays his opponents, and rescues Rimenhild from her plight. Without delaying, however, to consummate a marriage with her, he sets out to recover his native land. While he is restoring it to order and establishing peace, Rimenhild is beset by another lover, this time Horn's old comrade, Fikel (Fikenhild), who has forced her to his castle. Warned by a dream of this trouble, the hero returns, gains admittance to the palace with some of his followers, disguised as minstrels, and soon disposes of the traitor and his men. He gives to one of his friends the land of Rimenhild's father, to another that of the first rival suitor, and a third he weds to the princess of Ireland, before he himself returns with Rimenhild to his own country "among all his kin."

II.

The chief bone of contention among scholars concerning this traditional tale has ever been the determining of the scene of action, on which obviously depends the understanding of its significance as an historical record. The unusual difficulty of the problem all writers on the subject have

admitted. Ten Brink, for example, remarks :¹ "In Havelok the geographical, if not the historical, points of union with fact are clearly defined. The Horn-saga is inextricably confused in both these respects." But nevertheless he, like many others, confidently maintained a wide-reaching theory on the basis chiefly of an unwarranted identification of a single place-name. "So much is clear," he says (p. 231), "the North Sea and its neighboring waters, and their shores, were the scene of the action." This statement, it seems, rested almost solely on the conviction that *Sudene* (*Suddene*), the name of Horn's home, was the same as the name of the people mentioned in *Bēowulf*, the *Suðdene*, South Danes, and therefore might be interpreted as South-Dane-land. Since the other places mentioned could not be made to fit this localization, the poem was naturally declared confused. This old explanation² has been supported by many other distinguished scholars, notably German, sometimes with strong emphasis. Suchier, for example, but two years ago, in his excellent *History of Old French Literature*, stated his belief that *Sudene* was "sicher" Denmark.³ Mätzner,⁴ Körting,⁵ Wülker,⁶ and others in Germany likewise accepted this theory ;

¹*Gesch. der engl. Litt.*, ed. Brandl, Strassburg, 1899, I, 177 (trans. Kennedy, p. 150).

²Haigh (*The A.-S. Sagas*, London, 1861, p. 63) identified the two names. Bishop Percy thought *Sudene* was Sweden (*Reliques*, ed. Schröer, Berlin, 1893, II, 877). Jacob Grimm translated it *Südländ* (*Museum f. altd. Lit. u. Kunst.*, II, 1811, p. 284), but afterwards remarked : "Will man unter Sudenne etwa Bretagne, unter Estnesse England, unter Westnesse Irland verstehen, so habe ich nichts dagegen, obwohl z. B. in Yorkshire allein schon wieder zwei Gegenden Namens Estnesse und Westnesse liegen . . . jene landernamen machen keine Schwierigkeit, dasz das gedicht nicht z. B. an lombardischer küste gespielt haben könnte" (pp. 311-12).

³Adding : "da das Land Deutschland nicht fern zu denken ist" (*Gesch. der franz. Litt.*, 1900, p. 111), this argument being based on a consideration of the proper names of persons in HR, which, however, ought not to have any weight in deciding the matter ; see below, Section VII.

⁴*Altenglische Sprachproben*, Berlin, 1867, p. 208.

⁵*Grundriss d. Gesch. d. engl. Litt.*, Münster, 1893, p. 98.

⁶*Gesch. d. engl. Litt.*, 1896, p. 97.

and that it still flourishes there is evident from the fact that Morsbach, the latest writer on the subject, accepts it apparently without question.¹

On the other hand, the German who has of late examined the whole matter the most thoroughly, Dr. Hartenstein, deliberately rejects this hypothesis,² and reverts to one which has found chief favor among English and French critics, namely, that *Sudene* was a district in the south of England. To Francisque Michel, the first editor of HR, is due the credit of formulating this theory.³ Observing that in one manuscript of Gaimar's History of the English (written 1147-1151) the name of Surrey was given as *Sudeine*, Michel identified this with the *Sudene* of the romance, and concluded that Surrey was Horn's home. The fatal objection to this theory, that Surrey was inland, while all the places mentioned in the story were plainly on the sea-coast, was emphasized first by Dr. Ward, who, in a valuable article on the English poems,⁴ suggested that perhaps the *Sudene* there mentioned was intended to include the whole of the ancient kingdom of Sussex. Still, on the whole, Dr. Ward was inclined to regard the name simply as "a vague poetical designation," and, connecting the hero with the Isle of Purbeck, "close to which the Danes had one of their strongholds in 876-7," concluded that "Dorsetshire has a very fair claim to be considered as the birth-place of the Horn legend." This view was adopted in a measure three years later, in 1886, by Söderhjelm,⁵ and by various other writers since,⁶ such as Dr. McKnight⁷ and Mr. Hall,⁸ the recent editors of KH, who agree in placing Horn's home on the south coast of England.

¹ *Foerster-Festgabe*, pp. 318-19.

² *Studien*, p. 131.

³ Index of edition, p. 454. The identification was accepted by Paulin Paris (*Hist. Litt.*, xxii, 566).

⁴ *Catalogue of Romances*, I (1883), 450 ff.

⁵ *Romania*, xvi, 591-92.

⁶ Cf. Mather, *King Pontus and the Fair Sidone* (*Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Amer.*, xii), p. xvii.

⁷ Edition, E. E. T. S., p. xix.

⁸ Edition, p. lvi.

Mr. Hall, it may be said, asserts further, though without any real evidence, that Sudene is "the country of the Southern Damnonii, that is, Cornwall."

Thus the two opposing views, that the home of the hero was "South-Dane-land" (supposedly Denmark), or that it was in the south of England, both now find vigorous support. Both obviously cannot be right. Perhaps neither the one nor the other. There are no doubt many students of the poems, like Miss Billings,¹ who feel that the problem still awaits the correct solution.

III.

Before attempting to determine more definitely the topography of the tale, it is well to rid our minds of an erroneous notion which in the past has caused confusion. If I mistake not, every one who has written on the subject has assumed without hesitation that the *Bretaine* mentioned in HR as the land to which Horn and his companions were driven in the rudderless boat was continental Brittany, Little Britain. Yet it is quite clear, if one stops to consider the matter, that it is to the insular Britain, to Great Britain, that the Anglo-Norman poet referred. A vast deal of heated dispute² has arisen lately regarding the signification of *Britannia*, *Bretaine*, and the adjective *Breton*, in mediæval Latin and French documents. Considerable divergence, most recognize, is apparent in actual practice, and general rules governing all cases would be difficult, if not impossible, to establish. But on one point there is abundant evidence, that *Britannia* (*Bretaine*) was constantly used from early times throughout the Middle Ages in England as the correct designation of the island of Britain.

¹ *Guide to the Middle Eng. Met. Roms.* (Yale Studies in English, ix), New York, 1901, p. 4: "The localities of the poem cannot be identified."

² See particularly Brugger, *Ueber die Bedeutung von Bretagne, Breton in mittelalterlichen Texten* (*Zs. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, xx, 1898, pp. 79-162); cf. F. Lot, *Romania*, xxviii, 1 ff.

Instances from Latin works are too numerous to need mention. A few from documents in English and French will suffice to establish the fact.

The Laud ms. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle¹ begins as follows: "Brittene igland is ehta hund mila long & twa hund brad. & her sind on þis iglande fif geþeode. Englisc. & Brittisc. & Wilsce. & Scyttisc. & Pyhtisc." At the close of *The Battle of Brunanburh* (a poem in the Chronicle, A. D. 937) Brytene is similarly used:

ēastan hider
Engle and Seaxe ūpp becōmon
Ofer brāde brimu, Brytene sohton.

Wace thus explains how the name became attached to the island:

La terre avoit nom Albion,
Mais Brutus li canga son nom.
De son nom Bruto nom li mist
Et Bretagne son nom li fist.²

And Gaimar, speaking of the English, remarks:

La terre kil vont conquerant,
Si lapelent Engeland.
Este vus ci un acheson
Par que Bretagne perdi son nun.³

In *Sir Gawene and the Carle of Carelyle*,⁴ we read:

The yle of Brettayn i-cleppyde ys,
Betwyn Skotland and Ynglonde iwys,
In story i-wayte aryghte
Wallys ys an angull of þ^e yle.

And thus in *The Grene Knight*:⁵

¹Ed. Earle and Plummer, Oxford, 1892, I, 3; cf. *Britannia þæt igland*, in the Alfredian version of Orosius (ed. Bosworth, 1859).

²*Roman de Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, ll. 1207 ff.

³*Lestorie des Engles*, ed. Duffus-Hardy and Martin, Rolls Series, 1888-89, ll. 31 ff.; cf. Langtoft's *Chronicle*, ed. Wright, Rolls Series, 1866, I, 2.

⁴Ed. Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, ll. 16 ff.; cf. *Percy Folio Ms.*, III, 277.

⁵Ed. Madden, pp. 224 ff., st. 1; *Percy Folio Ms.*, II, 58.

List, when Arthur he was king
 he had all att his leadinge
 the broad Ile of Brittain;e;
 England & Scotland one was
 & Wales stood in the same case.

On the pivotal locality *Sudene*,¹ however, as we have seen, there has been no such unanimity of opinion. Yet the identification of this place is of first consequence. Here evidently we should begin our investigation.

Dismissing from our minds the various guesses so far made, we turn to the texts themselves to see what actual information they offer concerning *Sudene*, Horn's home.

In the first place, in the English poem KH it is called definitely an island (l. 1318), and is located in the west (*bi weste*, l. 5). This island was apparently not remote from Britain (England), for we are informed that the boat in which the youths were placed drifted hardly twenty-four hours, though during that time very rapidly, before it was cast ashore.

þe se bigan to flowe
 & Horn child to rowe;
 þe se þat schup so faste drof
 þe children dradde þerof
 Al þe day & al þe niȝt,
 Til hit sprang dai liȝt
 Til Horn saȝ on þe stronde
 Men gon in þe londe. (C Text, ll. 117-126.)

Later, when in *Sudene*, having dreamed during the night of Fikenhild's treachery, the hero starts back in the morning to rescue his bride, he accomplishes the journey in a similar short space of time.

¹ Other forms of the name in KH are *Sudenne*, *Sodenne*, *Suddene*, *Sudenne*; in HR *Suddene*, *Suthdene*. Compare the variant spellings of London in *Lazamon's Brut*: *Lundene*, *Lundenne*, *Londene*, *Londenne* (in the A.-S. Chronicle, *Lundenne*). Compare also the variant spellings of Surrey, below, p. 12. In Gaimar's Chronicle we find *Mercene*, *Merceine*, *Mercenne* <A.-S. *Myrcena*.

Horn gan to schupe ride,
 His feren him biside
 Er þane Horn hit wiste,
 Tofore þe sunne upriste,
 His schup stod vnder ture
 At Rymenhilde bure.

(C 1425 ff.)

Of the same journey, undertaken by Horn immediately after his bridal, we read :

Horn gan to schipe ride
 And hys knyȝtes bi side
 Here schip gan to croude
 þe wind hym bleu wel loude¹
 Honder Sodenne syde,
 Here schip bigan to glide
 Abowte myd nigte.

(O 1332 ff.)

With a strong favorable wind, Horn and his companions reached Sudene before midnight of the day on which they set forth.

The French poet informs us further that it was a north-west wind (*del norwest uentant*, l. 105) that drove the boat from Sudene to Britain (England).

If, then, we look, as these indications direct, for an island off the west coast of England to which a strong northwest wind would blow a boat within twenty-four hours, our eyes are fixed at once on the Isle of Man. That does not seem to serve, however, until we remember that Man was one of the group regularly called by the Norsemen *Suðreyjar*, "South Isles," because of their position in respect to the Orkneys (*Orkneyjar*). The "South Isles" included the Hebrides and

¹ MSS. L and C have at this point the following additional lines, obviously contradictory and meaningless:

Bipinne (wyþinne) daies fue
 þat schup gan ariue.

(C 1295-96.)

A similar haphazard rhyme occurs in another place:

Her buþ paens ariue(d)
 Wel mo þan fue.

(C 807-808.)

Man; and any one of them might be called in the singular *Suðrey*, *Sudrey*, even as any one of the Orkneys *Orkney*. In Latin the Orkneys (*Orcades*) were called *Orcania*, and the Hebrides likewise *Sudreia*. The natural form of these names in early English would be *Orkneye* and *Suðreye* (*Sudreye*); but in French they were written differently. In HR, as frequently in French, and in translations of French works, like Laȝamon's *Brut*, we find the spellings *Orcanie*, *Orcenie*, *Orceine*, *Orcene*; and in another French work, already referred to, occurs the English place-name *Suðreye* (*Sudreye*) in the similar, perhaps analogous, form *Sudeine*. In Gaimar's chronicle, as Michel first pointed out, we read :

Edelbrit fu feit reis de Kent,
E de *Sudeine* ensement. (ll. 955-56.)

Sudeine here is the reading of the best manuscript, but variant readings of the same name in Gaimar are: *Sudreie*, *Suthdreie*, *Sutraie*, *Sudrie*, *Suthrie*, *Surrie*. The present Surrey, of course, is meant. In form the old name of Surrey was identical with that of the Isle of Man, *Suðreye* (*Sudreye*), though the two differed etymologically in the last part. No one, then, can deny that *Sudeine*, *Sudene*, is a name which, at least in a French work, might have been given to the Isle of Man.² The Isle of Man fulfils all the indications of

¹ Note that the translation of *Orcadas insulas* in the Alfredian version of Orosius (pp. 24, 58, note) is *Orcadus bæst igland*.

² In Laȝamon's *Brut* (III, 7) we read that knights came to Arthur :

Of Scotlond of Irlond
Of Gutlond of Islond
Of Noreine of Denene
Of Orcaneie of Maneie.

Noreine (in another ms. *Norene*) is Norway, which elsewhere in the same work is written *Norbwaie*, *Norewaieȝe*, *Norweye*, *Norhweie*, *Norweine* (I, 186, 191, 198). In III, 252, we find again the forms *Noreine*, *Norene*; and for Denmark *Denene*, *Dene*. *Maneie* (Man) in another ms. is written *Mayne*. Another good parallel appears in Laȝamon's spelling of the old kingdom of Moray (Moravia). Alongside *Muræf* (II, 507) occur *Mureine* (II, 487), *Mureinen* (II, 559), *Muraine*, *Morayne*, *Muriane*, *Morene* (II. 4352, 10746,

Horn's home in the oldest versions of the story, and being the centre of viking sway in the Irish Sea during the ninth and tenth centuries, it is a most natural place to locate events like those in our cycle of poems, which, as I hope to show, reflect the life of that period.

But, granted the identification of Sudene and the South-Isle Man, does this clear up the situation? From this starting-point, can we trace Horn's journey readily? If not, then the identification is of little service. If so, it is sufficiently confirmed.

When the hero is set adrift, he comes first, as we have seen, to a land vaguely called by the French poet "Britain," but by the English minstrel more precisely *Westnesse*,¹ *Westnesse*. This latter name I take to indicate a ness or promontory in that region which later Middle English writers² frequently call "the west country," the west of England, in the neighborhood of North Wales.³ The difference between the two forms of the name is apparently only that in the one case the Norse ending *-r* of the adjective *vestr* has been preserved and in the other dropped.⁴

The Scandinavian use of the designation "west" for Great Britain and Ireland is clearly preserved in HR in the name *Westir*. Fortunately, we are in no doubt as to this locality, for the French poet twice tells us definitely what land was meant.

21048, 22178; I, 272, 318). Note also that the name of Modun's land is spelt *Fenie* as well as *Feneye*, *Fenoie*, *Finée*.—The medial *-r-* in *Sudrey* was sometimes omitted in Old Norse; cf., for example, the form *Sauðeyjum* in *Lazdoela Saga*, ed. Kr. Kaalund, p. 33.

¹MS. C has regularly *Westnesse*, O and H always *Westnesse* except in l. 989, where both MSS. have *Estnesse* and in l. 1250 where O alone has this name. In neither of these cases, however, is *Estnesse* original. On this point see Morsbach, p. 319.

²E. g., *The Grene Knight*, ll. 39, 515 (*Percy Folio Ms.*, II, 58 ff.); *Lay Le Freine*, l. 29 (Weber, *Met. Roms.*, Edinb., 1810, I, 358).

³For a more definite localization, see below, p. 24.

⁴Cf. the district of Scotland called *Sutherland*, where the *-r* of the adjective *súðr*, south, is preserved; also *Auster Wood*, near Bourne, Lincolnshire (see G. S. Streatfeild, *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, London, 1884, p. 129).

- (a) En Westir neut aler . ki est regne preizez :
Yrlande out si a nun . al tens dauntiquitez. (ll. 2130.)
- (b) Yrlande . lors fu Westir noméé. (l. 2184.)

Dr. Ward (p. 452) connected this name *Westir* (Ireland) with the Norse adjective *vestr*, suggesting that the syllable *-ir* was a retention of the ending *-r*. This is also the view of Morsbach (p. 320) and others. I regard the syllable *-ir* rather as the contraction of the O. N. *ey(j)ar*, the whole name then meaning "Western Isles," the Norse designation of all the British Isles, and Ireland in particular as the most remote. Sometimes we find instead of this the word *Vestrland*, "the lands of the West," which agrees with the wording in the following passage from KH, which describes how Horn left Westernesse.

To þe hauene he ferde,
& a god schup he hurede,
þat him scholde londe
*In westene londe.*¹

(C 751 ff.)

That Ireland is the hero's destination is here also clearly stated² ("He arivede in Yrlande"), and, in agreement with the French poem, the information is given³ that when Horn returned to rescue his lady, he was accompanied by *Irish* followers, whom he collected before he sailed.

In the French poem (l. 2937) *Diuelin*, the Norse name of Dublin, is mentioned as the city where dwelt the king of Westir.

¹ There is surely no reason to identify *Westir* and *Westernesse* as some scholars have done, or to regard the latter as having "gradually supplanted" the former (see Ward, pp. 451-53). We cannot therefore agree with Dr. McKnight, who, following the suggestions of Dr. Ward, remarks that "it is not at all impossible to conceive that in the original, simpler form of the story, there were but two scenes to this drama, and that *Westernesse* of the English version, and *Westir* of the Norman version, alike refer to Ireland, only that on account of the amplification of the story, one came to think of Aylmar's kingdom as in England, and added a *-nesse* to the Norse form *Westir* (*Vestr*) so as to make it fit a promontory on the western end of the south coast of England, in Devonshire or Cornwall" (edition, p. xx).

² C 1513; cf. O 785, C 1002.

³ C 1004, O 1045; C 1290, L 1298.

When Guffer, his son, is slain in a conflict with invading pirates, his body is carried to a *Chastel de Beauuni* near by, which may perhaps be the present Dun Boyne (*Dun* means "castle") a short distance from Dublin.

From Ireland Horn sails back to England where he saves Rimenhild from falling into the hands of a rival suitor, who in KH is said to be lord of *Reynes*, *Reynis* (C 951, L 959). This place, only once mentioned in the English minstrel's song, occurs five times in the earlier and more literary French version, and is there invariably spelt with an initial *F*——. We may assume this, therefore, to be correct. In one place, not in rhyme (l. 3959), the French writer spells the name *Fenice*,¹ which points back to the form of which the English is a corruption. A composite *Freynes* would account for both. But where shall we locate this country? Hitherto no one has made even a likely guess.² Modun's land, we

¹Other forms of the name in the French are: *Fenie*, *Finée*, *Fenoie*, *Fenoi*. To the first appears to correspond the spelling in MS. O of KH, *Reny*; but this may be only an accident. The parallel MS. L reads: "Kyng Mody of Reynis / þat is Hornes enemis (959-60)," for which O has more grammatically: "King Mody of Reny / þat was Hornes enemy (994-95)." Inasmuch as C and L agree in the spelling *Reynes* (*Reynis*), there can be no doubt that this was the original form.

In another place in the English poem we have a hint as to the situation of the place: "He riuede in a (under) reaume / In a wel fayr streume / þer kyng Mody was syre" (O 1550 ff.; L 1525 ff.). "On the western side of the peninsula of Furness," says Mr. Fishwick (*History of Lancashire*, London, 1894, p. 84), "lies the island of Walney, which has near to it several other small islands, on one of which was built the ancient castle or peel long known as the Pile of Fouldrey. The waters near to its site formed a natural harbour capable of floating, even at low tide, the largest vessels at that early period in use, and to protect that and the adjacent country this castle was erected. It is of great antiquity; it was certainly there in the twelfth century." Perhaps Walney influenced the varying spellings of the names in HR.

²Paulin Paris identified it without comment with Finland (*Hist. Litt.*, xxii, 563; cf. *prince finnois*, p. 565); Mr. Hall (p. lv) with Rennes in Brittany. Morsbach says (p. 313): "Die metrische Betonung ist *Réynis*. Über den Namen selbst weiss ich nichts bestimmtes zu sagen. Wenn *Reynis*, wie wahrscheinlich, ein germanischer (wirklicher oder fingierter)

observe, was on the coast, since he takes ships to get to the city of the English king (l. 3986); and there is no indication that it was remote. It seems, indeed, to have been near Rimenhild's home, for when, at the end of KH, Horn is represented as establishing his friends one after another in the possessions which had come into his power, upon leaving Westernness, he goes first to Modun's land, then on to Ireland, and finally home to Man. We may then with confidence identify Freynes¹ with the district of Lancashire, north of Morecambe Bay, now as of old called Furness. This region was settled in very early times, and there still remains at Aldringham Moat Hill on the sea-shore the ruins of a castle which probably dates from the tenth century.² From the Life of St. Cuthbert we learn that between 677 and 685 the adjoining district of Cartmel was given to the saint "with all the Britons in it."³ The famous abbey of Furness was founded in 1127, and exercised control of the Church of Man in the twelfth century.⁴

Ortsname und in *Reyn + is* zu zerlegen ist, so könnte *Reyn* dem ae. *rezn* entsprechen, welches auch in Ortsnamen an erster stelle vorkommt (v. R. Müller, § 44, s. 82); *is* könnte ae. *is* 'eis' sein. Vgl. *Is-land*. Übrigens ist auch an *regn-íss* denkbar."

¹*Furness* is usually written *Furnes* in the *Chronicon Manniae* (e. g., A. D. 1126, 1134, 1228); cf. the spellings of *Calais*, *Cales*, *Calyce*, *Callyce* (*Percy Folio MS.*, I, 318 ff.).

²See H. Fishwick, *History of Lancashire*, pp. 48-49.

³See James Croston, *Historic Sites of Lancashire and Cheshire*, London, 1883, p. 255. Croston says: "From this time a chasm of something like five centuries occurs in the history. Whether the monks retained possession of the lands after the death of Cuthbert, or whether the place was ravaged by the Danish invaders, is not known with certainty, but as no mention of it occurs in the Domesday Survey, it is not unreasonable to assume that the place had been laid waste during some of the Danish incursions, and the church St. Cuthbert reared destroyed." We may note that when Horn leaves England for Ireland he changes his name (in KH) to Cutberd.

⁴On Furness Abbey, see John Timbs, *Abbeys, Castles and Ancient Halls of England and Wales*, I, 298 ff.; A. W. Moore, *Sodor and Man*, London, 1893 (*Diocesan Histories*).

Horn, it is evident, simply makes a little circuit to neighboring lands on the coast of the Irish Sea about the Isle of Man.

Every locality mentioned in KH has thus been reasonably identified save one, and to that we may now turn our attention. In the land of Aylmar, king of Westernness, was a body of water called *store* (*stoure*, *sture*). In L 1455 we read: "Hornes ship astod in stoure" (cf. O 1482: "Hys schip stod in store"). In C and L, in another place (ll. 685, 687): "Aylmar rod bi sture (stoure)." The name *store* (*stoure*, *sture*) is, I think, certainly the Old Norse *stór á*, i. e., *big river*. It was formerly applied to any large river,¹ and there are even now in England four rivers called Stour (in Kent, Essex, Worcestershire, and Dorsetshire) and a Stor aa in Denmark flowing into the North Sea. Here it seems to me to refer to the Mersey, not only because it fits the situation admirably, but also because this river is definitely mentioned in the prose romance of *Tristan* as the place to which Tristram and Ysolde drifted, like Horn, in a boat from the same quarter.²

Unlike the English popular song, the sophisticated French *chanson de geste* abounds in place-names, but most of these have no significance in the present study.³ There are a few,

¹ Note the passages cited by Fritzner, *Ordbog over det Gamle Norske Sprog*, 1896, s. v.: "sextigir stórár falla í hana (Donau)," i. e., "sixty big rivers fall into the Danube;" "þann tíma sem stórár oesast af yvirvættis regnum," i. e., "that time when big rivers flow furiously on account of very great rains." Wissmann was not, then, astray in his remark concerning *stoure*: "es steht vielleicht für Fluss überhaupt" (*Untersuchungen*, p. 107).

² *Roman en prose de Tristan*, ed. Löseth, pp. 468 ff.; see below p. 25, note.

³ To read of a horse of Hungary (1590), or of Castilia (3316), or of Servia (3418), of a "cendal" from Russia (1580), or a sword made at La Rochele (3311), is no more significant than the mention of Canaan, the Jordan, or Africa. Nor will anyone be troubled by such phrases as the following:

1. Pur tut lor de Melan . ne largent de Pavie (702).
2. Nel donast pur tut lor . le rei de Portigal (1992).
3. Ioe ne crei plus beaus seit . de si qua Besencon (612).

however, which cannot be ignored. Already we have found two or three (Westir, Divelin, and perhaps Chastel de Beauni) which appear to have been in the original version. We must then examine the others to see whether they also suit the supposed scene of action.

Throughout, as all who have read KH have recognized, the English poet condenses his story as much as possible, and on this account has sometimes obscured the situation. We have an instance of this succinct treatment of the narrative in the few statements regarding Horn's mother, the wife of King Murry, who, when her husband was slain by the heathen pirates, fled to a solitary cave and lived there alone "under a roche of stone,"¹ where the hero again found her, "in a roche walle,"² when long after he returned home. The French poet not only explains the situation clearly, but gives us the name of the locality to which the queen fled, namely, *Ardene*, "*un cros sur la mer*" (4879 ff.). With complete disregard of probability, Francisque Michel identified this *cros sur la mer* with the Ardennes, which he describes (p. 420) as a "vaste pays sur la frontière de la France et de l'Allemagne." Paulin Paris pointed out³ that this was unreasonable; but it was nevertheless repeated by Söderhjelm.⁴ A more recent writer, Mettlich, in 1895, gave as his opinion that *Ardene*

4. Li colier sunt dor . overe a Besencon (621).
5. E quant Herlaund les out . nes donast pur Maskun
Une bone cite . ke tientent Borgoignun (623-4).
6. Horn i seruit le ior . ki passot par franchise
Trestuz ki i esteient . entre Bretagne e Pise (924-25).
7. entre Peitiers e Pise (819).
8. entre Rome e Paris (1082).
9. entre Norweie e Frise (828).

France is named only once (1307), and like most of the other foreign names occurs in rhyme.

Il n'ot tel cheualer par escu ne par lance
Pus icel tens en aca el realme de France.

¹ C 71, L 79; cf. O 79.

² C 1384; cf. L 1396, O 1427.

³ *Hist. Litt.*, xxii, 566.

⁴ *Romania*, xv, 579.

was some region that received its name "im Gegensatz zu Suddene;"¹ but what he meant by this is not clear. It seems to me, on the contrary, that in *Ardene* we probably have preserved the name of an actual place in the Isle of Man. *Ard* in the Manx language means "Height," and there is one height in the island which is still known simply as *The Ard*. This cliff, according to the description² of Mr. A. W. Moore, the historian of the island, rises "about 500 feet above the sea," and on the top are still the remains of an old castle. The French poet, familiar with the Ardennes of France, or the forest of *Ardene* in England (mentioned frequently in French versions of the romance of *Guy of Warwick*), or simply perhaps with the ending of *Sudene* in mind, wrote it in the form in which it appears in the single passage where it is mentioned.

We have seen that Aylmar, the British king, was in his own land when on the shore of a *stoure*, "big river," which seems to be the Mersey. Other indications in the French poem point in the same direction.

Of certain pirates who attack the king of Britain, we read (C 1325): "a un port ariuerent. kom apele Costance." Costance is evidently the corruption of the name of some port on the coast of Britain, southeast from Man.³ The French poet altered the name before him for the sake of rhyme, and to make it look French (cf. *Coutances*). Possibly, then, the port intended may be Garston⁴ on the Mersey.

¹ *Bemerkungen zu den anglo-normannischen Lied vom wackern Ritter Horn*, Münster, 1895, p. 34, note 1.

² *Surnames and Place-Names in the Isle of Man*, London, 1890, p. 167. Of *Chastel-yn-Ard* (Castle of the Height) Mr. Moore says: "The length of the remains is, from east to west, 105 feet, breadth at west end 40 feet. This place is also called Cashtall Ree Goree, but this is quite a modern name."

³ Mettlich and Hartenstein (p. 28) identify it with *Coutances* in Normandy.

⁴ In *Lazamon* we find *Gursal* = *Cursal* (24339), *Gloffare* = *Clofard* (24358), *Geryn* = *Cherin* (24394), *Organeye* = *Orcaneye* (22527). *Constance* is written *Costance*, *Costanz*, *Costace* (13026 ff., 13720, 13404). In *Wace* we find *Costans* (6689), *Costant* (6642), *Costan* (6629).

On behalf of the king of Britain, Horn sets out overland with a large company to subdue the count of a neighboring district, called *Angou*, *Ango*, who has caused his master trouble (1737). The land here mentioned is certainly not Anjou, as Michel suggested (p. 419),¹ though the French poet no doubt was quite familiar with that place. It seems to me most likely the island of Angul, the present *Angles-ey*. We may note that the *-ey* of this name, being the Norse word for island, was not necessarily connected with it.²

The departure of Horn and his retainers from Ireland is thus described by the French poet :

Tost sunt as nefz uenuz . e tost sunt eschipez.
 Les ueilz traient amunt . kar bon fud li orez.
 Ia ne fineront mais . si seront ariuez.
 Icoe fud al tierz di³ . quant li ior fud finez.
 Ke il pristrent un port . qui mut lur fud eisiez.
 Kar de uile e de gent . fud aukes esloignez.
 Bois i out enuiron . dedenz sunt enbuschiez.
 Qui trestuz les couerit . quil ne sunt auseiz.
 La poust bien dan . Horn . lunc tens estre muciez.
 Quil ni fust par home . ne oiz ne trouez. (C 3922 ff.)

Horn leaves his companions in this forest retreat, on the side of the river, where they would not be discovered, and makes his way alone on horseback through the woods to the city. On the way he meets a palmer, who, in response to his inquiry, informs him that

Li reis est a *Lions* . ki est cite uaillant.
 Et la tendra sa cort . si ad barnage grant. (C 3956-57.)

¹ Likewise Hartenstein, pp. 21-22.

² In the account of a Western foray of the year 1098 by the Norse poet, Gisli Illugason, for example, we read as follows :

Háðom hildi með Haraldz frænda
 Önguls við ey innan-verða.

"I fought beside Harold's kinsman inside the island of Ongul (Anglesey)." (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, II, 242)—Cf. *Bretoue* = Bristol, in the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*, ed. Stimming, 1899, l. 2584.

³ Note that this was about the time it would naturally take at that time to get from Dublin to the Mersey.

This place, "the valiant city of Lions," is at first sight very disturbing. To what city in the neighborhood could the poet have made reference? The answer appears to me¹ to be the present Chester, formerly called *Caer Lion* (*Leon, Legion*), the *City of Legions*.²

This identification, however, must be reconciled with the specific information given regarding the place in HR. There it is stated that at *Caer Lion* there was a Benedictine monastery of St. Martin, and that there dwelt an archbishop called *Taurin*.³ The foundation of these statements is not absolutely clear, and yet they seem to have a certain warrant. As Ormerod, the historian of Cheshire, says:⁴ "Mention of a bishop of Chester in ages anterior to the Norman Conquest, occurs in several of the old chronicles and legends, and may not be improper for notice, though more as a matter of curiosity than history. Henry Bradshaw, the monk of St. Werburgh's, enumerating the three archbishops constituted

¹ Michel identified it (p. 441) with "Lyon, ville de France, chef-lieu du departement du Rhône." Söderhjelm (*Romania*, xv, 591, note) inclined to the same view. Mettlich (*Bemerkungen*, etc., p. 34 note, 42) favored St. Paul de Léon in Brittany. Haigh (*The A.-S. Sagas*, London, 1861, p. 68) connected it with King's Lynn in Norfolk.

The only name given the place in the English poem is "castel" (C 1041-42; 1466). This perhaps means nothing definite; still we may observe that the English translation of *Castra Legionum*, in Welsh *Caer Leon*, was *Laegeceaster*, or simply *Ceaster*, which became Chester; and *Ceaster* was frequently translated *Castel*. In *Lazamon*, e. g., the name of Lancaster is given as *Lane-castel*, *Leane-castel* (14244). Note also in this connection the verses on Chester in Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (Ed. Babington, Rolls Series, London, 1869, II, 81): "Chestre, Casteltoun as he were, Name takeþ of a castel." See the interesting account of the city, II, 77 ff. There "many men of westene londes" got assistance (83).

² See Bede, Bk. II, ch. 2 (A. D. 603); Nennius, § 7; William of Malmesbury, Bk. I, ch. 3 (trans. Giles, p. 43); Florence of Worcester, trans. Forester, p. 460. Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, 11th Song, "fair Chester, call'd of old Carelegion."

³ C 4067 ff.; cf. "de Saint Beneit," 5137.

⁴ *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, ed. Thos. Helsby, London, 1882, I, 92.

by Lucius, places 'the second o'er North Wales in the city of Legions.' Hoveden says that Chester was a Bishop's see whilst it was under the dominion of the Britons; and an ancient ms. (formerly in the possession of Henry Ferrers, Esq., and printed in the *Monasticon*, I, 197) informs us of Egbert's intending to have his daughter, St. Edith, veiled by the then bishop of Chester. 'And the King Egbyrght for the wolleness that was in Sent Modwen, betoke to hure his dowghtur Edyth, to norych, and to kepe, and to informe hur, after the reule of Sent Benett, and after to veyle his dowghtur of the Boschoppe of Chester.' There was, it may also be noted, a church of St. Martin in Chester, the foundation of which, says Ormerod, was 'certainly anterior to 1250, as appears by a deed among the evidences of the earl of Shrewsbury.'"¹ No archbishop of Caer Leon, to my knowledge, was ever called *Taurin*; but the name is very suspicious, inasmuch as it occurs only once and that in HR and in rhyme, being moreover otherwise familiar.²

There is some reason to believe that Thomas, the author of HR (where only this name occurs), writing after Geoffrey and familiar with the localization of Arthur's residence at Caer Leon on the Usk, had this latter place, and not Caer Leon on the Dee in mind. This supposition is strengthened by a comparison of HR at this point with certain parts of

¹Ormerod-Helsby, I, 332.

²It is possible to regard it as due to the influence of Geoffrey, who established one *Tremounus* as "Archbishop of the City of Legions" (Bk. VIII, ch. 10). Wace speaks of "Tremonus, uns sages hom, Arcevesque de Carlion" (8207 ff.). Layamon writes his name *Tremoriun*, *Tremorien*, *Temoriun* (ll. 29715-16, 29746-47). This name is possibly the same as that of *Tremerin*, "the Welsh bishop," whose death in 1055 the A.-S. Chronicle records (ed. Earle and Plummer, II, 445). It is perhaps worth noting that there is said to have been a bishop of Mercia (and therefore of Chester) in 659 called *Trumhere* (see Wm. Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, London, 1899, p. 104; Searle, *A. S. Bishops*, etc., Camb., 1899, p. 242). There was, it appears, a martyr *Taurinus*, reputed bishop of York in the second century (see Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, ed. James Nichols, London, 1868, I, 20); for the legend of St. Taurin, see Ordericus, lib. v., c. vii.

Thomas's *Tristan*, which presents such close parallels to HR in the account of the hero's journey to Ireland that one cannot help thinking that it furnished our author a model in his artistic elaboration of the simpler narrative that he had before him. When, even as Horn, Tristram feels forced to leave Dublin (*Deuelin*) and return to England, he embarks for Caer Leon. As we read in *Sir Tristrem*, the Middle English minstrel version of Thomas's poem :

Riche sail þai drewe,
White and red so blod.
A winde to wil hem blewe
To Carlioun þai gode.¹

It would certainly have been very natural for a French poet to identify the Caer Leon of his original with Arthur's residence Caer Leon, especially when he recognized, and was perhaps endeavoring to enforce, the parallelism of his hero's adventures with those of Tristram. Indeed, he might well have introduced the name under such circumstances without any justification of misunderstanding.

As we see from the passage from HR last quoted, Horn made his way from the place he landed (probably the southern bank of the Mersey) through a wild forest to Caer Leon. That this situation was original is apparent from the words of KH :

He let his schup stonde
& ȝede to londe.
His folk he dude abide
Vnder wude side. (C 1021 ff.)

As is well known, the land about Chester was formerly thickly wooded.²

¹ Ed. Kölbing, ll. 1299 ff., cf. 1159, 1389.

² Only one other geographical indication in HR is worthy of note: Herselot, the attendant of Rimenhild, is said to have been a daughter of Godfrei of *Albanei*. This country appears to be the old *Albania*, Scotland. Geoffrey, it will be remembered, represents Britain as divided into three parts: Albania, Cambria, and Loegria (Bk. II, chap. 1). The duke of Albania in Geoffrey becomes the Duke of Albany in Shakspeare's *Lear*.

It was then, it appears, in the district about Chester and the Mersey that Aylmar of Westerness formerly ruled. The name of Aylmar's land guides us to the exact location. The Western-Ness¹ seems pretty certainly the peninsula of the Wirral. This, it should be remembered, was a favorite resort of the Norsemen, a district long dominated by them. As Vogt says:² "That Wirral must have exerted a strong attraction for the Norwegian vikings we may well believe, not only because of the excellent harbors of the peninsula (among them Birkenhead, the present suburb of Liverpool), but also because of its desirable situation between the mouths of two rivers by which it seemed as if created to provide a temporary encampment for a great host of colonizing vikings. On this tongue of land . . . there is now scarcely a single place-name of Anglo-Saxon origin, while everything reminds us of our forefathers [the Norsemen]. In the middle of the peninsula lies the village of Thingwall, and round about one Norwegian estate or locality after another: Raby, Irby, Grisby, Kirby, Shotwick, Holme, Thurstanston, etc. The Norwegian viking-colonists must thus have completely rid the whole peninsula of its earlier settlers, established themselves there, and bequeathed it as allodial property to their descendants." This district of western England was much exposed to viking inroads. Chester, the end of Watling Street, was an important port from which many an armament sailed to ravage or conquer about the Irish sea. It was frequently the gateway to Northumberland for Scandinavians in the West.³

The prominence of this "west country" in actual consideration⁴ perhaps occasioned its frequent mention in romance. The land of *Norgalles* (North Wales) and the adjoining dis-

¹ Norse names in *-ness* are legion (cf. Inverness, Caithness). A *Westness* in Rousey (Orkneys) is mentioned several times in the *Orkneyinga Saga*.

² *Dublin som Norsk By*, Christiania, 1896, p. 174; cf. Streatfeild, *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, London, 1834, pp. 29-30.

³ Cf. Worsaae, *Minder om de Danske og Normændene i England, Skotland og Irland*, Copen., 1851, pp. 56 ff.

⁴ In the time of King Alfred the English army warred against the Danes at Chester on *Wirhealum* (*A.-S. Chron.*, A. D. 894; cf. *Wirheale*, A. D. 895).

tract of *Logres* are the scene of many an adventure with which the name of *Tristram* is particularly connected.¹ As I hope to show later,² that famous hero lived in other regions familiar to *Horn*. This country is memorable, too, as one in which the noble *Gawain* once journeyed.

Now ride; þis renk þur; þe ryalme of Logres,

 Til þat he neȝed ful nogh in to þe Norþe Wales;
 Alle þe iles of Anglesay on lyft half he halde;
 & fare; ouer þe forde; by þe for-londe;
 Ouer at þe Holy-Hede til he hade eft bonk,
 in þe wyldrenesse of Wyrale.³

Guinglain, too, "The Fair Unknown," *Gawain's* son, traversed the *Wirral* on his way to rescue from distress the queen of *Wales* who dwelt at *Snowdon*.⁴

Contemplation of the *Wirral*, we recall, stirred the patriotic *Drayton* to enthusiasm and he describes with spirit the peril of its position between two mighty rivers :

where Mersey for more state,
 Assuming broader banks, himself so proudly bears,
 That at his stern approach extended *Wirral* fears,
 That what betwixt his floods of Mersey, and of Dee,
 In very little time devoured he might be.⁵

Finally, in this connection, I may state the fact that at least one family of people called *Horn* dwelt in the *Wirral* in 1330, for then *Peter*, Abbot of *Vale Royal*, paid four of them, named *William*, *John*, *Thomas* and *Warin*, divers sums for provisions needed at the feast of the *Assumption*.⁶ This, however, is not a matter to be much considered.⁷ It is not

¹ See *Löseth, Le Roman en Prose de Tristan*.

² In an article on "The Home of Sir *Tristram*," to appear shortly.

³ *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyzt*, ll. 691-701 (*Madden, Sir Gawayne*, p. 27).

⁴ *Libeaus Descomus*, ed. *Kaluza*, 1890 (*Altengl. Bibliothek*, v), l. 1068.

⁵ *Polyolbion*, Song xi.

⁶ See *Ormerod-Helsby, History of Cheshire*, II, 167.

⁷ There is a *Hornby Wood* and a *Horncastle* in *Lincolnshire* (*Streatfeild*, pp. 135-36); but this has no more significance. Innumerable places are called *Horn*—this or that. Yet scholars have sometimes been disposed to set much store by a particular one.

on such coincidences that I would base an argument for the Wirral as the land of Horn's protector, Aylmar of Westernness.

V.

With all the localities mentioned in the different poems (if they have been here correctly identified) Norsemen were, I repeat, very familiar, and in the three places where the hero seems to have lived, the Isle of Man, the westernness of the Wirral, and Ireland, they had made settlements. The place-names all depend on forms that Norsemen might have used. Some (e. g., Westir, Sudene, Store) are evidently based on such as they only would have first employed. The tale, indeed, as I shall try to make clear presently, bears every indication of having been originally a Norse saga. Most of the characters, then, acting as they do according to the manner of Norsemen in viking times, we should naturally expect to bear Norse names. I say "most of them," because it would as a matter of fact be exceptional if all the personal names in the story were exclusively of any one origin. The Norse sagas abound in foreign names (Kormak, Magnus, etc.) borne by Scandinavians, and inferences regarding nationality which have only proper names as a basis are perhaps almost as little convincing with respect to early Scandinavia as nowadays in Europe or America. But, in truth, certain names that we know to have been in the early story of Horn were such, it appears, as Scandinavians might have borne, and others of English personages are suitable to them.

The names of the personages in the English and French versions of our story show great divergence. It is not simply that the same names are spelt somewhat differently in the two redactions; that would cause us little trouble, for we should be surprised were it otherwise. Any one who has studied comparatively the various versions of any mediæval story is prepared for the most astonishing transformations and substitutions in the proper names, and is satisfied to do the best

he can to explain the divergences, knowing that changes are due not simply to misunderstandings of scribes and faulty transmission, but to the deliberate desire of redactors to win personal success by making improvements, which often completely disfigure the original monument. Little disposed to retain names of places or persons with which they and their auditors were unacquainted, the French frequently substituted those with which all were familiar, keeping usually within the bounds of easy transference, but sometimes making the boldest leaps. Thus, after the Crusades, Surrey inevitably suggested Syria to a Frenchman, Ermonie Armenia, and Albanie Almania, and the whole scene of action might be changed by reason of some such simple confusion. Alterations of topography, moreover, were commonly made with deliberation to satisfy the whim of a patron or local pride.¹ An English minstrel was capable of establishing Orpheus at Winchester, "a city of Thrace."

When we compare KH with HR in this matter of proper names of persons, we observe that the troublesome differences are due to wilful changes on the part of one or other author. Deliberate substitution and not misunderstanding must account for complete dissimilarity. The two poems agree, as we have seen, in the topography, except that HR, being more literary and complete, preserves names not found in the succinct version KH. But the same cannot be said of the characters. In both poems occur in about the same form Horn, Rimenhild, Modun, and Wikel (Fikenhild); but these are all.² In KH Horn's father is Murry, in HR Aalof; in KH his mother is Godhild, in HR Samburc; in KH the hero changes his name to Cutberd, in HR to Gudmod; his true companions in KH, Aþulf and Arnoldin, have no counterparts in HR; in KH the British king is Aylmar, in HR Hunlaf; in KH his steward is Ailbrus, in HR Herlant; in KH the king of

¹ Cf. the remarks on *Pontus*, below, Section IX.

² On Aalof and Gudmod, which occur in one MS. of KH, as well as in HR, and seem original, see below, pp. 29 ff.

Ireland is Þurston, in HR Gudred (Gudreche); his sons in KH are Berild and Harild, in HR Guffer and Egfer; his daughter in KH is Rimenild (Reynild), in HR he has two daughters Sudburc and Lemburc.¹

Besides, in HR we have many additional names unparalleled in KH. Certain of these are probably an inheritance from the story of Horn's father Aalof, which Thomas connected with that of Horn.

Baderolf, the emperor of Germany, has a daughter Goldeburc; her son Aalof marries Samburc, daughter of King Silaf, and with her gets Horn; Baderolf's brother is Haderof (Harderon), the father of Modun; Aalof's seneschal is Hardred and his sons Haderof and Badelac; the son of Horn and Rigmel is Hadermod; the British king Hunlaf has a son Batolf; the father of the seneschal Herlant is called Torel, his son Jocerant; the confidante of the princess is Herselot. The traitors in true epic style are of one race; he who deceived Aalof was Denerez; it was his nephew Wikel who deceived Horn; yet Wikel's brother Wothere is faithful to him. The heathen African kings are Gudbrant, sultan of Persia, and his six brothers are Rodmund, Rollac, Gudolf, Egolf, Hildebrant, Herebrant; his son, a younger Rollac, is the murderer of Aalof.

Inasmuch as the majority of these names were surely not in the original saga, but were gathered in by Thomas, the author of HR, when he saw fit to join diverse material and fashion an epic cycle, they must be left out of consideration in the present discussion: we are, of course, concerned with such names only as we can be fairly certain were in the primitive story of Horn. In determining these, we should certainly place our chief reliance on the indications of KH; but that version is not necessarily right in all particulars, for reasons already emphasized.

¹ For a list of the proper names in HR, see Mettlich, *Bemerkungen*, 1895, pp. 39 ff.; cf. Hartenstein, pp. 44 ff., 75 ff., 81 ff.—Note that unlike names appear in the different versions of *Havelok*; see Prof. Skeat's edition, p. xxxix.

The hero in all primitive versions of the story is called *Horn*. This was a common word in Old Norse as in Anglo-Saxon, and might well have been borne by a Norseman as a proper name. There is no need, therefore, to regard it as a transformation of any other name, no matter how well known and similar.¹ In each of the three important versions a play of words appears which establishes the name in its present form in the lost original of all. In KH Horn begs Rimenhild to "drink to Horn of horne" (1145); and in HR we read: "corn apelent horn li engleis latimier" (4206).²

When the hero reaches Ireland, he determines, like Tristram, to change his name. What this assumed name was, we cannot be absolutely sure. In HR it is *Gudmod* (O. N. *Guðmóðr*); but in two mss. of KH it is *Cutberd* (*Cuberd*). Inasmuch as there appears no particular reason why the Anglo-Norman poet should give a Scandinavian name to his hero if it was not in his original, while an Englishman might easily (forgetfully or deliberately) have substituted for it the name of a well-known British saint, *Gudmod* seems to have the best authority. That the Harleian ms. of KH agrees with HR on this point is perhaps some support for this contention. In three cases this manuscript agrees with HR, as opposed to the other two manuscripts of KH, in names of persons. This has usually been thought³ to indicate simply that the

¹ It has sometimes been connected with *Orm* (*Horn*); cf. Suchier, *Gesch. d. franz. Lit.*, p. 111. Might it not be quite as well *Orn* (*Hörn*)? There are no less than ten persons of this name in *Landnamabók* (*Udg. af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab*, Copen., 1900, p. 403), and the name occurs frequently elsewhere. It was borne by the father of Ingolf, the first settler in Iceland (*Eyrbyggja Saga*, chs. 6, 18). When in the years 955-57 the Icelander Olaf the Peacock sailed west from Norway to visit his grandfather King Myrkjartan (Muircertach) of Ireland, a man of distinction named *Orn* (*Hörn*) was the captain of his ship (*Laxdoela Saga*, ed. Kaalund, 1888-91, pp. 60 ff.); see below, pp. 45 ff. The initial *H* was added or omitted in proper names as scribes saw fit.

² Cf. also *Horn Child*, ll. 385-386.

³ Cf. Ward, pp. 465 ff.; Hall, p. liii; Morsbach, p. 310; Hartenstein, p. 75 note.

Harleian scribe was familiar with the French poem; but it is certainly strange, if this be true, that in each case where he borrowed from HR he appears to have reverted to the original form, whereas he never follows HR in any of its variations.

A case in point is the name of Horn's father. In HR he is called *Aalof*, *Aaluf*, *Aelof*,¹ a French corruption, I believe, of the English *Anlaf*, *Anelaf*, *Analaf*, the O. N. *Óláfr*. This is the name that appears also in the Harleian ms. of KH. But in the other two MSS. of that poem, the king of Sudene is called *Murry* (*Mory*).² This, I think, may be due to a mistake. In considering the lines with which the minstrel begins,

A sang ihc schal 3ou singe
Of Murry þe kinge.

I cannot rid myself of the suspicion that this name of Horn's father is the result of a careless reading or a misunderstanding of oral transmission. In the beginning, was it not said, I ask myself, that the hero's father was king of Moray, the ancient district of Moravia? Moray was famous in romantic fiction as the domain of Urien, father of Arthur's nephew, Ywain. In Wace we read:

De Moroif Uriens li rois,
Et Yvains ses fils li cortois.³

And in Lazamon:

Of Murieue king Vrien
And his fæire sune Ywæin.⁴

¹ Trisyllabic, to be sure, but not from *Ethelwulf*, as Suchier (p. 111) and Morsbach (pp. 311-12) have conjectured; cf. Hartenstein (p. 132), following Gering. See the spellings in the *A. S. Chron.*, ed. Earle and Plummer, II, 334. Note that the Harleian text of KH has *Allof* wherever written (ll. 4, 33, 73).

² The variant spellings are: *Murry*, *Murri*, *Mury*, *Mory*, *Morye*, *Moye*, *Moy*. Morsbach (pp. 298, 312) thinks the name "echt Nordisch."

³ Ll. 10521-22; cf. 9864 ff.

⁴ *Brut*, ed. Madden, II, 599; cf. II, 507 (ll. 22177 ff.). Gaimar relates "com Iwain fu feit reis De Muref e de Loeneis" (ll. 5-6).

With such phrasing before us, we recognize the easy possibility of mistake. The original text may have read "De Moroif Aalof li rois" ("Of Murieue king Aalof") and the Aalof have been lost in transmission.¹ It is perhaps well to say that formerly a king might at the same time rule both Man and Moray. Not only Arthur but also more historical monarchs held control of both. Concerning the traitorous depredations of the Saxons, Laȝamon remarks:

Arður wes bi norðe: and noht her of nuste.
ferde ȝeond al Scotlond: & sette hit on his aȝene hond.
Orcaneie & Galeweie: *Man & Murene.*
and alle þa londes: þe þer to læien. (21043 ff.)

King Godred Crovan of Man, in the last quarter of the eleventh century, likewise exercised wide dominion. According to the chronicle of the island, he "subdued Dublin and a great part of Leinster, and held the Scots in such subjection that no one who built a vessel dared to insert more than three bolts."² Still earlier, in the ninth century, Thorstein,

¹An instance of a similar variation may be found in Laȝamon (ll. 23109 ff.) where the same statement is thus diversely made in the two MSS. printed by Madden on opposite pages.

For beoþ icumen of Norweize	For me beoþ tydinge icome
niwe tidende	vt of þan londe
þat <i>Sichelin</i> king þer is ded.	þat þe king of <i>Cisille</i> his dead.

²See A. W. Moore, *History of the Isle of Man*, London, 1900, I, 103. The name *Godred* is derived from O. N. *Guðröðr*, *Guðfröðr* (Irish *Gothfráidh*, Eng. *Godfrey*). In Manx tradition this king is commemorated as an almost mythical king, to him being attributed the establishment of a legislative body, the committal of the laws to writing, and the formation of an army (Moore, l. c., I, 92, 152). His traditional name is *Goree* (or *Orry*). Can it be that "the land (or country) of *Gore*," frequently mentioned in Malory and elsewhere, was his domain? Urien, it should be observed, was king of both Moray and "the land of *Gore*." *Gore* was also the land of *Bademagus*. The enchanter *Mongan*, in the *Lai du Cor* (ed. Wulff), was king of *Moraine*. On the connection of *Morgain la fée* with the place, see the forthcoming *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (ch. 10), by Dr. Lucy A. Paton (*Radcliffe College Monographs*, Ginn & Co., Boston), a very valuable treatise. *Orry* reminds us of the *Urry* of Malory (Bk. XIX,

son of the Norse king of Dublin, Olaf the White, not only conquered the Sudreys but more than half of Scotland, including Moray.¹ My conjecture, then, that Horn's father was king of Moray as well as of Man does not conflict with historical possibility. *Aalof*, the name he bears in HR and in one ms. of KH certainly has the weight of authority. It is a Scandinavian name which a French writer would not be likely to introduce, whereas the occurrence of *Mory* (*Murry*) in the other two MSS. of KH is explicable as a mistake.

In KH the hero has two comrades, *Apulf* (*Ayol*) and *Arnoldin*, who do not appear in HR. That they were in the original of both is therefore doubtful; but they probably were. *Apulf* may be a form of the O. N. *Aupólfr* (*Aupólfr*),² of which two instances may be found in *Landnamabók* (p. 330). *Arnoldin* is doubtless only a French adaptation of *Arnaldr*, of frequent occurrence.³

chs. 10 ff.) the knight of Hungary (!) who travelled through Scotland and England for the healing of his wounds.

In another place I shall probably treat more fully of the Isle of Man as a land of myth and legend, of "sortilege and witchcraft." Here I need only remark that its eponymous hero, Manannan mac Lir, was a magician and a sea-god (see A. C. L. Brown, *Revue Celtique*, xxii, 339 ff.), and that the island was conceived of as the otherworld. In the ancient tale of *The Turke and Gowin* (partially preserved in the Percy Folio ms., ed. Hales and Furnivall, I, 88 ff.), which is at bottom the account of a visit to the wonder-world (as will be shown shortly in an article by my friend Dr. Webster), the scene is laid in the Isle of Man. Man seems also to have been called Falga in Irish story (the *dinmshenchas*). This Mr. Alfred Nutt considers as "a synonym of the Land of Promise." "It is possible," he remarks, "that these names date back to a period when the Goidels inhabited Britain and when Man was *par excellence* the Western Isle, the home of the lord of the otherworld" (*Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895, I, 213; cf. Henderson, *Fled Bricrend*, Irish Texts Society II, London, 1899, p. 142).

¹ See *Landnamabók*, c. 82 (ed., p. 36): "þeir vnu Katanes [Caithness] ok Sudrland Ros ok Merævi [Moray] ok meir enn halft Skotland. var þorsteinn þar konungr yfr adr Skotar sviku hann ok fell han þar i orrostu."

² Perhaps identified in the first English version with A.-S. *Apulf*, *Æpelwulf*; see Earle and Plummer, II, 335; Searle, *Onomasticon*, 1897, pp. 75 f.

³ See *Landnamabók*, p. 326; Ari's *Isländerbuch*, ed. Golther, p. 21; Vigfusson-Möbius, *Fornsögur*, Leip., 1860, Index; cf. Morsbach, p. 308.

Horn's traitorous friend is regularly called in HR *Wikele*. This form is supported by the reading *Fykel* in the Harleian MS. of KH, and has distinctly the best authority. Here we have the third instance where the Harleian MS. of KH agrees with HR, where the latter seems to preserve the original form of the name.¹ The reading *Fikenhild* in the other two MSS. of KH is very suspicious, for a man's name should not end in *-hild*. *Fikenhild* is probably a corruption which arose by association with *Rimenhild*, or for convenience of rhyme. In the two places where it first appears (26, 647) it rhymes with *child*. The name *Fykel* (*Wikel*) looks like the A.-S. *fiocol*, "false," and was probably fitted to the character in the first English version of the story by reason of his attributes.²

Horn's mother in KH is named *God(h)ild*, which would be in Old Norse *Goðhildr*, *Gunnhildr*. This is doubtless original. The name of the hero's mother in HR, namely, *Samburc*, is pretty certainly an inheritance in the French poem from the introductory account of Aalof, his father, which Thomas joined to the story of Horn.

Inasmuch as Dublin was the capital of a Norse kingdom at the time this story arose, it is natural that the Irish ruler should have a Norse name. This is the fact whether we accept the reading of HR or KH. In the former he is called *Gudred* (H 3571) or *Gudreche*.³ This is the O. N. *Guðröðr*, which we have seen developed in Manx tradition into *Goree*. As Dr. Alexander Bugge shows,⁴ this name occurs in the genealogy of the Norwegian royal race of Westfold. The Irish king Gudred, surnamed *Veiðikonúngr*

¹ Morsbach can hardly be right in thinking *Fikel* a contraction of *Fikenhild* (pp. 314-315). As he observed, Searle (p. 242) has *Fikel*.

² In the late French *Pontus* (on which see below, Section IX) this personage appears as *Guenelete*, which, says the editor (p. xviii), "is clearly only a double diminutive of Guenes, the arch-traitor."

³ On the different forms of the name, see Ward, pp. 462-63.

⁴ *The Royal Race of Dublin*, in his *Contributions to the Hist. of the Norsemen in Ireland*, I (*Videnskabselskabets Skrifter*, II), Christiania, 1900, pp. 13 ff.

(Hunting-king), was, he believes, an ancestor, or at least a relative of Olaf the White. In all three MSS. of KH, however, the king of Ireland is called *Purston* (O. N. *porstein*),¹ and this is, therefore, likely to be original. But the matter must be left undecided. In any case, I repeat, the king bore a Scandinavian name.

The sons of the Scandinavian king of Dublin bear in KH the names *Harild* (*Apyld*, *Ayld*) and *Berild* (*Byrild*, *Beryld*). *Harild* is probably the O. N. *Haraldr*, the other forms being corruptions of *Arild*.² *Berild* would then correspond to an O. N. **Beraldr*; but while *Haraldr* is common, no instance of this name is at hand.³ In Anglo-Saxon, however, occur corresponding names *Beroldus*, *Berewald*, *Beorwald*, (*Beornweald*, *Beorhtweald*),⁴ from which it may derive. Yet neither *Harild* nor *Berild* may have been in the original.

If we examine the names of those who dwelt at the court of Westernness, we discover that all have English names, as we should expect. In KH the king is *Ailmar* (*Aylmar*)⁵ which is a French writing of the A.-S. *Æpelmær*. No great English king ever bore this name; but it should be remembered that we have here to do only with a chieftain of Westernness, who in the course of time gained the romantic designation of king. There was an "Æpelmer ealdorman"

¹ For the variation in spelling, see Morsbach, p. 313.

² Cf. Morsbach, pp. 307-308. MS. C has *Alrid*, 844.

³ In HR the two sons are *Guffer* and *Egfer*; but these are probably not original. Geoffrey of Monmouth (Bk. I, ch. 12) represents a *Goffarius Pictus* as living in the time of Brutus. *Egfer* may be the same as *Egfert*, *Egbert*, *Ecgeberht*. *Ecgeberht*, king of Wessex, ruled from 828-837.

⁴ Searle, pp. 103, 104, 541.

⁵ See Morsbach, pp. 304 ff. The name *Hunlaf* in HR is a good A.-S. form (see Searle, p. 307); but it is perhaps only a writing of *Unlaf*, which occurs sometimes for *Anlaf* (*Olaf*), e. g., in the *A. S. Chron.* (ed. Earle and Plummer, I, 126); and in Gaimar, 3536, where *Anlaf* is also written *Anlans*, *Anlas*, *Anfal*, *Oladf* (ll. 3536, 3550, 4687). Langtoft has *Anlaf*, *Analphe*, *Anlaphe*.—The name *Houlac* in HC is apparently *Havelok*, another form of *Olaf*; cf. Ward, *Catalogue*, p. 461.

who, according to the A.-S. Chronicle, in the year 1013, yielded to Svein, "þa weasternan þægnas mid him."¹

Ailmar's steward is called *Ailbrus* (*Aylbrus*), or *Aþelbrus*. The first form, according to Morsbach (p. 306), was in the foundation MS. of KH, while the second was probably introduced by a later scribe or singer. This is apparently a French corruption of the A.-S. *Æþelberht*, which appears in Gaimar as *Adelbrit*, *Albriet*, *Edelbert*, *Edelbrit*, *Edelbrut*, etc. A Frenchman might have fashioned *Ailbrus* out of *Ailbrut* by analogy of other words with final *-s* or *-t* (*-c*) according to the case;² or the form in KH may be due simply to the exigency of rhyme: the first time *Ailbrus* occurs in the poem (224-5) it rhymes with *hus*.

The name of the English princess appears in a great variety of forms in HR and in the different MSS. of KH. All of them, however, seem to be based on an original *Rimenhild*,³ which is the A.-S. *Irmenhild*, *Eormenhild*, transformed by metathesis. It should be observed that the Irish princess bears what seems to be the same name, (*H*)*ermenyld*, *Hermenyld*. The form in which the name of both princesses appears, namely *Reynild*, *Reynyld*, reminds us of the O. N. *Ragnhildr*,⁴ with which it may have been confused. It is customary, it may be said, in O. N. sagas to fashion foreign names in native likeness. Thus, for example, in the *Gunnlaugssaga*, Ethelred the son of Edgar is named *Aþalraþr Jatgeirsson*. The two Rimenhilds of our story, both of whom are devoted to the hero, present a striking parallel to the two Ysoldes (Ishild?) whom Tristram won in love.

¹ Dr. Ward thinks that this alderman, of Devonshire, "was probably the Athelmar the Great, whose son was executed by Cnut in 1017" (p. 450).

² Cf. *Carados*, *Caradoc*, *Caradot*; *Mordres*, *Mordrec*, *Mordret*; *Constans*, *Constant*; cf. *Anlaf*, *Anlans*, *Anlas*, in note 4, p. 34, above.

³ In KH: *Rimen(h)ild*, *Rymen(h)ild*, *Rimenyld*, *Rymenyld*, *Remenyld*, *Reymnyld*, *Rymenil*, *Reymild*, *Reymyld*, *Rymyld*, *Rimnyld*, *Reynyld*; in HR: *Rimenil*, *Rimnenil*, *Rimignil*, *Rigmel*, *Rimel*; HC has *Rinnild*.

⁴ Compare, however, A.-S. *Regenhild* (Searle, pp. 397, 572); *Rimhild*, p. 401; cf. also *Ragnell* in the romance of *The Weddyng of Sir Gawen* (ed. Madden, l. c., pp. 298^a ff.; cf. Child, I, 289 ff.).

The name of the king of Furness, who might have been a Briton,¹ is given in HR as *Modun* (*Modin*), for which KH has *Modi* (*Mody*). This seems to be a British name.² There was a *Madudhan* king of Ulster in 940.³ In the *Orkneyinga-saga* (ch. 5) mention is made of an Earl Moddan, chief of Caithness, who is said to have had many friends and relatives in Ireland, and who was surprised and slain by one Thorkel in 1017.

To recapitulate: *Horn* (*Godmod*), his father *Aalof*, his mother *Godhild*, his companions *Aþulf* and *Arnoldin*, the king of Ireland *Þurston* (or *Gudred*), and his two sons *Harild* and *Berild* (?), all bear names which may well be modifications of Norse forms; while the English king *Aylmar*, his daughter *Rimenhild*, and his steward *Aylbrus*, appear to have English names. The name of the rival suitor, *Modun*, on the other hand, looks British, but occurs in a Northern saga. Finally, the traitor *Fykel* (*Fikenhild*) seems to have been given an Anglo-Saxon name suitable to his character.

VI.

If, then, the names of the persons as well as of the places are Norse, or such as were familiar to Norsemen, the inference lies near that the story of Horn was originally a Norse saga. By "Norse" I mean here Norwegian-Icelandic. The story as first recorded seems to me an outgrowth of the Norwegian,

¹ See the passage concerning Cuthbert, quoted above, p. 16, note.

² *Maddan* is the name of a British king in Geoffrey (Bk. II, ch. 6). A bishop of Scotland called *Modan* is mentioned in the *Metrical Chron. of Scotland*, Rolls Series, II, 190, 639.—Morsbach (p. 310) connects *Modi* with the O. N. *Móði* (Thor's son) and suggests that the *-in* in the parallel form may be a French ending; but this is quite unlikely. Hartenstein (p. 132) suggests A.-S. *Mód-wine* (?).—In *Horn Child* the spelling *Moïoun* is a corruption of *Modun*, and *Moging* of *Modin*. As for the latter, cf. *Magan* = *Madan* in *Lazamon*, 15748, and the various spellings of Merlin, such as *Marling* (id., II, 237 ff.). Searle (p. 352) has *Möding*; but this is doubtless another name.

³ See Moore, *History of the Isle of Man*, I, 91.

and not the Danish,¹ incursions on England, and to date therefore from the ninth or tenth centuries when Norwegian settlements flourished in "The Western Isles." Whether the saga be a record of actual events or not, it reflects the life in Great Britain during an impressive period, when Northerners held control of Western waters, when the lands along the coast were never secure against viking depredations, when kings ruled in petty principalities only so long as they were able to resist encroachment and invasion, and when control passed suddenly from men of one nation to those of another. During this period the Isle of Man was a centre of viking influence, a meeting place for opposing forces, an ever-coveted vantage-ground for invading fleets.² The events of the story

¹ This word has for ages been used with deplorable looseness.

² "From the first arrival of the Vikings, till about 850," says Mr. Moore, "Man with its unfortunate inhabitants was probably at the mercy of any powerful marauders who thought it worth plundering. Then came the period of settlement, after which for nearly a century, it seems to have been ruled by a dynasty subject to the Scandinavian kings of Dublin and Northumbria, and probably of the same family, if not occasionally identical with them. This was followed by a brief subjection to the Scandinavian rulers of Limerick, from whose hands Man fell, towards the end of the tenth century, into those of the earls of Orkney. The power, which continued till about 1060, was exercised through subordinates, who were, latterly, of the Dublin line of kings whose predecessors had ruled it previously. From 1060 to 1079 it again fell into the hands of Dublin. As to the suzerainty of Norway, it seems to have been, for the most part, merely nominal, though it was probably more felt during the time of Orkney than of Dublin rule. It must, however, be borne in mind that there is much room for conjecture about the events of this period; all, in fact, we can state with certainty is that Man inevitably became the prey of the strongest ruler in the western seas for the time being" (*History of the Isle of Man*, I, 99-100).

It should be observed that, according to HR, the ruling families of Ireland (Westir), Sudene, and Orkenie were intimate. The king of Dublin remarks concerning the hero's home:

Bien conois le pais . en Suddene fui ia.

E bien conui Aaluf . le bon rei ki i regna.

Prist mei a cumpaignun . sun aueir me dona. (2361 ff.)

Later he speaks "Del bon rei Aalof . ki esteit mun iure" (3781). At his court was a son of the king of Orkenie who waited upon the princess. (2450; cf. 3575.)

appear most natural located there. They are such as might have been experienced by the Norwegians who were preponderant in its control,¹ such as they would have been likely to record.

Northern sagas abound in passages descriptive of viking expeditions by way of the Orkneys into the Irish sea.² The careers of warriors thus journeying in quest of adventure and fame were often commemorated in contemporary verse.³ They were kept in memory by their friends and relatives in succeeding generations. Orally transmitted for centuries before being written down, the facts growing dimmer and dimmer in the ever-increasing obscurity of the past, the final written records contained fable as well as fact. What were at bottom narratives of actual events thus often appeared later with strange accretions due to popular desire, in the guise of elaborate fiction.

Is the tale of Horn and Rimenhild of such a nature? Was Horn an historical personage whose career formed the

¹ This has been clearly shown by Dr. Alex. Bugge, who writes as follows :

"From the time of Olav Kvaran, members of the same race were kings of Dublin and of Man, and often the same person ruled both kingdoms. There is no doubt that the Norse settlers in Ireland and in the Isle of Man belonged to the same people. Nearly thirty Runic inscriptions have been found in Man—probably from the end of the 11th century. Only one of these is in Swedish; all the others are written in the Norwegian language, not one being in Danish. And we all know that probably from the time of Harald Haarfagre, and at any rate from the end of the 11th century down to 1266, the Isle of Man was a dependency of Norway. This proves that the Norsemen in the Isle of Man were Norwegians" (*The Norsemen in Ireland*, p. 11). Cf. Moore, *History*, I, 84 ff.; A. Goodrich-Treer, *Outer Isles*, Westminster, 1902, "The Norsemen in the Hebrides," pp. 272 ff.

² Compare, for example, *Eyrbyggja Saga*, chaps. I, xxix; Johnstone, *Antiquitates Celto-Scandiacae*, Copen., 1786, passim.

³ Hallfreth Vandræðaskáld thus refers to a journey to the West made by his patron, the famous king, Olaf Tryggvason: "The young king waged war against the English and made a slaughter of the Northumbrians. He destroyed the Scots far and wide. He had a sword-play in Man. The archer-king brought death to the Islanders [of the Western Islands] and Irish; he battled with the dwellers in the land of the British [Wales], and cut down the Cumbrian folk" (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, II, 95).

basis for romantic narrative? Or has in his case, as in so many others, the hero of a folk-tale simply been given "a local habitation and a name?" These are questions to which no certain answer can now be given. I can produce no evidence to connect Horn clearly with any Northern hero of the name. But still probability seems to me to favor the hypothesis that the story before us is fact plus fable rather than the reverse.

We are fortunate to have in Old Norse an instance of this combination—a saga dealing with an historical personage of the tenth century where truth has received poetic embellishment. The saga of Gunnlaug Serpent-tongue and Helga the Fair¹ was not, I believe, dissimilar in origin to that of Horn and Rimenhild. Actually, of course, they are in no way connected; but there are certain likenesses between them in both theme and manner of treatment which show that they reflect like conditions, echo like sentiments, and were perhaps once fashioned in the same style.

Gunnlaug, the son of Illugi, a prominent chieftain in Iceland, when fifteen years old leaves his father's home and travels to the land of Thorstein, a neighboring chieftain, who receives him well and invites him to remain there. He is given instruction in law² by Thorstein and conducts himself well. His chief satisfaction the young man finds in play with Thorstein's daughter Helga, reputed to be the fairest woman in Iceland. Quickly the two become enamored of each other, and their association is not interrupted for some time until it becomes known that Gunnlaug wishes to make Helga his wife. Thorstein, however, is strongly opposed to the plan, and insists that their betrothal must at least be postponed a long period. Gunnlaug is required to leave the country for three years and seek distinction abroad, during which time Helga shall wed no other. If he does not return by then, however, she shall again be free. Gunnlaug procures a ship and sails "out" with certain companions. He touches first at Norway, but soon betakes himself to England. There Ethelred then ruled and Norse was understood at his court. The hero secures an audience with him, greets him well and answers fittingly the king's inquiries as to his origin. Being a very handsome youth, of great physical strength

¹ *Gunnlaugssaga Ormstungu*, ed. Mogk, Halle, 1886.

² Cf. *Hornchild*, 272 ff.: "He bad Harlaund schuld him lere | þe riȝt forto se | þe lawes boþe eld & newe."

and uncommon boldness, and skilful as a poet, he finds distinguished favor with Ethelred and is fortunate enough to rid him of one of his worst enemies. Single-handed he slays a gigantic bearsark whom the king has long feared, and on this account wins not only Ethelred's gratitude, but "great fame in England and far about in other places." After remaining a while there, Gunnlaug asks the king's permission to leave. The latter grants it reluctantly, because he appreciates his accomplishments and bravery, and urges him to return. Gunnlaug promises to do so and then sails to Dublin (Dyffin), over which then ruled the Scandinavian king Sigtrygg, son of Olaf Kvaran. There too he is welcomed and given presents. He does not, however, remain long but continues his journey to the Orkneys, afterwards to Sweden, and finally returns to England.

Meanwhile a rival in Iceland, by name Hrafn (Raven), has pressed suit for Helga and an arrangement has been made that she shall be married to him on a certain day at the expiration of the three years' tryst. "But Helga thought all ill of the arrangements." She is unalterably attached to Gunnlaug and will marry no other but by necessity. Her lover, however, ignorant of her trouble, remains with Ethelred at his urgent request to assist him in his strife with hostile Danes. Peace being secured, he returns home in all haste to Iceland, is informed on the way of Helga's approaching marriage, and arrives upon the scene while the celebration is in progress. As for Helga, "it was the saying of most men that the bride was sad; that is true, as is said, that one remembers long what happens in one's youth; now it goes to her so."

We need not follow the story farther except to say that Gunnlaug is prevented from making an attempt to recover Helga, but afterwards slays his rival in a duel, and dies himself from a wound treacherously delivered him by his opponent. Helga's devotion to her lover was manifest at all times. She ended her life gazing fondly on a scarlet mantle which Gunnlaug had given her, a present that Ethelred had made him in gratitude for great service.

The agreements of this story with that of Horn and Rimenbild are noteworthy: the position, age, beauty, and accomplishments of the hero; his early departure from home and welcome by a neighboring lord who gave him instruction; his association with his host's beautiful daughter by whom he is ardently loved; the opposition of the father to the marriage; the necessity of his departure from the country; the love-tryst of three (seven) years; his journey to foreign lands (to Dublin in both cases); his flattering reception by foreign monarchs; the service he renders them against their enemies; their reluctance to have him leave

them; his hurried journey home to his betrothed; his learning on the way of her enforced marriage to a rival suitor; his arrival upon the scene while the feast is being celebrated; her joy at his return and unwavering affection.—These are surely worthy of consideration. They indicate not the slightest historical connection between the two stories, but do establish the fact that in general character they are sufficiently alike to make it probable that like that of Gunnlaug and Helga the love of Horn and Rimenhild was once recounted in Old Norse.

It should be noticed, moreover, that the two narratives have certain stylistic features in common. Conspicuous among these is the device of dreams for motivating conduct. The whole career of Helga is outlined to Thorstein in a dream, even as Rimenhild dreams of the interruption of her happiness with Horn. Hrafn dreams of his approaching conflict with his rival, even as Horn of Fikenhild's treachery. Dreams, indeed, are very characteristic of Old Norse story,¹ and in two other instances appear in the *Gunnlaugssaga* before us.

This saga is at bottom history. Gunnlaug is an historical personage who was born in 983 and died in 1009. He visited England in 1001 and Dublin the following year. Still the saga in its present shape is not all trustworthy. Apart from the matter of anticipatory dreams, which are incredibly precise, we observe such folklore features as Hrafn's treachery towards the hero, his pleading for a drink out of his helmet that he might get his opponent off his guard, and his fighting on his stump after his leg is off, of which abundant parallels have been collected.² History is sometimes wrenched a little for artistic effect. In order to account for the hero's slow return to Iceland, it is said that he remained in England at the urgent request of Ethelred, whose retainer he was, to aid him

¹ Cf. Henzen, *Die Träume in der altnord. Sagaliteratur*, Leip., 1890.

² See Child, *Ballads*, Parts VI, 306; VIII, 502; IX, 244; X, 298. On Gunnlaug's "trick of reserving a peculiarly formidable sword," a commonplace in Northern sagas, see Part III, 35, note.

in opposing the Danes, for Svein Forkbeard was then dead and King Cnut threatened invasion. This was in 1006 and Cnut did not succeed Svein until 1014. It is not likely true moreover that the "holmgang" of Gunnlaug and Hrafn was the last of its kind, and of itself brought about the disestablishment of that ancient institution. But above all, it is here noteworthy that the whole saga is conceived as an artistic whole, and kept within strict bounds. It is simply the enaction of the events in a dream. Thorstein dreamed one night that, while before his house, he saw on the ridge a fair and beautiful swan which seemed to be his. From the fells flew a great eagle and alighted beside the swan and conversed with her, and she seemed pleased. Then another eagle flew thither from another direction and strove to win her. Thereupon the two birds fought fiercely and long, and finally both fell from the ridge, one on each side of the house, and both died. The swan remained after, but was sad. Then came a hawk and sat beside her and was blithe towards her, and the two flew away together in the same direction. Whereupon the chieftain awoke. This dream is interpreted to Thorstein so plainly as having reference to the career of a daughter yet unborn that he makes every provision for her "exposure" when she comes to life; but his designs are thwarted, and the saga unfolds itself in strict accordance with the dream.

Similarly, the saga of Horn was artistically rounded. It was fashioned in the likeness of a common form of story favored in England, known as the "exile and return" type. The present introduction is about as likely to be true as that in the *Gunnlaugssaga*. The account of the boy's exposure in a rudderless boat which carries him unknown to a foreign land where he is brought up by strangers, certainly looks like romantic embellishment.¹ But apart from this there is

¹ See Mr. Hall's note (edition, pp. 102-103), where he cites, among other passages, the following from William of Malmesbury (*De Gestis Regum Brit.*, I, 121): "Iste (Sceaf) ut ferunt, in quandam insulam Germaniae

practically nothing at all in the narrative as preserved in the most primitive version, namely KH, which might not have happened in actual life.¹ The story is entirely devoid of the marvellous. The ring which in later versions has magic properties had none at first. It was simply a memento of the lady whose name was engraven upon it, a keepsake which would serve to inspire the hero to his best effort in struggle (569 ff.). Another of the same kind Rimenhild gave to Horn's foster-brother Apulf. Certain exaggerations, to be sure, appear in the popular versions of the story alone preserved, as, for example, when in KH Horn is represented as slaying an hundred pirates (l. 616); but this was simply a round number introduced by a late minstrel for effect. On the whole, the story is singularly free of the extravagant or improbable. It contains no more fiction, perhaps, than the sagas of the old kings of Norway, like Olaf Tryggvason, or even Asser's life of our own King Alfred, certainly not so much as the popular accounts of Hereward, Fulk Fitz Warren, or Eustace the Monk, these last historical persons of a later period.

On the contrary, it is interesting to observe how strictly our story is in accord with actual occurrence. It affords

Scandzam, de qua Jordanes, historiographus Gothorum, loquitur appulsus, navi sine remige, puerulus, posito ad caput frumenti manipulo, dormiens, ideoque Sceaf nuncupatus, ab hominibus regionis illius pro miraculo exceptus, et sedulo nutritus: adulta aetate regnavit in oppido quod tunc Slaswic, nunc vero Haithebi appellatur" ("cf. Ethelwerd, M. H. B., p. 512"). Attention has also been called to the fact that Athelstan is said to have set his brother Eadwine adrift in a boat (Lappenberg, *England under the A.-S. Kings*, London, 1845, II, iii). Let me add a reference to the interesting story of Mordred, prince of Orkanie (as recorded in the 13th-century prose *Merlin*, ed. G. Paris and J. Ulrich, S. A. T. F., Paris, 1886, I, 204 ff.), who was shipwrecked in the Irish sea and borne by the waves in his cradle to shore, where he was discovered by strangers who nourished him and brought him up. Note also that Arthur exposed a large number of noble youth in a rudderless boat to the mercy of the sea, to save the land of Logres, as he believed, from misfortune; but the boat came safely to land and the youth were welcomed to a neighboring castle (*id.*, 207 ff.).

¹ Whether or not it really did, is another question.

reliable pictures of what actually happened in the epoch of the Norwegian depredations in the Western Isles. Note, for example, the coming of the heathen vikings to Sudene. King Murry discovers this as he rides by the sea one summer's day :

He fond bi þe stronde	and þe selue riȝt anon,
ariued on his londe	ne schaltu today henne gon.'
schipes fiftene
wiþ Sarazins kene. ¹	þe pains come to londe
He axede what isoȝte	& neme hit in here honde :
Oþer to londe broȝte	pat folc hi gunne quelle
A Payn hit of herde	& churchen for to felle.
& hym wel sone answared :	þer ne moste libbe
'þi lond folk we schulle slon	þe fremde ne þe sibbe
and alle þat Crist luueþ vpon	But hi here laȝe asoke
	& to here toke. ² (35 ff.)

Horn's mother escapes the general destruction and manages to worship the Christian God in a lonely cavern.

Vnder a roche of stone,
 þer heo liuede alone,
 þer heo seruede gode
 Aȝenes þe paynes forbode,
 þer he seruede Criste
 þat no payn hit ne wiste.³ (73 ff.)

¹As Mr. Hall notes (ed., p. 97): "The following passage describing the first appearance of the Danes in England forms a good parallel. 'Regnante Byrlhtrico rege piissimo super partes Anglorum occidentales . . . advecta est subito Danorum ardua non nimia classis, dromones numero tres; ipsa et advectio erat prima. Audito etiam, exactor regis, jam morans in oppido quod Dorceastre nuncupatur, equo insilivit, cum paucis praecurrat ad portum, putans eos magis negotiatores esse quam hostes et praecipiens eos imperio, ad regiam villam pelli iussit: a quibus ibidem occiditur ipse et qui cum eo erant.' Ethelwerdi Chronicorum, lib. iii (M. H. B., p. 509)."

²To quote again from Mr. Hall (p. 98): "The Northern heathen behaved with peculiar barbarity to Christian clergy and buildings. The following entry is of a type frequent in the earlier chronicles: 'Verum Majus Monasterium, quod non longe a Turonis erat, funditus eversum centum viginti monachos, bis binos minus, ibidem gladio percusserunt, praeter abbatem et viginti quatuor alios qui cavernis terrae latitantes evaserunt,' Chroniques d'Anjou, i, p. 49."

³Good evidence that such a situation was not uncommon is afforded by Jocelin in his Life of St. Patrick: 'Tempus autem tenebrarum Hibernici

The value of KH, moreover, as a source of genuine information regarding the manners and customs of early Scandinavians and Germanic peoples has been strongly emphasized by Wissmann¹ and others, and needs no further remark here. In all respects it is found to accord with information on the subject available elsewhere, notably such as is given by Saxo Grammaticus, the twelfth century Danish historian.

Before leaving this part of the discussion, I should like to call attention to a famous journey of a Norseman to Ireland, which resembles that of Horn in more than one particular—to that, namely, of Olaf the Peacock thither in 955, as recorded in the *Laxdoela Saga*² (ch. 21).

Olaf was the son of an Icelandic chieftain, by name Hoskuld. His mother was an Irish princess who had been carried from home and enslaved when but fifteen years old. She secretly taught her boy Irish and when he grew up urged him to visit her father west over sea. Provided with a great gold ring that her father had given her as a child and other tokens, he set sail to Norway with a ship-captain named Orn (Horn). There King Harald showed him great favor and friendship. "Then Harald the king asked how old a man he was. Olaf answered, 'I am now eighteen winters.' The king replied, 'Of exceeding worth, indeed, are such men as you, for as yet you have left the age of child but a short way behind; and be sure to come and see us when you come back again.'" In the king's opinion, "no goodlier man had in their day come out of Iceland." With a company of sixty armed men Olaf sailed to Ireland. Hardly had he come to land when he was observed by people congregated on the shore. When they discovered that the visitors were in warlike array, they fled straightway to their king fearing that a viking host was upon them. "So now the Irish break their journey, and run all together to a village near. Then there arose great murmur in the crowd,

illud autumant quo prius Gurmundus, ac postea Turgesius, Noruagienses principes pagani in Hibernia debellata regnabant. In illis enim diebus Sancti in cavernis et speluncis, quasi carbones cineribus cooperti, latitabant a facie impiorum qui eos tota die quasi ones occisionis mortificabant.' Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 104 (quoted Hall, edition, p. 99).

¹ *Anglia*, iv, 342-400; McKnight, *The Germanic Elements in the Story of King Horn* (*Pubs. of the Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, xv, 1900, 221 ff.); Hall, edition, passim (cf. pp. 94, 96, 97, 121, 127, 135, 144, 145, etc.)

² Ed. Kr. Kaalund, Copen., 1889-91; trans. Muriel A. C. Press, Temple Classics, 1899, pp. 55 ff.

as they deemed that, sure enough, this must be a warship, and that they must expect many others; so they sent speedily word to the king, which was easy, as he was at that time a short way off, feasting. Straightway he rides with a company of men to where the ship was." Thereupon followed a parley in which Olaf explained who he was and showed his ring. Convinced of their kinship, the king invited him and his followers to Dublin and they dwelt there with him. Thus we read: "The king was seldom at rest, for at that time the lands in the west were at all times raided by war-bands. The king drove from his land that winter both vikings and raiders. Olaf was with his suite in the king's ship, and those who came against them thought his was indeed a grim company to deal with. The king talked over with Olaf and his followers all matters needing counsel, for Olaf proved himself to the king both wise and eager-minded in all deeds of prowess. But towards the latter end of the winter the king summoned a Thing, and great numbers came. The king stood up and spoke. He began his speech thus: 'You all know that last autumn there came hither a man who is the son of my daughter, and high-born also on his father's side; and it seems to me that Olaf is a man of such prowess and courage that here such men are not to be found. Now I offer him my kingdom after my day is done, for Olaf is much more suitable for a ruler than my own sons.' Olaf thanked him for this offer with many graceful and fair words, and said he would not run the risk as to how his sons might behave when Myrkjartan was no more,—said it was better to gain swift honour than lasting shame; and added that he wished to go to Norway when ships could safely journey from land to land, and that his mother would have little delight in life if he did not return to her. The king bade Olaf do as he thought best." Olaf parted from the king with the greatest friendship and sailed back to Norway and thence to Iceland. On account of this journey he gained great fame. Soon after his return he married Thorgerd, a sister of Thorstein Egilsson, the father of Helga, Gunnlaug's beloved. "Every one who saw Olaf remarked what a handsome man he was, and how noble his bearing, well arrayed as he was as to weapons and clothes" (ch. 22).

Such works as the *Laxdoela Saga* and the *Gunnlaugs Saga* are the records of events preserved for centuries in oral tradition. Yet not being subjected to much outside influence, developing among people who had a fine feeling for truth in narrative, they are in the main exact. Being recorded in prose, the happenings appear more real than if they had been elaborated in verse. The story of Horn and Rimenhild was likewise first orally transmitted. But it was perpetuated by foreigners, who treated it as fiction, and it was recast in

poetic form. Inevitably it assumed a certain resemblance to foreign models after which it was fashioned, and it reflected to some extent the sentiments of the redactors. In a crusading epoch we are not surprised to have heathen vikings envisaged by the French as pagan Saracens,¹ or their leaders as giants. Nor does it startle us that Horn, even in the most primitive version, is pictured as a romantic warrior, whose fairness of itself lighted a bower (KH, l. 385).²

Fairer ne mihte non beo born
 Ne no rein vpon birine,
 Ne sunne vpon bischine:
 Fairer nis non þane he was,
 He was briȝt so þe glas,
 He was whit so þe flur,
 Rose red was his colur. (10 ff.)

After being "dubbede to kniȝte wiȝ swerd & spures briȝte" (499), there was nothing else possible for such a hero than that he should demean himself, as he declares his desire to do, according to the conventions of chivalry.

Also hit mot bitide, Mid spere i schal furst ride, & mi kniȝthod proue, Ar ihc þe ginne to woȝe. We beȝ kniȝtes ȝonge, Of o dai al isprunge, & of ure mestere So is þe manere	Wiȝ sume oþere kniȝte Wel for his lemman fiȝte, Or he eni wif take: For þi me stondeȝ þe more rape. Today, so Crist me blesse, <i>Ihc wulle do pruesse</i> <i>For þi luue in þe felde</i> ³ Mid.spere & mid schelde. (543 ff.)
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All this, however, is external decoration. The picture of Horn has been touched up and given a new frame. But it remains in KH the tale of an adventurous Norse youth who had experiences similar to those of Gunnlaug and Olaf in the West. It was, indeed, not uncommon in early viking

¹ See Wissmann, *Anglia*, iv, 333 ff.

² Cf. HR 1053. "De la belte de Horn tute la chambre resplent."

³ Geoffrey of Monmouth says (Bk. IX, ch. 14) that in Arthur's time ladies "esteemed none worthy of their love but such as had given a proof of their valor in three several battles."

times to have noble youths brought up among strangers until they came to maturity, and given aid by them to recover lands of which they had been forcibly deprived. Even without the spur of necessity occasionally applied, ambitious warriors travelled widely in the path of adventure. They went from one court to another to obtain knowledge of the world and experience of men. Assistance in war was desired by chieftains everywhere, and strong fighters were gladly received by any king. Personal bravery was above all lauded in this age of independent achievement and valorous deeds won ever substantial reward, even to the hand of a princess and the control of a kingdom. Were visitors to foreign courts also accomplished in music, poetry, or manly sports, they were thrice welcome; for festivities were as frequent as combats, and some "abridgement" was necessary to "beguile the lazy time." In pastimes of various sorts men and women associated and deep attachments were then naturally formed. We have many instances of international marriages between historical personages which were productive of important political results, many cases where the love of great leaders o'ermastered their prudence and led to the rash imperilling of their own and their followers' lives. The story of Horn and Rimenhild is the natural product of such conditions. In my opinion, it was originally an Old Norse saga recording what were possibly actual events of the tenth century, but in the guise of romance, and with certain accretions of fancy which became attached to it in the course of a long period of varied transmission.¹

¹ "We must remember," says Dr. Alex. Bugge, "that for centuries the Norsemen held sway in Erin, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man. It is, therefore, easy to understand that their rule, their wars, their victories and defeats, must still be remembered in many ways" (*Norse Element in Gaelic Tradition of Modern Times*, p. 26). Morsbach, too, was right in saying: "Die schöne romanze vom 'König Horn' erinnert uns wie kaum ein anderes Denkmal so lebhaft an jene zeit, in welcher Angelsachsen, Skandinavien und Franzosen sich zu gemeinsamer kulturarbeit auf englischem Boden zusammenfanden" (p. 323).

This theory, it will be observed, is opposed to any hitherto held. Four different explanations of the origin of the story have in the past been offered. An old view maintained by various writers from Grimm's¹ time on, that it was of German origin, is now seldom maintained. It was based on a misapprehension of the meaning of the Germanic names in HR and a false assumption regarding *Sudene*. More recent scholars, such as ten Brink, Körting, Suchier, Morsbach, and others, recognized its Scandinavian character, but again, chiefly because of the wrong identification of Horn's home, or a misunderstanding of the opening of *Horn Child*, believed it Danish. Körting even conjectured that it might have been brought over by the Danish settlers when first they came to England.² Ward, Söderhjelm, McKnight, Hartenstein, and others, have thought that it arose in the south of England, largely because the name of Surrey in Gaimar's chronicle was identical with that of Horn's abode. Following the same line of thought, Hall has recently advanced again³ the untenable theory that the story was at bottom British. These theories have all seemed unsatisfactory even to those who framed them. Manifest difficulties have in each instance been acknowledged, and the situation has invariably been declared obscure. On the contrary, the hypothesis of Norse origin offers a reasonable solution to the whole problem. It explains the agreement of the story with similar sagas of the North and the actual occurrences that they record, enables us to determine definitely the scene of action, clears up the darkness surrounding the names of persons and places, and will be found, I think, to throw light on its development.

¹*Museum f. altd. kunst u. Litt.*, Berlin, 1811, II, 303 ff; cf. Stimming, *Engl. Studien*, I, 355; Wülker, *Gesch. d. engl. Litt.*, 1896, p. 98.

²Cf. also Morsbach, p. 298.

³Nyrop (*Den Oldfranske Helteedigtning*, Cop., 1883, p. 219) thought it "efter al Sandsynlighed et rent bretonsk Sagn eller rettere Æventyr."

VI.

The history of the story in literary form is not easy to trace. A great deal of discussion has arisen concerning the interrelation of the extant versions, and the most divergent views are held. It is not my purpose to give here a *résumé* of previous opinion, but rather to state simply my own idea of how the story was developed and preserved.

That the narrative was, in the first instance, an actual Norse tradition, I have endeavored to show. We have no evidence, however, that in this form it was ever committed to writing, and probability is not much in favor of the supposition. On the contrary, there is good reason to believe that it became literature in Anglo-Saxon. So far as *Horn* is concerned, we have no express statement to that effect; but of its companion poem *Aalof* and of the similar romances of *Tristan* and *Waldef*,¹ we have definite evidence that English versions existed before the Norman Conquest, and of *Waldef* at least that the form was metrical.² Note the following passage from the last-named poem :

Ceste estoire [Waldef] est molt amée,
e des Engles molt recordée,
des princes, des ducs e des reis.

¹ C. Sachs, *Beiträge zur Kunde altfranz., engl. u. provenz. Literatur aus franz. u. engl. Bibliotheken*, Berlin, 1857, p. 47. This poem, not yet published, is said to contain ca. 22000 lines. It is contained in "ms. Middlehill, 8345—cf. Cat. Libr. Manuscript, in Bibl. D. Thomae Philipps, etc., 1837" (Hartenstein, p. 110 n.). Cf. Suchier, *Gesch.*, p. 113. The passage quoted is commented on by G. Paris, *Rom.*, xiv, 604 ff.; Sudre, *Rom.*, xv, 555; Söderhjelm, *Rom.*, xv, 576; Röttiger, *Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung*, Hamburg, 1897, p. 8.

² The fifteenth century Latin translation of this romance by John Bramis, monk of Thetford, begins: "Primitus subsequens regis Waldei filiorumque historia suorum *in lingua anglica metricè composita et deinde ad instanciam cujusdam femine que ipsam penitus linguam nesciret quam non alio quam amice nomine voluit indagare a quodam in linguam gallicam est translata. at vero nouissime eandem historiam . . . muneribus compulsus sum . . . in latinum transferre sermonem.*" (Sachs, p. 51; ms. 329 of Corpus Christi, Cambridge.)

mult iert amée des Engleis,
 des petites gens e des granz
 jusqu' a la prise des Normanz . . .
 puis i ad asez translátées,
 qui molt sunt de plusurs amées
 com est Bruit, com est Tristram
 qui tant suffri poine et hahan,
 co est Aelof li bon rois. . . .

This statement we readily believe, for only by an English intermediary could the material have easily become accessible to the Normans. Other evidence, moreover, supports the assumption of antecedent probability: as we have already seen, there was in the original of KH and HR an English pun on the name of the hero.¹ In HR, moreover, English words appear, which, taken along with other considerations of language and metre, show that the poem was composed in England.²

There is a prevalent opinion that this lost Anglo-Saxon romance was the direct source of KH. It is repeatedly stated that this is the one exception to the rule that all English romances are drawn from the French. But unfortunately this statement is not well founded. Much as we should like to believe that KH descends directly from an early English poem without mediation of the French, it looks as if that view could no longer be sustained. My own consideration of the proper names of the poem, particularly *Sudene*, showed me that they were such as could be satisfactorily explained only on the hypothesis of a French original. And very recently Morsbach has given good support to this view by independent study along the same lines.³ *Ailmar*, *Ailbrus*,

¹ See above, p. 29.

² Not necessarily, however, that it was based directly on an English work, as most have assumed. The oath *witegod* (C 4013), indeed, occurs in a part almost certainly added by Thomas; see below, pp. 64 ff. Cf. Madden, p. xlvii; *Hist. Litt.*, xxii, 55; Wissmann, *Untersuchungen*, p. 120; Hartenstein, pp. 26 f.

³ *Foerster-Festgabe*, Halle, 1902, pp. 297 ff.

Ayol, *Cutberd* (*Cubert*), *Arnoldin*, etc., to say nothing of *Sudene*, which Morsbach did not understand, are clearly French transformations of Germanic names, and pretty certainly point to a French redaction from which they were drawn. One or two French names might possibly have been introduced by an English writer, following an Anglo-Saxon original, because there was much French spoken in England, but it is hard to believe that practically all he could thus accidentally have transformed. It should also be observed that the language and metre of KH is far more French in character than we should expect if the poem were drawn directly from the Anglo-Saxon. In the C text appear 95 French rhymes¹ and the French element in the vocabulary is considerable. But, above all, the tone is quite unlike that of any Anglo-Saxon poem. It is sophisticated in the mediæval style.² The phraseology is marked by the conventions of foreign romance. Indeed, the more carefully we study the subject the more evident, I think, it becomes that the theory of purely native transmission is an assumption dictated chiefly by desire.

The arguments that in the past have been used to support the hypothesis are really of little weight. They are chiefly two, the simplicity of the story, and its so-called Germanic tone. These, however, one may readily admit without any consideration of the language of the redactors. If, as is

¹According to Hartenstein's count, pp. 114 ff. Yet Hartenstein, it should be said, decided, though with some hesitation, against a French source; and has apparently not been moved since by Morsbach's arguments (see *Engl. St.*, xxxi, 282 ff.). His objections will, I hope, disappear in consideration of the facts here adduced, concerning *Sudene*, *Modun*, etc.

²Cf. McKnight's discussion of the style of KH (edition, p. xx f.). Ten Brink says (*History of Eng. Lit.*, trans. Kennedy, I, 227): "The *Song of Horn* must be counted as a metrical romance, in view of its contents, its structure, its dress, and mounting. The age of romantic chivalry distinctly left its impress upon the material derived from an obscure transition period." He calls KH a *roman d'aventure* and notes that "the influence of the age of chivalric poetry upon manners and culture is unmistakable" (p. 231).

probable, the foundation of the story was Norse, and it was recorded in Anglo-Saxon, we should expect it to preserve the characteristics of Germanic works. Translation, of course, does not imply the elimination of early features. In truth, however, it is the popular rather than primitive appearance of KH that has chiefly led people to assert its independence of the French. But this is obviously due to the purpose of its production, its character as a "song" fashioned for public delivery. If KH is succinct and hurried, if it is in a native metre, and popularly presented, so also is *Sir Tristrem*, which we know to be nothing but a condensation of the work of the Norman Thomas. All sorts of native metres (alliteration as well as tail-rhyme and other strophes) never so employed by foreigners were utilized by Englishmen to transmit material taken from the French. If KH seems Saxon in tone, so also, and to a far greater degree, does the alliterative *Brut* of Lazamon, which, written earlier and vastly more national in language and spirit, is nevertheless in the main based on the French *roman* of Wace. There is not the least show of English patriotic feeling in KH, while Lazamon betrays it to the full. The stories of the English heroes *Waldef* (*Walpeof*), *Havelok*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Beves of Hampton*, *Hereward*, *Fulk Fitz Warren*, and others, were, it is well known, recorded in French. There is, indeed, as has already been said, no single instance where purely native transmission of an English romance is demonstrable, and the burden of proof—a heavy burden—rests on him who would claim it for *Horn*. I have given over unwillingly the view I have long had on this point, but it seems to me now impossible to maintain it with good reasons, and cogent arguments are distinctly opposed. KH, it seems to me most probable, is based on a Norman redaction of the Saxon account of Horn. Whether this redaction was in the form of a romance like Thomas's *Tristan*, or in that of a "Breton lay" like the *Lai d'Aveloc*, no one can say positively, and the matter is not of much consequence. The two forms are not, of course,

exclusive of each other. The story of Havelok, we remember, was narrated in French not only in lay but also in romance form.¹ Whether romance or lay, this French poem was probably written about the middle of the twelfth century, and was a simple and lucid narrative. From it was drawn directly KH, which shows no features that might not have been in its source, though it is unnecessary to assert that all were.²

Although the most primitive version is thus discovered to have passed through a Norman-French intermediary, this fact entails less consequence than might be supposed. It should be kept in mind that the basis of all the known redactions is without doubt an Anglo-Saxon account, which, had the Norman Conquest not occurred, would probably have perpetuated itself in the English vernacular. The mistake is frequently made of regarding native productions as foreign simply because they happen to have been written down in what we now regard as a foreign language. In the twelfth century French was familiar from birth to most of the Englishmen who had skill to write. Patriots then composed and recorded English works in French. Fortunately, we have the *Geste of King Horn* in a form which, in substance at least, is not unlike the original English treatment of the theme. Though ultimately Norse, it is in a very real sense an English story.

VII.

The extant Anglo-Norman poem called *Horn et Rimenhild* is plainly a more elaborate product. The story now appears amplified in incident, sophisticated in language, and feudal in tone—in a word, made over evidently in the style of the

¹ See Putnam, *The Lambeth Version of Havelok* (*Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Amer.*, xv, 1900, 1 ff.); cf. *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, ed. Skeat, Oxford, 1902, pp. xlvi ff.

² The original manuscript of KH is lost, the three extant copies being so unlike in details that recent editors have not tried to establish a critical text.

continental French epic. No longer a lay or romance, it has the semblance of a *chanson de geste*. There is no need to postulate as source of HR another poem than the French original of KH. That both HR and KH have in common the form *Sudene* (*Sudenne*) shows that they had probably the same source; for if HR had been drawn directly from the English this spelling would hardly have been the same in both cases. The writers of Anglo-Norman epics (such, for example, as *Beves*) working freely, inclined rather to substitute a localization in the East for scenes in their own neighborhood. It is a matter of surprise, indeed, that *Suðreye* was not at once made over into *Syrie*, Syria, by a writer in a Crusading epoch. In KH the heathen Norsemen are termed Saracens. This identification, which in the beginning was French, was probably already present in the original French romance from which not only it but also HR probably derive, and thus transformation in the style of the Carolingian epic was natural.

The early romance was revised by Thomas¹ with the intention of making it part of a cycle. The first section of the trilogy he planned was to deal with the history of Horn's father Aalof, the second with Horn himself, and the third with his son Hadermod. That the part concerning Aalof was written is clear, not only from the frequent references in HR itself to the story there developed, but also from the explicit statement of the author of *Waldef*, above quoted. The third part, on the contrary, we cannot be sure was written. Thomas informs us (5420 ff.) that not he but Gilimot his son was to accomplish the task. From the following passages in HR one might perhaps infer that a story of Hadermod had been developed; and that it was of the ordinary Crusading type, which *Horn* only by chance escaped.

¹ Note that Thomas had, as he says, a *parchemin* before him (HR, ll. 2933, 3981), or an *escrit* (l. 192).

- (a) Uncore est par cest Horn conquis regne Persan,
 E par le fiz cestui ki ore est en ahan,
 Ki paens destrurat d'ici qu'al flum Jordan.
 Nes i purrat tenses Mahum ne Teruagan. (O 82 ff.)
- (b) Le vaillant Hadermod de Rigmel engendrat
 Ki Asf[r]iche cunquist e que pus regnat
 E ki tuz ses parens de paens uengat
 De pruesce e de sen trestuz les ultreat. (O 5237 ff.)

We tremble to think what sort of a hotchpotch of adventure this trilogy would have offered if it had all been finished. How hard it would have been to straighten out the topography if Horn had actually been represented as conquering Persia, and his son as fighting victoriously against pagans by the river Jordan, and avenging on them there the wrongs of his father. In truth, however, no trace of any composition by Gilimot remains; and we may surmise that it was not executed for the same reason that seems to have kept Wirnt von Gravenberg, the author of *Wigalois*, from tracing the career of the hero's son *Li Fort Gawandides* as he promised, namely, the lack of sufficient appreciation and encouragement on the part of the public to which the poet appealed.¹ To judge from the plan outlined by Thomas, the work would not have been such as to make us greatly regret its loss.

Whether *Aalof* is a story of quite independent origin simply attached to *Horn* by the poet Thomas, who desired to round out the narrative of his hero in epic manner, or whether it is merely the elaboration of hints previously present in the source of KH, it is not now possible to ascertain definitely. The former view is certainly the more probable. Finding in his original certain vague information concerning Horn's father, King Allof of Moray (?), he introduced alien material to elaborate his account. Every Norse saga tells briefly of the parentage of the heroes, yet without lingering long to do so. But it was the custom

¹ Cf. my *Studies on the Libeaus Desconus* (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, IV, 1895, pp. 2, 212).

of chivalrous poets to present the exploits of succeeding generations in long-drawn-out narrative.

So far as we can tell from the summary of *Aalof* in HR (250 ff.), it was sufficiently like *Horn* to have been reasonably considered as a suitable counterpart; for it too was one of the numerous tales modelled on the familiar "exile and return" formula. Horn's father, we learn, was a foundling, kindly reared by a king named Silaf (Silaus). When he grew up he was discovered to be of royal lineage, the son of Goldeburc, daughter of Baderolf, emperor of Germany, and Silaf gave him the princess Samburc to wife. Previously he had distinguished himself by his prowess and worthy deeds, overcoming many heathen warriors, but had been the victim of calumny on the part of a traitor Denerey. We infer that these unjust accusations concerned his relations with the princess and no doubt resembled those directed against Horn by Wikel (who in HR is represented as the nephew of this traitor), and that, being in some way vindicated and his real origin recognized, he was decreed the king's heir. After Silaf's death he assumed power and for ten years defended well his realm against the heathen until finally he was overcome by an invading host and put to death. His son, however, lived to achieve revenge for this disaster. Not perhaps until this story was joined to that of Horn, was the hero given the name Aalof or his land called Sudene.

Without by any means endeavoring to fix the source, but simply to show a similar story recorded, I would call attention to the narrative of a foundling like Aalof, which is related in that part of the saga of Olaf Tryggvason which deals with the Danish kings of Northumberland.¹

Olaf, surnamed "the Englishman," ruled in Northumberland, tributary to King Ring of Denmark. One of his descendants was Gorm, who had many thralls. Some of the latter discovered a child, evidently of noble

¹ Chs. 61, 62; trans. Sephton, pp. 75 ff.; see below, p. 68, n. 1.

origin, exposed in a forest. They bore him to the king who christened the child Knut, because of a knot tied in the fine linen wherein he was wrapped. "He was brought up in the king's court," we read in the saga, "and quickly showed cleverness and skill beyond his contemporaries. King Gorm, having no son of his own, loved his foster-child, Knut, to such a degree that he adopted him as his own son, esteeming him so far above all his own kinsmen as to make him his successor in the kingdom. He was called Knut the Foundling. King Gorm's reign over the land was not of long duration, and he died a natural death; but before he expired he caused Knut to be chosen king over all the realm that he held in Jutland." Later, Knut is informed from the Saxon thralls who had exposed him that he was the son of a much-loved sister of an Earl Arnfinn, ruler over the land of Holdseta, and that they had been bidden make away with him that the affair might be kept secret. "Wherefore he was called Thrall-Knut. He had a son whom he named Gorm, after his foster-father. The reign of Thrall-Knut was not a long one and yet he was a famous king. After Knut, his son Gorm was made king and reigned subject to the sons of Ragnar Lothbrok, being regarded with special favour by Sigurd Snake i' th' eye."

Some such story as this may well have formed the basis of the romance of *Aalof*, being adapted by Thomas to elaborate the career of Horn's father previously given in but vague outline. Thomas intended thus to enhance the reputation of his chief hero, even as in Arthurian romance later Galahad was represented as the son of Lancelot and his counterpart Parzival as the father of Lohengrin. In like manner, in Old Norse saga, Ragnar Lothbrok was connected by a fictitious marriage with Sigurth and the Volsungs. The names in HR indicate that the story of Aalof was not in origin Norse, but West Germanic. By means of the combination of the two stories, names appear in HR which were evidently not there in the beginning: Baderolf, emperor of Germany, his daughter Goldeburc and brother Haderof (Harderon); King Silaf (Silaus), and his daughter Samburc; the seneschal Hardred and his sons Haderof and Badelac; the daughters of the king of Ireland Lemburc and Sudburc, who marry two of Hardred's sons; the whole group of African kings Gudbrant, Sultan of Persia, and his six brothers, Rodmund, Rollac, Gudolf, Egolf, Hildebrant, and Herebrant, and perhaps

others. These were as foreign to the primitive story of Horn as that of the hero's son Hadermod. Grimm and the rest who in the past have utilized them to establish the German origin of the tale were plainly at fault.

A new character, likewise introduced from alien saga, though perhaps not so remote in origin, is that of *Batolf*, whom Thomas represents as a son of the king of Britain, Rimenhild's brother, and the composer of a lay on the subject of his sister's love. That this is a late addition is obvious if only from the fact that Horn is pictured as singing it in Ireland before his love was consummated, during the period of his first separation from Rimenhild, while he was ignorant of her condition. Under an assumed name, the hero is dwelling at the court of the Irish king, where he ever distinguishes himself anew by his skill in manly sports, hunting, chess, and music. The king's daughter conceives a passion for him, but he holds aloof from any entanglement. One evening, after he has finished a game of chess with her, the young princes suggest that she play on the harp and she accedes. She harps two lays, and would, she explains, gladly harp another, but of it she knew only half; her dearest wish was to know the whole. It was the lay of *Batolf* concerning Rimel's love for Horn, which already was known to fame. Each of the others then harps a lay in turn.

A cel tens sorent tuit harpe bien manier
Cum plus fu gentilz hom e plus sout del mestier. (2824 f.)

Finally the instrument comes into the hands of the disguised hero, and all marvel at his wondrous skill.

Lors prent la harpe a sei, si comence a temprer.
Deu ! ki dunc l'esgardast com il la sot manier,
cum ses cordes tuchot, cum les feseit trembler,
asquantes fait chanter, askantes organer,
de l'armonie del ciel li pureit remembrer.
Sur tuz ceus ke i sont fait cist a merveiller.
Kant celes notes a fait, prent s'en a munter
e par tut autres tons fet les cordes soner.

Kant il ot issi fait, si cumence a noter
 le lai dunt or ai dit de Batolf haut e cler,
 si cum funt cil Breton de tel fait customer.
 Après en l'estrument fait les cordes chanter
 tut issi cum en vois l'aveit dit en premer.
 Tut le lai lor a dit, n'en vot rien retailler.¹

Thomas, in composing this part of his poem, evidently wrote with the *Tristan* in mind,² here imitating the scenes in which that hero figured as a stranger at the courts of Cornwall and Ireland. No one could have written the beautiful description just quoted without full familiarity with Breton lays and the power to perpetuate their charm.

It is probable that the hero of the primitive saga was, like Gunnlaug, a poet, perhaps skilled in music. Certainly, in the original of KH and HR he was represented as a harper. Just as Tristram in disguise reveals himself to Ysolde, who is being carried off by a hated suitor Gandfn, through familiar lays that he harps before her, so Horn in a like situation, when Fikenhild has abducted his bride, and is about to rescue her, enables Rimenhild to penetrate his disguise by the same device.³

He sette him on þe benche
 His harpe for to clenche.
 He makede Rymenhilde lay,
 & heo makede walaway.
 Rimenhild feol ysworþe
 Ne was þer non þat louþe. (1475 ff.)

¹ Ll. 2830 ff.; quoted after Warnke, *Lais der Marie de France*, 2nd ed., p. xviii f., q. v.

² Cf. Wissmann, *Anglia*, IV, 393 ff.; *Untersuchungen*, pp. 108 f.

³ As Wissmann observed (*Anglia*, IV, 393). Note the words of Gottfried von Strassburg:

Er harphete an der stunde
 Sô rehte suoze einen leich,
 Der Isôte in ir herze sleich
 Und ir gedanken alle ergie
 Sô verre daz si weinen lie
 Und an ir âmîs was verdâht. (13324 ff.)

Cf. my *Chaucer's Franklin's Tale* (*Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Amer.*, XVI, 441).

Apparently, the story of Horn was somewhat Bretonised in its first French form. If so, Thomas went but one step further in the same direction in enforcing the likeness of his hero to Tristram.

We cannot conclude from the narrative of Thomas that there really existed a lay on the subject of Horn's love,¹ and it is quite improbable that the lay of *Batolf* sung by the hero himself publicly at the Irish court dealt with that theme, any more than that of *Gurun* which Tristram sang when a stranger at the court of Cornwall.² That there existed a "Breton lay" with *Batolf* for a hero is, on the contrary, very likely. We can, however, only conjecture what it was about. I venture to suggest that it may have told the same story that Geoffrey of Monmouth recounted of Baldulph the Saxon, whom he pictured in his own peculiar way as an opponent of Arthur. To gain access to his brother Colgrin, confined in York by Arthur's army, Baldulph adopted a stratagem for the success of which he appears to have become famous. In Geoffrey's words,³ "he shaved his head and beard, and put on the habit of a jester with a harp, and in this disguise walked up and down in the camp, playing upon his instrument as if he had been a harper. He thus passed unsuspected and by a little and little went up to the walls of the city, where he was at last discovered by the besieged, who thereupon drew him up with cords, and conducted him to his brother. At this unexpected, though much desired meeting, they spent some time in joyfully embracing each other, and then began to consider various stratagems for their delivery." The shrewd

¹ If so, it was, like all "Breton lays," in British or in French, and not in English, as Stimming (*Eng. St.*, I, 355) and McKnight (ed., p. xii) suppose. The source of HR and KH may possibly have been in the form of a French "Breton Lay;" see above, p. 53.

² Gottfried's *Tristan*, ed. Bechstein, ll. 3503 ff.

³ Bk. IX, ch. 1 (trans. Giles, *Six O. E. Chrons.*, p. 231). Cf. Lažamon's *Brut*, II, 428 ff., where the hero's name is spelt *Baldulf*, *Baldolf*. *Bótólfr* was a name borne by Norsemen; cf. *Landnamabók*, p. 333; *Haconarsaga*, § 48 (A. D. 1218); *Kristnisaga*, 20.

Geoffrey, we suspect, here simply adapted a popular tale for his purpose, a tale which, quite as well as *Haveloc*, or *Gurun*, or other stories in no wise of Celtic origin, might have been fashioned in the popular style of a "Breton lay." This story, it will be noticed, presented a situation similar in general character to that in *Horn*, where also the hero assumes the disguise of a minstrel as the only means of penetrating Fikenhild's castle and gaining access to Rimenhild, and it may have been this similarity that suggested to Thomas its adaptation in his narrative. The incident itself, it should be added, was of a sort favored in England. Witness, for example, the pleasant story told by William of Malmesbury¹ of how Olaf managed to enter Athelstan's camp as a minstrel spy and departed thence unharmed, because, though recognized by a former follower, he was yet not betrayed.

This episode, in truth, in the story of *Horn* (the second rescue by the hero in disguise) does not impress one as original. There was an abundance of popular stories slightly varying from one another, and if one feature found favor it was often duplicated in the same romance by minstrels who thought thus to increase the effect. In our opinion, however, this repetition is to be deprecated. Not only is it inartistic; it also arouses unjust suspicion regarding the value of the narrative as essentially a true tradition. Incidents in romances, no more than miracles in saints' lives, can be duplicated without making the modern reader uneasy; but apparently the mediæval mind was not so disturbed. The authentic achievements of both saints and heroes were embellished by legend without prejudice to their fundamental truth.

If the account of Rimenhild's second rescue may be wholly fiction, that of the first may also have been in parts poetically adorned. We have seen how in ostensibly veracious saga

¹*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, I, 142 f.; cf., for other references, Hall, pp. 174-175. We recall also King Alfred's visit as a juggler to the camp of the Danes (Ingulph, William of Malmesbury); and in romance Sir Orfeo's conduct after his return from fairyland.

Gunlaug, after an absence of several years, arrived home on the very day when his betrothed lady was being forcibly wedded to another, and he was only prevented by an accident from visiting the marriage feast then in progress and demanding his own. On the other hand, there existed in England numerous popular stories, presenting a like situation romantically, without any likely basis in fact. A hero obtains admission to the marriage banquet, disguised as a beggar, reveals himself to the bride when she is passing the wine about, and succeeds in winning her away from a discomfited rival. Such a tale is told in the *Vita Herewardi Saxonis*.¹ Another Geoffrey adapted to his purpose in his *Historia*,² making it occur in the time of Cadwalla, about 630. It is interesting to observe that while Wace contents himself with reproducing Geoffrey's account, Laȝamon alters it considerably. His variations are all in the direction of popular tradition.³ Evidently he was familiar with a native story still more like that of Horn than Geoffrey's narrative, and with it in mind made changes in his original.

That the story of Horn reflects historical conditions and may be at bottom fact, I have endeavored to show. To go further, and try to establish its historicity throughout in its present form, would be to evince ignorance of the ways of romance. I have already emphasized its likeness to the numerous tales of the "exile and return" type, and pointed out parallels to the picturesque feature of the exposure in the rudderless boat. Here I need only add mention of the well-known fact that in popular tradition exist many stories

¹ Cf. Wissmann, *Untersuchungen*, p. 110; Ward, p. 449; Hartenstein, pp. 137 f.

² Bk. XII, ch. 7; cf. Wace, 14693 ff.; Laȝamon, III, 234 ff. Wissmann calls attention to the passage in Laȝamon, "zum beweis dasz einzelne Züge unseres Gedichtes ganz allgemeiner Natur waren die jeder Spielmann nach Belieben verwenden konnte" (*l. c.*, p. 111).

³ Cf. his account of the origin of the Round Table; on which see A. C. L. Brown, *The Round Table before Wace* (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, VII, 183-205).

which in general parallel the central incidents of the poems before us. As Professor Child has said :¹ "Certain points in the story of Horn—the long absence, the sudden return, the appearance under disguise at the wedding-feast, and the dropping of the ring into a cup of wine obtained from the bride—repeat themselves in a great number of romantic tales. More commonly it is a husband who leaves his wife for seven years, is miraculously informed on the last day that she is to be remarried on the morrow, and is restored to his home in the nick of time, also by superhuman means." These statements Professor Child has enforced with abundant illustration. Such stories, it appears, were particularly common in the epoch of the Crusades, and could hardly have failed to influence the saga of Horn then taking new shape.

Folk-lore embellishment is manifest in KH as well as in HR and was therefore present in their original ; but Thomas in his narrative increased the amount. He still more complicated the story by the introduction of new incident. I will mention here but one example, namely an episode that is represented by the poet as occurring while Horn is making his way in disguise to Caer Lion to recover his bride.² I can do no better than reproduce Professor Child's observations at this point :³ "When Horn was near the city, he stopped to see how things would go. King Modun passed, with Wikel, in gay discourse of the charms of Rimild. Horn called out to them insultingly, and Modun asked who he was. Horn said he had formerly served a man of consequence as his fisherman : he had known a net almost seven years ago, and had now come to give it a look. If it had taken any fish he would love it no more ; if it should still be as he left it, he would carry it away. Modun thinks him a

¹ *Ballads*, I, 194 ; cf. also W. Splettstösser, *Der heimkehrende Gatte u. sein Weib in der Weltliteratur*, Berlin, 1899.

² HR 3984-4057 ; also in *Horn Child*, 901-936.

³ *Ballads*, I, 191, note.

fool. This is part of a story in the *Gesta Romanorum*, of a soldier who loved the emperor's daughter, and went to the holy land for seven years, after a mutual change of fidelity for that time. A king comes to woo the princess, but is put off for seven years, upon her alleging that she has made a vow of virginity for so long. At the expiration of this term, the king and the soldier meet as they are on their way to the princess. The king, from certain passages between them, thinks the soldier a fool. The soldier takes leave of the king under pretence of looking after a net which he had laid in a certain place seven years before, rides on ahead, and slips away with the princess."¹

Evidently Thomas was familiar with some such story as that in the *Gesta* and cleverly adapted it to embellish his narrative. Perhaps it was suggested to him by Rimenhild's foreboding dream (in KH) of the fishing-net in which should be caught an evil fish. Having used this motive earlier than it was first intended, he adapted another riddle for the hero's interview with his lady, not, of course, so suitable. To her he explained that "he had been reared in that land, and by service had come into possession of a hawk, which, before taming it, he had put in a cage: that was nigh seven years since: he had come now to see what it amounted to. If it should prove to be as good as when he had left it, he would carry it away with him; but if its feathers were ruffled and broken he would have nothing to do with it. At this Rimild broke into a laugh, and cried, 'Horn, 't is you, and your hawk has been safely kept!'" As Professor Child says: "The riddle of the hawk slightly varied is met with in the romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin,"²

¹ "Gest. Rom., Oesterley, p. 597, No. 193; Grässe, II, 159; Madden, p. 32; Swan, I, p. lxxv. A similar story in Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*, I, 281, 'Baillie Lunnain.' (Simrock, *Deutsche Märchen*, No. 47, is apparently a translation from the *Gesta*.)"

² Ed. Le Roux de Lincy, pp. 98, 109, 114.

and, still further modified, in *Le Romant de Jehan de Paris*.¹ 'Horn et Rimenhild,' it will be observed, has both riddles, and that of the net is introduced under circumstances entirely like those in the *Gesta Romanorum*. The French romance is certainly independent of the English in this passage."²

This is sufficient to indicate the freedom with which Thomas elaborated his material. It affords us occasion to observe how stories grow from simple beginnings, by slow accretions of kindred incident, with such alterations of tone and array as was demanded by the age of the redaction and the nature of the audience to which it was addressed.

VIII.

We now come in the history of the story to a version the relation of which to the rest has often been misconceived, to the Middle English strophic romance *Horn Child and Maiden Rimmild* (HC), which being in part preserved in the famous Auchinleck ms., could not have been written later than 1325, and, to judge from the style and allusions, probably not much earlier. In trying to determine the original scene and character of the Horn saga, I have deliberately left this out of consideration, for it is very far from primitive. It is a reconstruction, a new composition, a late product of degenerate minstrelsy. In general, it resembles the French poem HR with which it shows definite agreements as opposed to KH;

¹ Ed. Montaiglon, pp. 55, 63, 111. Suchier thinks that HR contains the germ of the story in the *Gesta* and in Beaumanoir's romance *Jehan et Blonde* (see *Oeuvres Poétiques de Philippe de Rémi*, Paris, 1884, I, p. cxi; cf. *Gesch.*, p. 111). Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 771; Hartenstein, pp. 138-139.

² Mr. Ward remarks (p. 457): "The French writer probably invented Horn's encounter with Wikele and Modin merely to introduce the parable, for nothing else comes of it. The writer thinks it necessary, after all, to put a parable into Horn's mouth when he is addressing Rimel; but this repetition, which we may be sure was not in the original, is comparatively commonplace; Horn saying that he has come back after seven years for a falcon, but he will not claim her if she has cast her feathers or broken her wing."

but, as already said, the author has subjected his material to great change. Throughout the localities are unlike, the whole situation having been transformed by the introduction of new elements to replace the old. There is now no mention of Sudene or the coming of the hero to Britain in a cast-away boat. Instead, Horn's father is made king of Northumberland and his struggles to defend his realm against his foes from Denmark and Ireland are narrated in detail. The heathen vikings of the saga in its early form were undoubtedly Norsemen, and it was on the western coast that they landed, but Norsemen were naturally confused with other Scandinavians who meanwhile had made raids on England, and as a result in HC the earlier introduction was rejected. The hostile seamen are represented as Danes, and their depredations are definitely localized in Yorkshire.

King Hafeolf (for this is now the father's name, not Aalof, Murry, or Hunlaf), we read, ruled England from the Humber north "in to þe wan see."

Out of Danmark come an here,
 Opon Inglond forto were,
 Wip stout ost & vnrde,
 Wip yren hattes, scheld & spere;
 Alle her pray to schip þai bere
 In Clifland bi Tese side. (49 ff.)

Hafeolf assembles a large body of men and rides rapidly against them.

On Alerton more al þai mett,
 þer were her dayes sett,
 Failed hem no roum;
 Seþpen to Clifland þai rade,
 þer þe Danis men abade,
 To fel þe feye adoun. (67 ff.)

After an all-day's struggle the English are triumphant, slaying many of their opponents. They laud their leader and enjoy the fruits of victory. Soon after the king goes hunting

“on Blakeowe more,” then feasts at Pickering, and afterwards rides to York.

Here, as every reader of the poem has observed, we are on well-known ground, all the places mentioned being in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The narrative bears the impress of reality; it is the record of an actual depredation by Danes on Northumberland, in which the invaders after a temporary success were defeated by the English with great slaughter.

It has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed that we have in the Old Norse saga of King Olaf Tryggvason what might be an account of this very incursion. In the early part of Ethelbert's reign, we read in the saga, “England was invaded by a Danish host, under the command of Knut and Harold, sons of Gorm the Old. They harried Northumberland in all directions, and brought much people into subjection, claiming the land as their heritage, because it had been the possession of the sons of Lodbrok and of many others of their forefathers. King Ethelbert collected a large army, and encountered them north of Cleveland, slaying many of them.”¹ An English account of this conflict, or another like it, might have been the basis of the corresponding information in HC.

The author of HC has preserved the record of still another struggle. This time the English king was attacked from a different quarter.

Out of Yrlond com kinges þre,
Her names can y telle þe,
Wele wiþouten les:
Ferwele & Winwald were þer to,
Malkan king was an of þo
Proude in ich apres;
Al Westmerland stroyed þay. (148 ff.)

The king assembled a large army to meet them.

¹Trans. Sephton (Northern Library, 1), London, 1895, ch. 64, p. 80. This saga is a compilation of the first half of the thirteenth century, but is of course based on earlier sources.

be Irise ost was long & brade,
 On Stainesmore þer þai rade,
 þai ʒaf a crie for prede;
 Hende Hapeolf hem abade,
 Swiche meting was never made,
 Wiþ sorwe on ich aside:
 Riȝt in a litel stounde
 Sexti þousand were layd to grounde
 In herd is nouȝt to hide;
 King Hapeolf slouȝ wiþ his hond,
 þat was comen out of Yrlond,
 Two kinges þat tide.

(181 ff.)

After a long struggle, however, he was himself slain by Malkan, who yet dearly won his victory, for he had to withdraw to Ireland with but thirteen followers, the remnants of a great host. Thereupon an earl of Northumberland, by name Thorbrand, usurped power, and King Hapeolf's young son Horn was secretly carried south by his guardian to the court of the English king.

This narrative I cannot completely elucidate, but it is possible, I think, to show that it too is based on actual occurrences. The king Hapeolf of the poem, who ruled England from the Humber north in to "the wan see" is, I believe, unquestionably the Eadulf who in 966 was made Earl of Northumbria from the Tees to Myreforth.¹ "The wan see" is of the same meaning as Myreforth, which was the Scandinavian name for the Firth of Forth. The Malkan of the poem, who was allied with the Irish in making the incursion into Hapeolf's land, is to be identified with Malcolm of Scotland. The record is of one of the several incursions made into Northumbria by the Scots under Malcolm or his sons in which he was aided by Irish friends. That in HC the decisive meeting took place at Stanmore was doubtless a fact. As Mr. Skene says (p. 369): "Immediately after the

¹ "Eadulf, cognomento Yvelchild, a Teisa usque Myrcforth praeponitur Northymbris." *Libellus de adventu, Sax. Ch.*, p. 212 (quoted Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1876, I, 369, note 42).

unsatisfactory expedition against the Strathclyde Britons, the Scots [under Kenneth, son of Malcolm] are recorded in the Pictish Chronicle to have laid waste Saxonia or the Northern part of Northumbria as far as Stanmore, Cleveland, and the pools of Deira, that is the part of Northumbria which had been placed as a separate earldom under Eadulf."

But the actual events to which HC makes reference seem to have taken place in the time of the succeeding Malcolm. Again I would quote from Mr. Skene (pp. 384 f.): "Malcolm appears to have inaugurated the commencement of his reign by the usual attempt on the part of the more powerful kings of this race to wrest Bernicia from the kings of England, but which resulted in defeat and a great slaughter of his people. The Ulster Annals tell us that in the year 1006 a great battle was fought between the men of Alban and Saxonia, in which the men of Alban were overcome, and a great slaughter made of their nobles; and Simeon of Durham furnishes us with other details. He says that 'during the reign of Ethelred, king of the English, *Malcolm*, king of the Scots, the son of King Kyned, collected together the entire military force of Scotland, and having devastated the province of the Northumbrians with fire and sword, he laid siege to Durham. At this time Bishop Aldun had the government there, for Walpeof, who was the earl of the Northumbrians, had shut himself up in Bamborough. He was exceedingly aged, and in consequence could not undertake any active measure against the enemy. Bishop Aldun had given his daughter Ecgfrida in marriage to his son, a youth of great energy and well skilled in military affairs. Now when this young man perceived that the land was devastated by the enemy, and that Durham was in a state of blockade and siege, *he collected together into one body a considerable number of the men of Northumbria and York, and cut to pieces nearly the entire multitude of the Scots; the king himself and a few others escaping with difficulty.*'"

This account is drawn from a curious tract ascribed without

warrant to Simeon of Durham, but printed with his works.¹ It is, says the editor, "an authentic though fragmentary record of the wild and miserable age of Ethelred, concerning which we possess so little direct testimony. . . . The date of writing seems to have been about 1090." The narrative that it contains of Uchtred's later career reads like the Latinisation of an English story, and has perhaps more value as romance than history. One feature, however, of special interest to students of HC, I would here emphasize, namely that the hero's chief enemy, by whose connivance he was slain, was called Thorbrand, and that we remember was the name of the earl of Northumberland who usurped the land after Hatheolf's murder. Had the single fragment of HC been two lines shorter than it is, we should not have had this name preserved. Had we all of HC we might be able to detect other features in which the author distorted the original story of Horn in order to fit into it other events; for the MS. breaks off just when the hero is returning to Northumberland to win back his father's possessions and avenge him on Thorbrand. According to the tract, Aldred, son of Uchtred, who succeeded Eadulf, killed Thorbrand, who was responsible, we have seen, for his father's death, and the blood feud continued through generations.

His information regarding these incursions into Northumberland the author of HC may have derived wholly from oral tradition; but I think it was not so. So great is the

¹ *De Obsessione Dunelmi (Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold, Rolls Series, London, 1882, I, 215 ff. The tract by mistake dates the siege at 869 instead of 1006, when it appears actually to have occurred; cf. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I, 329 note; Skene, I, 385; edition, p. 215. Uchtred was really slain in 1016 when defending his earldom against Cnut; but the tract has it otherwise. In revenge for a previous injury, Thorbrand suborned men to slay Uchtred when he was going to a conference with Cnut: "Die statuto, cum intrasset ad regem de pace locuturus, per insidias cujusdam potentio, nomine Turebrant cognomento Hold, milites regis, qui post velum extensum per transversum domus absconditi fuerant, subito pro-silientes loricati in Wiheal comitem cum suis XL. viris principalibus qui secum intraverant obtruncaverunt" (p. 218).

resemblance in general phraseology and spirit to certain Anglo-Saxon poems recording conflicts of Englishmen with Danes and Irish in the same era that it seems to me likely that the events of which we have an echo in HC were at one time similarly recorded. I would call particular attention to the poem called the *Battle of Maldon, or Byrhtnoth's Death*,¹ which commemorates a hard struggle between English and Danes in 981, during the reign of the same Ethelred at whose court Gunnlaug sojourned and in whose time, as we have seen, Malcolm invaded Northumbria. We are indeed fortunate to have this poem. The Latin tract perpetuating an English account of the Scotch invasion echoed in HC is preserved in a unique manuscript; but no single manuscript of the *Battle of Maldon* is now extant. There did exist one in 1726, and then the antiquarian Hearne transcribed and published it. Five years after, however, this unique document was destroyed in the great Cottonian fire.

The vigorous lines of HC descriptive of the leader's call to struggle against the invaders (157 ff.) certainly resemble the opening of the A.-S. poem in general features, as any one will observe who will bring the two passages into comparison; and elsewhere similar situations are described.² Byrhtnoth's sturdy reply to the foreigners' demand for tribute (45 ff.) is filled with the spirit that echoes in the words of HC:

Better manly to be slayn,
þan long to live in sorwe & pain,
Oðain outlondis bede. (166 ff.)

The exultation of the English poet over the defeat of the men of Ireland is likewise conceived in the spirit of that excellent battle-song in the Chronicle commemorating the Battle of Brunanburh (A. D. 937).³ Compare, for example, the following lines:

¹ Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. d. ags. Poesie*, I, 358 ff.; Bright's *A.-S. Reader*, pp. 149 ff.

² Cf. HC 61 ff. and Maldon 122 ff.; HC 73 ff. and M 103 ff.; HC 247 ff. and M 191 ff., 202 ff.

³ Grein-Wülker, I, 374 ff.; Bright's *A.-S. Reader*, pp. 146 ff.

þo king Malkan wan þe priis,
 Oway brouzt he no mo ywis,
 Of his men bot þritten,
 þat wounded were in bak & side;
 þai fleiþe & durst nouzt abide,
 Ðaþet, who hem bi mene!
 To Yrlond he com oþain,
 & left her fair folk al slain
 Lieand on þe grene.
 þarf hem noiþar nizt no day
 Make her ros þai wan þe pray,
 Bot slowe þe king, y wene.

(229 ff.)

Swylce ðær eac sē frōða mid flēame cōm
 on his cȳððe norð, Constantinus,
 hār hilderinc hrēman ne ðorfte
 mēca gemānan; he wæs his māga sceard,
 frēonda gefylled on folcstede,
 beslægen æt sæcce, and his sunu forlēt
 on wælstōwe wundum forgrunden
 geongne æt gūðe. Gylpan ne ðorfte

 gewiton him þā Norðmēn nægledcear-
 rum,
 drēorig daroða lāf, on Dinges mēre
 ofer dēop water Dyflin sēcan,
 And eft Íraland, æwisemode.

(37-56.)

The famous struggle of Brunanburh, indeed, presents a situation very like that in HC: the Scots and Irish allied against the English of Northumbria, a long and bloody fight in which all but a very few of the invaders were slain, their melancholy return journey through the west country and on by ship to Dublin.¹ The Anlaf (Olaf) referred to in the A.-S. poem, who was the leader of this body of Irish auxiliaries of the Scotch king Constantinus, was a son of the Norwegian Gudred who in HR is represented as king of Dublin in Horn's time.² HC gives the names of the two Irish chieftains who assisted Malcolm, namely Ferwele and Winwald;³ but I have found these nowhere else mentioned. Unfortunately, documents recording the events of this troublesome period are few and far between. Later tradition confused different invasions, and picturesque features were transferred from one to another. The narrative in HC is a blending of similar traditions from the period of Northumbrian invasion

¹According to Florence of Worcester (ad an. 937) the battle of Brunanburh lasted all day; the same statement is made in HC, 73 ff. A long and circumstantial account of this battle is given in the O. N. *Egils saga*, ed. F. Jónsson, 1886-88, pp. 158 ff. See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, I, 350 ff.; *Two Saxon Chrons.*, ed. Earle and Plummer, II, 139 ff.

²Skene, l. c., I, 357.

³Possibly Fergal and Fingal.

in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is noteworthy, moreover, that it has mythic decoration. Sixty thousand, we are told, fell in one battle, but ever the leader of the English host was unconquerable.

When king Hafeolf on fot stode,
 þe Yrise folk about him 3ode,
 As houndes do to bare;
 Whom he hit opon þe hode,
 Were he neuer kni3t so gode,
 He 3aue a dint wel fare;
 He brou3t in a litel stounde
 Wele fif þousende to grounde
 Wiþ his grimly gare
 þe Irise ost tok hem to red,
 To ston þat douhti kni3t to ded,
 þai durst nei3e him na mare.

Gret diol it was to se
 Of hende Hafeolf þat was so fre,
 Stones to him þai cast;
 þai brak him boþe legge & kne,
 Gret diol it was to se,
 He kneled atte last.
 King Malcan wiþ wretþe out stert
 & smot king Hafeolf to þe hert;
 He held his wepen so fast,
 þat king Malcan smot his arm atwo,
 Er he mi3t gete his swerd him fro,
 For nede his hert to brast.

(205 ff.)

This certainly reminds us of the fight between Iormunrek and the sons of Guthrun and Jonakr, as recorded in the Old Norse *Hamþismál* (st. 25) and the *Völsungasaga* (ch. 42). The warriors held out persistently against superior numbers, for no weapon harmed them, and their opponents marvelled. Finally, their enemies were instructed (in the *Völsungasaga*, by Odin) to cast stones at them, and they thus lost their lives. Whether this embellishment was derived from an earlier poem on Northumbrian history to which the author of HC had access, or was simply introduced by him from oral tradition, we cannot say. Elsewhere, it may be noted, he shows himself familiar with Germanic tradition. He mentions a sword, "Bitterfer," "the make of Miming and Weland it wrought" (400 ff.).

The first 250 lines, or thereabouts, of HC are clearly, then, more or less trustworthy records of the struggles of the English against Danes, Scotch and Irish in Northumberland. They embody genuine tradition. But—and this is important to remember—there is not the slightest evidence that they were ever connected with the story of Horn before

the composition of HC. They were certainly not in the primitive poem on which KH and HR depend. It is not an independent stream of traditions concerning *Horn* that is here preserved, as many even now-a-days would have us believe.¹ We are now dealing with a late and unwarranted combination of diverse traditions. HC has practically no value in helping to establish the original form of the story of Horn.

The introduction is obviously the most interesting and significant part of the romance. As for the rest, it is but a distorted version of the story as familiar to us in HR. The poem is a product of a late period when old themes were being boldly remodelled to satisfy depraved tastes, when in the composition of romances little respect was paid to the authenticity of tradition, when art was yielding to artifice and originality to convention. The features in which the central story of HC varies from that in HR are not, it is evident, based on ancient and genuine traditions concerning the hero, but rather the deliberate alterations of a redactor who was effecting new combinations such as were then in vogue. Having completely transformed the introduction, he was led, nay forced, to shift the scene of action of the ensuing events. When the life of Horn, now a prince of Northumberland, is imperilled after the death of his father, he flees with his guardian² to the court of King Houlac in

¹ Notably Stimming (*Engl. St.*, I, 354 ff.), Caro (*Engl. St.*, XII, 351 ff.), Hartenstein (pp. 58, 100, 105, 121), McKnight (ed., p. xv), and Hall (ed., p. liv). On the contrary, Wissmann (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 103-104) and Ward (p. 459) recognized their different character, though without being able to show the source.

² By name *Arlaund*, *Herlaund* (O. N. *Erlendr*)—a name inherited from HR, though the rôle is changed. In HR he is Hunlaf's seneschal to whose care Horn and his companions are confided. In HC, the introduction being different, he is represented as their guide to Houlac's court. As to Houlac, it should be noted that this is the same name as Havelok, a form of Hunlaf, Olaf. Dr. Ward (pp. 463-64) very plausibly connects Hunlaf of Britain and Houlac, who dwelt "fer soube in England,"

the south. There he is heartily welcomed and grows up in honor, evincing such unusual powers that even at the age of fifteen he has achieved fame. Two of his followers go to France, two others to Brittany. He himself, when banished from the king's court, sets out on horseback across country to Wales and enters the service of King Elidan at Snowdon. On his behalf, to right certain definite wrongs, he journeys to Ireland, landing it may be said at a haven called Yolkil (Youghal?). The rival suitor Modun (Moging, Mogeoun) is now represented as an earl of Cornwall. It is naturally to Northumberland that the hero returns to recover the lands which at Hatheolf's death had been usurped by Thorbrand.

It were distracting without advantage to enumerate the many minor features in which HC varies from KH and HR. The author clearly had a wide acquaintance with mediæval romance of a late sort, and did not hesitate to furbish the old story of Horn to make it match others then enjoying popularity. He makes mention of Sir Tristram, and plainly altered features of the earlier narrative to accentuate the already striking resemblance between the two lovers. The conventionality of his poem in both phraseology and incident, its inconsistencies and vagaries, its tiresome "rhyme doggerel," and many meaningless lines, are faults so conspicuous that Chaucer's ridicule, we can but admit, was richly deserved.¹ He mentions *Horn Child* as one of the "romances of pris" which *Sir Thopas* so far surpassed in worth. Unfortunately, many writers in modern times, ignorant of the early romances

with Olaf Tryggvason, who harried the Sudreys, Cumberland and Wales. The name Erlendr frequently occurs in the saga of Olaf (trans. Sephton, 1895). Indeed, the story of Olaf's boyhood, reminds us of Horn's as well as Havelok's (cf. Ward, pp. 436 ff.).

¹On the style of HC, see Kölbing, *Amis and Amiloun*, p. lxiv; *Tristan Sage*, p. xxxi f.; Caro, *Eng. St.*, xii (1889), 347 ff; Holthausen, *Anglia, Beiblatt*, viii, 197. As Caro, the editor, says (*l. c.*, p. 350): "wir finden in unserer romanze nicht nur gemeinplätze, sondern auch directe wiederholungen aus anderen gedichten, oder, wenn man nicht so weit gehen will, wenigstens sehr wunderbare anklänge an andere romanzen."

of manifest power and charm, have thoughtlessly or disingenuously declared that the poet sneered at all the productions of minstrelsy, and used this as an excuse for pharisaically passing by on the other side. The *Geste of King Horn*, we may feel confident, had Chaucer but known it, would have received his praise. Simple, direct, graphic, vigorous, it has characteristics of Old Norse saga, and establishes in the minds of those who properly regard it an ineffaceable impression which they gladly retain; while on the contrary *Horn Child* leaves the reader dissatisfied and scornful because of the mistakes in literary judgment on the part of the author.

X.

There is one interesting innovation in HC which should here be mentioned because it serves to differentiate this version and those depending on it from the earlier ones. In KH and HR, we remember, Rimenhild gives Horn a ring as a remembrance, to spur him to high accomplishment in battle. In HC the ring thus bestowed by the heroine is of a magic character; it will change color if she is untrue to Horn, simply wan if her thought is changed, but red if she yields to solicitation. If, on the other hand, the hero is unfaithful to his plighted troth, Rimenhild will recognize it by seeing his shadow in a spring near her arbor. When Horn is in Ireland, his ring changes color and he returns home in haste.

This feature of the discoloration of the ring appears also in the several (nine or ten) Scottish ballads of *Hind Horn*, and is sufficient to establish their close kinship with the late romance. They agree with HC also in another noteworthy feature, that of the proposed elopement of the bride; and they have certain striking verbal resemblances in common.¹ Inas-

¹ For these see Child, *Ballads*, i, 192; cf. Hartenstein, pp. 87-93, 122 ff. The only indication of locality in the ballads is Scotland (A, H); near Edinburgh (D); in Newport town (F). If any weight is to be attached to this localization, it is in favor of a connection with HC.

much, however, as they deal only with the episode of Horn's return to the king's court and reunion with his lady, and are preserved only in very modern records of oral tradition, it has been found difficult to determine their exact relationship to HC. Professor Child's judicious words it is well to recall: "The likeness evinces a closer affinity of the oral traditions with the later English or the French, but no filiation. And were filiation to be accepted, there would remain the question of priority. It is often assumed, without a misgiving, that oral tradition must needs be younger than anything that was committed to writing some centuries ago; but this requires in each case to be made out; there is certainly no antecedent probability of that kind." The wisdom of these words all will recognize. But Professor Child wrote when the origin and development of the Horn saga seemed to be a hopeless muddle. The situation has meanwhile become clearer. No good reason at present requires us to postulate the existence of still another English version of the story in which earlier than in HC were introduced the features in which it and the ballads agree. Now that we know better the method of composition of that romance and are aware that these features are innovations of the author, we realize that the ballads must be based more or less directly upon his account. That we cannot establish more accurately their pedigree, need not disturb us, for such "waifs of popular tradition" (to use Professor Child's happy phrase) have, like Topsy, simply "grewed" without thought of whence they came. Most of them were recovered from the vicissitudes of oral wandering within the nineteenth century. Through them the story has been perpetuated among the people of England for nearly a thousand years, and possibly still remains popular in remote parts. Such links as these bind the present to the past.

XI.

Meanwhile in France the tale of Horn and Rimenhild had been otherwise transformed. Both hero and heroine across the channel completely lost their identity and were presented to continental readers with new names and new costumes, in unlike association. King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone are characters with whom it does not take us long to become acquainted. The prose romance of their career was written, it appears, about 1387 by the French knight Geoffrey de la Tour Landry¹ and was intended to exalt his distinguished family, somewhat as the romance of Mélusine was written to glorify the family of Lusignan. Finding the story of Horn ready at hand, the chivalrous author simply rehandled it to suit his private purpose. Dr. Mather has pointed out² that he "has used every essential element of the plot of HR, but has filled in the skeleton freely by invention, amplification, and occasional borrowings." Into details regarding these changes I need not here enter. Suffice it to remark that the topography has once more undergone change. The story is now definitely localized in Galicia and England. Scenes are enacted in places in France with which La Tour Landry and his family were familiar. The characters include many bearing the names of the local nobility. It is most important, however, to note that a totally different spirit animated this version of the Horn story than any of its predecessors. The interest of the book consists chiefly in its portrayal of an ideal knight of later chivalrous times. *Ponthus* is essentially a book of courtesy, fitted for the instruction of noble youth. As a story it drags; its style has little distinction; its composition

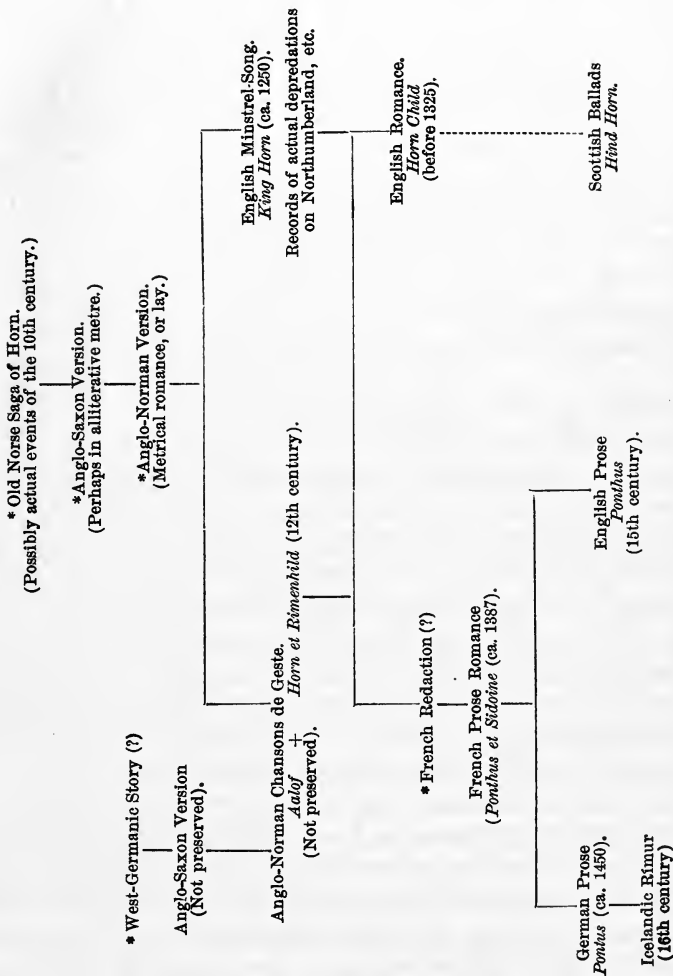
¹See G. Paris, *Rom.*, xxvi, 468-70. From the hero of the romance, according to M. Paris, Ponthus de la Tour Landry, grandson of the author, got his name.

²*King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone* (*Pubs. of the Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, xii.) p. xvii; cf. Hartenstein, pp. 140 ff.

faulty; but its inspiration was worthy and its influence widespread.

The romance of *Ponthus* was popular in France. It was repeatedly copied and printed. It was reproduced in foreign tongues. Evidently it appealed first of all to those in high station. About the middle of the fifteenth century, a daughter of James I of Scotland, the wife of the Archduke Sigismund of Austria, translated it into German. But its popularity speedily became great also among the masses, and in chap-book form it had a long life both at home and abroad. It appeared in Low German and Dutch in the seventeenth century. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth it was turned into English. Wynkyn de Worde printed it in 1511. This translation is naturally to us of greater interest than the rest. It is, we are told, an improvement on the original. In witness, observe Dr. Mather's appreciation, (p. xlviij): "From the point of view of style, *faible ouvrage* the French *Ponthus* certainly is. Better things may be said of the English translation. It will I believe be difficult to find any English prose of the first-half of the fifteenth century on the whole so fluent and readable. Briskly and easily the story chatters along, when most of the prose of the time lumbers in hopeless monotony. Style, in the sense in which Malory, Pecoock, or a modern has style, the story has not. It is more like good unaffected talk than anything else,—no slight merit at the time, and a merit almost wholly the translator's. Just as the homespun virtues, and equally clear-cut vices of the book cannot compete in interest with the subtle union of sensuality and religious mysticism that in Malory exercises a somewhat morbid fascination, so the clearness and brightness of its English, excellent for its subject, may appear insignificant, almost inaudible, when Malory resounds in full volume; yet there is room for both, and none of the early English prose romances is likely to suffer less by the contrast."

FILIALION OF VERSIONS OF THE STORY OF HORN.



XII.

If the results of this investigation, as shown in the accompanying table of filiation of the different versions, are, as I hope, correct, it is evident that we have three French redactions of the story of Horn written during the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, dependent each on its predecessor, from which were derived three corresponding English versions independent of one another. In each language the three redactions differ greatly in form as well as in spirit, the first in simple metre, the second more complicated, the third prose. Each version is freer than the last in the treatment of the material. New elements are added at every stage; new incidents are regularly substituted for old; new names appear as the centuries pass. The motive of the composition ever changes. Starting as a simple record of heroic tradition, assuming soon the sophistications of romance, it becomes finally a means of glorifying a single family, "a noble storye, whereof a man may lerne mony goode ensamples, and yonge men may here the good dedes of aunciente people that dide much goode and worschip in their days." The hero in the first English version was a Norseman, in the second an Englishman, in the third a Frenchman. Steadily the influence of continental conceptions increases. Steadily the traces of its Northern origin disappear. Journeys by land replace those by sea. The action shifts more and more from the outlying islands to the mainland of Europe and the East. Viking warriors become crusading knights. Each redaction reflects the manners and sentiments of the age when it was fashioned. The last version is a far fetch from the first.

Strangely enough, it is in this last form that it returns to its early home. In the tenth century Horn was, it seems probable, a hero familiar to the Norse. In the sixteenth, under the name of Pontus, he revisited his native land: on the basis of the German romance, Icelandic *rímur* were then written commemorating his deeds.

Guingamor and other heroes of Celtic fable went to dwell in the otherworld unmindful of their past and after three hundred years journeyed home to find themselves forgotten there. Twice that number of years elapsed from the departure of the hero Horn from Scandinavia to an otherworld of fiction and his final return to the North. Meanwhile, "old times had changed, old manners gone." No one recognized the richly-clad stranger even where he was born. The Icelanders marvelled without understanding when they heard of his career.

Few stories illustrate better the extraordinary transmutations that popular tradition is empowered to undergo. Saga lives long by repeatedly shifting its shape.

WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD.

II.—SOME ARTHURIAN FRAGMENTS FROM FOURTEENTH CENTURY CHRONICLES.

I. THE ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF KING ARTHUR IN THE *Cronicon Monasterii de Hales*.

The Chronicle of the Monastery of Hales¹ (in Gloucestershire) occupies the first fifty-six folios of MS. Cotton Cleopatra D. III, a manuscript written² in or soon after the year 1301, with which it originally ended. As is the case with scores of other Latin Chronicles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, its first part, the "Gesta Britonum," consists essentially of a condensation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, with a few divergences.³ It has no notable feature before the reign of Arthur.

This latter is very briefly and rather confusedly described,⁴ from several sources. The writer takes from Nennius,⁵ or some account derived from Nennius, his mention of Arthur's twelve victories. He says of Arthur, "anglos quotquot remanserunt tributarios fecit," a statement which also appears in the so-called Ickham Chronicle.⁶ In connection with the death of Walwain, he mentions the discovery of his tomb, a story which

¹ Cf. Hardy, *Des. Cat. of Materials*, III, 352, No. 580.

² This is on the authority of H. A. Herbert, Esq., of the Department of MSS., British Museum, who has kindly aided me in deciphering the passage.

³ It contains certain preliminary material; is confused in the story of the eponymous Brutus; agrees verbally with the chronicle ascribed to Peter Ickham (MS. Cott. Calig. A. x. 1, etc. See *Dict. Nat'l Biog.*, XXVIII, 411) in a concluding sentence, foreign to Geoffrey's narrative, about Brenius, fol. 3 b (Calig. A. x. fol. 12 a); inserts a description of Ireland, fol. 3 b; and calls Hoel the son, instead of the nephew, of Loth and Anna, fol. 7 a. (Cf. Geoffrey viii. 21, and ix. 2.)

⁴ Fols. 7 b-8 a.

⁵ Section 56.

⁶ MS. Cott. Calig. A. x. fol. 20 a.

comes ultimately from William of Malmesbury,¹ though the event is here dated in the reign of William I. He quotes, without saying so, from Henry of Huntingdon's outline of Geoffrey's History in the letter to Warinus,² so that he represents that Arthur in person killed Modred.³ He then pauses to speak of "Guenhevera's" flight, which Geoffrey⁴ introduced earlier; after which he follows Geoffrey in mentioning Arthur's being carried to Avalon and leaving the kingdom to Constantine (only putting the date at 547 instead of 542.) Then he proceeds at once with the following remarkable passage.⁵

¹ *Gesta Reg.* iii, 287, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Ser., II, 342.

² Published in *Chron. of Stephen, etc.*, ed. Howlett, Rolls Ser., vol. IV, p. 74.

³ It is probable that this almost inevitable elaboration of Geoffrey's narrative (xi. 2) originated with Henry. Other chronicles and romances which include it, some of them drawing certainly from Henry, though without actually quoting his words, are: Brut Tysilio, San Marte's trans. in his ed. of "Gottfried v. Monmouth," p. 567; Benedict of Gloucester in his *Life of St. Dubricius*, ed. Wharton, *Angl. Sac.* II, 656 ff.; Robert of Gloucester, ed. W. A. Wright, *Rolls Ser.*, vol. I, lines 4574-9; Langtoft, ed. T. Wright, *Rolls Ser.*, vol. I, p. 222; the "Polistorie del Eglise de Christ de Caunterbyre" (see below), fol. 27 a; the very composite fourteenth century chronicle of ms. Cott. Cleop. A. I. 1, fol. 49 a (cf. Hardy, *Des. Cat.* III, 258, No. 466); Hardyng, ed. Ellis, 1812, p. 146; the chronicle of ms. Coll. Magdalen, Oxford, 72, No. 1 (cf. Hardy, *Des. Cat.* II, 472, No. 620), p. 48; Wavrin, *Recueil*, ed. W. Hardy, *Rolls Ser.*, I, 445; the prose *Lancelot*, see P. Paris' very brief summary, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, v, 350; the Thornton *Morte Arthur*, ed. Perry, 1865, and again, Brock, 1871, *E. E. T. S.*, lines 4228 ff.; the *Morte Arthur* of Harl. ms. 2252, ed. Furnivall, 1864, lines 3389 ff.; Malory, xxi, 4 (here resembling the Harl. *Morte Arthur*. See Sommer, *Morte Darthur*, III, 269); the Dutch metrical *Roman van Lancelot*, ed. W. Jonckbloet, p. 267, lines 11885-11916; Ulrich Füeterer (von Zatzikhoven) *Prosaroman von Lancelot*, ed. Peter, pp. 356-7. The Magdalen Coll. ms. version and all the others here named after it, except the last, are like the prose *Lancelot*, and unlike Henry of Huntingdon, in that they represent Arthur as piercing (not hewing down) Modred, and Modred as giving Arthur his fatal wound. In all except the Thornton ms., the piercing is with a spear, there with a sword.

⁴ xi, 2.

⁵ Beginning about the middle of fol. 7 b.

Igitur finito prelii certamine clipeo innitens post fatigacionem refrigerandi gratia humi resedit. residens quatuor ex sue gentis primatibus accersiu it ut accersitis iubet ut seipsum armis diligenter exhonerent : ne forte incaucius agentes recencium uulnerum dolori cumulent dolorem . Rege ergo exarmato ecce quidam adolescens pulcher aspectu statura procerus carpebat iter egri tergo insidens dextram uirga hulmea habens munitam . que rigida erat non torta neque nodosa sed plana et cuspidate acuta admodum lancee sed plus lancea ad nocendum acucior et uipereo infecta ueneno ut quod forte iaculata minus noceret pro iaculantis defectu uirium. virus suppleret. Hic magnanimus adolescens per regem transiens tale iaculum iaculatur in regem et ipsius uulneribus grauibz uulnus apposuit grauius. Quo facto fugit concitus : sed non effugit longius. Quem equidem rex more impaciens ut miles strenuus hastam uibrans in tergum figit fugientis : et penetralia cordis transfixit et mox spiritum exalauit in talem. Denique rex parumper melioracioni restitutus iubet se transuehi ad uenedociam ad quam ubi peruentum est : medici pro sue artis industria . pro regis sunt solliciti uulneribus. sed rex eorum sollicitudinis nullam salubriam persensit efficaciam. Ob quod ipse de uite remedio desperatus episcopus insule tocuis ad se mandauit uenire. Hiis ergo presentibus sue christiane professionis confitetur excessus seque creatoris obsequio reddidit obnoxium. Hiis ita pactis more ecclesiastico dominica consecutus sacramenta seculo nequam ualefecit extremum. Igitur prefati episcopi ceterique regium corpus componunt regio more balsamo et mirra condiunt et preparant sepulture commendantes ¶ Dieque sequenti corpus defuncti ad quandam paruam deferunt ecclesiam in honore sancte dei genetricis marie dedicatam sicut uiuens ipse deuouerat . Sed postquam ad prefate capelle peruentum est hostium breuis et angustus aditus ingentis corporis glebe prohibebat ingressum . Ob quod foris iuxta parietem feretro subportatus sortitus est mansionem : cogente causa necessitatis. Interim episcopis celebrantibus exequias aer tonat. terra mutat. desuper crebro irruunt tem-

pestates. fulgura choruscant ' aureque diuise variis se alternant uicibus . Demum interposita breuissimi temporis morula aeris subsecuta est caligo . que fulgurum absorta est claritatem et tanta cecitate regii corporis obuoluit custodes ut apertis oculis uix uiderent Hoc ab hora tertia usque ad nonam perdurat assidue At deinde cum caligo subducitur et serenitas restituitur corporis regii ultimas repperunt reliquias. Rex enim raptus est ad paratam suam mansionem. feretrumque conspiciunt commendato fraudatum. Quod propter quidam dicunt quod uiuus est adhuc et sanus et incolumis quia illis nescientibus raptus est. Quorum temere opinioni nonnulli contradicunt sine dubietis scrupulo affirmantes illum mortis persoluisse debitum. tali innitentes argumento. Quia cum pretacta fuit sublata caligo et claritas reuersa tumba ferata apparuit presencium obtucibus et solide firmata et vnica ut pocius tota petra uideretur integra et solida ' et una quam due . In cuius claustris regem opinantur contineri : cum eam compactam ita inuenerunt et vnica. Cuius sepulchrum apud glastoniam ubi ut dictum est sepeliebatur tempore regis Ricardi cruce plumbea super pectus nomen eius inscriptum declarante repertum est. Triginta et nouem annis uirtutum potencia atque sapiencia ' discretionis prudencia bellorum gloria imperium britannie gubernauit. Anno a regni ipsius. x1^o humane condicionis est sortitus Dominum. *De quo uersus.*

Rex fuit arthurus. rex est post regna futurus.
 Prelia facturus . vincet. numquam periturus .
 Hic orbem rexit. Sed christus ad ethera uexit :
 Regem tam fortem nec sensit corpore mortem.
 Enoch translatum legimus super astra leuatum .
 Ethereasque uias : curru penetrauit helias.
 Isti pugnabunt. cum hostem non superabunt.
 Sed magis arthurus prudens ad prelia durus.
 Leuiathan feriet : et ei uictoria fiet.

As far as I know, this passage is altogether unlike anything which is elsewhere connected with Arthur. Almost all the

other accounts of Arthur's end which speak of him at any length after the battle—that of Layamon,¹ the two given by Wavrin, those of the Harleian ms. *Morte Arthur*, of Malory, and of the Dutch romances²—while they all differ very considerably in details from that of the prose *Lancelot*, resemble it at least in a general way. But the only points of contact between the versions of the present manuscript and of the *Lancelot* seem to be: that here Arthur is said to command four of his knights to disarm him, while there it is stated that at noon, from the original one hundred thousand combatants of the two hosts there remained alive only three hundred, among them four of the Round Table, namely, Arthur, Lucans, Girflet, and Sagremors; that here Arthur is taken to a chapel for burial, while there he is carried still alive to the “chappelle noire,” where later his tomb is found by Girflet; that in both accounts, the tomb and its appearance are prominent; and lastly, that here the lack of witnesses to Arthur's actual interment is made the explanation of the (Britons') belief that he is not dead, while in the *Lancelot* there is a survival of the same idea in that none of Arthur's men, but the hermit alone, witness his burial. The present story has rather more similarity with that of the Thornton ms. *Morte Arthur*, where, after Arthur and his men have gone to “Glasschenberye” and entered a manor in the “Ile of Aveloyne,” a surgeon searches his wounds; he sends for a confessor;³ dies, as here, quite naturally, in the presence of his men, with no mention of any boat or mysterious ladies such as figure in the other accounts; and is buried at “Glaschenbery” with stately rites by “the baronage of Bretayne, bechopes and othire.”

The influence exercised upon the present author, or his

¹ Lines 28587–28651, ed. Madden.

² Obviously no notice need be taken in this connection of Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini*, ed. Michel and Wright, 1837, p. 37; nor of the *Draco Normannicus*, ed. Howlett in *Chron. of Reigns of Stephen, etc.*, Rolls Ser., vol. II, p. 703.

³ Wavrin also mentions his confession.

source, by the Gospel narrative of the death and resurrection of Christ, is obvious. The thunder storm reminds one of those often associated in Norse and other mediæval tales with the birth of heroes, as, for instance, Helgi.¹ The mention of the discovery of Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury, with the details, was a commonplace of the story after the time of Henry II, based on the actual fact diversely described by Giraldus Cambrensis² and the author of the Coggeshall Chronicle,³ and from them by other historians. Its introduction into the present narrative, however, gives rise to an inconsistency, as Glastonbury certainly is not situated in Venedotia (North Wales). The author seems to be conscious of this difficulty and to try to overcome it by contradicting himself with his parenthetical "ut dictum est." There is no apparent connection between the concluding verses and the "Draco Normannicus."

II. GAWAYN'S SWORD IN THE *Polistorie del Eglise de Christ de Caunterbyre*.

This chronicle extends from Brutus to the year 1313.⁴ For the most part it follows Geoffrey's *Historia*, as far as that continues, rather closely, sometimes almost as a literal translation, though sometimes with a slight omission or amplification. Its chief divergences occur in the latter part of Geoffrey's narrative, after Arthur's coronation feast;⁵ especially in the account of the campaign against Modred, where it has some points of contact with the famous French Brut,

¹ Helgakviða I, Hildebrand's *Altere Edda*, p. 150. Cf. Bugge, trans. by Schofield, *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, 1899, pp. 72 and 79-87.

² De Prin. Instruct., Rolls ed. of Giraldus, vol. VIII, ed. G. F. Warren, pp. 126-9, and Spec. Eccles. ii, 9, vol. IV, ed. J. S. Brewer, pp. 47-51.

³ Ed. Jos. Stevenson, Rolls Ser., p. 203.

⁴ It has been described by G. Paris, *Hist. lit. de la France*, XXVIII, 480-486. See also Hardy, Des. Cat. III, 350, no. 576. The ms. is Harl. 636.

⁵ Fols. 21 ff. Geof. ix, 14 ff.

such, for instance, as the mention of the ports of Whitsand and Sandwich.¹

In describing the retreat of Gawayn and Arthur's other envoys from the camp of Lucius, it inserts,² drawing directly or ultimately, but in all events closely, from Wace,³ who apparently invented the incident, the account of the death of a fifth Roman at Gawayn's hands. Then it proceeds, from no apparent known source: *Kar a peyne hi auoit nus hums ke poeyt le cop gauweyn rester. taunt estoit querous e fort e lespee auoyt a volunte. si auoyt vne escripture en cel espee en cest paroles.*⁴

*Jeo su forte trenchaunte e dure.
gaban me fist. per mult graunt cure.
xiiii. anns auoyt ihesu crist.
kaunt galan⁵ me trempa e fist.
Sage feloun deyt em doter.
e fol felun eschuer.
fol deboneire deporter.⁶
e sager deboneyre amer.*

In later parts of the story Geoffrey's praise of Gawayn is expanded.

The similarity of the figure of Gaban in this passage to Wayland the Smith and Layamon's Wygar⁷ and Griffin,⁸ is evident. It is possible, until the contrary is proved, that the verses came directly or indirectly from the *Münchener Brut* or some other lost metrical version of Geoffrey.

¹ Fol. 26 b.

² Fol. 24a2.

³ Lines 12262-79, ed. de Lincy.

⁴ The following lines are not written as poetry. The words here italicized have been corrected by a scribe (perhaps the original one) who made many changes in the manuscript.

⁵ The *l* here was originally *b*.

⁶ Query, for *deyt porter*? There is a mark under the *de* which seems to belong to the next line.

⁷ Line 21133.

⁸ Line 23784.

III. DID LAYAMON MAKE ANY USE OF GEOFFREY'S HISTORIA?

Many years ago, in an article on Layamon's sources,¹ Professor Wülker argued that Layamon made no use of Geoffrey's *Historia*. This conclusion must still be admitted to be very likely correct. Professor Wülker amply illustrated the fact that in most of the cases where Wace differs from Geoffrey, Layamon follows Wace, and showed² that a few instances which might seem to indicate influence by Geoffrey upon Layamon can most reasonably be explained away. Moreover, it seems nearly certain that if Layamon had drawn directly from Geoffrey's *History*, he would have named it among his sources in his introductory lines, unless—what does not appear very probable—he thought, or believed his readers would think, that it was too untrustworthy. No harm will be done, however, by pointing out that there is a little evidence looking in the contrary direction from all this.

First, in a few episodes not noticed by Wülker, certain of Layamon's details agree with those of Geoffrey and not with those of Wace.³ Without doubt, no great stress ought to be laid on these coincidences. They are few, and may be due to chance; if they did come to Layamon from Geoffrey, it may have been indirectly; allowance must be made for the possibilities of corruptions in the manuscripts of all three authors; the existing edition of Wace is certainly very faulty; and conceivably Layamon may have had a manuscript of Wace copied by a scribe who altered it occasionally by comparison with Geoffrey—which hypothesis, however, really begs the question. The coincidences are as follows:

¹ Paul u. Braune's *Beiträge*, 1876, III, 524-555.

² pp. 541-2.

³ I have examined carefully only that part of the story included between the accession of Constantine, Arthur's grandfather, and the disappearance of Arthur.

In the first part of the story of Vortigern's tower, both Geoffrey and Layamon, but not Wace, say that the messengers were weary when they arrived at Merlin's city,¹ and represent Merlin's mother as speaking of the maidens in her chamber and of the beauty of the youth who came to her.²

Layamon, like Geoffrey, implies decidedly that Aurelius did not know of Merlin until Tremorien mentioned him, while Wace's language does not convey that impression;³ Layamon and Geoffrey say that Aurelius sent messengers for him all over the kingdom, while Wace represented that he sent at once to the right place; and Layamon and Geoffrey agree that Merlin often frequented or bathed in his favorite fountain, while Wace observes instead that he does not know where it is.⁴

Both Geoffrey and Layamon state that when Gorlois was killed he had sallied out of the castle, while Wace strongly implies the contrary.⁵

Geoffrey says that in ascending the hill at the battle of Badon, Arthur lost many of his men, and Layamon that he lost five hundred, while Wace does not speak of any loss at all.⁶

¹ G., vi, 17. 15 (references to book, chapter, and line of San Marte's ed.); W., 7549; L., 15556.

² G., vi, 18. 11; W., 7607; L., 15702-12.

³ G., viii, 10. 5 ff.; W., 8207 ff.; L., 16989 ff.

⁴ G., lines 11-14; W., 8217-20; L., 17017-18.

⁵ G., viii, 20. 4; W., 8980; L., 19136-7. But the printed text of Wace reads:

Et li quens fort se desfendi,
Mais au desfendre fu ocis;

and corruption of *descendre* into *desfendre* would be very easy.

⁶ G., ix, 4. 29; W., 9580 ff.; L., 21368. Madden was certainly right in suggesting that the names of Arthur's shield and spear, Pridwen and Ron, which appear at this point in Geoffrey and Layamon, but not in the printed text of Wace, were really included by the latter. They occur in two MSS. of his works that I have examined, Cott. Vitell., A, x, fol. 81 b 1, and Harl. 6508. Also the printed text of Wace does not call Iny, Cadwalader's nephew, as do Geoffrey and Layamon (G., xii, 18. 7; W., 15254; L., 32139); but the statement appears in ms. Vitell., A., x, fol. 115 b 1.

In the second place are to be considered Layamon's citations of prophecies of Merlin. Wace did not include the version of the prophecies which occupies Geoffrey's seventh book, because, he said,¹ he did not know what they meant; and elsewhere he mentions Merlin's prophecies only twice, saying, after Geoffrey,² that Merlin had foretold that Arthur's end would be doubtful, and again, not drawing directly from Geoffrey, that the Britons could not regain the island until the time that Merlin had foretold.³ Layamon, on the other hand, gives several prophecies which he ascribes to Merlin. Wülker said⁴ that he probably based them on popular tradition current among the Welsh independently of Geoffrey. But the assumption that Merlin had been connected with the Arthurian story by any one before Geoffrey, or that any one before Geoffrey had ascribed to him prophecies corresponding very closely with those of Geoffrey's seventh book, seems to me dangerous.⁵ And it is to be noted that all the bits which Layamon cites either (1) correspond entirely with passages of Geoffrey's version,⁶ or else (2) agree similarly with Wace or fit (as was, indeed, to be expected) very naturally to the story, so that, in the latter case, they may easily have been composed with direct reference to it after the appearance of Geoffrey's History. Obviously, however, those which belong to the second class afford no evidence of direct knowledge of Geoffrey on the part of Layamon; and it may still be argued that those which belong to the first class had passed from Geoffrey's History into popular lore, or that Layamon had only Geoffrey's seventh book, which, as existing manuscripts show, sometimes circulated by itself without the rest of the work. But the second of these assumptions would practically surrender the

¹ 7733-4.² G., vii, 3. 20; W., 13691-2.³ 15227-9.⁴ p. 543.⁵ I expect soon to call attention elsewhere to facts which lend some support to the doubt.⁶ As Wülker pointed out for those which he mentioned.

argument, and the first is no more probable in itself than that Layamon drew directly from Geoffrey.

The prophecies in Layamon which correspond closely to passages in Geoffrey are these: 27106–11. þa waes mid soðe ifunde, þat Maerlin saeide whilen, þat sculden for Ardure, Rome ifullen afure, and þa wal of stanen, quakien and fallen. This is also repeated less at length in 27978–81. Geoffrey vii. 3. 19: Timebit Romulea domus ipsius saevitiam. 28452–4. Ærm wurðest þu Winchæstre, þæ eorðe þe scal forswalþe. swa Merlin sæide. Geoffrey vii. 4.24. die Guyn-toniae, absorbebit te tellus.

Layamon's statement¹ that Cadwalader said that Merlin foretold about his death and his great sorrow seems to be only a variant of the rendering which he has made² of the statement, above referred to, of Wace, that Merlin predicted the time when the Britons should regain their land—a passage which certainly may as well have been invented after the publication of Geoffrey's History as before. The other prophecies which Layamon puts into Merlin's mouth are the quaint one about Arthur's glory at the time of Uther's affair with Ygerna,³ repeated in part later, with variations;⁴ and the statements that Arthur's death should be the cause of much sorrow,⁵ and that Arthur shall yet come to help the Britons.⁶

ROBERT HUNTINGTON FLETCHER.

¹ 32178–81.

² 32090–93.

³ 18847 ff.

⁴ 23027 ff.

⁵ 28632.

⁶ 28648–51. A text reads erroneously, "Anglen."

III.—THE RUNIC INSCRIPTION ON THE ISLE OF WIGHT SWORD.

On page 459 of the third volume of his *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, and on page 245 of his *Handbook*, Stephens gave a cut of an Anglo-Saxon sword found on the Isle of Wight and now in the British Museum. Of this he wrote the following facts and fancies: "Found about the middle of this century in an Old English grave. But the runes were first seen in 1882 by Aug. W. Franks, Esq., the Director. . . . The runes are on the inner side of the silver scabbard-mount, and were only seen lately when the piece was cleaned. Hence their perfect preservation, tho so slightly cut-in. They have been hidden for some 1300 winters! . . . In this case the owner had cut this spell, singing therewith some chaunt of supernatural power, to overcome the easier his unsuspecting enemy. All such witchcraft and amulet-bearing etc. was strictly forbidden. Whatever the staves mean, this is the only such *secret* rune-risting yet found." Stephens' rendering is, as usual, quite worthless: "? Awe (*terror, death and destruction*) *to-the-sere (brynie, armor, weapons, of the foe)*!"

Stephens mistook the open *w*-rune for a peculiar form of the *s*-rune, and read: "? æco sceri!" On another occasion I shall show the mythical character of this *s*-rune. For the present it will suffice to say that, at best, it could be only a late variant of the upright \lfloor . Now, the only other Old-English runic inscription that shows the archaic form of the *c*-rune (λ) is the gold coin (Stephens, *Bracteates*, No. 74), which has the most archaic form of the *s*-rune (γ). To suppose, then, that our inscription had by the side of its archaic λ a modified form of the youngest *s*-rune would, of course, be absurd.

Mr. Read assures me that Stephens' reproduction of the writing is exact. The runes are perfectly distinct and normal, except that the *w*-rune is open at the top:—



Such incomplete closures are common in all writing and may even become conventional. Compare, for example, the opening of B to \mathfrak{B} and of R to \mathfrak{R} in various hands, for example, the Gothic, and the change of Greek Λ to \mathfrak{A} , whence Runic \mathfrak{F} . Similarly in this inscription, as frequently elsewhere, we find \mathfrak{R} for \mathfrak{R} . The second rune is the *c*-rune in the archaic form referred to above. As shown by Wimmer (*Die Runenschrift*, p. 87), it is intermediate between the original \lessdot and the later \mathfrak{c} .

The runes are to be transliterated:—

$\bar{a}\check{c}\bar{o}$ $w\bar{e}r\ddot{a}$,

that is, 'self defence,' than which there could hardly be a more appropriate legend for a sword.

$\bar{a}\check{c}\bar{o}$ is the nominative singular feminine of a *jo*-adjective that would appear in ordinary Old English in the nominative masculine as $\bar{a}\check{c}\bar{e}$, and corresponds exactly to OHG. *eichi* 'proprius', 'pertaining to one's self', 'one's own'. In Old High German, too, the word was dying out, being found only in the compound *ur-eichi*. The root is one of those that show Indo-European interchange of voiced and voiceless final stops:—

IE. <i>aig</i>	/	<i>aik</i>
Gc. <i>aik</i>		<i>aih</i> / <i>aig</i>
cf. Goth. <i>-aikan</i>		<i>-aihan</i> / <i>aigan</i> . ¹

¹I had for some time associated *-aikan* in this way with *aigan* before I observed that it had been done before, cf. Brugmann², I, p. 630. (The latest that I had come across was Kögel's note in PBB. 16, p. 512, in which

One might ask: Is the *-o* of our inscription the original long \bar{o} that became *u*, or is it the later short *-o* that unstressed *-u* in time sank to? The earliest Old-English literary monuments have uniformly *-u* in such cases (Cosijn, II, p. 76, 77). As there can be no question that our inscription is still earlier, we must conclude that we have before us the original long \bar{o} . This is of importance, disproving, as it does, certain current ideas as to the processes of syncope and apocope in Old English (Sievers, § 135, 3, etc.), as I shall show in a forthcoming paper on the apocope of Gc. $\bar{o} > u$.

wēri is the exact Old-English counterpart of OHG. *wuori* 'dam, weir', MHG. *wuor(e)*, *wüer(e)* 'dam', Austrian, Bavarian, Swiss *wuer*, *wüer* 'dam', Corinthian *wuore*, *wüere* 'mill-race'; whence Swiss *stein-uere* 'long stone pile', Rumonic *wuor*, Italian *gora* 'mill-race'. It is an *i*-stem and would appear in later Old English as *wēru*, the nouns of this class having assumed the *-u* of strong nouns, because they had become identical with them in the oblique cases (Streitberg, U. G., § 180, p. 259, Bülbring, § 383). As is pointed out by Sievers (§ 279 A₃), the old ending *-i* is betrayed in literary Old English by the constant *i*-mutation of the root vowel, as also by the palatalization of the intervening velar consonant. Our inscription furnishes the first case yet discovered of the actual older form in *-i*.¹ The original \bar{o} of the stem stands in gradation with the *a* of Gothic *warjan* 'keep off, prevent', OIc. *vorn*, OSw. *værn*, OHG. *weri* 'defence', MHG. *wer*, Ger. *wehr* 'defence, dam', OE. *wer* 'weir, dam'.

he defends the old idea that the word means 'speak'.) For similar semasiological developments, cf. English *to own* 'possess as one's own', 'acknowledge as one's own', 'acknowledge to be true', 'confess', 'grant', *to disown* 'refuse to acknowledge as one's own', 'deny', *to claim* 'demand as one's due', 'maintain to be true', *to disclaim* 'deny ownership of', 'disavow responsibility for', *to appropriate* (Latin *approprio*) 'take to one's self', 'claim or use as one's own', 'set apart for, or assign to, a particular person or use', 'annex, as a benefice, to a spiritual corporation, as its property'—cf. OHG. *in-eihhan*, *neihhan*, 'dedicate', 'consecrate'.

¹The form *hēte* by the side of *hātu* is probably due to the influence of *čiele*, rather than a mark of archaic usage.

Stephens estimated the date of the inscription as “? 500—600”. When we consider that, not only had Germanic *ai* become \bar{a} and this \bar{a} been mutated to \bar{e} , but the *i* that caused the mutation had already been syncopated, so early a date is out of the question. It should also be observed that, in distinction from the usage on the gold coin, ſ had already come to be the sign for *o* of whatever origin, and ø had been restricted to the representation of the mutated *o*, or œ . The points in which the language of our inscription differs from that of the literary Old English of Alfred’s time are few and pertain only to the shortening and lowering of final vowels and the attraction of the nominative of the *in*-stems to that of \bar{o} -stems. The use of œ , rather than the later *e*, does not argue great antiquity; for, not to mention its use in the North, we find traces of it even in the *Cura Pastoralis*. In view of these considerations, I do not see that we can place the inscription much, if any, earlier than 800 A. D. There is nothing in it to mark any specific dialect, and I therefore see no reason for supposing that it does not belong to the district where it was found, that is, to Jutish territory.

GEORGE HEMPL.

IV.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE
LEGEND OF SAINT GEORGE, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE SOURCES OF THE
FRENCH, GERMAN AND ANGLO-
SAXON METRICAL VERSIONS.

II.¹

MIXED VERSIONS.

It has become evident so far that the basis for the different Latin forms of the story of the martyrdom of Saint George known in Western Europe during the Middle Ages was the apocryphal version. There is no evidence whatever of any direct influence of the Greek form of the legend upon the Latin variations. Zarncke in the *Ber. ü. d. Verh. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 1874, p. 5, had laid down as a criterion for such influence the introduction of Diocletian and Maximian by the side of Datian; and Weber, in *Z. f. r. Ph.*, v, p. 505, accepted this principle, and on the basis of it he made a rough classification of the different forms of the legend known to him. Our investigation, I think, has shown clearly that no historical study of the growth of the legend can be based upon this entirely external feature. The introduction of the name of Diocletian into *Zc* and the versions deriving from it may be due to some remote influence of the canonical version, but beyond the presence of this name, the texts of this group do not show the slightest influence of the Greek form of the legend. The further addition of Maximian was a simple and natural step, after the story of the martyrdom had been placed in the tenth persecution of the Christians, and can prove nothing. As a

¹Cp. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xvii, pp. 464-535.

matter of fact, the name is found in versions that do not have the remotest connection with each other, such as Me, V¹, and Zc, d, e, g.

Truly mixed versions should show a fusion of different forms of the legend itself. This principle was evidently recognized by Vetter, *l. c.*, pp. lxiii ff., for he makes no allusion to Zarncke's or Weber's classification, while he cites as typical examples of mixing the version written by Petrus Parthenopensis and the M. H. G. poem, which forms the center of his study. The second of these texts we shall examine in detail in a later division of our investigation; here we shall confine ourselves to the study of the account written by Petrus Parthenopensis.

I. This version, which we shall call PP, may be found in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5312, fo. 63 v-67 v, and according to the *Anal. Boll.*, XI, pp. 213 and 228, also in the Bibl. Ambros. A. 251 Inf., fo. 72 v-78 v, and *ibid.* B. 49 Inf., fo. 106 r-109 v. It has been published in the *Bibl. Casin*, III, *Florilegii*, pp. 341-348. An Italian translation of it in Toscan of the XIII cent. was printed by Isola, *Leggenda di San Giorgio, testo del buon secolo*, Genova, 1867.

The text begins with a prologue as follows: "Plerique illustrium celestis patrie amatores ad gloriam domini et honorem Sancte matris ecclesie plurimas sanctorum martyrum passiones variis erroribus involutas emendare conati sunt et clarificare. . . . Horum igitur patrum vestigia secutus ego Petrus, beati Georgii martyris passionem a variis translatoribus vitiatam, emendare studens, plurimis incongruis amputatis, solicite componere curavi." Then follows the version proper: "Postquam deus et salvator noster sua sancta presentia et gloriosa incarnatione mundum visitare atque illuminare dignatus est, ac deinde victor ab inferis resurgens cum nostre carnis substantia in celum exaltatus est, plurimi reges et principes terre insurrexerunt. . . ."

The story of the martyrdom is as follows:

1. A persecution broke out against the Christians during the reign of Diocletianus and Maximianus in the year 290 under the pontificate of Marcellinus. An edict of the emperors, threatening the Christians with tortures, is sent to the province of Cappadocia, and George from the city of Mellena appears at the emperor's court and confesses his faith. Then follows a long dialogue between him and the emperor, where the latter endeavors to persuade him to forsake his faith.

2. The tortures begin. George is stretched out and beaten by four hangmen, but he prays and feels no pain.

3. He is then bound upon a wheel fitted up with sharp swords. He prays and the wheel falls to pieces.

4. The people, who hear of these wonders, now crowd about him, to listen to his preaching. Among these are a certain officer by the name of Magentius and a widow whose son was lame, deaf and mute. She implores George to heal her child, though she confesses that she worships Apollo. The martyr prays to God, the child is healed, and both widow and son believe in George's God.

5. The pagans, who see the miracle, accuse George anew before the emperor, and more persecution is ordered. The martyr defends his action, and at the end invites the emperor to go with him to the temple to test the divinity of his gods. The emperor is delighted, and accompanied by the mighty of his court and all the people he goes to the temple. When they have arrived there, George kneels down and prays; then he walks towards the statue of Apollo and addresses it. The demon, who inhabits the statue, thereupon confesses that he is an idol and not a god. In another prayer George renders thanks to God for having shown the vanity of the idol, and then follows a long dialogue with the emperor concerning the nature of gods.

6. Finally the emperor commands that a cauldron filled with sulphur and pitch be brought up. A fire is kindled beneath and the martyr is placed in it. He prays to God,

and an angel from heaven appears and extinguishes the fire. Many of those who witness the miracle are converted.

7. George is now condemned to death and is led without the city and decapitated.

The date of this version is not entirely certain. According to Papebroch, *AA. SS. Aprilis*, III, p. 105, it was written shortly before 1251, when Petrus of Sorrento, archbishop of Naples, at whose bidding the text was written, died. This date is accepted by Vetter, *l. c.*, and elsewhere. However, a note in the *Bibl. Casin.*, III, p. 290, tends to throw some doubt upon it. There were two archbishops of Naples by the name of Petrus, the first bearing this title from 1094–1116, the second from 1217–1262, and the editors are inclined to attribute the version to the initiative of the former of the two.

If we now try to discover the sources of Petrus, we shall come to the following conclusions :

1. The names of Diocletianus and Maximianus the author most probably derived from some member of family Z, perhaps c, for that was the version most widely scattered. The absence of any evidence of influence of the Greek versions, as we shall see, makes it useless to cite Me, where the two names also appear, as has been shown. The name of the city Mellena corresponds to the usual Melitena, Militena or Militana of Y and Z, but we have found the same form Melena, it will be remembered, in Y η . Nothing similar is found in the canonical versions or in the texts of the family O. The introduction of Pope Marcellinus and the year 290¹

¹The facts concerning this date are not entirely clear. The ms. in the *Bibl. Nat. F. L.* 5312 reads plainly "anno igitur ab incarnatione domini ducentesimo nonagesimo residente in urbe Roma Marcellino summo pontifice et universali papa."—Papebroch, *l. c.*, in characterizing this version, makes the following remark: "Omitto errorem Chronologicum, quo persecutionem coeptam ponit anno Christi ccxc et quidem sub Pontificatu Marcelli, cum dicto anno sederit Cajus, decreta autem promulgata sint ultimo anno Marcellini, a nonnullis perperam cum successore Marcello confusi." This passage was evidently misunderstood by Vetter, *l. c.*, p. lxiv, who had seen no manuscript of this version, and he gathers here the

as the date of the martyrdom can be duplicated from $Y\kappa$. Though the date there is not exactly identical with that given in PP, yet the similarity between the two is so close that it becomes evident that it does not represent an invention of Petrus, but that he followed a very definite manuscript tradition current in family Y.

2. The torture described in § 2 is quite indefinite. It seems to be the equivalent of O 2a, and particularly S of that family, where also only a single torture is mentioned. Both Y and Z preserve here their similarity to O.

3. The wheel, which breaks when George is thrown upon it, is characteristic of Z 4. In Y 4 the result of this torture is related as in the corresponding paragraph of O. In the canonical version the wheel is turned, but the martyr remains unhurt.

4. The conversion of Magentius agrees with Y 4, where the name occurs in various forms, such as Mananties, Maganties, Manecies, Maxentius or Magentius. The same name is found also in O 5 and elsewhere, and in the canonical version it is given to the counsellor of Diocletian. The form Magentius is found, as far as my material goes, only in S (Magentios), but his conversion is related only in Y.

The story of the widow and her son is altered too much to make it possible to detect a resemblance with any of our versions.

authority for the statement that PP places the martyrdom "i. J. 290 *sub pontificatu Marcelli* (was nicht zusammenstimmt)." I am unable to say whether some other manuscript of PP gives the name of the pope as Marcellus, or whether Papebroch has simply committed an oversight. The Paris ms. and the text published in the *Bibl. Casin* are not guilty of the error, which he criticises. As far as the date is concerned, it will be noticed, that the sentence quoted above from the Paris ms. agrees verbatim with the *incipit* of $Y\kappa$ (cp. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xvii, p. 501) with this single variation, that there the number is given as 291. This same date stands in the text printed in the *Bibl. Casin.*, and in the Italian translation of this version, published by Isola. Inasmuch as the number 290 occurs again in Reinbot von Durne's poem, it becomes evident that both dates have a certain amount of manuscript tradition to support them.

5. The presence of George in the temple and the destruction of the idols agrees most closely with the account given in the canonical version. All the other texts relate that the idols were sent to the abyss, while here and in the Greek versions the incident ends with a confession on the part of Apollo that he is not the true God.

6. The burning cauldron, which is extinguished by an angel from heaven, is an exact reproduction of Y 8. The original version of the torture is found in O 8. There, however, the cauldron and its contents are buried. In Z 5 the appearance of the angel is not mentioned. The Greek versions present nothing similar whatsoever, unless it be § 4, the burial in the lime-kiln and the resuscitation after three days.

This comparison has made it evident that the sources of PP can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy. It agrees with Zc in §§ 1 and 3, and with Y (Y¹κ) in portions of § 1, and in §§ 2, 4 and 6. One striking similarity with S (Magntios) points back to the common source of Y¹ and S. No great weight is to be attached to the seeming agreement in § 5 with the Greek versions. The characteristic features of the incident are the participation of the widow's son and the destruction of the idols. Both being absent, the incident loses its distinctive coloring.

It is evident that PP is in reality a mixed version, drawn from both Y and Z. The text of Y, which was used, had some points in common with κ of that family, and seems also to have been closely related to the source of S.

II. A mixed version of a different type is contained in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 1788, fo. 43 r-49 v, of the XIII century.

Incipit—Cum ad vastandas undique ecclesias Diocletianus videlicet in Oriente, Maximianus vero in Occidente licet dissimilibus moribus, consimili tamen sententia conspirassent ad exequendum tam crudele ministerium immo sacrilegum suis competentem votis sacrilegum eundemque crudelissimum haud difficile repperunt ministrum, Dacianum videlicet. . . .

The occurrence of this passage verbatim in the manuscripts of *Zc*, immediately after the lengthy historical introduction,¹ led to a closer comparison of the two, when it became evident that this version is made up through an arbitrary union of *Zc* and a member of *Y* closely related to μ , but not entirely identical with it (μ'). The basis of the text is *Zc*, but at certain places portions of $Y\mu'$ are intercalated, and that in such a mechanical manner that the process is quite apparent.

The first two of these intercalations are immaterial. The third gives the account of George's torture on the wheel, as it was told in $Y\mu'$. It follows immediately after the version of this torture, as it is given in *Zc*, so that the same incident is repeated. Once the wheel is broken and George remains unhurt; the second time he is cut into ten pieces, which are thrown into a well. After this instance the text agrees again with *Zc* until the incident of the feigned sacrifice of George is reached; cp. *Z*, § 7. Here a passage is introduced, agreeing with $Y\mu$, which relates the appearance of the widow and the final healing of her child; however, the martyr then enters personally into the temple and destroys the statues of the idols. In *Z* the final sentence of death follows immediately after the destruction of the idols. Here the death of George in the cauldron, the conversion of Alexandria, the miracle of the tomb, and the final martyrdom of the saint are all told in close verbal agreement with $Y\mu$ and $Y\kappa$. In the miracle of the tomb the spokesman is called *Jobel*, as in $Y\kappa$, but the number of souls brought to life is 235 as in $Y\mu$.

The version is unimportant, except inasmuch as it shows an evident mixture of *Y* and *Z*, and as it proves the existence of a version $Y\mu'$, which may have been also the source of the O. Fr. poem on the Passion of Saint George, published by *Luzarche*.² There, as in the present text, George enters the

¹ Cp. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xvii, p. 535.

² *La Vie de la Vierge Marie . . . suivie de la vie de Saint Georges*, Tours, 1859.

temple himself to destroy the idols, and in the miracle of the tomb the name of the spokesmen is Jobel, and the number of souls resuscitated is 235.

UNCLASSIFIED VERSIONS.

A few of the versions which have come to my notice fail to fit in the general classification which I have been able to establish.

Of this class is, in the first place, the text found in Saint Briec, MS. 1 of the XV century. The manuscript contains a prayer-book preceded by a calendar in French and some lives of Breton saints, St. Tugdual, St. Colomban and others. On fo. 195 begins a life of Saint Catherine, on fo. 200 a life of Saint Marguerite, and on fo. 219 follows a life of Saint George. This version contains an abridged and in places freely altered rendering of the story. However, in one instance, the presence of Athanasius and his magic (though the name itself is absent), it shows most striking agreement with Sg of the original version O. Its line of descent is independent of family Y or Z, and it proves, therefore, the continued existence of O for Western Europe. Though the version is of small value, it has some interest on that account, and I therefore publish the text in full. In places the text shows most striking verbal agreement with Zg, Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars. 570.

(F. 219 v) C'est la vie et la passion Monseignor Saint George (f. 220 r) a savoir, Monseignor Saint George pour sa loy. Lors vint Saint George a la cité et print a hucher au peuple a haute voz: Ha, come vous estes mechante gienez et mescreans, qui lessiez a croire Dieu *dou*¹ ciel, pour croire le fust et la pierre, qui sont feiz des mains des hommes. Et saches, si vous ne lessiez vostre mauvesse erreur, vous serez² touz perduz et dampnés. Lors fut Saint George prins et mené davant le roy, et le roy li demanda, qui il³ estoit, et commant il aveit non. Saint George dit: Ge suy crestien baptizé et ay non George et suy (f. 220 v) chevallier Dieu. Adonc commanda le roy que il feust liez a une⁴ estache, et que l'en le⁵

¹ omitted.

² seriez.

³ quil.

⁴ un.

⁵ omitted.

mist en une cisterne, et le fist l'en tres bien esclorre, et que l'en n'i lessat homme aler. Mes li¹ angle Nostre Seignor vint et le conforta. Quant vint troiz jourz apres, le roy fit aler a la cisterne pour saveir que il estoit devenu, et trova l'en Monseignor Saint George, ou il aüroit Nostre Seignor. Et la furent mot de gienz convertiz. Lors vint Saint George devant le roy, si li dit: Ha, faux roy mescreant, ne voys² tu pas le pouair de Jhesu Crist, et commant il (f. 221 r) m'a rendu la vie, pour demonstrer sa puissance. Lors commanda le roy que l'en preist Monseignor Saint George, et que l'en l'etendit de travers, et le metre³ desouz une meule grande et pesante. Lors fut mis en ycellui torment. Et quant vint a la mynuit, Nostre Sires li rendi la vie et ce fut sa seconde mort. L'andemein, a matin vint devant le roy. Cil⁴ se merveilla molt, et li dit⁵: Ne te fis ge pas lier et morir? Et Saint George respondi: Je ay receu et mort et martire ii foys pour vous, faux roy et desleal. Quant le roy vit ce, si fut moult courciez et com-(f. 121 r) manda feire un grant feu, et fit metre Saint George dedanz. Et quant il fut tout ars, si fit venter la poudre au vent, et ce fu la tierce mort. Adonc retournerent les giens a la cité. Et quant vint la mynuit Nostre Sire par son comandement fit rasamblar la cendre, et revint Saint George en vie. Quant vint l'endemein,⁶ Saint George vint devant le roy et dit: G'ey receu mort et martire pour⁷ vous, roys mescreanz, par iii foys. Adonc fut le roy molt merveillés, et le fit metre en prison chies une povre famme et comanda que no(f. 222 r)n eust que mangier. Et quant il ot jeuné iiiii jours et quatre nuiz, il demanda a la famme, si elle aveit que mangier, et la famme li dit⁸ que nanil. Quant Saint George vit ce, il depria Nostre Seignor, que il li enveyast aucune chose a mangier, et Nostre Sire fit par son comandement reverdir une estache qui soutenoyt l'ostel, et porter fruit. Et Saint George print le fruit et le mange, et en donna⁹ a la famme et a son filz, et touz furent repeuz et soulez du fruit. Quant vint un grant temps apres, le roy passa par delez celle meson (f. 222 v) et vit le miracle et demanda que ce estoit. Et l'en dit, que ce estoit la meson, ou il aveit fet metre Saint George en prison, et que Dieux aveit fet cez vertuz pour luy. Adonc le fit metre hors de la prison et mener ou lui. Si que il passoiert un boys, qui estoit sans feuilles, et le roy li dit, que se il pouayt reverdir le boys, il creireit¹⁰ a son Dieu. Et Saint George crie a son Dieu, et fet sa priere a Nostre Seignor, et tantot le boys reverdit, et porta feuilles et flours chacun en sa nature. Adonc dit (f. 223 r) le roy: George, ge voy bien que voz enchanteries¹¹ sont grandes, mes¹² ge ay encore un meilleur enchentour. Lors fit le roy mander ses enchenteurs et leur commanda que ils feissent, acune apertise davant li. Adonc li un fit amener un beuf, et li soufle en l'orrelle, et cil beuf devint deux. Quant li roy vit ce, si en ot molt grant joie, et

¹ lui.² voy.³ mestre.⁴ omitted.⁵ omitted.⁶ lendemin.⁷ po.⁸ omitted.⁹ doⁿ.¹⁰ creiret.¹¹ echanteries.¹² me.

demanda a Saint George se il sauroyt feire nulles si belles apertises. Et Saint George respondi nient. Adonc li ancheunteur¹ dit,² que il le feroit parler, et print un hanap plein de venim, et le fit (f. 223 v) boivre afin de l'ocire. Saint George print le hanap plein de venim, et le but, et le signa, et ne mua onques coulour, ne ne li fit point de mal. Quant li ancheunteur³ vit ce, si li cria: Merci, et s'agenoilla davant lui, et fut sauvé⁴ par cest miracle, et d'autres⁵ gienz. Quant le roy vit ce, si fut merveillés molt et li dit: Si tu vuenlz croire en mon dieu, ge te feroye seigneur de toute ma terre. Et Saint George si pensa un poy et puis si dit, que l'en le menat davant les ydoles. Et cuida, que il dit verité, et le fit (f. 224 r) tantot mener. Quant Saint George vint davant les ydoles, s'ecria de par Nostre Seigneur, que les ydoles fussent toutes depecées, et maintenant elles cheirent a terre, et la terre ovri et les transgloti et les gienz mescreanz. Adonc fut la raine convertie, a laquelle Saint George dit: Diex vous ayt receue en son paradis. Quant le roy vit ce, si doubta molt, que touz ne convertissent a Saint George, si commanda que l'en print Saint George et la raine, et que ils fussent menez⁶ hors de la cité, et que l'en leur tran- (f. 224 v) chat les testes. Et ils furent menez.⁷ Adonc ils transcherent la teste a la royne davant luy. Et Saint George dit: Je vous pri, que vous me lessiez un poy feire ma priere, et cil si firent. Adonc il pria: Dieux Jhesu Crist, qui portates deité au peuple qui crurent en vous, je vous requier, que vous oyes ma priere et que vous pour celx qui vous prieront en non de moy en quelque lieu que ils soient, soient en mer, soient en terre, soient davant seignor, que vous les delivres de touz perilz et de leur pechiez (f. 225 r). Encore vous pri ge, que tous celx et celles, qui porteront ma vie et ma passion en escrit de bon cuer et de bone volanté, soient en bataille, soient aillours, que vous leur donez la vitoire, soit sur sarrazins soyt sur crestiens. E quant Saint George ot fete⁸ sa priere, il dit a celuy qui teneyt l'espée tranchant: Or puis tu feire ta volanté. E cil li tranche la teste. Or est acompli son martire. Et les giens tournerent a la cité. Adonc vindrent celx, qui estoient crestiens et prindrent le benoit corps (f. 225 v) Saint George, et le porterent ou eulx et l'ensevelirent desoulz une lampe, et fesoient ceste chose chacun jour acostument, jusques a tant que le roy mescreant fut mort, qui aveit non Pallion,⁹ qui fit martirer Saint George. Adonc aprint la creance Nostre Seigneur et dous reys qui furent gueriz et comanderent feire une eglise u non Monseigneur Saint George en la cité de Capadoce, e une autre en la cité de Palestine, et moult d'autres yglises, qui furent faites en l'ennor de Monseigneur Saint George qui fut martirez au¹⁰ 23 jour d'avril, auquel jour chacun¹¹ des crestiens en font grant feste chacun an. Si prions Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist si vraie-

¹ achenteur.² omitted.³ achenteur.⁴ saue.⁵ autre.⁶ menz.⁷ menz.⁸ feste.⁹ Evidently a deterioration of the name Apollo.¹⁰ MS. indistinct.¹¹ MS. very indistinct.

ment comme il tendit ses bras en la croix pour nous delivrer des poines d'enfer, que il nous doit feire tel servise, que nous soyons delivre de tous perilz, et nous doit ses benoiz martirz. Oremus, Deus, qui nos beati Georgii martiris tui meritis et intercessione letificas, concede propicius, ut¹ ejus beneficia possimus dono tue gratie consequi.²

The text contained in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5278, fo. 66 r–66 v of the XIII century is of similar interest.

Incipit.—Datianus imperator congregavit (*sic*) sexaginta duobus regibus et senatoribus et militibus, quorum non erat numerus; sedens pro tribunali dixit ad beatum Georgium. . . .

The version relates quite fully the initial tortures of the martyr before the appearance of Athanasius, as told in O, so that its line of descent must also have been independent of Y and Z. However, the story is seriously abridged, and the final decapitation follows immediately afterwards.

The same is true of another short version contained in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Nouv. Acq. 2179, fo. 157 v–158 v of the XI century.

Incipit.—In temporibus illis facta est persecutio adversus christianos et ecclesiam Dei, et quum excitasset diabolus regem quendam nomine Datianum. . . .

Here also the initial tortures are related in accordance with O, though not entirely in agreement with the last manuscript cited, for the burial on the mountain (O 12) and the conversion of Alexandrina (O 13) are included. But here also we have an abridgment of O independent of Y and Z.

The text contained in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 3789, fo. 7 r–10 r of the XI century is of a different nature, inasmuch as the story of the martyrdom is completely changed and the death of the saint localized in Spoleto in Italy.

Incipit.—Temporibus Diocletiani et Maximiani imperatorum talis furor a sacrilegio exardescerat per cunctam Italiam, ut una esset apud omnes idolorum cultura, et si quis non prostratus idolis immolaret, penis diversis cruciaretur. Erat autem quidam vir impiissimus, Flaccus nomine, quem Maximianus imperator direxerat, ut omnia idola erigeret.

¹ ut qui.

² consequamur.

Flaccus comes to the city of Spoleto (cumque introisset civitatem Spolitanam) and orders a large concourse of the inhabitants. When they have assembled, he inquires of Tyrcanus whether they worship the gods. Tyrcanus answers that they serve Jove, Minerva and Asclepius. Flaccus is rejoiced and sends the crowd away.

There lived, however, in Spoleto Georgius, serving God, casting out devils, healing the sick, and breaking the temples of the idols. Tyrcanus hears of his doings. He notifies Flaccus, and thirty soldiers are sent into the city to apprehend George and bring him into their presence. When he appears, he at once confesses his faith and resists the invitation to sacrifice to the gods of Flaccus, whom he declares to be idols. Thereupon the tortures begin.

1 (a). His face is pounded with rocks; (b) his back is broken with rods; (c) his belly is beaten; (d) he is roasted on a grate, and in answer to his prayer an earthquake visits that portion of the city, *que sub monte appellatur*, and more than 300 pagans are killed. Flaccus flees in terror, but Tyrcanus orders George to be put into chains and placed in prison. There an angel of God appears to him and comforts him, while his fetters fall to the ground.

2. On the following day Flaccus has his throne carried into the midst of the forum and George is led before him again. After a renewed refusal to sacrifice to the idols, (a) he is beaten with iron rods, (b) his sides are tortured with burning torches, (c) he is decapitated in the amphitheatre and upon the command of Tyrcanus his body is exposed to wild beasts. These however adore the saint and do him no harm.

On the same day Flaccus dies, smitten by an angel of God. A Christian woman, by the name of Habundantia, asks for the body of George, which is sold to her for thirty-five pieces of gold, and she buries it near the bridge and stream called *Sanguinari*, outside of the city walls, on the 22nd of April (*ante decem dies kalendarum majarum*).

I add some further indications concerning a few additional versions, which I have not been able to inspect. I feel some hesitancy in adding these notes, since I can lay no claim to completeness. Continued search in catalogues and other libraries would doubtless bring to light many additional accounts.

Namur, MS. 2 of the XIV century, published in part, *Anal. Boll.*, I, pp. 615-617.

Incipit.—*After a general introduction.*—*Erat igitur quidam rex paganorum, nomine Datianus, qui diabolica ambitione arreptus omnes quas potuit provincias suae ditionis imperio subdidit. . . .*

The text as far as published shows close verbal agreement with that contained in *Za*.

Rouen, MS. 1412, fo. 73-75 (date?).

Incipit.—*Sub persecutione Datiani venit de Capodocia miles Georgius. . . .*

Orleans, MS. 330, fo. 10-13 (XIV-XV centuries).

Incipit.—*Tempore illo sanctus Georgius aspiciens. . . .*

Ibid., MS. 331, fo. 355-359 (X century).

Incipit.—*In illis diebus cum sanctus Georgius. . . .*

Lille, MS. 449, fo. 152-155 (date?).

Incipit.—*Datianus imperator diabolica dominatione. . . .*

Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 380-382, fo. 14 r-16 v (XV century), published in part, *Anal. Boll.*, III, pp. 204-206.

Incipit.—*Tempore illo Dacianus imperator qui fuit persecutor christianorum et ecclesiarum dei cum tribunis et militari manu misit ad omnes potestates quae in regione ejus erant, ut convenissent in civitatem quae dicitur Militena. . . .*

The texts mentioned *Anal. Boll.*, IV, p. 283 (Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 831-834, fo. 192 v-195 v) and *ibid.*, VI, p. 271 (Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 9119, fo. 120-121) seem to be closely related to it. All these appear to be variants of *Yε*.

Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, MS. E. 22 Inf., fo. 33 r-35 v (XI century); cp. *Anal. Boll.*, XV, p. 303.

Incipit.—Imperante igitur impio Datiano Medorum et Persarum diversisque erga regiones civibus suggerente diabolo, facta est ingens in christianos persecutio. . . .

METRICAL VERSIONS.

A. *French Versions.*

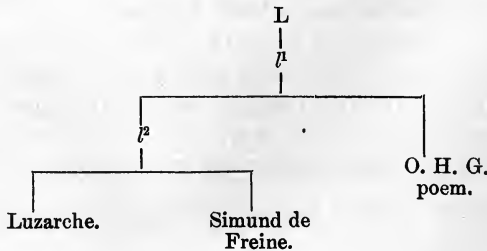
1. *The poem published by Luzarche.*¹ (A.)

The authorship and source of this poem is the subject of a lengthy article by Weber in *Z. f. r. Ph.*, v, pp. 498–520, but it will be unnecessary to enter into a discussion of his argument, since the material at his disposal was insufficient to enable him to reach trustworthy conclusions.² Our own extensive list of texts will allow us to define the position of this poem which, following Weber's example, we shall continue to call A, more accurately, though we have not succeeded in finding its immediate source.

The poem belongs to the versions of family Y. It has the order of incidents and wonders characteristic of those texts. After the first appearance of the martyr the tortures begin immediately with his death on the wheel.

¹*La vie de la vierge Marie . . . suivie de la vie de Saint George*, Tours, 1859.

²Weber compares this poem with that of Simund de Freine, with the O. H. G. poem, and with G, the only one of the apocryphal versions known to him, which he calls L. The following is a tabulation of his conclusions:



Looking at the story somewhat more minutely, we note in the next place a number of characteristics which attach it quite closely to version μ of that group. These features are the following:

1. The omission of the miracle of the gable tree in the incident connected with George's sojourn in the house of the widow.

2. When Dacien demands the miracle of the throne, he says:

xiiii sieges fist mes peres
 D'arbres viaus qui encore aperent,
 Conques, nul jor, fruit ne porterent.
 Face ti Deus que arbres seient
 Li siege, et fruit et foiles aient. (l. c., p. 102.)

The same demand that all the thrones should become fruit-bearing trees, regardless of their original nature, is contained in μ ;¹ cp. "ecce quatuordecim throni regni sunt. Ora ergo dominum ut dissolvantur et eficiantur arbores qui fuerunt antea sine fructu nunc cum fructu." In the other versions the original nature of the trees determines whether they bear fruit or not.

3. The name of the queen in μ is Alexandria, in A Alexandrie, but Alixandre in α , β , Alixandrina in γ , Alexandra in ϵ , η and κ , though Alexandria is found also in δ and ϑ .

4. In the miracle of the tomb in A and μ 235 souls are resuscitated. In μ the number of years which had elapsed since their death is omitted. The number 200 given here by A is in accord with the majority of the versions of family Y.

5. In A as in μ and λ it is George himself who goes into the temple to call out the demon Apollo.

A is, however, not based on μ directly. This conclusion results from the following considerations:

¹Cp. *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xvii, pp. 505 and 527.

1. The idols of Dacien in A are called Agaba, Rache and Apoloine or Apolin, while in μ their names are Mars and Apollo. The faint condition of the ms. at this point makes it impossible to decide what names are given to them in λ . However, similar names are found in the other texts of this family, cp. Gebeel, Apolin and Arrachel in α , β , δ and Gabahel, Apolin and Heracel in γ .¹

2. The spokesman of those raised to life by the martyr in the miracle of the tomb is called Jobel in A as in ϵ . In μ the name is presumably Joel, as in α , β , γ , while δ and θ have Johel. No name whatever seems to occur in λ .

Some further points of difference from μ may be due to a free treatment of the story by the author of A :

1. After the martyr's death on the wheel, A makes no reference to Magnentius or his conversion.

2. The table filled with viands is mentioned in all the Latin versions of Y after the widow speaks of her crippled son. In A the order is inverted.

3. In A the widow's child is healed at once of all his infirmities, his lameness included. This feature may have stood in the source of A, but it is also not impossible that it was an innovation of the author. If George enters the temple himself, the appearance of the widow with her lame child becomes a superfluous incident, the original purpose of which has completely disappeared. In consequence he may omit her presence just before the promised sacrifice, and change the story with regard to the healing of her son.

4. Dacien witnesses in person the destruction of his idols, while in the other texts the facts are related to him by priests and attendants.²

The conclusion must be that the author of A had before him a Latin text closely allied to μ (we may call it μ'),³ which,

¹ In γ the names of the idols are given once as here, another time as indicated, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xvii, p. 495.

² A similar alteration exists in the Anglo-Saxon Passion of St. George by Aelfric; cp. below, p. 146.

³ Cp. above, p. 105.

in the names of Dacien's idols and that of the spokesman Jobel, agreed with the various members of family Y.

2. *The poem contained in Cheltenham, Sir Thomas Phillipps' Library, MS. 3668. (P.)*

The existence of this poem was made known to me through the kindness of Professor Paul Meyer. The manuscript belongs to the end of the XIV century and contains a collection of lives of saints. Our poem is the last but one of the series, the folios of the MS. not being numbered. It is preceded by an illumination representing George killing the dragon, the king's daughter standing by. We shall call the version P.¹

Contents.—After a short introduction and an account of George's fight with the dragon, which is not localized, there follows the story of the passion of the martyr.

1. At that time there were three kings who had sworn to persecute the Christians. These were in consequence sore afraid, and did not dare to confess their faith. The emperor who ruled over that region was called Dacien. He proclaimed a great prosecution, and had an idol made, called Abulon (later Aubulon), to which all were required to offer sacrifice. Then God sent Saint George thither as his messenger, to strengthen the faith of his followers. He appears, confesses his faith publicly, and is at once taken before the emperor, who notes his fine appearance and asks for his name. George complies with the request, and proclaims his faith in Christ. Then follows another reference to George's fine appearance, and promises of riches if he will adore Abulon, which he of course refuses.

2. Dacien in his anger throws a knife at George's breast, which bounds back at his feet. The martyr is then led back to prison, is stretched on the ground in the shape of a cross, and a heavy stone is placed on his breast.

¹ For the full text of the poem cp. below, p. 158.

3. Then follows the torture on the wheel. George is tied upon it and cut in ten pieces. All say that he is now dead, but Christ and his angels come, and he is resuscitated. An angel tells him that he must die three times and then he shall go to paradise. George goes back to Dacien, who is much astonished when he sees him, and a count who is present thereupon confesses his faith in the God of George.

4. He is now led into the house of a widow. When he asks her for bread, she cannot give him any, and he learns then that she adores Abulon. She has a son who is deaf, dumb, blind and lame, and she begs George to heal the child. Upon his prayer the son receives sight, speech and hearing; and more than a thousand, who see the miracle, are converted. George now enters a room, where he finds a table spread for him by angels.

On the following day Dacien sends for him again, and asks him once more by what power he converts his people. Is his God more powerful than Tavergant?

5. Then follows the miracle of the trees. Dacien promises to believe if George will cause to bear fruit certain trees, which had been cut down more than twenty years ago. The martyr performs the miracle to show the power of his God, but Dacien thinks it was done by magic.

6. Dacien now tries blandishment. After a new reference to George's fine appearance, he asks him to sacrifice to his three gods, Appolin, Tavergant and Aubulon. When George feigns a promise, he is beside himself with joy; but the widow arrives and reproves the martyr for forsaking his God. He then heals the child's lameness. More protests from the widow follow, and George enters the place where the idols stand, makes them confess their false nature, and throws them out into the street.

7. Dacien calls for a cauldron filled with water, which is made to boil. George is torn to pieces and thrown into it, but an angel arrives, extinguishes the fire, and resuscitates him. Many that see the wonder believe in God.

8. Among their number is the queen. Dacien tries in vain to persuade her to confess her error. She is suspended by her hair and decapitated. Angels come and receive her soul.

9. Then follows the miracle of the tomb. Dacien promises to believe if George can resuscitate those buried there. The tomb is opened, and the dust, which is found, is brought to George. He prays, and men and women are resuscitated. One of these gives his name as Jouel. They had lived more than 200 years ago, and now beg the martyr to baptize them. George asks for water, but no one responds, whereupon he makes the sign of the cross upon the ground, a fountain bubbles forth, he baptizes the men and women, and sends them away to paradise. Many that see the wonder believe in the God of the Christians.

10. Dacien trembles with fear, and condemns George to immediate execution. Servants lead him without the city and say, whether right or wrong, he must now die the third time. Many follow them to the place where the queen was decapitated. George blesses the crowd, and after a prayer angels come to receive his soul. He is then decapitated. His body is buried in Cappadocia by Christians and a church is erected sacred to his name.

The presence of the story of the fight with the dragon shows influence of the *Legenda Aurea*, which confirms the late date of composition suggested by the age of the manuscript. However, besides the unusual combination of this episode with a member of family Y,¹ the present version contains a certain number of peculiarities which make it probable, that the source for this portion of P is not to be sought in the Golden Legend.

The story of the passion, which is the particular subject of our investigation, presents the order of incidents characteristic of the different members of family Y, but it contains

¹ The *Legenda Aurea* contains the fight with the dragon followed by Ze.

at the same time some peculiarities which give it a unique interest.

1. The poem mentions three kings, by which evidently Diocletian, Maximian, and Dacian are meant, though only the latter is mentioned by name. Similarly the geographical names are omitted.

2. The knife which rebounds, when thrown at George's breast, and the stone which is placed upon him, are evidently the counterpart of the lance that bends like lead and the heavy stone upon his breast in the Greek canonical version, § 2.

3. An angel foretells the three-fold death of George, when he resuscitates him after the torture on the wheel.

These features render the placing of P of great difficulty. The first indicates relation to family Z or to the later Greek apocryphal versions; the second points to some Greek version, either canonical or apocryphal, while the third seems to be absent from all but the members of group O. Yet even there it is not found in the corresponding paragraph, but after the first set of tortures, while George passes the night in prison (§ 2), and in C the promise is repeated after the second set of tortures in § 6.

These scattered points of contact are difficult to harmonize with the close resemblance to the version contained in $Y\mu$ for the rest of the story. The order of incidents is identical, and the few additional variations are readily explained as being due to the initiative of the author or his source. Such are the following :

1. The absence of the name of Magnentius, the count converted after the martyr's death on the wheel.

2. The XIV thrones have become trees, felled some twenty years ago.

3. The absence of the name of Alexandria.

4. No number is given of the people resuscitated in the miracle of the tomb.

5. The fact that Dacien bursts his girdle from anger is omitted in § 10 (= Y 11).

6. A cauldron filled with boiling water is substituted for one filled with pitch in § 7.

7. The story of the torture of the queen is much shortened.

On the other hand certain points of contact with A demand close relation of the immediate sources of A and P. These similarities are :

1. The absence of the miracle of the gable tree in the house of the widow.

2. The fact that George enters the temple of the idols himself, without making use of the widow's son.

3. The name Jouel as the spokesman of those resuscitated in the miracle of the tomb.

Upon the basis of these considerations the conclusion seems obligatory that the source of P was closely related to μ' ; yet it was not identical with it. No great weight need be laid upon the point of contact with O, noticed above. This feature may derive from the same Greek version which furnished the three kings, the knife which bent, and the heavy stone. The use of three or four texts in the composition of so small a poem as P seems too ambitious a supposition, though it is of course not at all impossible that a cleric should have known several versions of the passion of Saint George. In that case, however, the fusion of the different accounts should be more fundamental than is the case in P. It will be noticed that the three points extraneous to μ' stand at the beginning of the passion proper, between it and the story of the fight with the dragon. Under these circumstances it is not impossible, that the author indeed used a text closely similar to μ' as the basis of his poem, but being accustomed through the *Legenda Aurea* to see the story of the fight with the dragon united with that of the martyrdom, he practised the same combination here, and the text of the former which he used contained either a complete or incomplete version of the passion, which furnished him with the features foreign to Y.

3. *The Vie de Saint George by Simund de Freine.* (SFr.)

This poem,¹ of which only a single copy is known (Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 902, f. 108 v^a-117 v^a), was written in England during the last years of the XII or in the opening years of the XIII century. The author, Simund de Freine, was one of the canons of the cathedral at Hereford. The contents of this version, which we shall call SFr, are as follows:

1. Dacien, the emperor of Rome, calls a great council together in Milette, to devise measures against the Christians. *Thirty-two* kings and many people assemble, and tortures and punishments against the Christians are publicly proclaimed. In their midst appears George, a knight from Cappadocia. In a long soliloquy (ll. 96-158) he decides to confess his Christian faith before Dacien, and exhort him to cease the persecution of the Christians. *Then follows a lengthy debate between George and Dacien as to the merits of their gods* (ll. 215-316), *which ends with an invitation to George by Dacien to believe in the true God.* When the martyr promises to do so, Dacien wants to kiss him from joy, but George pronounces a renewed confession of his faith in the triune God (ll. 336-421). The king is now exasperated and the tortures commence (ll. 1-429).

2 (a). George is made to sit on a wooden horse, *weights of iron and lead are attached to his feet, and a fire is kindled under him. He is stabbed with lances, poison is poured into his wounds, and his body is scraped, but all these tortures do him no harm.* (b). He is taken from the wooden horse and beaten; twenty-four wounds are opened in his body, and they are rubbed with salt; *his feet are pierced so that the blood runs from the wounds as water from a fountain;* but he feels no pain. (c). Finally he is led to prison. During the night God appears to him surrounded by a brilliant light.

¹An edition of this poem as well as of the *Roman de la Philosophie* by the same author, prepared by the writer, has been accepted for publication by the *Société des Anciens Textes Français*.

He tells him to be courageous, that he is to suffer much, and receive death three times, but after the fourth death he shall enter paradise (ll. 430-498).

3. On the next day follows the torture on the wheel. George is wounded in many places, he dies, and his body is thrown into a well. Soon after, God and the archangel Michael appear in a cloud, accompanied by an earthquake. Michael gathers the bones of the martyr, God makes the sign of the cross over them, and George is resuscitated. Immediately he returns into the presence of Dacien, who will not believe that he sees George, but many of those that are present accept the evidence (ll. 499-568).

4. A pagan by the name of Magnacius now confesses himself ready to believe in God, if George can change XIV thrones, standing there, into fruit-bearing trees. The martyr performs the miracle, and *Magnacius abjures Apolin and Tervagant, and receives baptism together with more than a hundred others* (ll. 569-594).

5. Dacien now commands a magician to be sought, by the name of *Anastasius*. To show his power the latter has an ox split in twain, and then he joins the two halves and brings the ox to life again. He then prepares *one* poisonous potion and offers it to George. When he drinks it without experiencing any harm, Anastasius accepts the true faith, is baptised and forthwith executed. Angels receive his soul and carry it to heaven (ll. 595-646).

6. The tortures continue. (a) Sixty nails are driven into the martyr's head without causing him any harm; (b) his head is sawed in two; (c) he is thrown into a cauldron filled with boiling pitch. When the body is completely dissolved, *the contents are poured away*. Michael arrives, gathers up the bones and fragments, Christ blesses them, and George is again resuscitated. *Many of those who see the wonder believe in God. George strikes the earth with his foot, water bubbles forth, and he baptises 500 of them. All go at once to find the*

emperor and confess their faith, but Dacien maintains that George performs his miracles through magic (ll. 647-725).

7. He is now led into the house of a poor widow. She welcomes her guest, but when George asks her for bread, she is forced to confess her poverty. Upon his question she tells him that she adores Apolin, and George tells her then that that is the reason of her poverty. She goes out to borrow some bread of her neighbors, and during her absence her hut grows double in size, and the gable fork gains 12 feet in height and becomes a flowering tree. Within a table is spread with a white cloth and set with meat and drink. When she returns, she believes George must be a god, and she falls at his feet. She now speaks to him of her son, who is deaf and dumb, blind and lame. If George will heal him, they will both be baptized. He cures him of all his infirmities except his lameness, telling the widow that she will understand his reason later. Both are then baptized (ll. 726-827).

8. A woman now appears, who relates that on that morning one of her two oxen has fallen and broken his neck. Now her field must lie waste and she has no other means of subsistence. George prays, then gives her his stick to lay on the animal, and the ox is brought back to life (ll. 828-863).

9. Dacien now sees the wonder of the gable fork. He arrives upon the scene, and in answer to his question George tells him that all this had been done through the power of the true God, and that his god is an empty idol. Dacien offers riches and preferment, if George will sacrifice to Apolin. When the martyr seems to make this promise, the emperor, full of joy, wishes to kiss him, but George does not permit him. The widow appears now with her lame child, and chides him for forsaking his God. He is rejoiced at the speech of the woman, gives the child the power to walk; *then he goes himself into the temple*. Two thousand and five hundred persons accompany him. He speaks to the idol, forces it to show its hideous appearance, and to confess its

lack of power. Then he strikes the earth with his foot; it opens up, and the idol is sent to the abyss. Finally he breaks all the other images. Dacien is beside himself with anger, and orders new torments (ll. 864–1121).

10. Torches are applied to George's body and he is burned to ashes. These are carried to a high mountain and there exposed, so that the ravens may eat what remains of his body. But God has promised to resuscitate him thrice, and he fulfills his promise. Many of those who see the miracle accept the Christian faith (ll. 1122–1167).

11 (a). Dacien now orders iron boots to be heated and to be put on the martyr's feet, but an angel of God watches over him and keeps him from suffering pain. (b). *He is then thrown into a den filled with wild beasts, lions, leopards, wolves, wild boars, and dragons, but these do him no harm* (ll. 1168–1215).

12. When queen Alisandrine sees this, she too confesses Christianity. Dacien reasons with her, but she remains firm. He orders her to be hung up by the hair, and her body to be beaten. She begs George for baptism. He holds out his hands to heaven and prays. Rain drops from a cloud, and he baptizes her with the water thus obtained. Then she is led to execution and angels bear away her soul (ll. 1216–1364).

13. Dacien now says he will still pardon George, if he will raise to life some dead bodies buried there. The tomb is opened, and nothing but ashes is found within. After a long prayer and an answer from heaven, five men, nine women, and three children are resuscitated. They kneel before George and beg him not to send them back to their place of torment. One of them, whose name is Joel, relates that they had worshiped Apolin more than 200 years ago, and describes the hell where they had been since then. George baptizes them and they depart to paradise (ll. 1365–1525).

14. Dacien is now so irate that he bursts his girdle and falls from his throne. He decides that George's pride must come to an end, and pronounces his death-sentence.

Servants lay hold of the martyr, a bit is placed in his mouth, and he is led to the place of execution, where Alisandrine had died. After a long prayer he is decapitated, and angels carry his soul to heaven. *Noble men of the city bury his body at night in the church, where many have since found balm for their sufferings* (ll. 1526-1684).

15. The emperor and his suite and the servant who had placed the bit in the martyr's mouth are all destroyed by fire from heaven. All go to hell, but George finds his place in paradise (ll. 1684-1710).

The poem of Simund de Freine gives the complete account of the Passion of Saint George, as it was contained in the oldest versions, G, Sg, and C; and the incidents which it relates are in the main the same as those told there. Yet there are certain serious differences which show that SFr cannot derive directly from these versions or from their sources. It agrees with G in regard to the outcome of the trick practised by Athanasius upon the ox,¹ though here only one ox is called for by the magician, while in G he demands two. SFr agrees with Sg in the number of poisonous cups prepared by the magician. In G and C George is forced to drink two deadly potions, but only one in Sg and SFr. When George enters the widow's hut (§ 7), the gable fork grows fifteen cubits in height in G, C, and S, but only twelve in Sg and SFr. In the miracle of the tomb (§ 13) the number of those resuscitated in SFr agrees with G, but the name of the spokesman (Joel) agrees with S and the different texts of family Y.

The most important difference, however, between our poem and the members of family O lies in the order in which the various incidents of the account are related. If we give to the different paragraphs of SFr the numbers which the same incidents bear in O, we shall have the following order: 1, 2, 5, 7, 4, 6-8, 11, 9, 14, 12, 2c, 15, 10, 16, 17. This order differs from that of all the other versions which we have

¹ Cp. *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, xvii, pp. 469 and 476-477.

examined, though it approaches somewhat that of the texts of Y. The same incidents, less those which are absent, are found there in the order: 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 7, 13, 14, 8 (?), 15, 10, 17. It is evident that SFr agrees with Y towards the end, that is to say, beginning with the death of the queen. In Y alone does the miracle of the tomb stand after the death of the queen, and also there alone is it related that Dacien bursts his girdle from anger and falls from his throne.

SFr is thus placed midway between C, G, and Sg on the one hand and S and Y on the other. It must, therefore, derive from a lost member of family O, where all these different traits were united. Two explanations are possible to account for the appearance of the legend in its oldest form in England at the end of the XII century. Either we have to do with a Latin version parallel to G and Sg, known in Europe for centuries, but of which no trace has been found so far, or we have to accept a new importation into the West of the apocryphal form of the legend as the result of the crusades. Everything seems to speak in favor of the second of these suppositions. Tradition had it that Saint George, the warrior saint, had already led the army of the first crusaders to victory at Antioch¹ and Jerusalem.² The third crusade (1189-1193) had drawn liberally upon English knights, owing to the personal participation of Richard the Lion-hearted. This army in 1191 remained for six weeks at Lydda, where was found the famous church sacred to St. George, and they passed through this village again the following year, when they returned from Jerusalem.³ A few years later the fame of the saint had grown to such proportion that in 1222 the 23d of April, the calendar day of Saint George, was proclaimed a national holiday at Oxford.

¹Cf. Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum libri quinque, publ. by M. W. Stubbs, London, 1889, vol. II, p. 420.

²Cp. La Conquête de Jérusalem, publ. by Hippeau, 1868, ll. 5388-5421.

³Cp. L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte par Ambroise, publ. by G. Paris, 1897, s. v. Saint Jorge in the Table.

The poem of Simund de Freine appears thus as a natural incident in the development which found its climax in the proclamation by which Saint George became the patron saint of England.¹

This supposition of a new importation of the legend from the East seems also to give the simplest explanation of the features of this version which I have been unable to duplicate elsewhere. In the analysis, printed above, these have been indicated by italics. Not all are of equal importance, still the following may be cited particularly. The number of kings who answer the call of Dacien is thirty-two. Magnacius is converted and baptized after the miracle of the thrones; this feature is absent in O, and is placed in Y after the martyr's death on the wheel. The name of the magician is Anastasius; this name is adopted also by Vetter in the M. H. G. poem of Reinbot von Durne,² but it is found there only as a manuscript variant, and it certainly is not found in any of the other versions that have come to my notice. The incident of the heated iron boots (§ 11) is told in the form of the Greek canonical version (§ 5), while in O (§ 2-c) these boots are filled with sharp nails. The presence of George in the den of wild beasts, which is related in the same paragraph (§ 11) as the torture of the heated iron boots, is altogether unknown in the versions of my collection, unless indeed the short reference to a similar torture pointed out above, p. 110, in the version contained in *Bibl. Nat. F. L.* 3789 could be taken as an evidence of the existence of this feature in other forms of the legend.

Finally the reference to the burial of the martyr in the church sacred to his memory, where many miracles have taken place (§ 14), which is also absent in O and Y, seems a definite indication that the story had been collected by Westerners who had visited the famous church of the saint at Lydda.

¹ For further particulars in this connection cf. below, pp. 150 ff.

² Cp. below, p. 137.

B. *German Versions.*1. *The Old High German poem on Saint George.* (O. H. G.)

The transmission of this poem, as is well known, is the worst imaginable. The single copy of it which has come down to us, in the Otfrid manuscript at Heidelberg, was made from memory¹ by a scribe by the name of Uuisolf, who knew his poem badly and German worse, who made countless errors of all sorts, and who finally, when he had reached the limit of his possibilities, threw his pen down in disgust, exclaiming "nequeo." These facts render the poem suspicious, and make it legitimate to look for errors likely to be committed under such conditions, such as errors of transposition, omission, or repetition.

It cannot be the purpose of the present study to attempt to solve all the many difficulties which this text presents; that must necessarily be the duty of Germanic scholars. It is evident, however, that the problems to be solved are twofold. On the one hand the story of the poem must be brought into harmony with the general tradition of the legend, and on the other the form of the poem must be definitely established. It is also manifestly proper that the story should be fixed first. At any rate, where the problem has been attacked from the opposite side, the story has been twisted and turned in a way to destroy the distinctive features of the legend. Such had been the method of Lachmann² and Haupt,³ and we shall certainly be pardoned for not entering into a discussion of their results, which have now been uniformly rejected.

¹ Kögel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, 1-2, p. 95, accepts as an alternative the possibility that the copy was made from dictation. In that case the person dictating recited from memory. On no other supposition can the errors in the order of the lines be explained.

² Köpke's *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reichs unter der Herrschaft Otto's*, 1, p. 97.

³ Haupt, *Berichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1854, pp. 501 ff.

The study of the poem was turned into the right direction by Zarncke in his study published in the *Ber. d. Ges. d. Wiss. z. Leipzig*, 1874, pp. 1 ff. Compared with the work of his predecessors, Zarncke's method is characterized by great conservatism. He studies all the other versions of the legend accessible at his time, accepts the order of lines of the manuscript in the great majority of cases, sees refrains in the repeated lines, and constructs a poem having five strophes of four lines, two strophes of five lines, one strophe of six lines, besides a fragmentary strophe and refrains of one or three lines. In this form the poem appears in Braune's *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, p. 138. The irregularity of this arrangement was criticised by Scherer in *Z. f. d. A.*, XIX, pp. 104 ff. It was denied that the repeated lines are refrains, the mixture of strophes of four, five, and six lines was shown to be altogether unknown in Old High German, and it was maintained that the only mixture that could be accepted was that of strophes of two and three lines.

Here the matter rested for some time. In the third edition of Müllenhof and Scherer's *Denkmäler* (1892), pp. 35 ff. Steinmeyer printed the poem, with the exception of some slight changes in the last strophe, practically with the order which the lines have in the manuscript. The repetitions are not treated as refrains, but are incorporated in the strophes of varying lengths, into which the poem is broken.

The last to study the question in detail was Kögel in his *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, 1-2 (1897), pp. 95 ff. He rejects the refrains, accepts Scherer's suggestion that the poem might have been written in strophes of two or three lines, and divides the text accordingly. As to the order of the lines he follows the manuscript throughout, allowing only one variation, viz., the inversion of ll. 19 and 20, already demanded by Zarncke, *l. c.*, p. 3, "aus massgebenden metrischen Gründen."

My opinion could be of no value with regard to the metrical form of the poem. The solution of that problem

must remain the task of those especially fitted to undertake it. However, from the general point of view of the tradition of the legend, I do not hesitate to maintain that the problem must not be attacked on this side. On account of this wrong method Kögel is led to give wrong interpretations to several lines and in several instances he introduces features into the legend which are entirely foreign to it. The text must be studied first with reference to its contents, and when that study has given a satisfactory story, then the task of dividing the poem into strophes may be undertaken. The method will be to accept the order of the manuscript whenever it is possible to do so. As a matter of fact, the instances of transposition are few, but they are evident to anyone who will compare closely the form which the legend has in the various versions which are now at our disposal.

A passage which is certainly wrong in the manuscript, but which can be definitely corrected, occurs in ll. 31-41. Not counting the jubilation (ll. 34-36), the text as given in the manuscript contains three sets of lines, relating the following incidents: (1) George is bound upon a wheel and cut in ten pieces, ll. 31, 32, 33; (2) he is ground to powder and burned to ashes, ll. 37, 38; (3) he is thrown into a well, which is then filled up with stones, ll. 39, 40, while the crowd dances about and calls upon the saint to rise, l. 41. The jubilation divides the story into two incidents, (1) the death on the wheel, (2) the death by burning to ashes; and this general division is in agreement with O, the former being related in O, § 5, the latter in O, § 8, with some slight variations, to which it would be wrong to attach too great importance. Now Zarncke placed l. 41 after l. 32, *i. e.*, after the mutilation on the wheel, but he left ll. 39-40 where they stand in the manuscript, so that the story was made to relate (1) that George was cut into ten pieces, and the crowd danced about him and called upon him to rise, which was followed by the jubilation; (2) that he was burned to powder, and the powder thrown into a well. Kögel and Steinmeyer, on the other

hand, accept the order of the manuscript without change. The story in that case does not differ from Zarncke's arrangement, but Kögel finds himself called upon to add a note, *l. c.*, p. 101, that *pulver* in O. H. G. could be masculine, and that *en*, l. 39, refers to it. There can be no question, however, unless we are ready to accept an entire remodeling of the story, and a freedom in handling it which is not evident in any of its older forms, that the incident of the well should follow immediately after the mutilation on the wheel, and that the order of lines should be 31, 32, 33, 39, 40 (cp. O, § 5), followed by the jubilation. Line 41 may remain where it stands in the manuscript, giving the order 37, 38, 41, followed by the succeeding jubilation. However, as far as the story is concerned, there would be no objection to transposing it together with ll. 39 and 40.

Lines 47-50 Zarncke interpreted as having reference to Tacianus' idol, but this is evidently a wrong interpretation. The incident referred to is the miracle of the tomb (O, § 10), as was correctly seen by Kögel, *l. c.*, p. 102, and Vetter, *Der Heilige Georg des Reinbot von Durne*, p. lxii.

If these variations from the order of the manuscript are accepted, everything is fairly clear in the story, with the exception of ll. 12-15. According to the reading of the manuscript it would seem that George was visited in his prison by angels, and by two women, whom he feeds. But ll. 17-20, which follow, contain an evident reference to the incidents in the widow's house and the miraculous growth of the gable fork. Kögel misinterprets this passage completely, *l. c.*, p. 104. Lines 19 and 20, which relate that George made the blind to see, the lame to walk, the dumb to speak, and the deaf to hear, he understands as referring to a general miracle of the saint in prison, and the pillar or stump which had stood there many a year, and which is made to bear leaves, also remains dark to him. Now there can be no question that the blind, lame, deaf, and dumb is one person, namely, the widow's son, and that the pillar is the gable fork

of the widow's hut described in O, § 11. To give another interpretation to these lines, as Kögel attempts to do, means rejecting the evident meaning and burdening the study of the poem with useless difficulties. This interpretation also gives the clue to the identity of the two women mentioned in the text, l. 14. These evidently represent the widow (O, § 11) and Schollastica (O, § 9). That both should appear in the house of the widow is at variance with the story as told in G, Sg, and C, but it agrees with the source of Simund de Freine's poem,¹ where it is also related (ll. 828-863) that a second woman, though the name is absent, implores the aid of the martyr, while he is imprisoned in the house of the poor widow. I can see, therefore, no difficulty in ll. 14-22. To be sure, the order of the individual steps in this incident is somewhat irregular. Usually the miracle of the gable fork precedes the healing of the widow's son. It is this evidence of her guest's miraculous power which impels the woman to pray for the healing of her child. This order of the original story could easily be restored by placing l. 21 after l. 15. It will be noted that ll. 22 and 16 are identical, and it would not be impossible that the scribe had confused the order, misled by this similarity, as he had done in the passage just discussed.

It follows that a pause in the story must be accepted between ll. 13 and 14. In the passage just preceding (ll. 12-13), the first incarceration of George is related after his initial appearance before the emperor. Kögel and others refer *dhar*, l. 14, as relating to the prison, so that it seems to follow that the two women were in the prison where George was thrown. But this interpretation is entirely out of keeping with the usual form of the story. I am inclined, if a simple pause with implied change of scene between ll. 13 and 14 seems too forced an interpretation of the manuscript reading, to admit an omission of two lines in the place in question, in which the appearance of God and his promise to aid George

¹ Cp. above, p. 122.

in his suffering was further described in accordance with the account of O, § 2.

If this arrangement of the text is accepted, everything is fairly clear in the poem. The evident similarity of the opening lines 1-12 with the story as told in O has been sufficiently elucidated by Kögel. Also the appearance of the angels in the prison (l. 12) need cause no surprise. Though angels are not mentioned in O, § 2, yet God is usually accompanied by them when he appears to mitigate the suffering of the martyr, and the author may have elaborated this feature from the data of his Latin source; cp. Kögel, *l. c.*, p. 104.

As far as the story is concerned we should then have the following order of incidents :

1. Appearance of George (ll. 1-11).
2. George in prison (ll. 12-13).
3. George in the house of the widow, with a reference to Schollastica (ll. 14-22).
4. First death of George by decapitation (ll. 23-30).
5. The torture on the wheel and second death (ll. 31-33, 39-40, 34-36).
6. George burned to ashes, and third death (ll. 37-38, 41-45).
7. The miracle of the tomb (ll. 46-50).
8. George in the palace with Elossandria, and her conversion (ll. 51-57).
9. George in the temple (ll. 58-59).

Of these incidents the first death by decapitation cannot be duplicated from the material at my disposal. I have here accepted the usual interpretation of ll. 26-27, though the meaning does not seem to me very evident. The two lines :

Hiez er Gorjen fâhen, hiez en ûz ziehen,
Hiez en slahen harto mit wunter wasso swerto

seem to me to suggest the tortures related in O, § 12, particularly in the form given to them by Sg, quite as readily as death by decapitation.

Compared with O the incidents occur here in the following order: 1, 2, 11 (+ 9), 12, 5, 8, 10, 13, which proves that the author of the poem handled the story rather freely. The fact that George passes the night in the palace, where he improves the occasion by converting Elossandria, which is not found in Y or Z, nor in the poem of Simund de Freine, connects the O. H. G. text with G, Sg, and C, and with the source of Reinbot. On the other hand the introduction of the widow and Schollastica in the same incident, if my interpretation is correct, and the immediate complete healing of the widow's son from all his infirmities, which also seems to follow from ll. 19 and 20, presents a slight similarity to the source of Simund de Freine. None of the versions known so far can, therefore, be the immediate source of the O. H. G. text, and we are forced to accept an additional Latin version of the family O, upon which this poem is based.

2. *The life of Saint George by Reinbot von Durne.* (R.)

This Middle High German poem, which we shall call R, has lately been edited anew with a long comparative introduction by Vetter, *Der Heilige Georg des Reinbot von Durne*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1896.

Contents.—The poem opens with a general introduction relating how Otte, Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine, and his wife had given to Reinbot a book containing a life of Saint George, to translate it into German.

The three sons of the Margrave Geori of Palestine, Theodorus, Demetrius, and Geori, whose mother hailed from Antioch after the death of their father, make themselves masters over all the heathen around them. Finally the two older brothers agree to leave the government in the keeping of Geori while they go to Spain, where the recently converted king is closely set upon in the city of Gruns by the king of Munilet, in the land of Marroch. The plan is carried out; the older brothers remain ten years in Spain

and Geori stays at home for some time; then he goes to Kapadocia and overcomes there the Saracens in the land of the Greeks, in the year 290 A. D.

Soon the news of Geori's victories is brought to Diokletianus and Maximianus, contemporaries of Pope Marcellus. At a large concourse of rulers Diokletian then declares that he himself will go to the East, and Maximian to the West, to overthrow the Christian faith. In the meantime Dacian is to hold the reins of government at home, and particularly he is to go at once to Kapadocia to oppose the growing influence of Geori. He accepts readily this command, all the more because Kapadocia is the land of his wife Alexandrina.

The brothers in Spain hear of these preparations, and they decide at once to return to Geori, whom they find in Millene in Kapadocia. He turns over the government to them, Palastin to Diometer, Kapadocia to Theodor, and accompanied by sixty magnificent knights he appears at the court of Dacian.

During the space of a week he astonishes the citizens with his magnificence and hospitality. Dacian himself comes out to welcome him. Then Geori sends his retinue back to his brothers, and accompanied only by his scribe and his page, he appears before Dacian and confesses Christianity. Dacian offers him land and treasures if he will sacrifice to Apollo, and when he refuses, he is thrown into prison, and a large block is placed upon him. During the night Christ appears to him, filling the prison with a bright light, which is noticed throughout the castle, and comforts him.

When Dacian hears of this occurrence, he commands that Geori be brought into his presence, whereupon he accuses him of sorcery. Geori is then beaten with rods, which punishment he receives lying on the ground, stretched out in the shape of a cross.

Geori is now led into the house of a poor widow. The woman thinks he must be an angel, but he tries to teach her that her two gods, Hercules and Apollo, are vain idols. She

goes out to beg some bread for her guest, and while she is gone Geori touches the gable fork of the house, which grows twelve cubits over the roof in height. An angel of God spreads a table for him with bread from heaven. When the widow now returns she believes that he must surely be a god. He supplies her with all kinds of food imaginable from the wonderful tree. Then upon her prayer he heals her son, who is three months old, and blind and crippled. The woman proclaims this miracle throughout the city, and the king and queen, who see the blossoming gable tree from afar, come to adore their god Tervigant, whom they believe to be the author of the wonder. With them come seventy kings, each speaking a different tongue. In vain do they exhort Geori to confess that the heathen gods have done the miracle. In fact the charm disappears as soon as George steps outside of the house.

Geori now promises that if Apollo on the morrow shall cause the sun to rise at eventide, he will sacrifice to him in his temple. Dacian, confident of the result, kisses his head for joy and hands him over into the keeping of his queen, Alexandrina.

The sacrifice is proclaimed for the morrow, and the queen leads Geori to her rooms in the palace. A maiden, singing to the accompaniment of a French *viole*, offers up thanks to Apollo for George's arrival, and the queen, according to the custom of France, her native land, makes him sit down at table by her side in the presence of her husband, while her sister waits on them. When Dacian has left, Alexandrina asks George concerning the nature of the three religions, and he teaches her the main doctrines of Christianity. Then he withdraws to solitude, prays to the Virgin, and the queen appears again, asking for baptism. A cloud descends upon her head, and Geori explains to her that this cloud was sent from heaven as a symbol of her baptism.

On the next day follows the sacrifice in the temple. The widow appears alone, blaming Geori for forsaking his God,

who had done so many wonders for him. The martyr asks her to send her child to court. When he appears, Geori tells him to go to the temple of Apollo and call him out. If he refuses to come, he is to beat him with a stick. The child does as he is bidden. Apollo makes no answer to the first summons; at the second call he roars so loud that everybody flees except Ritschart, the secretary of Geori. As soon as the child strikes the statue, it begins to move in the direction of the court. Dacian accepts this as a wonder of his god, but upon Geori's question Apollo confesses that he is an idol, and finally he appears in hideous shape upon the pedestal. Geori then sends him to the abyss.

Dacian is not willing to accept the evidence, but Alexandrina now confesses her new faith. To avenge this new injury, Dacian condemns Geori to be fastened to a wheel, fitted up with sharp and poisoned swords. The saint prays to God, an angel appears and watches over him, and he passes the night in peaceful slumber upon the revolving wheel. When Dacian appears on the next morning to superintend his burial, Geori wakes up, praises God, and teaches Dacian and the assembled crowd the power of Christianity. Twelve thousand people are baptized through a dew, which falls upon them from heaven, and Dacian orders them all to be executed.

Alexandrina now heaps imprecations upon her husband. He commands her to be suspended by the breasts and tortured, but she exhorts the multitude to accept the true faith. Then Dacian orders her breasts to be cut off, and Geori presses her to his heart, and her breasts grow out again as before. Finally Dacian, on the advice of those present, orders her to be led to execution. Two angels bear her away to heaven.

Dacian now orders Geori to be sawed into four parts, and these to be thrown into a well. Michael appears, accompanied by angels, and resuscitates him.

In the meantime Dacian, believing Geori dead, proclaims a war against his brothers. The martyr suddenly reappears before him, 12,000 heathens are converted, and Dacian, recog-

nizing his inability to overcome Geori before the seven years, which had been prophesied, are ended, now offers him an honorable prison on parole, provided he will remain near him until the return of Diokletian and Maximian. Geori makes the promise on condition that Dacian will not move against his brothers in Palestine. He praises their fortitude and extols their allies, Tschofreit of Salnecke and their uncle of Antioch.

Dacian puts off his intended excursion, and it is proposed that Geori shall entertain the assembled court with a new miracle. He performs the miracle of the tomb; 213 people, large and small, arise, who had been laid there 313 years ago by a sorcerer king. One of their number, by the name of Johel, asks for baptism, which is given them from a spring that bubbles miraculously from the ground. He confesses that they had all served formerly the idol Apollo. After their baptism they are all led by angels to heaven.

The other kings at Dacian's court now organize a festival. To entertain them Geori relates his early victory over the Salnecker, when angels had brought him his white banner with red cross. The Count of Magedon supplements the story by an account of the single combat of Geori against Liberun of Azor and his brother Jabin, and of the final defeat of Tschofreit.

In order to continue the entertainment, Geori is asked to perform a miracle. If he should be able to cause fourteen thrones to take root and bloom, Magedon promises to accept Christianity. The miracle is accomplished, and Magedon with 8,035 others is baptized.

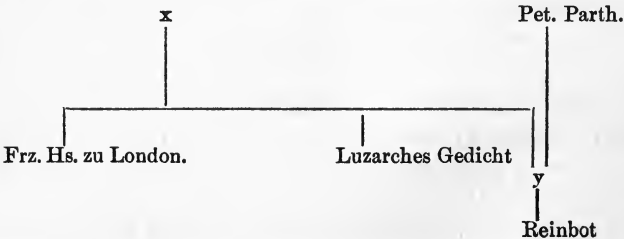
Now follow further tortures. Geori is rolled down a mountain side in a metal ox filled with poisoned arrows, but escapes unharmed. Upon the advice of Athanasius (or Anastasius) the nails of his fingers are pulled out and poisoned arrows are stuck into his wounds. When this also is of no avail, Athanasius confesses Christ and is baptized.

Dacian again asks further particulars of Geori's history.

We are told once more that Geori had been made king of Greece. The reason was his *Tugend*; he had entered the *Tugendburg*, of which a lengthy description is given.

Dacian then commands Magedon and Athanasius to be executed. After further debate with Dacian, and tortures which extend over seven years, Geori is finally decapitated. Fire from heaven consumes Dacian and his companions, but Geori's soul is carried by Michael to heaven.

Vetter words his conclusion with regard to the source of Reinbot's poem as follows, *l. c.*, p. lxxv: "Auf einer Mischredaktion, und zwar auf Peter von Parthenope mit abermalicher Benutzung einer Apokryphe, ruht endlich auch das Gedicht Reinbots von Durne, bezw. seine französische Vorlage." Then he goes on to say that this French source was not the poem published by Luzarche (our A) nor the poem of Simund de Freine. "Dagegen ist diese Vorlage (y), wie namentlich die gemeinsamen Umstellungen zeigen, eng verwandt gewesen mit der Vorlage (x) des Luzarcheschen Gedichtes und der französischen Londoner (und Petersburger) Prosa,¹ und dieses x ist aus einem dem Sg nahestehenden lateinischen Texte hervorgegangen, worin u. a. der Auferweckte den Namen Jobius führte (bei Luzarche Jobel, bei Reinbot Johel)." This filiation he then illustrates by the following diagram:



Then he continues: "Anderseits hatte Reinbot's französische Vorlage aus der Mischredaktion des Peter von Parthenope entnommen: die Jahreszahl 290 und den angeblich gleich-

¹The version referred to is our Yβ; cp. *Fubs. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, xvii, p. 493.

zeitigen Pabst Marcellus; vielleicht das letzte Gebet Georgs; ferner den Versuch die historischen Kaiser mit dem apokryphischen Dacian zu vereinigen, und die der Apokryphe unbekannte Bekehrung des Magnentius (bei Reinbot Magdon). Diokletian und Maximian stehen bei Reinbot ganz im Hintergrund; Dacian heisst selbst Kaiser; seine Untergebenen sind Könige; Georg heisst neben Markgraf und Graf, Tribun—auch Markts. Die Königin erhält, wie in dem Gedichte Luzarches die Taufe aus einem himmlischen Gewölke. Dem Augenzeugen und Schreiber Pasikrates ist offenbar von der französischen Vorlage ein Franzose Ritschart untergeschoben, ebenso der Königin Alexandrina eine teilweise Abstammung aus Frankreich. Der Gang der Erzählung ist im Ganzen derjenige der Apokryphe; vereinzelt Umstellungen rühren vielleicht auch von Reinbot her, der seine Vorlage ziemlich frei scheint benutzt zu haben."

It will not be difficult to show that these assertions for the most part are entirely without foundation. There is no proof whatever that either R or its supposed French source knew and used PP. With the date of composition of PP (before 1251) accepted by Vetter, and that of R (between 1231 and 1252), there is little time for such circuitous descent, unless it be granted that the ms. of PP was carried to France, before the ink had dried, to be there turned into French, and that this new version was given to Reinbot by Duke Otte with equal celerity. However, this difficulty is removed by the earlier date of composition of PP suggested by the editors of the *Bibl. Casin*, cited above, p. 102. Yet even under these more favorable conditions the indebtedness of R or its immediate source to PP still remains to be proved.

Vetter evidently referred to the text of Petrus Parthenopensis on account of the mention of the name of Pope Marcellus, the date 290 A. D., and the form Millene, as name of the city where the martyrdom took place. Now we have seen above (p. 102) that the agreement is not entirely as Vetter imagines. Only the date is identical in R and some

of the manuscripts of PP, but not all, while the name of the pope in PP is Marcellinus. The name Millene, which corresponds to Mellena in PP, we also found again as Melena in Y η . It is evident that these names and the date represent definite manuscript tradition, and the natural conclusion, unless definite proofs were offered of the contrary, would be, that the immediate sources of R and PP received them through the same channels. That this conclusion is the only one that can be maintained, follows from the fact that PP has no other features in common with R, and we are justified, therefore, in rejecting this portion of Vetter's filiation.

As to the actual story of the passion of Saint George in R our conclusions will needs be less definite.

Reinbot's poem begins with a history of George's earlier youth. It mentions the name of his father (Geori), who was count of Palestine, and of his two brothers, Theodorus and Demetrius (or Diometer). His mother is introduced as coming from Antioch. Similarly an earlier history of George with different names and facts is found in the encomium of Theodotus,¹ and inklings of a similar history (his Christian parents and his youth with his mother in Palestine) are also contained in the Greek canonical versions.² In explanation of the presence of the names of Theodorus and Demetrius (Diometer) here by the side of that of Geori, Vetter³ refers to facts cited by Veselófskij, *l. c.*, p. 5, to prove that the three names are commonly joined in Eastern versions of George's life and martyrdom. However, I doubt whether it is necessary to look such a distance for the explanation. In a further chapter we shall cite some of the traditions concerning the

¹ Cp. Budge, *l. c.*, pp. 281 ff. His father was governor of Palestine, but the name is not given; elsewhere he is called Anastasius; cp. *ibid.*, p. xviii. In the Greek apocryphal version cited *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xvii, p. 490 (V²), the name of his father is Gerontios. His mother's name in the Coptic versions is Kíra Theognosta, and two sisters are mentioned, *ibid.*, by the names of Kasia and Mathróna.

² Cp. *Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, xvii, p. 481.

³ Cp. Vetter, *l. c.*, p. lxvi, note.

opportune aid furnished by Saint George to the armies of the first and third crusades in their march to Jerusalem. In one of these passages¹ George is accompanied by Demetrius and Theodorus, and the fact that this tradition is related in connection with the capture of Antioch, and that, according to Reinbot's story, the home of the saint's mother was in this city, opens up interesting speculation as to the origin of Reinbot's immediate source. The names of Diocletian and Maximian are found, as we have shown, in the Greek apocryphal versions, and they are common to all the texts deriving from Zc.

After the initial tortures, when God appears to George in prison, R relates that the martyr was thereupon led back to the emperor and beaten a second time. He accepts this punishment, *stretched out in the shape of a cross*. The same fact is related in the Cheltenham poem (P), when he is led back to prison and the heavy block is placed upon his breast. The gable fork in R grows twelve cubits over the summit of the roof, as in Sg (O § 11), while the widow's child is three months old, as in G (O § 11). The empress Alexandrina² upon her husband's invitation leads George to the palace, where the martyr converts her to Christianity. This incident occurs elsewhere only in the different versions of O. The torture on the wheel is related by Reinbot in accordance with the Greek canonical versions. An angel from heaven appears and comforts George, who is not harmed. In O and in all the texts of family Y, George is cut into ten pieces and resuscitated, while in the texts of family Z the wheel is broken. In the miracle of the tomb 213 people are resuscitated who have been dead 313 years. The name of their spokesman is Johel. This form of the name occurs in Y ϑ and δ (elsewhere it is Joel, Jouel, Jobel), while the number of souls resuscitated in the different versions of family Y, and the

¹ Cp. below, p. 153.

² Cp. Alixandrina in Y γ and Alisandrine in SFr, but Alexandrie in A, Alixandre in Y α , β , Alexandra in Y ϵ , η , κ , Alexandria in Y δ and ϑ .

number of years elapsed since their death are given as 200 and 200, or 19 and 200, or 14 and 300, or 235, the other number being omitted. The name connects R with S, as was the case for the different versions of Y, while the two numbers represent an individual variation, which also points in the same direction. Finally after the miracle of the thrones Reinbot relates that 8,035 souls were baptized. The same number occurs in $Y\alpha$ after the miracle of the tomb, so that its exact duplication here cannot be due entirely to accident.

The attempt to harmonize these various points of contact must proceed entirely on the basis of theory, but the features which have been pointed out are characteristic and could not be the result of chance. They must have existed in the ultimate source from which R derives. The name Johel, and the large number of souls raised from death, point to the source of S, the age of the widow's child to that of G, and the twelve cubits of the gable fork to that of Sg. We are thus forced to accept another Greek version parallel to the sources of G, Sg, and S, combining these characteristics. This version may have come in contact with the canonical Greek versions, from which the account of the early youth of George was introduced, which was then elaborated in accordance with current Eastern traditions. Under the same influence the torture of the wheel was altered and the other points of agreement with the Greek version were brought in. Then the account was translated into Latin. The translator knew the Western authoritative version contained in Z. He added, therefore, the name of Maximian to that of Diocletian, which he found in his Greek text, though it is entirely possible that he found both names already in his source.¹ He translated further the name Melitena into Mellena, besides adding the name of Pope Marcellus and the date of 290 A. D. It was this version which Petrus Parthenopensis knew and

¹ Both names are mentioned in V¹ of the Greek apocryphal group.

of whose existence we have further welcome evidence in *Yκ*.¹ The order of incidents in Reinbot's poem is seriously altered. This may be due to his own free handling of his material, or it may represent the order of incidents contained in his source. But the most superficial glance at the contents will show how completely without foundation is Vetter's assertion that the changes common to A and R prove an intimate relation between the sources of these two poems.²

We have now to face the difficult problem of the immediate source of Reinbot. In the opening lines of his poem he relates that Otte, Duke of Bavaria, and his wife had given him a book containing the life of Saint George with directions to translate it into German. In asking him to do this, they had done exactly as Count Herman of Thuringia, when he gave the French poem of Wilhelm von Naribôn for the same purpose to Wolfram von Eschenbach.

Upon the strength of this statement it is generally maintained that Reinbot translated a French poem now lost, but upon closer inspection it will be seen that the evidence for the existence of this French source is very meager. It should be noted: (1) That Reinbot nowhere says that Otte gave him a French book, while he is particular to mention the original language of Wilhelm von Naribôn; (2) that the whole spirit

¹It is unnecessary to dwell on the inaccuracies of Vetter's assertions. The name Johel points to S and not to Sg, while the conversion of Magentius, which, he says, does not occur in the apocryphal versions, is a feature of family Y.

²Giving to the incidents of A and R the numbering which the same paragraphs have in O, we should have for A the order: 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 7, 13-14, 8, 13 (?) -15, 10, 17, 18. In R the same method would give us the following enumeration: 1, 11, 13, 14, 5, 15, 10, 7. All peculiarities of R are left out of consideration in this statement, but it is evident that A and R have nothing in common as far as the order of the story is concerned.

³ und sprächen zuo mir: "Reinbot,
du solt ein buoch tihten
in tiusche spräche rihten
von dem lieben herren min,
dem wir wellen undertaenik sîn,

of Reinbot's poem is anything but French; (3) that the French words in R can all be duplicated from Wolfram von Eschenbach and other MHG. authors; (4) that no such French poem as that demanded for Reinbot's source has been found so far; (5) that Wolfram, Reinbot's great model, cites for his Parzival a French author by the name of Kiot, whose existence is more than doubtful.

Only two features seem to speak for a French source: (1) Reinbot makes Alexandrina of French extraction on her mother's side;¹ (2) George's servant and secretary bears the French name of Ritschart.² Both of these features are, however, superficial and external, and fail to have convincing weight. French imitation was the fashion in the courtly literature of the time, and Reinbot is a characteristic exponent of all its tendencies. Had he translated a Latin text, and had he wished, consciously or unconsciously, to give it a French appearance, it is just such clumsy additions as these that he would have practised. Viewed in this light, the

Sant Geôrien, der uns selten ie
ze dheinen noeten verliee."

ll. 20-26.

von Düringen lantgrâf Herman
in franzois geschriben vant
—daz er in tiusche tet bekant—
von Wilhelm von Naribôn,
des er hiute hât ze himel lôn;
er was des buoches urhap,
wan er die materie gap
hern Wolfram von Eschenbach;
swaz er von Wilhelme sprach,
daz ist von dem lantgrâven kômen:
so wirt diû buoch hie vernomen
von dem herzogen Otten.

ll. 34-45.

¹ Capadociâ
dann Alexandrinâ
was geborn diu künigin
und anderhalb ein Franzoisin

ll. 1319-1322.

For the other passage, ll. 2504-2505, cp. below.

² Cp. ll. 3266 ff. and ll. 4118-4119.

manner in which the idea of the French descent of the queen might have suggested itself to him seems quite apparent. George has been introduced into her apartments, and Reinbot now describes his reception there in the courtly French fashion then accepted as good form. Some one plays on a French *viola* and a maiden sings to its accompaniment. Alexandrina sits down by his side, and her women and own sister wait on the guest. The emperor compliments him on his good fortune.

“sich mak wol vröuwen iuwer lîp,
 daꝛ iu diu keiserin, mîn wîp,
 sizet alsô nâhen
 (daꝛ solde ir wol versmâhen) :
 dâ êret sie iuch, herre, mite ;
 eꝛ ist der Franzoisaere site,
 dann' ist mîn vrouwe her geborn ;
 anders waere eꝛ mir zorn.”

ll. 2499-2506.

As regards the name of Ritschart in the next place, the cause for its introduction seems also fairly apparent on the same basis. If his source supplied him with either Pasicrates or Eusebius, Reinbot may have preferred to omit a name which did not lend itself readily to translation. If, however, and this supposition has a great deal of probability in its favor, his source omitted the name, and yet stated the fact that the account had been written by the servant of George, as is the case, for instance, in *Ye* of our collection, then a French name might readily have come to his pen.

Nothing, therefore, seems to contradict the view which I have tried to defend, viz., that the source of Reinbot was one of the many Latin versions current at his time.¹ The proper names of his poem, in a sense at least, support this view. These fall into two classes: (1) Evident additions of Reinbot, whose French form can furnish no argument for the language of his source, such as *Tschofreit*, *Marsilje*, *Sibille*, *Munilet*, *Grunts*, etc.; (2) those belonging to the story proper. Here it is significant that all have (*a*) either a Latin form as

¹Germanic scholars may be able to decide whether '*Hie tuot uns die schrift kunt*,' l. 4289, has the appearance of a reference to a French poem.

Dacian, Alexandrina, Theodorus, Demetrius (or Diometer), Jupiter, Anastasius (or Athanasius), or (b) a form which could not be derived from the French, as Geori, Millene (French Militaine or Militainne), Magedon (which seems to agree best with Magentius in S; the French has Magnanties, Manecies, Mananties), Machmet.

I do not undertake to maintain that these arguments are entirely conclusive, but this much, I think, may be safely affirmed, that until more definite evidence for a French source of R has been advanced, careful scholarship will be justified in doubting the accuracy of the present inference.

C. *The Anglo-Saxon Version of Aelfric.*

This poem has been published at various times; the last edition, as far as I know, was made by Skeat, *Aelfric's Lives of Saints* (*Early English Text Society*), pp. 306-318. The question of Aelfric's source was investigated by Ott, *Ueber die Quellen der Heiligenleben in Aelfric's Lives of Saints*, Halle Diss., 1892, p. 39, but without satisfactory conclusions. He confines himself to noting some similarities to the story given by Vincent de Beauvais, and some differences from that found in the *Legenda Aurea*. Our own material will permit us to be far more definite.

Aelfric's poem relates the story of the passion of Saint George in the form peculiar to family Z, and it is not at all impossible that it was version *a* of that family which he translated. With the exception of a few minor omissions the A.-S. poem is practically a literal translation of this Latin text. The omissions just referred to are the following: (1) The preparations of Datian for the persecution and the causes of George's appearance (*civitatisque sue comitatem gerens*). (2) The joy of Datian when George promises to sacrifice to his idols, and his impulse to kiss the martyr. (3) The passage which seems to demand the conclusion that Datian did not witness the destruction of his idols in person, and that George

after that performance was led back into his presence by servants.

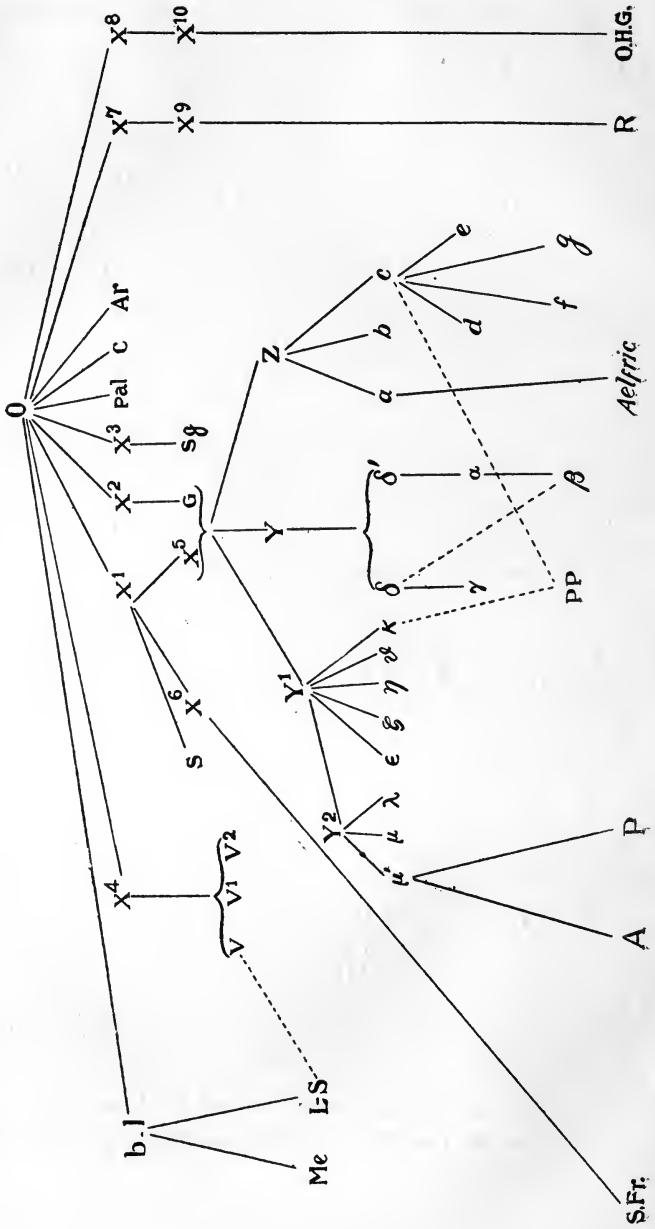
All three are probably mere omissions of the translator. The introductory lines, in which Aelfric states that heretics have disfigured the story of Saint George, but that he will relate the authentic record, show that he was acquainted with the decree of Gelasius, and bear out the assertion, made in an earlier part of this study, that the version of Z was received as authoritative in the West. Our theory, finally, that Aelfric translated a copy of Za is supported by the fact that the British Museum possesses a copy of this version (Nero E. 1) which, according to the catalogue, was written about the year 1000.

The table on p. 148 represents in concrete form the conclusions which this study of the various versions of the passion of Saint George seemed to authorize.

Saint George as an active figure in Mediæval Tradition.

There can be no question that Saint George became early one of the favorite saints of the Western church. As early as the year 491 Clotilda, wife of Clovis, king of the Franks, dedicated to his memory the nunnery built by her at Chelles, not a great distance from Paris, while Clovis himself about the same time founded in his honor a cloister at Cambrai. In the VI century Venantius Fortunatus sings the praises of the church of St. George at Mayence. In the same century Gregory of Tours speaks of the relics of the saint, and builds a church in his honor in the neighborhood of Astoux in the diocese of Dax. In the VII century Clotaire III, king of the Franks, erected a chapel in his honor at Noyon in Picardy, and Childeric II, king of Austrasia, founded a monastery of St. George in Alsace, in a valley called afterwards the valley of St. George.

The worship of the saint was carried to England at an early period of its history. During the reign of Canute a



monastery was founded in his honor at Thatford, and during the Anglo-Saxon period a church sacred to his memory existed at Southwark, while the Collegiate Church at Oxford was dedicated to him about the year 1074.

The story of his passion was known in Western Europe during the same early period. Versions G and Sg, though existing in manuscripts of the IX century, were probably turned into Latin before Hieronymus made the vulgate translation of the Bible, and manuscripts of the form of the legend contained in family Z exist as far back as the X century. Of early translations of the legend into the vernacular we have cited the Anglo-Saxon poem of Aelfric and the O. H. G. song of Saint George.

Outside of the direct transmission of the legend proper, very little is on record. We may cite, as of special interest, because written in England, a miracle ascribed to Saint George, and related by Adamnan, bishop of Hy in Scotland, in 679, in his book, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, which he had heard from Arculf, the early traveler. The story relates that a certain man, who seems to have been a soldier, having come to Diospolis on horseback to join a perilous expedition, vowed his horse to the saint in the building associated with his memory, before the marble column bearing his image, if he would protect him and grant him safe return. When he came back, he wished to commute the offering for the payment of a sum of money. Thereupon the saint showed his deep displeasure by causing the animal to become restive, when his owner had mounted to depart, and after several useless attempts and the promise of an additional sum of money, the vow was at length literally redeemed by leaving the horse behind.¹

There may be added an Anglo-Saxon prayer to the saint found in a martyrology surviving in Cambridge, C. C. C. MS. 196, given, as it would seem, by bishop Leofric to the cathe-

¹The story is published AA. SS. *Aprilis*, III, p. 144 D, and also Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. 88, p. 811.

dral church at Exeter in the XI century, and printed by Hardwick, *An Anglo-Saxon Passion of Saint George*, London, 1850 (Percy Society).

Evidences of a similar nature in regard to the worship of Saint George before the crusades could probably be multiplied through continued research; particularly might references be added from the martyrologies, such as those of Usuardus, Beda, Notker Balbulus, and Hrabanus Maurus, but nothing that could be cited would in any way foreshadow the extraordinary popularity which the saint enjoyed in Western Europe in the centuries following immediately after the crusades.

And it is not difficult to see why the crusades should have given a new impetus to the worship of Saint George. Setting out to face the perils of war, as the crusaders were doing, it was natural for them to place themselves under the protection of those saints whose aid was accepted as of particular efficacy under such conditions, and to single out for that purpose the martyrs who had themselves been soldiers during their lives. Of these 'Georgius, miles egregius, tribunus Cappadociae' was already most famous, but there were others, such as Theodorus, Demetrius, and Mauritius, who were equally fitted to perform this office, and they became without doubt the guardian saints of this expedition from the start.

When the army of the first crusade had arrived in Constantinople, and during the whole of its further journey until the goal was reached at Jerusalem, its members were constantly reminded of Saint George, this saint of saints, to whom they were in the habit of directing their prayers for protection. In Constantinople they saw the splendid church dedicated to his memory by Constantine. To pass over into Asia they crossed the Bosphorus, then known as the Arm of Saint George¹ (Brachium S. Georgii), after the church just spoken of. Their journey on Asiatic soil took them through Nicomedia, where the tenth persecution of the Christians under

¹ Passent le bras Saint Jorge a petite navie.

Chans. d' Antioche, ed. P. Paris, p. 22.

Diocletian had had its center, and where at least some¹ of the versions of the Passion of Saint George localize his martyrdom. From here their journey took them by way of Nicaea and Dorylaeum to Tarsus. On this march they traversed very probably at least the Western portion of Cappadocia, the home of the saint according to all accounts. When at Tarsus, the army split, and a portion of it moved eastward to Edessa. Here the crusaders found themselves in close proximity to the city of Melitene, the place of his martyrdom in the majority of the Latin and French versions current in Western Europe after the XII century. From Edessa the army passed on to Antioch, and after some delay and final victory there, it continued southward toward Jerusalem. If they halted at Tyre, they might have heard another tradition, which located the martyrdom there, as is the case in the two Coptic encomiums on the Passion of Saint George by Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra,² both written probably during the V century. Before reaching Jerusalem the army stopped at Lydda-Diospolis, near which village and half-way between it and Rama or Ramula stood the most famous of all the churches sacred to his memory. Here, according to one tradition, he had passed his youth, and here his disciples and friends had carried his body after his martyrdom, and here Arculf had seen the statue of Saint George, referred to above.³

¹ Cp. our version V¹, published in part by Vesclófskij, *l. c.*, p. 198.

² Cp. Budge, *l. c.*, pp. 237 and 282.

³ The power of Saint George as a protector in time of war and the fame of this church are spoken of in the French version of his Passion of the XIII century, preserved in the Arsenal Library in Paris, MS. 570.—*Incipit* (fo. 106 r). *C'est la vie et lai passion monsignour Saint Gorge, commant il fut martyriés. Et que chescun hons d'armes lai doit porter sor lui (en) bataille et en autres leus perillous. Car saichies, que lou jour c'on l'auroit lue ou oi (MS. oir) lire, nulz mals ne puet avenir, ne ne puet estre prins (MS. prin) ne vancus (sic) de ses anemins. . . . Et ii rois qui estoient Greus firent (fo. 109 v) dous esglizes en l'onour de monsignour Saint Jorge. L'une en Capadoce et l'autre en Palestine et pluxours autres esglizes qui furent faites en l'onour de monsignour Saint Jorge. . . .*

This constant contact with the memory of the saint gave rise to traditions concerning his opportune appearance in time of need during the course of the expedition. The first of these traditions concerns his aid during the capture of Antioch in 1098. It is related from two sources by Papebroch, *AA. SS., l. c.*, pp. 153 F ff., but is found of course also in other historians of the first crusade. He cites first a passage from the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Robert le Moine. One of the Saracen generals, Pyrrhus by name, inquires of Boamundus (Bohemond I, prominent in the capture of Antioch, and afterwards besieged by the Saracens within that city), where the army of knights clad in white was encamped, which constantly met their attack, and whose onslaught his own soldiers could never withstand. Boamundus, enlightened by the spirit of God, answers him: "Scias, quia in terris non conversantur, sed in supernis mansionibus regni coelorum. Hi sunt qui pro fide Christi martyrium sustinuerunt, et in omni terra contra incredulos dimicaverunt. Horum praecipui sunt signiferi Georgius, Demetrius, Mauritius: qui in hac mortali vita militaria arma gestaverunt et pro Christiana fide capite plexi sunt. . . ." Pyrrhus, not satisfied with this explanation, demands still further, if they come from heaven, where do they find white horses, and shields and banners. Bohemond knows no answer and calls in his chaplain, who explains: "Cum omnipotens Creator Angelos suos sive Justorum spiritus mittere disponit in terram, tunc assumunt sibi aerea corpora, ut per ea nobis innotescant. Ideo autem nunc armati apparent, ut indicent quod in bello laboraturis auxilio veniunt." The second passage cited *ibid.* is taken from the *Historia Itineris Hierosolymitani* of Petrus Tudebodus, based upon the *Gesta Francorum* of an anonymous author, which was for a long time looked upon as the original work of Petrus, who claims to have been present at the expedition, and which was the source of the French author of the *Chanson d'Antioche*. The passage reads as follows: "Cooperunt turmae Turcorum ex utraque parte exire, nostrosque undique

circumcingebant, jaculando et sagittando et vulnerando. Exierunt quoque de montaneis innumerabiles exercitus, qui ducebant equos albos, quorum vexilla omnia alba erant; videntes itaque nostri hunc exercitum, ignorabant qui essent; donec cognoverunt, esse adjutorium Christi, sicut mandavit illis per Stephanum Sacerdotem; quorum ductores fuerunt S. Georgius et B. Theodorus et S. Demetrius. Haec verba credenda sunt, quia plures ex nostris viderunt hoc."

The same tradition is related by William of Malmesbury: "Persuadebantque sibi videre se antiquos martyres, qui olim milites fuissent, quique mortis pretio parassent praemia vitae, Georgium dico et Demetrium, vexillis levatis a partibus montanis accurrere, jacula in hostes in se auxilium vibrantes. Nec diffitendum est affuisse martyres Christianis, sicut quondam angelos Macchabaeis simili duntaxat causa pugnantibus."¹ Another eyewitness cited by Papebroch, *l. c.*, p. 155 A, Raymond d'Aguilers relates in his *Hierosolymitana Historia* that while at Antioch a figure had appeared to him in a vision directing him to carry the bones of four saints, buried in a certain place, which he indicates, to Jerusalem. After some delay and hesitation the four coffins were found and carried away, but a fifth one, which they failed to recognize, was left behind. During the following night a youth appeared to Raymond, "quasi quindecim annorum, pulcherrimus valde, et dixit ei: Quare hodie non accepisti reliquias meas cum ceteris? Et Presbyter ad haec: Et quis es tu, Domine? Et ille: An ignoras quis sit vexillifer hujus exercitus? Et respondit Presbyter: Nescio, Domine. Cumque secundo eidem quaerenti eadem sacerdos respondisset, terribiliter comminatus est ei dicens: Tu revera mihi dices; et tunc ait Sacerdos: Domine, dicitur de S. Georgio, quod sit vexillifer hujus exercitus. Et ille: Bene dixisti, ego sum. Accipe igitur reliquias meas, atque seorsim cum aliis pone. . . ." The priest neglected to fulfill the command, and after some days Saint George appears to him a second time and reiterates the order.

¹ *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. Stubbs, London, 1889, vol. II, p. 420.

When the news of the approach of the army reaches Lydda, the Saracens flee, leaving behind many provisions, which are captured by the Christian army. They offer up thanks to Saint George, and with a common voice decide to institute a bishop at Lydda and Ramula, and Robert, a Norman from Rouen, is appointed to this office.

Finally the army arrives before the walls of Jerusalem, and here again Saint George leads them to victory. During the attack on the city, he appears to them dressed in a white armor, with a red cross, and under his leadership they climb the walls successfully, and drive out the Saracens on the 15th of July, 1099.

I am unable to verify whether the French *Chanson d'Antioche* mentions the appearance of the saint as leader of the army. But in the *Conquête de Jérusalem*,¹ the French continuation of the story of the first crusade, his appearance is twice mentioned, both times in company of Saint Maurice. The first instance occurs ll. 5388-5421, where it is told that the two arrive at the head of an army of 30,000 men on horses '*plus blans que flors des pres.*' The second passage is found ll. 8621 ff., and reads as follows :

Li vesques de Maltran a sor destre gardé,
 Et voit une conpaigne qui chevalchent serré,
 Et voit bien qu'il estoient plus de c mil armé;
 Plus sont blanc que la flors, quant ele naist el pré.
 Sains Jorges fu devant, qui l'ensaigne a porté,
 Et li bers Sains Morisses, le gonfanon fremé.

These traditions kept on increasing without doubt during the various expeditions that were undertaken in the course of the XII century, particularly during the so-called second crusade, which was undertaken in 1144 under the leadership of Louis VII of France, and Konrad III of Germany. But these expeditions produced no texts in French, and we may pass them over in silence.

¹ Ed. Hippean, Paris, 1868.

It is certain, however, that during the third crusade the prestige of the saint was greater than ever, and that his name had become the battle-cry of the army. And it was here, without doubt, that the English knights, who accompanied Richard I, learned to accept Saint George as their special guardian. The French knights were accustomed to charge to the cry of Saint Denis, and the English, who as yet had no patron of their own, now quite naturally accepted this leader of battles, whose name filled the air about them.

The French story of this expedition is told in the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* by Ambroise,¹ written about 1196. That Saint George was a common battle-cry² appears from several passages; cp., for instance, the description of the battle of Arsur, Sept. 7, 1191:

Quant li uns d'els clama: "Saint Jorge!
Lairez vos nos issi confondre?"

l. 6378.

Another instance is even more interesting, because the knight referred to as using the battle-cry was a Norman from England by the name of Baudoin le Caron, who is also mentioned by Guillaume le Maréchal, l. 4571. The passage reads as follows:

L'un des deus fud uns chevaliers,
Li marechals ospitaliers;
L'autre iert Baudowins li Carons
Qui iert hardiz com uns leons.
Compainz iert le rei d'Engleterre,
Qui l'ot amené de sa terre.
Cist commencent le desrei
El saint non del tot poissant rei;
Saint Jorge! a haute voiz crierent.

ll. 6425-6433.

¹ Published by G. Paris, Paris, 1897.

² Saint George as a battle-cry is found soon after the third crusade in the *Roman de l'Escoufle*, composed by an unknown Norman jongleur before 1204; cp.

Puis escrient lor anemis
"Traï, traï! Feres, feres!
Felon paien, n'i garires
S'onques diex fist riens por Saint Jorge.

ll. 934-937.

Both of these passages are naturally found in the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*,¹ the Latin translation of the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, made probably between the years 1196 and 1197. Book I of this Latin text, however, follows a different unknown source, and here in the second chapter is found another passage of interest in this connection. The story there relates the prowess of a certain templar of Touraine, by the name of Jakelin de Mailly, in a battle near Nazareth in 1187. He succumbs in the struggle, "et quia in equo nitido et armis albicantibus tunc casu pugnator incesserat, gentiles qui Sanctum Georgium in hujusmodi habitu militare noverant, se militem nitentis armaturae Christianorum propugnatores interfecisse jactabant."

Abundant opportunity for becoming closely acquainted with all that pertained to the tradition of Saint George was again afforded during the campaign, since the army rested for a period of six weeks at Lydda in 1191 before moving toward Jerusalem, and again in 1192 for a short time after the return from that city.

The manner in which the appearance of Saint George and his companions is related in the story of the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem became the model for a few similar scenes in Old French literature.

The earliest of these, as far as I know, is contained in the *Chanson d'Aspremont*.² In the course of the poem, after it has been related how young Roland had saved his uncle Charlemagne from certain death at the hands of Eaumont, son of Agolant, and thereby gained possession of his famous sword Durandal, and how, after this proof of manhood, he had been made a knight, the jongleur goes on to say that one day the young knight felt an unseen hand leading his horse. It was Saint George leading him into battle. The manuscript

¹ Published by W. Stubbs, London, 1864 (Rolls Series).

² The poem is still unpublished. The scene in question is cited by Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, p. 138; also *Épopées Françaises*, III, pp. 88 and 91.

in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 25529, gives the following account of this scene :

- fo. 64 d. La bone anseigne va au vent baloiant
 Saint Jorges tint par la regne Rollant,
 Et li a dit doucement en riant :
 " Nel (un Sarrazin) doutez mie por ce s'il est si granz ;
 Criez Seint Jorje ! des cest jor an avant."
 Et cil respont . " Sire, jel vos comnant."

The poem then goes on to describe the battle.

- fo. 65 a. Entre Saint Jorge, Saint Domin et Rogier
 Et Saint Morise qui ert confanoniers
 Voient Rolant tant durement aidier

 fo. 65 b. Li troi baron sont an l'estor venu,
 Qui des montaignes estoient descendu.
 Ce fu Sainz Jorges o Saint Domin son dru
 Et Sainz Morises, qu'avec aus fu venuz.
 Rolanz avoit le premier cop feru,
 Si com Seinz Jorges li avoit consentu.

Another similar appearance of the saint is related in the *Roman de Garin le Loherain*.¹ Thierry is besieged by the Saracens, and receives the message that Garin is coming to his relief. They join forces and attack the pagans.

Et li quens Begues en la presse se mist,
 A son espie en va maint departir.
 Monjoie ! escrie, l'enseigne Saint Denis.
 E Saint Denis sor un bon cheval sist,
 Et Saint Meurisse, et Saint Jorje autressi.
 Moult furent bien et veu et choisi :
 Des paveillons gitterent Sarrasins.

A third instance is found in the *Roman d'Octavien*,² placed by the editor into the XIII century, between the years 1229 and 1244. The Saracen army had arrived before Paris, and was laying siege to Dagobert, who had planned a sortie

¹ Published by P. Paris, 1833-1835, vol. II, p. 108.

² Published by Volmüller, *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, vol. III.

against them. With the cry of Saint Denis the French army rushes out.

Quant Sarrazins gardent ensemble
Desor Monmartre en une lande,
Et voient molt grant gent venir
Sor blanc chevaus de grant air,
Plus sont blans que nois qui s'espant.
Saint Jories venoit tot devant,
Sa gent le siuent a eslais.

ll. 4705-4711.

This heavenly army rushes against the enemy, and soon the enemies are beaten. Their *soudant* (sultan) cries out :

Molt nos ont ceste gent grevés
Et nos hommes mors et tués.
Fuions nos ent tos nos chemins,
Mar venimes en cest pais.
Encontre ceste blanche gent
[Nous] ne porons durier noient.

ll. 4721-4726.

The other longer version known of the same story, belonging to the XIV century, and analyzed in the *Hist. Litt.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 303 ff., relates at this same point an appearance of Saint Denis and Saint Morice; and Volmöller, on p. iv of the introduction maintains that that is the original story. The shorter version, which he publishes, was copied by an Anglo-Norman scribe (there is only one manuscript of it known), and he surmises that the introduction of Saint George here is due to his initiative. This explanation is probably correct, for the appearance of Saint George, it will be noted, follows upon the battle-cry of Saint Denis, which is illogical.

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MS. 3668.

xlij.

Cy commence l'ystoire de Saint George.

De par le filz sainte Marie
Vous vueil je recorder la vie
De saint George, et sa passion,
Comment et par quel occasion

- 5 Il fut martir, et mis a mort,
 Sans ce qu'il en eust nul tort,
 Fors que pour exaucier la loy
 De Jhesucrist, le nostre roy.

¹
- La vie par devocion,
- 10 Soit chevalier ou autre hom,
 En bataille ne sera prins,
 Ains y gaignera los et pris;
 Sur ses ennemis aura pouoir,
 Mais qu'il ait tous jours bon espoir
- 15 Es miracles du bon martir,
 Qui prist en Dieu tout son desir.
 Dieu fist belles vertus pour lui,
 Si comme vous orrez ja cy.
 Par trois fois prist mort le prodomme;
- 20 De co fait le scripture somme.
 Une beste sauvage estoit,
 Qui toutes les gens devouroit.
 Moult par estoit laide et hideuse,
 Maintes meres fist doloureuse.
- 25 Elle repairoit en une ville,
 Ou ne demouroit filz ne fille,
 Qu'elle ne passast par son ventre;
 Un en avoit le jour de rente.
 De paour, que plus n'en preist,
- 30 S'en la ville alast ne venist,
 Establirent, ou elle prendroit
 Ceulx de la ville la endroit.
 De chascun hostel un enfant
 Convint chascun jour au serpent,
- 35 Et qui n'a enfans, si y aille,
 Qu'il convient acomplir leur taille.
 Tous les enfans furent faillis.
 Les gens furent moult esbays;
 Oncques n'y remaint qu'une fille,
- 40 Qu'estoit au seigneur de la ville.
 Le seigneur dist que il vouloit,
 Et pour ce que raison estoit,
 Que sa fille alast prendre mort,
 Ne vult faire a ses hommes tort.

f. —, col. 2

¹Two lines are here left blank in the ms.
 26 files.

- 45 Quant vint l'endemain au matin,
 La fille fut mise au chemin.
 Grant dueil en orent pere et mere,
 Quelle estoit de belle maniere.
 Hors de la ville la convoient,
- 50 Car plus avant aler n'osoient.
 Grant dueil firent pour leur enfant,
 Quant vindrent au departement.
 Quant elle fut en son chemin,
 Moult pensant ot le chief enclin.
- f. — b. 55 Un homme a cheval vit venir,
 Bien cuida estre pres de mourir.
 En son cuer dist tout quoiement :
 " Ha, laisse, je voy le serpent.
 Il vient vers moy, je vois vers lui,
- 60 Il n'aura ja de moy mercy."
 Quant elle fut de lui apressée,
 Adonques s'est aseurée,
 Et dist, qu'il a grant hardement,
 Puis qu'il n'a paour du serpent.
- 65 Quant Saint George vit la pucelle,
 Qui estoit avenant et belle,
 Si demanda, ou elle aloit
 Ainsi seule, comme elle estoit.
 " Sire, je vois livrer mon corps
- 70 A un serpent qui est la hors.
 Ceulx qui ont de lui grant doubtance,
 M'y envoient par leur sentence."
 Saint George dist a la meschine :
 " Fille, vous estes sarinzine,
- 75 Mais se vous voulez en Dieu croire,
 Le serpent ne vous puet mal faire."
 " Sire, j'y croieray vraiment ;
 Me puet il donc estre garant ?"
 " Ouil voir, ma tres douce amie ;
- 80 Menez m'y, et je vous en prie."
 Ilz n'alerent gaires avant,
 Qu'ilz ne veissent le serpent.
 Droit a la cité tient sa voie,
 Car trop lui demouroit sa proie.
- 85 Saint George lui dist haultement,
 " De par Dieu, le roy tout puissant,
 Te conjur, que n'aies pouoir
- (f. — b, col. 2)

- Que d'illec te puisses mouvoir.”
 “Fille, dist Saint George, prenez
 90 La ceinture, que ceinte avez,
 Et la gettez hardiement,
 Entour le col a ce serpent.”
 Sa ceinture au col lui getta,
 Oncques le serpent ne bouga ;
 95 Droit a la ville l'en menerent,
 Les gens grant joye en demenerent.
 Le pucelle dist a son pere :
 “Sire, croiez vous et ma mere,
 Ou Dieu a ce bon chevalier ;
 100 Grant pouoir a de vous aidier.”
 Toutes les gens s'agenoulerent,
 A Saint George mercy crierent,
 Pour Dieu qu'il occie la beste ;
 Trop par est laide et deshonneste.
 105 Lors la fery sans demourance
 Par le chief du fer de sa lance.
 Tous crierent a plaine gorge :
 “Nous croirons le Dieu Saint George !”
 En icel temps, dont j'ay parlé,
 110 Que le bon saint fut martiré,
 Estoient trois roys d'un pays ;
 Ensemble ont fait un compromis.
 Dyables ont en leurs querolles,
 Car ilz croient fausses ydoles.
 115 Chascun des trois avoit juré,
 Que trestous ceulx de leur regné,
 Qui ne croiroient en leurs ydoles,
 Et qui n'enterroient es queroles,
 Que je vous ay devant nommées,
 folio — 120 Peines leur sont appareillées,
 Sy males et si engoisieuses,
 Qu'a chascun sont espoventeuses.
 Quant les crestiens l'ont ouy,
 Chascun a grant paour de lui ;
 125 N'y a cellui, qui ose croire,
 En Dieu, n'en point de son affaire.
 Il advint que l'empereur,
 Qui du pays estoit seigneur,
 Estoit appellé Dacien,

97 puce.
 114 creioient.

109 ce.
 115 des trois roys.

112 promis.

- 130 Et fut moult mescreant paien.
Crier fist par tout son empire,
Que ceulx fussent mis a martire,
Qui croiroient Nostre Seigneur ;
Crestiens sont a grant douleur.
- 135 Ly emperere Dacien
Ot fait faire par son engien
Une ymage d'or et d'argent,
Pour faire aouer a sa gent.
Abulon lui ot mis a nom ;
- 140 Hault l'ont mis dessus un perron.
Soubz lui sont les autres ydoles,
Ceulx qui les croient sont folz et foles.
Ilz ne croient mie, que Dieux
Feist la terre, ne les cieulx.
- 145 Nostre Seigneur, qui fait tous biens,
Pour exaulcier les crestiens,
Y envoa un messagier ;
Saint George ot nom le chevalier.
Quant il fu venu au pays,
- (f. —, col. 2)
- 150 Ou l'empereur avoit tramis
Ses messages, pour demander
S'on peust nulz crestiens trouver,
Nul ne s'i osoit demoustrer,
Quant Saint George dist haultement :
- 155 " Croiez en Dieu omnipotent !"
Ains que Saint George eust finée
La parolle, qu'ot commencée
Pour conforter les crestiens,
L'orent saisy les mescreans.
- 160 L'un le bouta avant, autre arriere,
Et l'amainent a l'emperere,
En leur loy crient comme chien :
" Roy emperere Dacien,
" Veez cy un crestien traytre,
- 165 Qui vous et vostre loy despite !"
Quant l'emperere vit l'ymage
De cil, qu'estoit de Dieu message,
Moult lui sembla de belle forme,
Grant fain a que vers lui se tourne.
- 170 Si lui a demandé son nom,
Comment il est si hardi hom,

150 lavoit. 156 fine. 157 commence. 159 saisis. 161 emperiere.
163 emperiere. 164 trayte. 166 emperiere.

- Qu'il ose dire au contraire
De son dieu, qu'il avoit fait faire.
" J'ay nom George, et suy crestien ;
180 Vostre dieu ne vault pas un chien.
Je croy Dieu, qui fist tout le monde,
De qui tout bien et grace habonde."
L'emperere dist maintenant :
" George, moult estes bel enfant,
185 Mais moult avez pou d'esciant,
Qu'alez mon dieu si fort blasmant.
En Abulon, mon dieu croiez ;
(f. — b.) Tous en soiez riches clamez."
" Sire, mais aorez Jhesucrist,
190 Qui fait aux arbres porter fruit,
Et fait croistre tous autres biens,
De quoy vivent tous crestiens ;
Et ces ydoles hors getez
Dont vous estes si redoubtez."
195 Quant l'emperere l'ot ouy
Au cuer fut doulent et marry.
A celle heure tint un coutel,
Cuida ferir le damoiseil
Parmy le pis devant le gent.
200 Le coutel ressort maintenant
Dessus le pié de l'emperere,
Par la grace de Dieu, le pere.
Et quant l'emperere ce vit,
Si le tint a moult grant despit.
205 Son dieu Abulon a juré,
Que George en male heure fu né.
En la prison l'a fait getier,
Et puis l'a fait crucifier,
Et li fist mettre en lieu de tombe
210 Sur le pis une mole ronde.
Une roe ot fait faire
Cellui, qui est de Dieu contraire,
Qui fut a bons rasouers trenchans,
Pour destruire les crestiens.
215 Cellui fut liez par les bras,
Qui estoit de Dieu advocas ;
La roe part en dix troncons.
L'emperere et ses compaignons

- 183 emperiere. 193 ses. 201 lempriere. 203 lempriere.
207 getie. 208 crucifie. 218 lempriere.

- (f. —b, col 2)
- 220 Virent qu'il ot couppé la teste ;
 Chascun d'eulx en mena grant feste,
 Et dirent tous : " George est mort,
 Son Dieu n'y puet mettre confort."
 Lors descent a grant compaignie
 D'anges le filz Sainte Marie,
- 225 Et ressuscita son sergent.
 L'ange li dist certainement :
 " George, amy, ne t'esbay pas,
 Par trois fois la mort recevras,
 Et puis avras pour ton servise
- 240 La joye que Dieu t'a promise."
 Or est George resuscité ;
 Devant l'emperere est alé,
 Et lui dist, que tout son travail
 Ne prise pas un chief d'ail ;
- 245 Pis vault une paine d'enfer,
 Que toute sa roe de fer.
 Quant le mescreant l'ot choisy,
 Saichiez qu'il fut moult esbay,
 Car il l'ot veu en dix pars ;
- 250 Lors lui dist que il jouoit d'ars.
 Illec avoit un noble conte,
 De Dacien n'ot mie honte.
 Il lui a dit a haulte voix :
 " George, je croy le Dieu que croys ;
- 255 Et moy et toute ma mesnie,
 Creons cellui qui te rent vie."
 L'emperere lors a commandé,
 Que George soit emprisonné
 En l'ostel d'une povre femme,
- 260 Pour lui faire greigneur diffame ;
 Et si deffent, que ne lui doigne
 Chose dont sa vie soustiengne.
 Saint George avoit moult grant fain,
 A la femme demanda pain.
- (f. —)
- 265 Elle dist, qu'elle nen a point,
 Elle ne scet, qui lui en doint.
 " Quel dieu crois tu, amie chiere ?"
 " Abulon, le dieu l'emperere."
 Celle femme avoit un enfant,
- 270 Sourd, muet, aveugle, impotent.

226 langel,
 257 lempriere.

239 service.
 259 loste.

242 lempriere.
 261 qui.

249 il ot.
 268 lempriere.

- La femme dist au prisonnier :
 "Amy George, je te requier,
 Garys mon enfant, je croiray,
 Le Dieu du ciel, que tu crois."
 275 Saint George si dist a l'enfant ;
 "De par Jhesucrist te commant,
 Appertement sans demourance,
 Regarde, parle, aies oyence."
 L'enfant parla, oy et vit ;
 280 A Saint George maintenant dist :
 "Les vertus de ton createur
 Sont greigneurs que de nul seigneur."
 Chascun vit le miracle grant,
 Que Dieu ot fait dessus l'enfant.
 285 Plus de mil s'en sont convertis ;
 A Dieu rendent grace et mercis.
 Saint George entra en une chambre,
 Ou il trouva de la viande.
 Une table toute chargée,
 290 Que l'ange avoit appareillée.
 Le jour d'apres l'envoia querre
 L'emperere, qui vout enquerre,
 Comment il convertist ses gens ;
 Son dieu Abulon y est perdans.
 295 "Mescreant, de quoy parles tu ?
 Dieu a en lui si grant vertu,
 Que le peuple l'apparcoit bien,
 Il est a Dieu, tu n'y as rien."
 L'emperere va demandant :
 300 "Vault mieulx ton Dieu que Tavergant ?"
 Saint George lui respont sans faille :
 "Cellui ne vault pas demi maille,
 De ce t'ose je bien parler.
 Mon Dieu fist ciel, terre et mer,
 305 Et tout quanque il y appartient ;
 Et si fonda le firmament."
 Le mescreant dist autres foiz :
 "Se cellui Dieu, en qui tu crois,
 Dont tu nous vas ainsi preschant,
 310 A vertu et pouoir si grant,
 Qu'il puisse faire porter fruit
 A ces arbres, que tu vois cy,

274 croy. 286 graces. 290 langel. 292 lempriere. 294 perdens.
 295 parle. 299 lempere. 302 demie. 308 de. 311 qui.

- Qui sont seez, passez a xx ans,
Je croiray tes sermonnemens.”
- 315 “ Bien scay, que tu ne croiras mie ;
Au cuer as si grant felonnie,
Que elle ne pourroit souffrir,
Que a Dieu deusses convertir.
Mais toutes voies pour acomplir
- 320 A tout le peuple leur desir,
Je en feray a Dieu priere ;
Ma parole n'est mie chiere.”
Le prodon s'est agenouillié ;
Devotement a Dieu prié,
- 325 Que il lui plaise par sa grace,
Que pour lui ce miracle face.
Quant sa priere fut finée,
Dieu a sa grace demoustrée.
Les arbres qui furent coupez,
- (f. — b.) 330 Plus de xx ans avoit passez,
Ne oncques n'avoient porté fruit,
Verdirent et porterent tuit.
Tout le peuple les regarda,
Chascun si s'en esmerveilla,
- 335 Tous s'escrierent a haulte voix :
“ Nous creons le Dieu que tu crois ! ”
Dacien ne creoit neant,
Et dist que c'est enchantement.
George dist, se Dieu lui ait,
- 340 Ains est ce de par Jhesucrist.
Dacien lui dist en riant :
“ George, tu es moult bel enfant ;
Je te prie, que tu sacrifies
Mes dieux, et que ne m'en desdies ;
- 345 C'est Appolin et Tavergant,
Et Aubulon, qui est plus grant.
Je vueil qu'ailles par mon empire,
Sans ce que nul t'ose desdire.”
Saint George respondi briefment :
- 350 “ Se tout le peuple si consent,
Je sacrifieray tes ymages,
Si y aura moult de dommages.”
Quant l'emperere si l'ouy,
De joie fut tout replany,

- 355 Car il cuidoit avoir vaincu,
 Cel pour qui Dieu faisoit vertu.
 La femme vint o son enfant,
 Et s'escriant moult haultement :
 "George, amis, comment qu'il aille,
 Bien garde ton seigneur sans faille !"
 Saint George regarda l'enfant,
 Et lui a fait commandement :
 "Va de par Dieu, quant tu voudras,
 Tous temps amy de Dieu seras."
- (f. — b, col. 2)
- 365 La femme s'escria a hault cry :
 "Ha, Saint George, le mien amy,
 Ton Dieu laisses, et a grant tort
 Qui t'a ressuscité de mort,
 Et vas aourer les dieux faulx,
- 370 Moult t'en pourroit venir grans mau!x !"
 Saint George entra en la cohue,
 Ou les dieux estoient en mue,
 Et leur dist devant l'emperere :
 "Je vous conjur de Dieu, le pere,
 375 Que vous me diez la puissance,
 Que vous avez sans demourance."
 Lors lui respondi une voix :
 "Nous avons le pouoir que vois,
 De mener les gens a contraire,
- 380 Et destourner de leur preu faire."
 Saint George gette emmy la rue
 Trestous les dieux de la cohue,
 Et dist que grant pechié faisoit,
 Cellui qui leans les tenoit.
- 385 Quant l'emperere ot ce veu,
 Le sang lui est tout esmeu,
 Et dist que oncques si grant honte
 N'orent leurs dieux en jour du monde.
 Lors a commandé l'emperere,
- 390 Que l'en apporte une chaudiere,
 Plaine d'yaue jusques au bort,
 Et qu'on la face boullir fort.
 Et aux parsecuteurs commande,
 (f. —) Qu'ilz le despiecent membre a membre,
 395 Et le gietent en la chaudiere ;

355 vaincus.	356 cil, vertus.	357 escrient.	371 cochue.	373
lemperiere.	378 que tu vois.	382 cochue.	385 lemperiere.	
389 lemperiere.				

- Et ilz le font en la maniere.
 L'ange vint devant tout le monde,
 Qui estaigny le feu et l'onde,
 Et a dit: "George, lieve sus;
 400 Ce te mande le roy Jhesus."
 Saint George loe Jhesucrist,
 Dacien en ot grant despit.
 Ceulx mesmes qui sont entour lui
 Crient trestous a Dieu mercy.
 405 Qui ont veu appertement
 Le miracle, que Dieu fist grant.
 La royne le miracle vit,
 De bon cuer loa Jhesucrist,
 De son chief gete sa couronne,
 410 A Dieu et a Saint George se donne.
 Quant Dacien voit la royne,
 Qui aux vertus de Dieu incline,
 Il ly a dit: "Royne honnorée,
 Ce larron vous a enchantée."
 415 "Enchantée ne suy je pas.
 Onc de mal faire ne fus las,
 Encore en auras ta desserte.
 Fuy d'icy. Dieu te doint male perte.
 Je croy en Dieu, tu n'y crois mie,
 420 Tu crois la grant forcenerie
 Des ydoles, qui te font faire
 Aux crestiens tant de contraire.
 Fay moy mourir quant tu vouldras,
 Jamais nul jour ne me verras
 425 Croire tes ymages d'argent;
 (f. —, col. 2) En Dieu ay mon cuer vraiment."
 Ly emperere la fist prendre,
 Par les cheveux si la fist pendre;
 Puis lui ont la teste couppée,
 430 A une bien trenchant espée.
 Les anges y sont descendus
 Chantans "te deum laudamus."
 Devant Dieu ont l'ame portée,
 Comme royne l'ont couronnée.
 435 L'emperere fut moult plain d'ire,
 Qui vint de veoir le martire;
 A ses sergens a commandé,
- 397 langel. 413 dist. 414 si vous a. 427 emperiere. 431 angels.
 435 lempriere.

- Que George lui soit amené.
 L'en lui amene appertement,
 440 Et quant il le vit en present,
 Si lui a fait une demande,
 Et que response lui en rende.
 "Un sepulcre a yci devant ;
 Je croiray ton dieu vraiment,
 445 Se tu m'en fais veoir les corps
 De tous ceulx, qui y sont mors."
 Saint George lui dist sans demorance :
 "J'ay en Dieu si bonne esperance,
 Que quanque je vueil demander,
 450 Il m'ottroie sans atarder.
 Or faites le sepulcre ouvrir,
 Et trestous les os concueillir.
 Lors si verront femmes et hommes
 Se les vertus de Dieu sont bonnes."
 455 Ou sepulcre garderent tuit,
 N'y trouverent os grant ne petit.
 La pouldre lui ont apportée,
 Dedans un drap envelopée.
 Saint George s'est agenoillié,
 460 Et de tout son cuer a prié :
 "Dieu qui prist mort pour tout le monde,
 Face vertus sur ceste pouldre,
 A fin que chascun a grant joie
 Congnoisse trestous que tu soies
 465 Sire de paradis et roy,
 Et croient ainsi comme moy ;
 Car il n'est Dieu autre que toy."
 Quant il ot dit tout son pouoir
 Chascun pot bien apparcevoir,
 470 Qu'il ot illec hommes et femmes,
 Qui furent en corps et en ames.
 Saint George leur a demandé,
 Combien il a de temps passé,
 Qu'ilz furent mis en ce tombel.
 475 L'un respont, qui ot nom Jouel :
 "Sire, il a plus de ii c. ans
 Et ne sommes pas crestiens.
 Pour Dieu, que nous baptisez, sire,
 Que ne retournions a martire."
 480 Lors a de l'yae demandée,

- Nus homs ne lui a apportée.
 Tantost fist une croix sur terre,
 Une fontaine en sourt grant erre.
 Saint George les baptisa tuit,
 488 Et leur dist : " De par Jhesucrist,
 Alez devant moy, mes amis
 Avec Dieu en paradis."
 Adonc dirent toutes les gens :
 "Grant est le Dieu des crestiens !
 (f. — b, col. 2) 490 Dacien est de put affaire,
 Qui aux hommes Dieu fait contraire."
 L'emperere est en grant doulour,
 Le corps lui tremble de paour,
 Et fait male chiere et diverse,
 495 Pour le peuple, qui se converse.
 A haulte voix s'est escrié :
 " Helas, cheitif maleuré,
 Pour quoy vint George en mon empire,
 Huy en souffrera grant martire."
 500 Lors appella tous ses sergens :
 " Allez tost, je le vous commans,
 Prenez George sans demourée,
 Si lui soit la teste couppée."
 Et tout au long de la cité
 505 L'ont les sergens moult debouté,
 Et lui dirent, soit droit ou tort :
 " Huy prendras la tierce foy mort !"
 Ceulx et celles, qui en Dieu croient,
 En plourant le martir convoient,
 510 Tant qu'ilz ont la porte passée,
 Ou fut la royne decolée.
 Il regarda tout environ,
 Sur les gens fist beneicon.
 Aux sergens dist : " Traiez arriere,
 515 A Dieu vueil faire ma priere."
 Contremont a levé ses yeux,
 Les mains a jointes droit aux cieulx,
 Et requiert au doulz Jhesucrist,
 Qu'il recoive son esperit.
 520 " Beau sire Dieu, je vous requier,
 Qu'il vous plaise moy ottroier,
 (f. —) Que vous gardiez ceulx de pesance,
 Qui de moy feront remembrance ;

- Sy vous requier, biau sire Dieux,
 525 Ceulx qui feront fonder aux cieulx,
 Et en mon nom feront offrande,
 Sire, garde les de mesprendre."
 Quant ot finée s'oroison,
 Adonc vint grant procession
 530 Des anges Dieu du ciel en terre,
 Qui vindrent l'ame de lui querre.
 "Vien t'en, George," dient li anges,
 "Huy auras ce que tu demandes ;
 Huy seras en la compaignie
 535 De Dieu, le filz Sainte Marie."
 Un sergent prist le damoiseil,
 L'espée traite hors du fourrel,
 Et il donne si grant colée,
 Qu'il ly a la teste coppée.
 540 Les anges ont l'ame saisie,
 Et vont chantans a voix serie,
 A Dieu, le pere tout puissant,
 Aux cieulx lui en font un present.
 L'en ne mist pas le corps en fosse,
 545 Ains fut porté en Capadoce.
 Crestiens l'i firent porter ;
 Une eglise en firent fonder.
 Or prions le glorieux Saint,
 Tous et toutes que il nous maint
 550 A si bon port, que nous puission
 Avoir vraie confession.

— Amen. — Cy fine de monseigneur
 Saint George.

JOHN E. MATZKE.

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V.—CHAUCER AND TRIVET.

I.

In 1895 (*Acad.*, Sept. 21, p. 227), Professor Liddell announced that he had in preparation conclusive evidence to show that Chaucer in his translation of Boethius had used (in addition to the Latin text) the French prose translation ascribed to Jean de Meung.¹ In 1897, again (*Nation*, Feb. 18, pp. 124 f.), Professor Liddell declared his belief that Chaucer, as well as the French translator from whom he borrows, in making their Boethius translations, worked with the Latin commentary wrongly ascribed to Thomas Aquinas. And last year, having occasion to examine the Latin commentary on Boethius by Nicholas Trivet, I found there ample evidence, as I think, to give Trivet's commentary an important place among the sources of Chaucer's *Boethius*. Two commentaries in addition to the Latin text and a French translation make an equipment which seems extraordinarily elaborate for the circumstances. However, an examination of the two commentaries discovers the fact that Trivet's commentary includes the glosses of the other, in most of the cases in which Chaucer is concerned; and it is

¹ Cf. the suggestion of Mr. H. F. Stewart, *Boethius*, 1891, p. 204.

the object of this note to furnish evidence which points to Trivet's commentary as the single source of this material in Chaucer's *Boethius*.

II.

In the first place, it seems difficult actually to prove that the Pseudo-Aquinas production had an existence prior to the fifteenth century. Professor Liddell is careful to describe the commentary as "that which appeared in various forms during the fifteenth century, and was connected with the name of Thomas Aquinas," and his citations are taken from the printed edition of 1493. No name, moreover, in the Pseudo-Aquinas book among the various references to authors and works has been found which fixes a date of compilation.¹

¹ Even the argument of Obbarius (though Professor Liddell accepts it without question) to prove that the Pseudo-Aquinas compilation could not have been written so early as 1274, the date of Aquinas's death, is no longer valid. For Obbarius (*Boethii de Cons. Phil.*, p. 1) rests his argument upon the theory that Alanus de Insulis died *a. 1294*, instead of nearly a century earlier. Obbarius also quotes the suggestion that the word, *ungelt*, used in the explanation of *coemptio* (bk. i, prose iv) indicates some German as the author of this compilation. And I suppose a reference to a certain Richardus in *librum xii Patriarcharum* shows that the compilation was made after Grosseteste's Latin translation had made the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* accessible to Western Europe (1242?). The following list of names which appear in this Pseudo-Aquinas compilation may be of interest: *Alanus de Insulis, Albertus, Alcibiades, Alexander* (and Aristotle), *Alexander* (Grammarians?), *Ambrose, Apuleius, Aristolle, Avicenna, Augustine, Bernardus, Boetius* (*De Disciplina Scholarium; De Summo Bono; Super primo Perihermias*), *Cato, Catullus, Chrysostom, Cicero, Commentator, Daniel, De Anima, De Causis, De Plantis, De Pomo, De Regimine Principum, Donatus, Elenchi, Eleys, Empedocles, Ethica, Euripides Tropius* (narrat . . . in *Hystoria Rhomanorum* quod Demetrides in suos seviens filios duos, etc. Cf. the corresponding sentence in Trivet's commentary: *Eutropius in Historia Romanorum*, li. 6, narrat de Metridate qui . . . in suos deseviens duos filios, etc.), *Eustracius, Florus, Preculfus* (*Freculphus*, cf. Trivet and Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, tom. 106, col. 1131), *Gaufredus* (de Vinsauf?) in *Poetria, Gregory, Hieronymus, Henricus Pauper* (*Samariensis*), *Homer, Horace, Huguitio, Juvenal, Laborintus, Lincolnensis* (Grosseteste), *Lucan, Macrobius, Marquardus, Martianus Capella, Methaphysica, Nestor, Ovid, Persius, Physica, Plato, Porphyry, Ptolemy, Remigius super Donatum, Richardus in librum xii Patriarcharum, Sallust, Seneca, Socrates, Termegistus, Theodolus, Themistius, Thopica, Thomas Indiae, Valerius, Virgil.*

But more satisfactory than a discussion of the date is the evidence of the text itself in the two commentaries. There are more than three hundred and seventy cases¹ in which a word, a phrase, or an entire gloss in Trivet's commentary finds a literal English equivalent in Chaucer's *Boethius*; and about three hundred of these correspondences I find in the Pseudo-Aquinas compilation. There remain, then, about seventy cases² in which the Pseudo-Aquinas compilation fails

¹In the *Nutition* article, of course, Professor Liddell does not attempt to give a complete list of the glosses in Chaucer's *Boethius* for which the French translation has no equivalent, and for which, Professor Liddell believes, Chaucer is indebted to the Latin commentary. Meanwhile, the list of such glosses, which I have made, must stand open to more or less modification until the parallel-text edition, so long promised, of the French and English versions appears. Of one metre of the French translation, however, I have a copy, and, therefore, so far as this metre is represented in my list, I can speak without reservation. Comparing, then, the glosses in my list with the French translation of this metre, I find that no qualification is necessary so far as this small extract is concerned. For the three important glosses in Chaucer's version of this metre which are found in Trivet's commentary have no French equivalent (see Appendix, pp. 191, 193, below).

²In trying to find in the Pseudo-Aquinas compilation a parallel for each of these three hundred and seventy correspondences between Trivet and Chaucer, I have come across five cases in which Chaucer's correspondence with the Pseudo-Aquinas text is closer than with Trivet's. It does not necessarily follow, however, that these five passages are borrowed from the Pseudo-Aquinas compilation. They may yet be explained by the French text when it is published. And if we accept Obbarius's theory of the origin of the Pseudo-Aquinas compilation (p. 1: *Mihi hi commentarii e variis glossis, et fortasse sec. xv, quo omnes quod sciam illorum codd. exarati sunt, compositi videntur*), an explanation is easy for them all: we have simply to suppose that Chaucer's copy of Trivet's commentary had received marginal glosses here and there, as, in fact, is the case with the copy from which I quote (*Addit. ms. 19585, fol. 18, e. g.*). These five correspondences are: (No. 1) I, prose iv, 7: . . . *loci facies*; the face or the *manere* of this place [*i. prisoun*]; (Trivet) *facies, i. qualitas loci in quo notat exilium suum*; (Ps.-Aq.) *facies, i. dispositio hujus loci, sc. carceris*. (No. 2) II, prose vii, 77: . . . *toti moriuntur homines*; that men dyen in al, that is to *seyn, body and sowle*; (Trivet) *sc. quod anima non remaneat post mortem*; (Ps.-Aq.) *corpore et anima*. (No. 3) III, prose ix, 44: . . . *dispertit; de parteth and devydeh it*; (Trivet) *dispertit, sc. querendo unum sine alio*;

to give as close a correspondence with Chaucer's text as Trivet's commentary does. These instances, which I have thought it necessary to quote in full, are as follows :

BOOK I.¹

LATIN TEXT AND CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.	TRIVET'S COMMENT.	PSEUDO-AQUINAS COMMENT.
(1) Metre i, 8: . . . maesti mea fata senis, the sorowful werdes of me, olde man.	<i>id est,</i> <i>mesta fata mei,</i> <i>senis.</i>	 <i>tristis senectutis.</i>
(2) Prose i, 32: . . . se- getem necant, destroyen the corn.	<i>id est,</i> <i>destruunt.</i>	 <i>suffocant.</i>
(3) Metre 2, 12: . . . con- prensam numeris, comprehended al this by noubre of acountinge in astronomye.	<i>id est,</i> <i>certificatam per</i> <i>computationem</i> (Trivet adds an astronomical demonstration).	
(4) Metre iii, 4: . . . polus, the firmament.	<i>id est,</i> <i>firmamentum.</i>	 <i>celum.</i>
(5) Prose iii, 13 f.: . . . quasi novum ali- quid acciderit, per- horrescerem? Sholde I thanne . . . agrysen as though ther were bifallen a newe thing?	<i>quasi diceret, non.</i>	

(Ps.-Aq.) *i. dividit*. (No. 4) IV, prose iii, 14: *Quantumlibet saeviant mali*; shrewes wexen as wode as hem list *ayeins goode folk*; (Trivet) *sc. irrogando bonis nocumentum*; (Ps.-Aq.) *mali contra bonos*. (No. 5) IV, prose iv, 108, . . . *validis rationum . . . firmamentis*; by a stronge foundement of resouns: *that is to seyn*; (Trivet) *et manifestans quid est illud, subdit*; (Ps.-Aq.) *rationum, scilicet*.

¹ For the Latin text I quote from the Teubner edition (R. Peiper, 1871), for Trivet's commentary from Addit. mss. 19585 and 27875 in the British Museum, and for the Pseudo-Aquinas compilation from the printed edition of 1497.

LATIN TEXT AND
CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.

TRIVET'S COMMENT.

PSEUDO-AQUINAS
COMMENT.

(6) *Ibid.*, 20: . . . *cujus hereditatem, the heritage is to seyn, the doctrine of the whiche Socrates in his opinioun of Felicitee.*

cujus, supple, Socratis, hereditatem, id est, doctrinam quam tanquam hereditatem successionis vendicabant.

cujus Socratis hereditatem, id est, scientiam hereditarie relictam suis discipulis.

(7) *Ibid.*, 21: . . . *pro parte sua, that is to seyn, that everich of hem wolde drawn to the defence of his opinioun the wordes of Socrates.*

. . . quilibet enim doctrinam Socratis volebat trahere ad defensionem opinionis sue.

(8) *Ibid.*, 25: . . . *In quibus, in whiche Epicuriens and Stoiciens.*

scilicet, Epicureis et Stoicis.

(9) *Ibid.*, 28: . . . *pervertit, perverted (sc. persequendo).*

sc. persequendo.

(10) *Ibid.*, 35: . . . *in hoc vitae salo, in the bitter see of this lyf.*

id est, in hac vita que salum, id est, mare, dicitur propter commotionem et amaritudines que sunt in ea.

(11) *Prose iv*, 17: . . . *studere sapientiae, studieden to geten wisdom.*

scilicet, acquirendo.

(12) *Ibid.*, 18: . . . *sapientibus capessenda, wyse men to taken and desire.*

id est, desideranter capiende.

(13) *Ibid.*, 21: *Hanc auctoritatem, thilke auctoritee (sc. Platonis).*

sc. quam . . . ex traditione Platonis.

(14) *Ibid.*, 27: . . . *inexorabiles, that ne mighten ben relested by preyeres.*

id est, que exoracione relaxari inexplicabiles non possent.

LATIN TEXT AND CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.	TRIVET'S COMMENT.	PSEUDO-AQUINAS COMMENT.
(15) <i>Ibid.</i> , 39: <i>Coempcioun, that is to seyn, comune achat or bying to- gidre, that were established up- on the poeple by swiche a manere imposicioun,</i> <i>as who-so boughte a busschel corn, he moste yeve the king the fifte part.</i>	<i>Nota quod coemptio videtur esse impositio alicujus certe portionis solvende, ita ut residuum libere ematur, ut si staturetur quod quicumque modium frumenti emeret, daret regi quintam partem.</i>	<i>Nota quod coemptio est institutio super aliqua portione danda de aliqua re emenda vel vendenda et vocatur vulgariter "ungelt."</i>
(16) <i>Ibid.</i> , 57: . . . sacra- rum sese aedium defensione tueren- tur, defendeden hem by the sikernesse of holy houses, <i>that is to seyn, fledden into seintuaries.</i>	<i>fugiendo, scilicet, ad edes sacras, puta, templa vel ecclesias.</i>	<i>intrando ecclesias.</i>
(17) <i>Ibid.</i> , 70: . . . ne tibi pudori, that I be no shame to thee? <i>quasi diceret, non.</i>	<i>quasi diceret, non.</i>	
(18) <i>Ibid.</i> , 73: . . . ordi- nis, the ordre of the senat? (<i>quasi diceret, dubito quid</i>).	<i>sc. senatus, quasi diceret, dubito quia . . .</i>	<i>sc. senatus, quasi diceret, non est nefas.</i>
(19) Metre v, 36: . . . Crimen iniqui. the blame <i>and the peyne</i> ¹ of the feloun.	<i>crimen, id est, penam criminis iniqui.</i>	

¹ Cf. Lounsbury (*Studies in Chaucer*, II, 154): "Every one who examines carefully the poet's version of Boethius will be struck by the frequency

LATIN TEXT AND
CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.

TRIVET'S COMMENT.

PSEUDO-AQUINAS
COMMENT.

(20) Prose v, 11: . . .
εἰς βασιλεὺς,

and that is god, that is
lord of thy contree.

(21) Metre vi, 1: Cum
Phoebi . . . Can-
cri . . .

Phebus, that is to seyn,
whan that Phebus the sonne
is in the signe of the Cancre.

in quantum quis vivit se-
cundum rectam rationem,
in tantum manet in patria
et civitate propria,
cujus deus est princeps.

Phebi, id est Solis,
quasi diceret, quando Sol
est in Cancro, quod
contingit in mense Julio.

Phebi, id est, Solis.

BOOK II.

(22) Prose i, 6: . . . fucos,
colours and deceites.

(23) *Ibid.*, 36: Reliquit
enim te, quam non
relicturam nemo
umquam poterit
esse securus.

But natheles,

some bokes han the text
thus: . . . ne ther nis no
man siker that she hath
nat forsaken.

(24) Metre i, 2: . . .
Euripi,

Eurype is an arme of the
see

that ebbeth and floweth;
and

som-tyme the stream is on o
syde, and som-tyme on the
other.

id est, deceptiones.

. . . reliquit enim te . . .
quam non, sc. esse,
relicturam, vel, quem non
relicta,
secundum alios libros.

Euripus est brachium
vel sinus maris . . . cujus
decursus est incertus

quia modo est ad hanc
ripam, modo, ad illam,
modo, in medio.

Euripus est brachium
vel sinus maris cujus

decursus est incertus,
et propter incertitudinem
sui cursus frequenter pe-
riclitantur ibi naves.

with which a single noun or verb of the Latin is rendered into English by two which have little or no difference in their meaning." Cf. nos. 22, 33, 36, 37, 52, 53, 58, 62, below.

LATIN TEXT AND
CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.

TRIVET'S COMMENT.

PSEUDO-AQUINAS
COMMENT.

(25) Prose v, 98: . . .

coram latrone can-
tares,than woldest thou singe
biforn the theef;*as who seith, a pore man,
that berth no richesse on
him by the weye,**may boldely singe biforn
theves, for he hath nat
wherof to ben robbed.**quasi dicat, si
vitam presentem in
paupertatem duceres . . .
ita securus esses, sicut**ille qui cantat coram
latrone, eo quod non hobet
unde spoliatur.**Et istud sumitur
a Juvenali qui, Sat. x,
sic ait: Pauca licet . . .**Unde
Juvenalis poeta:
Pauca licet . . .*

(26) Metre v, 7: . . .

Non Bachica mu-
nera norant Li-
quido confundere
melle,*that is to seyn, they coude
make no piment nor
clarree.**liquido, i. claro, melle,
ad faciendum pigmentum
et claretum.**ad faciendum melli-
cratum.*(27) Prose vi, 30: Cum
liberum,*a free man of corage.**sc. animo.*

(28) Prose vii, 82: . . .

terrenis . . . ex-
emptam:exempt fro alle erthely
thinges;*as who seith, thanne
rekketh the soule of no
glorie
of renoun of this world.**quasi dicat, sicut et ita**nulla est ei cura de gloria
que quoddam terrenum est.*

BOOK III.

(29) Prose i, 2: . . .

arrectis . . . auri-
bus,

streighte myn eres,

*that is to seyn,
to herkne the bet.**scilicet,
ut melius audirem.*

LATIN TEXT AND CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.	TRIVET'S COMMENT.	PSEUDO-AQUINAS COMMENT.
(30) Metre i, 12: . . . jugo fro the yok of erthely affeccious.	<i>jugo, sc. exuendo affectum false felicitatis.</i>	<i>jugo, i. a jugo false felicitatis.</i>
(31) Prose ix, 91: . . . quae autem beati- tudinem mentian- tur, that lyen falsly blisful- nesse, <i>that is to seyn, that by deceite semen verray goodes.</i>	<i>id est, se esse beatitudinem mendaciter pretendunt.</i>	
(32) Metre ix, 5: . . . insita summi For- ma boni, the forme of sovereign good y-set with-in thee . . .	<i>insita, sc. in te interius . . . pepulerunt te non necessitando sed libere movendo te.</i>	<i>insita, i. intrinseca.</i>
<i>that moevede thee freely.</i> (33) Metre x, 1: . . . capti, y-caught and y-bounde.	<i>i. irretici vel captivi.</i>	
(34) Prose xi, 7: Mane- bunt, They dwellen graunted to thee, quod I; <i>this is to seyn,</i> <i>as who seith: I graunte thy forseide conclusiouns.</i>	<i>scilicet, que conclusa sunt.</i>	
(35) Metre xi, 1-8: Glosa: ¹ <i>Who-so wole seken</i>	<i>Quisquis investigat, i. investigare vult</i>	<i>Quisquis vestigat, i. investigare vult</i>

¹This is interesting. For Chaucer, having translated eight lines of his text, now turns, apparently, to the corresponding passage in Trivet's Commentary, and translates the whole section again; but, this time as it is rendered by Trivet,—the text everywhere interwoven with the glosses. The text I indicate by plain type, the comment by italics.

LATIN TEXT AND
CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.

TRIVET'S COMMENT.

PSEUDO-AQUINAS
COMMENT.

<i>the deep grounde of</i>	verum mente profunda, i.	verum profunda mente, i.
<i>sooth in his thought, and wol nat be deceived by false proposiciouns that goon amis fro the trouthe, lat him wel examine and rolle</i>	subtili mente, cupitque nullis deviis, i. falsis propositionibus que a veritate deviant falli, revolvat, sc. cogitando lucem visus intimi, i. aspectum intellectus et rationis,	subtili et cupit falli nullis de- viis, i. falsis opinionibus que faciunt a vero deviare, ille revolvat in se, i. exercitet intra se lucem i. speculationem intimi visus, i. rationis et in- tellectus interioris et ipse cogat, i. reducat
<i>with-inne him-self</i>	in se, sc. recolligendo ab exteriori occupatione longosque motus, sc. inquirendo naturam et proprietas rei; cogat, i. recolligat flectens in orbem, i. redeundo iterato super cogitationes suas et deliberando de eis antequam faciliter judicet;	longos motus, i. operationes anime pro- cedentes ab anima, inflectentes eos motus in orbem, i. in circum redeundo in animam et quicquid
<i>the nature and the propretees of the thing; and lat him eftsones examine and rollen</i>		
<i>his thoughtes by good deliberacioun, or that he deme;</i>		animum doceat moli- tur, i. laborat speculando extra, i. circa res exteriores ille doceat animum retrusum, i. ad se conversum possidere suis thesauris, i. potentiis que sunt memoria et in- tellectus.
<i>and lat him techen his soule</i>	doceatque animum	
<i>that it hath, by natural principles</i>	possidere suis thesauris, i. naturalibus principiis	
<i>kindeliche y-hid with-in it-self,</i>	naturaliter inditis retrusum, i. absconditum sicut ea que sunt in suo principio potenciali et virtuali quicquid molitur, i. ma- chinatur extra, i.	

LATIN TEXT AND
CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.

TRIVET'S COMMENT.

PSEUDO-AQUINAS
COMMENT.

alle the trouthe
the whiche he imagineth
to ben in thinges
with-oute.

omnem veritatem
quam machinatur
esse in rebus
exterioribus, sicut in
causa.

And thanne
alle the derknesse
of his misknowinge

Et si sic fecerit, tunc
illud quod atra nubes
erroris, i. obscuritas
erroris quod est ignoran-
tia, texit dudum

Et tunc
illud quod atra nubes
i. obscuritas
ignorantie
dudum texit, i. occul-
tavit
illud lucebit, i. apparebit
perspicacius, i. eviden-
tius

shal seme
more evidently

lucebit
perspicacius, i. evidentius

to sighte
of his understandinge
thanne the sonne ne semeth

apparebit visui
intellectus
ipso Phebo, i. quam Sol

ipso Phebo,
quasi dicat quod longo
tempore fuit obscurum
lucidum apparebit intel-
lectui.

to sighte with-oute-forth.
(36) Prose xii, 93: Min-
ime . . . ludimus,

visui exteriori.
i.

"I ne scorne thee nat,
ne pleye,
ne deceive thee,
(37) Metre xii, 44: Sed
lex dona

deludere vel
decipere.

coerceat,
but we wol putte a lawe
in this,
and covenawnt in the gift.

quasi dicat, . . .

sed apponemus
conditionem quam
vocat legem.

sed lex, i.
conditio coerceat ista
dona.

(38) *Ibid.*, 48: Major
lex amor est sibi,
Love is a gretter lawe
and a strengier

major, i.
fortior lex amor est

Amor fortior est
ad aliquid implendum
quam lex

to him-self than any lawe
that men may yeven.

sibi, quam lex
a quocumque alio im-
posita.

ad coercendum.

LATIN TEXT AND
CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.

TRIVET'S COMMENT.

PSEUDO-AQUINAS
COMMENT.(39) *Ibid.*, 53 : . . .

diem,
day, that is to seyn,
to cleernesse
of sovereign good.

id est,
in
superna bona.

id est,
in
supernam claritatem.

BOOK IV.

(40) Metre i, 12: Miles

corusci sideris,
a knight of the clere
sterre ;
that is to seyn, that
the thought is maked

sc. dei.

*Unde propter talem
investigationem, in qua
mens se exercet
antequam perveniat
ad cognitionem dei
dicitur esse mens
dei miles.*

*i. dei qui est splendi-
dum sidus.*

goddes knight by the sek-
inge of trouthe to comen
to the verray knowleche of
god.

(41) *Ibid.*, 13 : . . .

micans nox pingi-
tur,
the shyninge night is
peinted ;
that is to seyn, the night
that is cloudeles ;

*id est, nox splendida
que caret nubibus,
pingitur, dicitur
nox micans pingi*

for on nightes that ben
cloudeles it semeth
as the hevne were peinted
with dyverse images
of sterres.

*quia tali nocte
apparet
celum tanquam pictum
diversis ymaginibus
stellarum.*

quia nox

*stellis firmamenti illumi-
natur.*

(42) Metre iii, 28: Mon-

stra quae patitur,
the monstrous chaung-
inge.

*id est,
monstruosam mutationem
quam sustinet.*

*id est,
supra transformationem
corporis quam patitur.*

(43) *Ibid.*, 29 : O levem

nimum manum,
O overligh hand (as
who seyth,

*sc. Circes dico**dico manum Circe, i.*

LATIN TEXT AND CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.	TRIVET'S COMMENT.	PSEUDO-AQUINAS COMMENT.
<i>O feble and light is the hand of Circes the enchaunter- esse, that chaungeth the bodyes of folkes in-to bestes, to regard and to compari- soun</i>	ninium levem, <i>i. imbecillem,</i>	<i>potestatem esse ninium levem, i. imbecillem.</i>
<i>of mutacioun that is made by vyces).</i>	<i>in comparatione ad transformationem que fit per vicia.</i>	
(44) Prose iv, 89: . . . tenebris assuetos, so wont to the derknesse of erthely thinges.	<i>id est, affectionibus terrenis.</i>	<i>id est, assuefactos tenebris passionum.</i>
(45) <i>Ibid.</i> , 97: . . . extra ne quaesieris, ne seek . . . out of thy- self.	<i>sc. te.</i>	
(46) Metre iv, 2: . . . fatum the fatal <i>disposicioun</i> of your deeth.	<i>id est, fatalem dispositionem sive mortem.</i>	<i>id est, mortem.</i>
(47) Metre v, 12: . . . crebris pulsibus aera.		
by thikke strokes ;	<i>Crebris, i. spissis vel frequentibus ictibus . . . era, i. vasa erea . . .</i>	<i>era, i. vasa erea</i>
<i>that is to seyn, that ther is a maner poeple that highte</i>	<i>quidam populi qui dicun- tur</i>	<i>vel campanas . . .</i>
<i>Coribantes, that wenen that, whan the mone is in the eclipse, that it be enchaunted ;</i>	<i>Coribantes, putant quod ista obscuritas lune</i>	<i>. . . putant ejus eclipsis</i>
<i>and therefore, for to rescowe the mone,</i>	<i>contingat per incantati- onem ; unde</i>	<i>contingere per incantati- onem ; et</i>
<i>they beten hir basins with thikke strokes.</i>	<i>volentes auxiliari Lune, et impedire ne audiat incantationem, concutiunt quecumque vasa erea et alia sonora tempore eclipsis.</i>	<i>volentes auxiliari Lune, et impedire ne audiat incantationem, concutiunt omnia vasa erea et sonora tempore eclipsis.</i>
(48) Prose vi, 19: Ut libet . . .	<i>ut, sicut, libet,</i>	

LATIN TEXT AND
CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.

TRIVET'S COMMENT.

PSEUDO-AQUINAS
COMMENT.

"As it lyketh to thee,"

...

"so do."

supple, "fac, ut tibi
placet."

(49) *Ibid.*, 83: . . . con-
stringit, quae,
the whiche destinal
causes.

que, scilicet,
cause fatales.

(50) *Ibid.*, 183: . . .
elicit effectum . . .
as who seyth,
that yvel is good

dicit Philosophia
mala esse bona

*Notandum quod bonum
proveniens ex malicia
improbiorum non est im-
putandum ipsis improbis,
sed tantum divine virtuti
que
novit ex malis efficere
bona.*

only to the might of god,
for the might of god ordeyn-
eth thilke yvel to good.

soli virtuti divine,
quia sola virtus divina
malum illud ad bonum
ordinat.

(51) *Ibid.*, 193: . . .
festinat,

that is to seyn, for to
with-holden thinges in-to
good,
for he him-self is good.

scilicet,
dirigendo ea in bonum,
quod est ipse.

*id est,
in bono.*

(52) Prose vii, 29: Vide,
"War now, and loke
wel."

*id est,
cave.*

(53) *Ibid.*, 32: . . .
evenit,

sc.
sequitur.

it folueth or comth.

(54) *Ibid.*, 49: . . . habet
contemptum felici-
tatis,

despyseth welefulnesse
(as who seyth, it is vicious).

id est, viciosum est.

id est, virtutis.

BOOK V.

(55) Metre iii, 9: . . .
oppressi luminis
igne,

by fyr of his derked
looking,
that is to seyn, by the vigour
of his insighte, whyl the
soule is in the body.

luminis, sc. *intellectualis*
igne, *id est, vigore.*

LATIN TEXT AND CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.	TRIVET'S COMMENT.	PSEUDO-AQUINAS COMMENT.
(56) <i>Ibid.</i> , 21 : . . . sum- mam et singula, the somme and the singularitees, <i>that is to seyn,</i> <i>the principles</i> <i>and everich by him-self.</i>	<i>id est,</i> <i>principia, pariter</i> <i>et singula, i. questiones</i> <i>in principiis.</i>	<i>id est,</i> <i>universalem cognitionem,</i> <i>et singula, i. singularem</i> <i>cognitionem rerum.</i>
(57) Prose iv, 12 : . . . quae, the whiche solucioun or the whiche resoun.	<i>scilicet,</i> <i>solutio vel</i> <i>responsio.</i>	
(58) <i>Ibid.</i> , 19 : . . . fate- bare ; quid est . . . hast confessed it <i>and bi-</i> <i>knownen</i> . . . <i>what cause or what is it</i>	<i>fatebare, i. concedendo,</i> <i>fassus es . . . quid est, i.</i> <i>unde erat vel quid cause</i> <i>poterit esse</i> <i>. . . quasi dicat, nichil</i> <i>cause esse poterit.</i>	<i>quid est, i.</i> <i>quid</i> <i>esse poterit.</i>
<i>(as who seith, ther may no</i> <i>cause be).</i>		
(59) <i>Ibid.</i> , 93 : . . . formam, forme so as intelligence taketh it.	<i>scilicet,</i> <i>quam cognoscit intellig-</i> <i>entia.</i>	<i>id est,</i> <i>universalem formam.</i>
(60) <i>Ibid.</i> , 100 : . . . uno ictu, by a strok . . . <i>withoute discours or</i> <i>collacioun.</i>	<i>scilicet,</i> <i>absque discursu vel</i> <i>collatione.</i>	<i>id est,</i> <i>absque discursu</i> <i>cognoscit quod non</i> <i>facit ratio.</i>
(61) Metre iv, 3 : . . . sensus et imagines, images and sensibili- tees, <i>that is to seyn, sensible</i> <i>imaginaciouns, or elles</i> <i>imaginaciouns of sensible</i> <i>thinges.</i>	<i>id est, sensibles</i> <i>ymagines vel rerum</i> <i>sensibilium ymagines.</i>	<i>id est,</i> <i>rerum</i> <i>sensibilium formas.</i>
(62) <i>Ibid.</i> , 14 : Cassas, ydel and veym.	<i>id est,</i> <i>inutiles.</i>	
(63) <i>Ibid.</i> , 22 : summis caput inserit, the heved, <i>that is to seyn,</i> <i>that it heveth up the inten-</i>	<i>id est,</i> <i>intentionem inserit sum-</i> <i>mis,</i>	

LATIN TEXT AND CHAUCER'S TRANSLATION.	TRIVET'S COMMENT.	PSEUDO-AQUINAS COMMENT.
<i>cioun to right heye thinges.</i>	<i>i. primis propositionibus et principis.</i>	
(64) Prose v, 6: . . . passione, by passioun to knowe thise thinges.	<i>ut per hec trahatur ad cognoscendum,</i>	
(65) Prose v, 30: Ad haec . . . respond- eat, answren ayein to thise two, that is to seyn,	<i>scilicet, refragando, id est, contradicendo</i>	
<i>to witte and to imagina- cioun.</i>	<i>sensui et ymaginationi.</i>	
(66) Prose vi, 28: . . . sui compos, compotent; as who seith, al-wey present to him-self, and so mighty that al be right at his plesauce.	<i>compos enim dicitur cui nichil deest sed assequitur omnia ad votum.</i>	<i>compos eo quod nichil sibi desit.</i>
(67) <i>Ibid.</i> , 76: . . . digna collatio, any digne comparisoun or collacioun.	<i>quasi dicat, quamvis aliqua collatio vel comparatio possit esse.</i>	
(68) <i>Ibid.</i> , 158: Quae cum ita sint, and sin that these thinges ben thus, that is to seyn, sin that necessitee nis nat in thinges	<i>videlicet, cognoscit ea que sunt nobis futura non quia habent causas necessarias nec etiam imponendo eis necessitatem eveniendi.</i>	
<i>by the devyne prescience.</i>		
(69) <i>Ibid.</i> , 163: . . . cum nostrorum ac- tuum . . . qualitate, with the dyverse qualitee of oure dedes.	<i>id est, diversitate in bonitate et malicia.</i>	<i>scilicet, bonitate et malicia.</i>
(70) <i>To whom be glorye and worshipe by infinit tymes. Amen.</i>	<i>Cui sit honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.</i>	

The evidence which has been offered as to the date of the Pseudo-Aquinas compilation is vague enough. Still it is sufficient, I think, to create a presumption in favor of Trivet's commentary over the Pseudo-Aquinas production as a source of Chaucer's *Boethius*. But the evidence of the seventy parallels just quoted is really substantial, and quite sufficient, it seems to me, to strengthen the presumption in Trivet's favor very materially.

Chaucer, then, seems to have had access to the Latin text of Boethius, to the French prose translation, and, very probably, to Trivet's Latin commentary,—a good many books on the same subject, it would still seem; more, indeed, than Chaucer would find, to-day, in London at the British Museum.¹ But the contents of one of the manuscripts at Paris which contains Trivet's commentary simplifies the matter and adds a further bit of evidence in favor of Trivet's claim. For in this manuscript are grouped² the three works which the evidence leads us to believe were used together by Chaucer to supplement one another. Here, then, is a manuscript³ of Trivet's commentary which satisfies every condition as to general⁴ contents and date, required by the evidence

¹ For there is, in the British Museum, no copy of the French translation to which Professor Liddell refers.

² On every page appears a portion of the Latin text, and beside it, the corresponding French translation, and running below, the commentary of Trivet.

³ MS. Lat. 18424: *Consolation de Boèce, avec le commentaire de Nic. Trivet et la traduction de Jean de Meung. Boetius, De Disciplina Scolarium. XIV S.* Professor Liddell has cited this manuscript as containing one of the variants of his French translation, but he does not notice the Trivet commentary. Instead, he seeks the supplementary material of his theory in the Pseudo-Aquinas compilation.

⁴ This manuscript, however, is pretty certainly not the actual manuscript which Chaucer used (and perhaps its Latin text is not even the original of the French translation written beside it; cf. bk. ii, metre v, 1. 18, *arida* for *horrida*, quoted, p. 192, below; and bk. i, prose i, 1. 38, *exitum*). For while in some cases MS. Lat. 18424 shows an exceptional reading of the Latin text (cf. bk. i, prose i, 1. 38, *exitum*; *ibid.*, metre ii, 1. 4, *acta*; bk. iii, prose vii, 1. 10, *lasciviam*; bk. iv, metre vii, 1. 10,

for the original of Chaucer's *Boethius*: the Latin text is there, the French translation, and Trivet's commentary; and, finally, the manuscript belongs to the fourteenth century. The presumption, then, in favor of Trivet's commentary, which we gain from a discussion of the date of the two commentaries, is strengthened by the comparison of their texts, and by the existence of a manuscript, like MS. Lat. 18424, which, containing Trivet's commentary, at the same time satisfies all the general conditions of Chaucer's original.

APPENDIX.

I have a copy of the French and Latin texts of one metre of MS. Lat. 18424, and I quote it here to show the relation of the three works contained in the manuscript to Chaucer's translation. The extract is the fifth metre of the second book, and I have arranged it in relation to Chaucer's text, putting Trivet's comments within brackets as interpolations in the Latin text, just as Chaucer seems to have interpolated them in his translation.

Felix [<i>sc. fuit</i>] nimium prior etas!	Trop furent beneure li homme du premier aige!	Blisful was the first age of men!
Contenta fidelibus arvis.	Il se cuidrent apaiez des viandes que li loial champ leur apportoient.	They helden hem apayed with the metes that the trewe felde broughten forth.
Nec inertī perdita luxu.	Il ne se destruiēt pas par outrage qui fait les hommes mauues et pereceus.	They ne distroyede nor decevede nat hem- self with outrage.

inani) which is peculiar to a few manuscripts and to Chaucer's translation, in one case, at least, where Chaucer follows such an exceptional reading, MS. Lat. 18424 keeps to the usual one (cf. bk. ii, metre v, l. 18, quoted, p. 192, below, *arva* for the *arma* which Chaucer translates, the reading of Addit. MS. 27875, etc.). The French text, moreover, in MS. Lat. 18424 fails to give one of the glosses, which, as Professor Liddell has shown, is derived from the French translation (cf. bk. i, prose iv, ll. 80 ff.).

Facili que [<i>sc. etas</i>] sera solebat jejunia solvere glande. Non Bachica munera norant [<i>i. noverant</i>] liquido [<i>i.</i> <i>claro</i>] confundere [<i>i.</i> <i>miscere</i>] melle [<i>ad faciendum</i> <i>pigmentum et claretum</i>]; ¹ Nec. [<i>sc. noverant</i>]	Quant il avoient longue piece jeune il mengoient les glans des bois. Il ne savoient fere beurage de miel et de vin ; Ne taindre	They weren wont light- ly to slaken hir hunger at even with acornes of okes. They ne coude nat medly the yifte of Bac- hus to the cleer hony ; <i>that is to seyn,</i> <i>they coude make no</i> <i>piment nor clarree ;</i> ne they coude nat medle
lucida vellera Serum [<i>i. illorum popu- lorum</i>]	les blanches toisons des Siriens par diverses couleurs	the brighte fleeses of the contree of Seri- ens
Tyrio miscere veneno [<i>id est,</i> <i>sanguine</i> <i>conchiliorum</i> <i>quo tingitur purpura, quo- rum copia invenitur circa</i> <i>Tyrum.</i>	entrans comme venim. Il se dorment sus les herbes,	with the venim of Tyrie ; <i>that is to seyn, they</i> <i>coude nat deyen whyte</i> <i>fleeses of Serien contree</i> <i>with the blode</i> <i>of a maner shelfisshe</i> <i>that men finden in Tyrie,</i> <i>with whiche blood men</i> <i>deyen purpur,</i>
Somnos dabat herba salubres, Potum quoque lubricus amnis ; Umbras	et bevoient les courans ruisseaus ; et gesoient es umbres	They slepen hoolsom slepes up-on the gras, and dronken of the renninge wateres ; and layen under the shadwes
altissima pinus. Nondum	des haus pins. Nus hostes	of the heye pyn-trees. Ne no gest ne straun- gere
maris alta secabat [<i>quia nondum navis usus</i> <i>erat</i>] ;	ne trenchoit oncores <i>par avirons</i> la haute mer ;	ne carf yit the heye see <i>with ores or</i> <i>with shippes ;</i>
Nec mercibus undique lectis	ne navoient veus	ne they hadde seyn yit

¹Cf. no. 26, p. 180, above.

Nova litora viderat hos- pes.	nouuiaus rivages	none newe strondes,
	pour merceries concuil- lir en divers lieux.	to leden marchaundyse in-to dyverse contrees.
Tunc classica [<i>i. cornua vocantia ad bellum, vel tube</i>]	Lors	Tho
seva tacebant,	se taisoient felonnesses	weren the cruel clari- ouns
	buisines,	ful hust <i>and ful stille,</i>
Odiis neque fusus	ne sanc expandu par	ne blood y-shad by
acerbis Cruor	aigres haines navoit	egre hate ne hadde nat
arida tinxerat	Onques ensenglante	deyed yit
arva.	les horribles chans.	armures.
Quid [<i>i. propter quid</i>]	Car pour quoi	For <i>wher-to or which</i>
enim		
furor hosticus ulla Vel-	vousist aucuns forsenez	woodnesse of enemys wolde
let prior	premierement	first
arma movere,	armes esmouvoir	moeven armes,
Cum	com il ne veist	whan they seyen
vulnera seva viderent.	les plaies crueuses,	cruel woundes,
Nec	ne ni aperceust nul	ne none
premia [<i>sc. esse</i>] sangui- nis ulla?	loier du sanc expandu?	medes be of blood y- shad?
Utinam modo nostra	Je voudroie que nos	I wolde that oure
redirent in mores tem-	temps retournassent	tymes sholde torne ayein
pora priscos!	orendroit es meurs an- ciens!	to the olde maneres!
Sed	Mes languisseuse	But the anguisous
	couvoitise davoir art	love of havinge bren- neth
seviore	en nous plus crueuse- ment	in folk more cruely
ignibus	que li feus de la montaigne	than the fyr of the mountaigne
Ethne Fervens amor ardet habendi.	de Ethna, <i>qui tousjours art.</i>	Ethna, <i>that ay brenneth.</i>
Heu! primus quis fuit ille	Halas! Qui fu cil qui	Allas! what was he that
	premierement trest et deffoui	first dalf up
	les masses	the gobetes or the weightes

Auri qui pondera tecti,	dor	of gold covered
	<i>sous terre,</i>	<i>under erthe,</i>
Gemmasque	et les pierres precieuses	and the precious stones
latere volentes?	qui se vouloient re- poudre?	wolden han ben hid?
Pretiosa pericula	Cis trait as hommes	He dalf up
	perils precieus.	precious perils.
<i>[pondera auri et gemmas,</i>		<i>that is to seyn, that he</i>
<i>dico,</i>		<i>that hem first up dalf,</i>
		<i>he dalf up</i>
<i>preciosa pericula,</i>		<i>a precious peril ;</i>
<i>quia multi propter</i>		<i>for-why for</i>
<i>eorum preciositatem</i>		<i>the preciousnesse of</i>
<i>incurrunt pericula].</i>		<i>swiche thinge, hath many</i>
		<i>man ben in peril.</i>

KATE O. PETERSEN.

VI.—THE *COMEDIAS* OF DIEGO XIMÉNEZ DE ENCISO.

I.

It is usually a safe principle to abide by the judgment of time and leave a forgotten writer in the oblivion to which his nation consigns him. With the Spanish playwrights of the seventeenth century, however, the rule may be said to offer an exception by reason of the fact that the merciless excess of dramas forced into neglect, with what was mediocre, much that in itself was excellent and which might, under more favorable circumstances, have stood the test of time. The works of no one have suffered more in this respect than those of Ximénez de Enciso. Though he has from time to time been deemed worthy of honorable mention, it is not possible to say that he has ever been given the just measure of praise to which a closer view of what remains from his pen would entitle him. In his own day he enjoyed considerable fame, as the frequent mention of his achievement by contemporaries would go to show, but for the two and a half centuries which have passed since then, he has shared the fate of the majority of Spanish playwrights whose works have been consigned to an undeserved oblivion.

First of all, what is the verdict of his contemporaries? A search for matter of value in such works as Lope de Vega's *Laurel de Apolo*, Cervantes' *Viaje del Parnaso*, or Montalbán's *Para Todos*, where some judgment on writers of the *siglo de oro* is passed, reminds one very often of a search "for two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff," in which the trouble of the investigation finds no compensation in the value of the discovery. One is impressed at every turn by the poor character of the evidence in these perfunctory panegyrics on contemporaries. These rosters of the battalions of the

pen indiscriminately mingle genius and hack; many a name is sounded with a flourish whose owner, for all we know of him, might never have penned a line.

Enciso has fared better than others in this respect, however, for almost every mention of him has a note of genuine appreciation. Lope de Vega speaks of him on three separate occasions, the first being in his epic, the *Jerusalén Conquistada*, 1605.¹ Mention is therein made of a group of Sevillans, among them being Arguijo, Pacheco, Herrera, Rioja, poets and painters whom Lope calls *his friends*. Third in the list stands the name of Enciso. Whether any intimacy really existed between the master past forty and the young man just in his twenty-first year, will probably always remain a matter of speculation. The important fact is that Enciso is found by the side of men of established fame. Lope praises his *dulce lyra*, his *sweet lyric gift*, and we must infer that he had reference to that class of the poet's productions represented by his Odes to Winter and to Spring, which are the only remnants from his pen, outside of the drama, which have come down to us. Sixteen years later (1621) in describing his garden² adorned with images of famous men, among whom stands our writer, Lope refers to the *sonorous, distinguished, and artless* style of Enciso. This may be intended to characterize the dramatist Enciso, who, being at that time thirty-six years old, must already have written many of his best plays. By 1630, in the *Laurel de Apolo*,³ Enciso is called the author of *many works, excellently written*, and Lope's praise, though somewhat excessive, would, when freed from verbiage, indicate that Enciso's fame was widely recognized. But we should be more convinced if there had been some specific mention of those *many works*.

Far more indiscriminate in his praise than Lope is Cervantes in his *Viaje del Parnaso*.⁴ The forgotten Grub-street hack fares as well at his hands as the worthier writers of whom we

¹ Libro XIX.

² *La Filomena*, Epístola VIII.

³ Libro II.

⁴ Capítulo IV.

would gladly know something more than is conveyed in a meaningless generality. Enciso is mentioned by Cervantes in the same breath with two unknown writers, and all three are marked for the *taste* displayed in their works. This praise is sufficiently indefinite to leave room for critical vagaries, though the probability is that Cervantes had in mind Enciso's simple, unrestrained technique, his chastened and mildly-colored style.

Very important is the judgment passed on Enciso in Montalbán's *Para Todos* (1632). Here at last we have the mention of a specific drama together with the admission of its widespread popularity. Montalbán tells us that it is sufficient praise for Enciso to say that he wrote the *Médis de Florencia*, which had been the model for all great dramas. Through another source¹ we learn that the *Médis de Florencia* had won renown for Enciso even in Italy, and long after his activity had ceased, toward the close of the 17th century, Francisco de Bances Cándamo² calls him the originator of the cloak and sword play, adding that Calderón, Rojas, Rosete, and others merely followed Enciso's lead in that type. This opinion in the face of the fact that Enciso's activity for the stage could not have begun much before 1610, when the cloak and sword play was already flourishing, carries no weight. But it shows that Enciso's name had no feeble echo throughout the 17th century, and that he stood out from among the throng.

To sum up, contemporary opinion gives the work of Enciso appreciative recognition. It does not, however, in view of its somewhat perfunctory character, justify the rank given him by at least one of his contemporaries, the playwright and friend of Lope, Francisco de Medrano. This author, writing in the year 1631, places him on the highest slopes of the Spanish Parnassus. He says that he had felt

¹ Fernando de Vera, *Panegírico por la Poesía*, Montilla (1627).

² *Teatro de los Teatros de los pasados y presentes Siglos*, mentioned in appendix to Guyangos' trans. of Ticknor's *History of Spanish Lit.*, vol. II.

his own importance greatly in his youth, until he had learned to prize according to their true worth the works of Lope de Vega, Mira de Amescua, Guillén de Castro, Guevara, Alarcón, Tirso de Molina—the acknowledged masters of the stage—and between Alarcón and Tirso we find the name of Ximénez de Enciso.¹

II.

The judgment of contemporaries, however, has furnished no incentive to modern historians of Spanish literature to examine him for themselves, for in most accounts Enciso has had to be contented with very modest attention. Count Schack, to be sure, pays him a splendid tribute, giving him credit for power in character-drawing, and sketching in detail two of his best known plays, *El Príncipe Don Carlos* and *La Mayor Hazaña del Emperador Carlos Quinto*. Ticknor in his history² contents himself with a statement of three lines in one place (p. 337), after having in another (p. 319) given the play on which that statement is chiefly based to Montalbán, an error which is retained in all the translations of the work, and which has caused some confusion in the catalogue of the Ticknor Library.³ Klein's labyrinthian history adds nothing to our previous knowledge. Adolph Schaeffer published in 1887 a German translation of the two plays praised by

¹*Tomo I de las Obras del Señor Dr. Don Sebastian Francisco de Medrano. en Milán 1631.*

²Vol. II, 3d American Edition, Boston, 1866 (2d Period, chs. xx and xxi).

³Ticknor's error is due to the fact that he was guided by the twenty-eighth volume of the *Colección de Comedias Nuevas Escogidas* of which his library possesses two copies. In this volume *El Príncipe Don Carlos* is to be found with Juan Pérez de Montalbán given as its author. The confusion may also have arisen from the fact that Montalbán wrote a play with a very similar title, *El Segundo Séneca de España y el Príncipe Don Carlos*. In another volume (*Comedias de Varios Autores*, vol. 28, Huesca, 1634) *El Príncipe Don Carlos* is found properly given to Diego Ximénez de Enciso (sic). Ticknor has crossed out this name and written Montalbán over it.

Schack, and in his history of the Spanish drama (1890), he gives the contents of a number of additional plays by Enciso which had probably been read by no one since the 17th century.

At the present writing Enciso's plays are still in need of being evoked from their tombs in archives and libraries, and of being set out in fair and intelligible order. The existent helps, however, in this enterprise are few. In the first place the facts known about his life are scanty, and the few plays which are attributed to him, less than a dozen in all, are scattered through the libraries of Europe. Occasional copies, though once reported, have disappeared altogether. No playwright of the great age typifies in this respect more thoroughly the fate common to so many among them, namely, that of having his plays disfigured, or published under another name, or of having the greater part of his work go to waste in the glut of stage-production.

Enciso was born in 1585. Nothing is known of him after 1632, when he wrote an extravaganza *Júpiter Vengado*,¹ for a court-festival given in honor of the young prince, Balthasar Carlos. Schack supposes that he was active later in the century on the ground that "his name appears frequently" in the *Colección de Comedias* begun in 1652, which, he says, included with few exceptions only living authors. But in the forty-eight volumes of that collection there are only three dramas by Enciso to be found, and of these, two are identical. Besides, the list of writers includes Lope, Guevara, Mira de Amescua, Tirso, Montalbán, and others who had been dead many a year when the collection was begun. This argument of Schack's might be applied more aptly to an earlier collection begun in 1603. Of this, the twenty-eighth volume was published in 1634 and contained only plays by authors who, with the exception of Enciso, are known to

¹ See *Convocación de las Cortes de Castilla y Juramento del Príncipe nuestro Señor Don Baltasar Carlos, primero deste nombre. Año de 1632, Madrid, 1632*, by Ant. Hurtado de Mendoza.

have been alive at that date. Reasonably Enciso's activity would appear to fall within the period 1610 to 1635.

III.

In his invaluable catalogue of the Spanish theatre, Cayetano Barrera gives a list of eleven¹ plays by Enciso, but unfortunately does not specify from what sources he compiled the list, nor in what edition each copy was known to exist. The effort of a search for tangible facts concerning their whereabouts is dishearteningly barren of results. Of the eleven dramas mentioned by Barrera, I have been unable to find any trace of *Quien calla otorga*;² the *Júpiter Vengado*³ was never published; six (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, and 11 of Barrera's list) exist in scattered copies, but the remaining three, *El Príncipe Don Carlos*, *La Mayor Hazaña del Emperador Carlos Quinto*, and the *Médecis de Florencia*, have in compensation

¹These eleven plays are: 1. *Los Celos en el Caballo*; 2. *El Encubierto*; 3. *Júpiter Vengado*; 4. *Juan Latino*; 5. *La Mayor Hazaña del Emperador Carlos Quinto*; 6. *El Príncipe Don Carlos*; 7. *Los Médecis de Florencia*; 8. *Quien calla otorga*; 9. *La Santa Margarita*; 10 and 11. *El Valiente Sevillano-Pedro Lobón* (two parts). Mensonero Romanes in his list (vol. II of *Dramáticos Contemporáneos de Lope* in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*) mentions a twelfth, *Engañar para reinar*, which, however, belongs to Antonio Enríquez Gómez (?1600-?1660). Of these, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11 are in the National Library of Madrid, some being represented by more than one copy; Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11 are in the British Museum; Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9 are in the Ticknor Library in Boston; Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 are in the Royal Library of Berlin; Nos. 5 and 7 are in the National Library of Paris; No. 6 is in the Royal Library of Munich; Nos. 4, 5, and 7 are in the Yale Library, and an old *suelta* of 6 is reported to be in the library of the University of Syracuse. This imperfect list will give an idea of the difficulty of getting at all old copies of existing plays by Enciso. It is to be hoped that some private libraries also will yield something on our subject.

²Tirso de Molina's play, *El Castigo del Penséque* has a 2d part with the same title.

³It is to be inferred that Barrera never saw a manuscript of *Júpiter Vengado*, since he says nothing about it. I have as yet found no clue to the whereabouts of the play, if it still exists.

come down to us in several editions. To the average student, however, only one of these three, the *Médicis de Florencia*, is available in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. All of Enciso's extant dramas are represented in 17th century editions. In the 18th only three were reprinted, namely, the *Príncipe Don Carlos*, *La Mayor Hazaña del Emperador Carlos Quinto*, and the *Médicis de Florencia*. Of these a number of *seltas* exist, some of them having evidently been intended for a general collection of plays made about 1745 and printed at Madrid.

What has been said by critics generally concerning the text of plays found in the collections of the 17th century, holds good of those of Enciso. Passages whose meaning has been made uncertain by careless printing occur and discrepancies in different editions show the publishers' perplexity. Verses occasionally lack the requisite number of syllables, and the punctuation is at times placed at random, which not infrequently alters the meaning. The text which is decidedly in the worst condition, is that of the sole copy of the *Encubierto*, in the Ticknor Library. A former owner, in fitting it probably to some collection, trimmed its margins so closely as to cut away on many pages the last word of each verse as well as the last verse of each column. A noticeable difference from the text of plays by other writers lies in the somewhat elaborate stage-directions, which have every appearance of having been added by Enciso's own hand.

IV.

If the three plays, *El Príncipe Don Carlos*, the *Carlos Quinto*, and *Los Médicis de Florencia*, which were reprinted in the 18th century, were chosen because they were considered both by contemporaries and the following generation as Enciso's best, modern judgment is likely to concur with such an opinion. Not only do they give us Enciso at his best, but they also secure for him a most individual place among his con-

temporaries. It is a mystery how, with these in mind, Bances Cándamo could credit Enciso with originating the cloak and sword play. These three dramas are as three excellent examples of the true historical drama, or *comedia de cuerpo*, as can be found in Spanish literature, and the cloak and sword element, although not absent, is far from prominent in them. If Bances Cándamo's opinion had any foundation at the time it was uttered, it must be based on dramas which have not come down to us.

Enciso's idea of the historical drama is thoroughly unique for a Spanish playwright and worthy of especial attention, because he alone of all his contemporaries seems to have conceived the historical drama as capable of a close adherence to facts as found in the histories of his own day. Where he distorts events, his source is often more to blame than himself. To be convinced of the great difference between Enciso's conception of a *verdadera historia*, and that entertained by either Lope or Calderón, one need but compare a play like *El Príncipe Don Carlos* with some play of Lope's like *El mejor Alcalde, el Rey* which he admits was taken from the *Crónica de España*, or with Calderón's *Alcalde de Zalamea*. Both of these are called by their authors a *verdadera historia*. Enciso has much the same idea of the historical drama as Shakespeare, both using their sources in a similar way. This drama is not to reflect history slavishly, but may use recognized sources in a way which will give the plot every appearance of probability. The solidity of the whole depends entirely on forceful, well-defined character-drawing. Nor does truth to history in Enciso mean an utter suspension of the imagination, though he seems to have taken warning from the inartistic and conceitful excesses committed by so many of his contemporaries. Even where he deals with characters and plot of his own invention, he is inspired only by the principles of his art and tries to keep all parts in harmony with the spirit of probability which dominates the whole. He is often painstaking to a fault in adhering to his

sources. In his *Príncipe Don Carlos* which, apart from the love-scenes in the under-plot, is based on Cabrera's *Historia de Felipe Segundo*, more than a dozen passages can be pointed out, which are either a verbal transcription from the original or involve only a slight change. This method of procedure, when employed too rigidly, gives some of the utterances of Enciso's characters the uninspired air of a chronicle, as is the case with Charles V's speech at his abdication in the *Carlos Quinto*, and with Philip II's remonstrance to Prince Carlos on his riotous manner of living, in the *Príncipe Don Carlos*. Enciso's strict fidelity to his sources where he deals with characters who have lived, is doubtless due to his vast learning and scholarly temperament. He not only possesses an extended knowledge of the classics, but the contemporary histories of Sandoval, of Antonio Herrera, of Cabrera, the Lives of the Saints, books of travel and tales, all were grist to his mill. That Enciso was inclined to draw his material from many sources is not to be inferred merely from the contents of his plays, but is further substantiated by his own admission, as, for example, when he says at the end of the *Médicis de Florencia*, "the *verdadera historia* of Alexander as here presented, has been treated by many authors."

V.

Of these best-known dramas the *Príncipe Don Carlos* stands first. It is one of the unique plays of the Spanish stage. A discussion of it, however, would demand and deserve a paper by itself. Two interesting points may be in order here. First, there exist of this play two versions, one ending with the death of Don Carlos and faithful to the facts of history, the other with a conventional "happy ending" in which the Prince is cured by the miraculous intervention of a saint. Schaeffer, in speaking of these two versions in his history of the Spanish drama, expresses an opinion with which one is loath to agree. He calls the latter (with the happy end-

ing) the original, and gives to some unknown writer the credit for the former and far more perfect version. Yet an examination based solely on a difference of construction, style, and above all on Enciso's idea of historical drama, would reverse Schaeffer's opinion and give the play with the feeble slump to some author other than Enciso. The difficulties of solving this problem are enhanced by reason of the fact that the play with the miraculous and spectacular ending exists in an edition printed in 1634 (the *licencia* is dated April, 1633), while the version which follows Cabrera and the historical facts, exists only in *sueltas* printed in Valencia in 1773. Only the finding of the latter, either in manuscript or in an edition printed before 1634, will allow us to speak with certainty in favor of Enciso. At all events it does not seem improbable that Enciso may have written the historical version shortly after the appearance of Cabrera's *Historia de Felipe Segundo* (1619), that the character of Prince Carlos, as therein represented, scandalized the authorities, and that the play was changed by some unknown hand to soften the harsh lines of the Prince's character. One scene at least, which shows the Prince in his worst light, is supplanted in the spectacular version by a very tame scene in which he is sworn in as heir-apparent to the throne before the assembled Cortes. Is it not reasonable to suppose that this change may have been made on the occasion of the swearing in of Prince Baltasar Carlos (1632), and that the first form of the play was suppressed, lest forgotten stories about Prince Carlos's life and death should be recalled? On the other hand, how unreasonable it is to suppose that any author as late as 1773, two hundred years after the Prince's death, when the real facts about him were of no interest, and only romantic and heroic legends of his career were current, should have felt tempted to rectify the misrepresentations of the version of 1634! Would he be likely at the same time to come upon the forgotten history of Cabrera, and use it with the same care with which Enciso had used it one hundred and fifty years before? Would he not have pub-

lished the revision under his own name rather than Enciso's, which must have been unrecognized at that decadent period of the drama?

The second point of interest is an imitation which the dramatic situations and the splendid delineation of character of *El Príncipe Don Carlos* have inspired. This is the case in Calderón's *La Vida es Sueño*, notably in the second act. Professor Lang has suggested to me that Sigismundo's fit of rage in that play seems to have had as its model a similar scene in the *Príncipe Don Carlos*. I believe one may even go further and find more than a coincidence in the similarity of Calderón's and Enciso's dramas; not only in Sigismundo's fit of rage and his act of throwing a servant out of the window, but in the dialogue between the offended king and his uncontrollable son, in the courting of Rosaura by the Prince and the locking of the door to intimidate his intended victim, in the drawing of his dagger on Clotaldo in disregard of his gray hair, and lastly in his ensuing captivity and remorse, for all of which there are clear parallels in the *Príncipe Don Carlos*.¹ This imitation on the part of Calde-

¹ The following parallels from *La Vida es Sueño* and *El Príncipe Don Carlos* will serve as examples of their occasional similarity.

Calderón.	Enciso.
1.	1.
(Jornada I.)	(Jornada I.)
Basilio: Su madre vió que rompía Sus entrañas atrevido Un monstruo en forma de hombre; Y entre su sangre teñido <i>La daba muerte, naciendo</i> <i>Víbora humana del siglo.</i> Llegó de su parto el día; Y los presagios cumplidos, etc.	El Rey: <i>Matasteis á vuestra madre</i> <i>Como víbora naciendo</i> <i>Cuyo alevosa inocencia</i> <i>Fué á España triste portento.</i>

rón becomes all the more likely if it be remembered that Enciso's drama appeared only a few years before *La Vida es Sueño* was written, and that its scenic effectiveness no doubt remained in Calderón's mind. Calderón clearly selected just those elements which give to Enciso such marked stage character, that is, his manner of crowning a dramatic development with a *coup de théâtre*.

It has been said by some critics that Montalbán in his play, *El Segundo Séneca de España y el Príncipe Don Carlos*, which has the same plot as that of Enciso of similar title, is only

2.

(Jornada II.)

Sigismundo: También oíste decir
Que *por un balcón, á*
quien
Me canse, sabré arrojar.

3.

Sigismundo: Que un padre que
contra mí
Tanto rigor sabe usar,
Que su condición in-
grata
De su lado me desvía,
Como á una fiera me
cría,
Y como á un mons-
truo me trata,
Y mi muerte solicita,
De poca importancia
fué
Que los brazos no me
dé,
Quando el ser de
hombre me quita.

2.*

(Jornada I.)

Don Carlos: Ni yo disimularé
Tanta osadía sin que
Te arroje por un balcón.
Vive Dios, que has de
volar
Al foso.

3.

Don Carlos: ¿Qué debo, qué debo á
un padre
Que con tal rigor me
trata,
Que fieramente me
riñe,
Que injustamente me
agravia?
Grande obligación por
cierto
Es la forzosa crianza
De un hijo solo, here-
dero
De los Imperios de
España.
.
¿Qué fiera, qué hombre
no ama
Á sus hijos? ¿Quién
les niega

an imitation of the latter. All that facts permit us to insist on, is that Enciso's play is infinitely better, but that its earliest existing version (that of 1634) is two years later than Montalbán's published in 1632. If the belief, however, that there existed before 1632 a version of Enciso's *El Príncipe Don Carlos* seems plausible after what has already been said, that belief would be further supported by the fact that, from internal evidence, the play of Montalbán seems, in the relative value of parallel passages, a most feeble reflection of Enciso's work.

<p>Sigismundo: ¿Dasme más de lo que es mío? Mi padre eres, y mi Rey; Luego toda esta grandeza Me da la naturaleza Por derecho de su ley.</p>	<p>Don Carlos: Estado, doctrina y casa? Si vivo triste, si estoy Desabrido, si me cansa Todo, vuestra Majestad, Siendo mi padre, es la causa.</p>
4.	4.*

<p>Sigismundo: (having Rosaura in his power) Hola, dejadnos solos, y esa puerta Se cierre, y no entre nadie. (vanse Clarín y los criados)</p>	<p>Don Carlos: (having Violante in his power) Salíos todos allá fuera. (vanse los criados) ¿Qué importa si á tu pesar Sabré tu fuga estorbar Para poderte rendir?</p>
<p>Rosaura: Yo soy muerta.</p>	<p>Violante: ¿Con qué habéis de conseguir Vuestro intento? Don Carlos: Con cerrar La puerta al cuarto. (cierra la puerta) Violante: ¡Ay, infelice! ¿Qué haré?</p>

5.

5.

(Jornada III.)

<p>Clotaldo: Y no, por verte ya de todos dueño,</p>	<p>Duque de Alba: Si me le manda, he de ir yo.</p>
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VI.

Enciso's technique is often uneven, his scenes are not always linked well, yet some of them, as units in themselves, are dramatic masterpieces in little. His dramatic quality does not arise from violent language, but merely from placing face to face intense natures, complete opposites in character, each clearly drawn with unsurpassed individuality. With him intense feeling does not depend on a psychological discussion of inner motives—a method foreign to an art whose vitality depends on movement—but constantly bursts its

Clotaldo: Seas cruel, porque quizá es un sueño.	Don Carlos: Mi gusto también es ley,
Sigismundo: Á rabia me provocas, Quando la luz del desengaño tocas. Veré, dándote muer- te, Si es sueño ó si es verdad. (al ir a sacar la daga se la detiene Clo- taldo, y se pone de rodillas.)	Y pues el vuestro se arroja Contra el mío, yo haré así, Que no vais. (saca la daga el Príncipe y al ten- erle el Duque el brazo, se le cae.)
Clotaldo: Yo desta suerte Librar mi vida espero.	Duque: ¡ Pobre de mí, Si vuestra Alteza se enoja !

Passages 2* and 4* under Enciso are taken from the version published in 1773. Their similarity, however, to the parallels in Calderón again lead one to believe that this version existed before 1634 and that Calderón must have seen it either in manuscript or on the stage. It is difficult to understand how its author should have imitated Calderón, rather than the other way about. In the first place, these scenes belong organically to the plot of *El Príncipe Don Carlos*, as taken partly from Cabrera, partly from traditions about the Prince's actions current in Enciso's day, and *La Vida es Sueño* would have to be dragged in to suppose that it served as a model. Second, since parallels exist between *La Vida es Sueño* and parts common to both versions of *El Príncipe Don Carlos* (Nos. 1, 3, and 5 of above examples), and since in these parallels Enciso was the first on the ground, *i. e.*, before 1633, it seems reasonable to think that in the other parallels, also, the precedence belongs to him.

bounds and resolves itself into immediate action. The way in which he attains this result without departing from simplicity of language is worthy of all praise. The rapidity of action, notably in the *Príncipe Don Carlos*, the *Médicis de Florencia*, and *Los Celos en el Cabello*, logically forbids an unnecessary flow of words or matter foreign to the immediate subject. The nature of his characters is as unaffected as their language, and chiefly so because they are of an unintellectual type and appeal rather to the heart than the head of the public. Enciso can be exquisitely human, even to the extent of being naïve, and his pathos is often affecting in the extreme. With simplicity so marked a quality of his art, it is natural that he should have been a pronounced enemy of the *estilo culto* to which he occasionally alludes with delightful touches of raillery.

Great dramatic effectiveness was not Enciso's only title to appreciation in his day. It is true, he must have appealed especially to his public by putting on the stage characters who had assumed in the imagination of the people a heroic stature, such as Charles V, Philip II, Don Juan of Austria, thus touching the most Castillian of all sentiments, pride of race and national achievement. To one who reads him now, however, there is apparent a very high poetic quality apart from the dramatic frame into which it is cast—at times even, not wholly in harmony with it. At such moments it is the poet of the *dulce lyra*, mentioned by Lope, who speaks. This lyrical intrusion is not frequent, and Enciso cannot be accused of destroying dramatic feeling by making its expression too musical. Its undramatic quality is best illustrated by the *Santa Margarita*, which is rather an effusion of pure poetry than an acting play, and whose religious and spiritual character permits the presence of an undramatic element more than would be warranted in a drama dealing with the facts of human life.

VII.

In his versification Enciso shows a leaning toward great variety, though seeming especially at his ease in the longer verse of eleven syllables. His preference for rhyme is very marked, as is shown by an extended use of *terza* and *octava rima*, of *redondillas* and, somewhat less frequently, of *quintillas*. The *romance*, used relatively with moderation, finds a more extended application in those dramas which show the greatest maturity in thought and diction, and which probably date from the later period of Enciso's life, that is, about 1630. In the use of all these kinds of metre, Enciso seems to have employed a more or less systematic plan, applying, so far as such a thing is reasonably possible, each kind to the expression of a distinct sort of dramatic feeling. His verse of eleven syllables, relieved at times by the seven-syllabled verse, is, by reason of its greater length and fulness, its larger sonorousness, applied preferably to long expositions in monologue, to serious dialogue, and to dignified dramatic movement, on occasions which require a deeper, sadder tone. The *redondillas* are the metre of action, and are used with a splendid grace and pliancy in sprightly dialogue, where the *quintillas* are also found when greater warmth of feeling is required. The *romance*, apart from its conventional employment in long narrative speeches and dialogues, is occasionally used in the manner of Lope, in dialogue of a lighter, more playful nature.

In the general view of the language, verse, and technique of Enciso just given, the following characteristics have been pointed out as noteworthy: first, the varied nature of his versification, together with the discrimination shown in its use; second, the predominance of rhyme and the relatively moderate use of the *romance* in the majority of his dramas; third, the absence of bombast and flowery metaphor; lastly, an evident indifference to technical excellence in the construction of a play throughout. All this is so much in the spirit

of Lope and his epoch that if we were to start with the hypothesis that Enciso's activity extended into the period dominated by Calderón, we would be obliged on the above evidence to abandon that theory. Especially in the matter of the *romance* it is noteworthy that Enciso's long speeches in that verse-form do not have the perfunctory air about them which so often characterizes them in Calderón. For instance, to the somewhat deliberate demand, "*cuenta como pasó,*" "tell us how it all happened," we find in Calderón the no less deliberate reply, "*fué, Señor, desta manera,*" "this is the way it was,"¹ and a long speech is to be expected. There is no accounting for the growth of a certain form or fad in the drama any more than in social customs of every-day life, and it is difficult to explain how the theatre-going public should have tolerated these long allocutions. The Spaniard of the 17th century must have had the gift of dramatic illusion to an extent which is denied us to-day. When in Calderón's *Príncipe Constante*² the king interrupts a speech of over two hundred verses with "*no digas mas,*" the Spaniard's proverbial sense of humor must have been suspended, if he could take in so pat a remark with a stolid countenance. But perhaps two hundred verses were considered a mild affliction, in a time when speeches of nearly four hundred verses³ were permitted.

From all this, then, it seems probable that Enciso's activity was over when Calderón's influence began to assert itself, that is, by 1635. Whether any more facts about the man and his work will come to light, cannot be known, but may certainly be hoped, if he is given the attention which he merits. He is an interesting figure, thoroughly individual, a man whose work was, as we have seen, prized in his day, and whose influence extended beyond his death.

RUDOLPH SCHWILL.

¹*La Vida es Sueño*, II, 2.

²Act I, 381.

³See Tirso's *Del Enemigo el primer Consejo*, I, 81.

VII.—THE HOLME RIDDLES (MS. HARL. 1960).

INTRODUCTION.

MS. Harl. 1960 is thus described by Wanley ("Account of Harl. MSS.," *Brit. Mus. Cat.*):—"A thin paper book in 12mo. mostly written by one of the Holmes and containing a collection of Riddles with their Solutions; being such as young lads and lasses use to make sport with. At the end is a table to the same." So closely indeed is the little volume associated with at least one member of the Holme family of Chester—the possessors of the MS. until the early 18th century, when it passed with other writings of that race of antiquaries into the keeping of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford (MSS. Harl. 1920–2177 and a few others)—that to understand its history we must first know a little of the lives of the four Holmes and chiefly of the third Randle.¹

Randle Holme 1st was born in Chester, probably about 1571. In 1598 he was entered as a "painter"—doubtless an heraldic painter—in the records of the Stationers' Company of his city; and in the same year married Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Chaloner, the celebrated antiquary, to whose papers he thus succeeded. In 1615 he was appointed Sheriff, and in 1633 Mayor of Chester. In 1635 his wife died, and in 1636 he made a second marriage. After the Civil Wars in which, unlike his son, he favored the cause of Parliament, he was charged with having taken the king's part and was heavily fined. He died January, 1655.

¹For my sketch of these worthies I am indebted to J. P. Earwaker's pamphlet, *The Four Randle Holmes of Chester, Antiquaries, Herald's and Genealogists* (1571–1707), 1892, 8vo. Unfortunately this young Chester scholar died before his further researches among the Holme MSS. were well begun. Hardy's account of the Holmes, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s. v. is, in a few minor points, inaccurate, as Earwaker's records show.

Randle Holme 2d, the second son of the preceding, was baptized July 15, 1601. He followed his father's business as painter. In September, 1625, he married Katharine Ellis, and again, September, 1643, Eliza Martin. In 1629 he became church-warden of St. Mary's; and the records of the parish for two years are in his "clear and beautiful handwriting" (Earwaker). He was honored with many municipal offices:—from 1632-3 he was Treasurer of Chester; in October, 1633, he was chosen Sheriff and subsequently Alderman; and in October, 1643, was elected Mayor. During his mayoralty he received from the royal commanders numerous official letters, which were afterwards bound up by his eldest son and namesake. MS. Harl. 2002 contains the commission of Charles I (January 1, 1644) to Randle Holme and others to seize effects of absent rebels. He added to the Holme MSS. and made many genealogical notes which, in his own words, 'he had not learning enough to digest.' Upon his death, in 1659, a handsome monument was erected in St. Mary's to his memory. In MS. Harl. 2161, fol. 117 (cited by Earwaker, p. 23), is found the record of the births of his many children,—three sons and five daughters.

Randle Holme 3d—baptized at St. Mary's December 30, 1627—pursued the vocation of his ancestors. "His very characteristic and ill-formed handwriting" appears in the minute-book of the Stationers in 1648, but the first accounts entered by him are in 1656. At Easter, 1657, he was chosen one of the church-wardens of St. Mary's; and the accounts for the next two years are in his hand. In 1659 he was elected Alderman in place of his father; he ceased to hold this office in 1674, but was re-elected in 1679 and retained the position until his death in 1700. In 1664 he received the sinecure appointment of "sewer of the chamber" to Charles II (MS. Harl. 2022, fol. 183 b), which exempted him from arrest, but prevented him from occupying the family offices of Sheriff and Mayor. From 1665 to 1670 Randle 3d was in much trouble with the Herald's College for marshalling

funerals and putting up hatchments against the law of arms. In 1688 he published that "heterogeneous mass" of over 1,100 pages, "The Academy of Armory" (Earwaker, p. 33), upon which he had labored for forty years. By lack of encouragement he was forced to abandon the thought of further publication; but ten Holme mss. (Harl. 2026-2035) contain his unprinted materials. He married three times (1655, 1666, 1688) and was blessed with eight sons and six daughters.

Randle Holme 4th, the only son of the 3d Randle's first wife, was born about 1659. Of his early life nothing is known. In 1690 he was taken into partnership by his father (ms. Harl. 2022, fol. 136 b), and October 19, 1691, became a member of the Stationers' Company. By his wife, Margaret Lloyd, whom he married in 1687, he had one son and four daughters, all of whom died young. He held the positions of Church-warden, Sheriff and Alderman; and died August 30, 1707.¹

We may now return to our volume. MS. Harl. 1960 is bound up with two other mss.:—Harl. 1955 (8vo.), that contains, a) Shelton's "Characters for Shortwriting," 1639, b) Josiah Rock's "Characters, etc.," 1689, c) Bishop Wilkin's "Real Character;" and Harl. 1962, a small thin tract in 24to., also containing Shelton's "Characters." Our ms. is prefaced by two leaves of a gentleman's household book, 1598-1602, which, though interesting in itself, bears no relation to our text.² The Riddle ms. proper is composed of a

¹ His will (June 2, 1704) shows that he was a man of substance and that he could hardly have been the Liverpool tapster recalled by Wanley (Description of ms. Harl. 2002)—see also Hardy, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s. v. Randle Holme 3d. Earwaker would assign the doubtful honor of that identity to the 4th Randle's brother, John or George.

² I cite two of these domestic entries:—"Mem.—that Elizabeth Renolf (?) came to my house the 4th day of November, 1598."

"Item—paid to Mr. Dutton's sonne on quarter's rent for the garden on ladyday in lent last past, 1602, xij d."

fly-leaf,¹ fifteen sheets of riddles, three leaves devoted to an index of problems, and many blank pages. Now, no less than three scribes have labored in preparing this text of 144 queries. The first writer—whose hand is clearly at work in 111 problems, though a change to yellow ink after No. 72 and back to black again after No. 91 proves that his contributions were not given *aus einem Guss*—was evidently not a well educated man. His handwriting is awkward and unformed; his spelling is poor and inconsistent even for his day of arbitrary orthography; he is entirely innocent of punctuation; and grammar and syntax stand him in such little stead that he has often much ado to express the simplest ideas without confusion (see answers to Nos. 2, 99 and *passim*.) The second scribe has contributed only two riddles, Nos. 112, 113—in a better hand (the crossing of *th* and the different *g* are among the marks of distinction). The last writer is undoubtedly Randle Holme 3d—the large, clear, ill-formed chirography is unmistakably his (compare MSS. Harl. 2026–2035 and Earwaker's facsimiles.) He is not content with merely adding thirty-one numbers; but sits as symposiarch at this feast of riddles. He boldly crosses out poorly-worded queries of the first scribe (Nos. 3, 19, 107) and offers far better versions (Nos. 114, 127, 132); he presents interesting variants to previous problems (Nos. 35 and 141; 85 and 138; 112 and 129); he amends or explains unsatisfactory answers (Nos. 20, 40);² and, finally, after his

¹ On the inner-side of the fly-leaf is written in a 17th century hand: "the interpretation of dreams, the academy of compliments of palmestry to tell the fortune by hand one 9 french—159 (?) english." This title-phrase does not in the least suggest the contents of the book, nor is the writing similar to that of the scribes of the body of the text, though it doubtless belongs to the same period.

² The weak answers to Nos. 51, 56, 61, 62 and 64 are due, I think, not to the forgetfulness or error of the first scribe, but to the lapse of solution so often noted in purely popular riddles (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xviii, 5 f.)—compare Nos. 4, 12 and 131; and the obscene jests, 3 and 114, 85 and 138, 112 and 129.

fashion (see MS. Harl. 2044, where he has indexed his father's book) adds an index of the riddles. His expression is always clear, his spelling is fairly consistent, and his punctuation logical.

A few words now of the probable date of the MS. The handwriting of the first and second scribes points as directly to the middle 17th century as that of the third to Randle 3d.¹ On other grounds, I should be inclined to place the book in the forties. "Such as young lads and lasses use to make sport with" is Wanley's description of our Riddles: and, while in that free-spoken age old nurses and greybeards were wont to chuckle over coarse puzzles,² the choice of the dozen broad riddles that form so important a part of Randle's contribution seems more in keeping with the taste of a young clerk than of an alderman and church-warden. "One thousand six hundred forti an one" in Riddle No. 110 is a number not essential to the query. "An" leads to the answer and "one" is for the rime's sake (*Notes*); but why "one thousand six hundred forty" rather than "fifty" or "sixty" unless our problem be the output of that decade? I hazard the theory that the other scribes in our MS. were Randle's younger brothers—or, dare we say, sisters—and that the little book furnished pastime for the many youthful Holmes while growing up in their Bridge St. house at Chester.³

¹ I base this statement directly upon the authority of Mr. Bickley, expert in Palæography, whose generous assistance many American readers in the MS. room of the British Museum will gratefully recall. "Somewhere very near 1650" was that gentleman's verdict.

² See Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 1587, Book III, "Arber Reprints," p. 198.

³ On the last page of the MS. is pencilled in a large hand the name "Alice Holme the yr." Now, there were two Alice Holmes (Earwaker, 23 f.):—1) The youngest sister of Randle 3d, born August, 1636, married Peter Stringer of Chester, and died December 1, 1670. 2) Our Randle's youngest daughter, baptized October 23, 1676, and died probably before 1704. "The yr" certainly points to the second of these; but all things are against our believing that Randle Holme, when elderly, finished in such wise a puzzle-book for his troop of boys and girls.

The MS. contains in all 144 riddles.¹ But six direct repetitions of problems and as many variants of striking themes² reduce slightly the number of motives. The queries are, with a very few exceptions,³ *Volksrätsel*, many of them belonging to the class of popular problems distinguished by double meaning and coarse suggestion.⁴ Some of the Holme questions may be found only in the printed riddle-books of the day; others are either world-old or the offspring of Germanic or native tradition, or perhaps indirect borrowings from the Continent; and yet others stand isolated from all problems known to my research. I turn now to this matter of origins.

In the British Museum are originals or reprints of three English riddle-books of a date anterior to the Holme MS.: whether our scribes employed these in their compilation is an interesting question. The first of the three in point of time is the *Demaundes Joyous*,⁵ printed by Wynkyn de Worde in

¹ Halliwell, *Popular Rhymes*, 1849, printed seven of the Holme riddles:—32, Nettle (p. 149); 108, Fly (p. 150); 119, Pump (p. 149); 121, Dew (p. 149); 137, Dog Bin (p. 141); 139, Man, deer, etc. (p. 150); 140, Bee (p. 149).

² The repeated numbers are:—3 and 114 (Heart); 19 and 127 (Oyster-women); 23 and 77 (Pilate and Christ); 35 and 141 (Bow and Arrows); 54 and 88 (One's thought); 107 and 132 (Strawberry). In each of the following groups one motive is applied to different solutions: 4, 12 and 131; 57 and 104; 61 and 83; 85 and 138; 112 and 129.

³ As literary enigmas (*Kunsträtsel*) may be reckoned:—Nos. 19 and 127, 65, 68, 69, 70, 113 (acrostic). Yet even in some of these appear popular elements.

⁴ The *double entente* riddles are:—Nos. 3 and 114, 20, 47, 49, 71, 74, 75, 83, 85 and 138, 107 and 132, 112 and 129, 117, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 133, 143. In these a broad humor utterly offensive to present taste is really heightened by perfectly decorous solutions—often inappropriate as the innocent answer is but a pretext. Conversely four queries themselves seemly,—Nos. 73, 91, 106 and 134—are frankly coarse in their answers. Thus at least twenty-five problems must be dismissed in disgrace by a modern editor despite their popular interest.

⁵ The only copy of this important collection of 54 "demands" is, according to Kemble (*Solomon and Saturn*, p. 235), in the Cambridge Univ. Libr. (A. b. 4. 58). The queries have been twice reprinted:—by Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Tales*, London, 1829, pp. 1-8, and by Kemble, *l. c.* Kemble

1511. This tract and our collection have in common six riddle-motives;¹ but the verbal resemblance in each case is so slight and the riddles themselves so widely known (*Notes*) that one cannot for a moment believe in a direct connection between the two groups. The second volume of problems is the *Heracitus and Democritus*, London, 1598, many of whose sixty riddles have a literary flavor. Only five riddles are common to the Holme ms. and *H and D*,² but the sequence of these is so similar in the two texts, and, with one exception, the verbal resemblances between the groups are so exact that they point to immediate borrowing. I have little doubt that the first Holme scribe copied four of the five problems; that, in the case of the fifth, he preferred his own rough traditional version. To the third of our trio of printed riddle-books, *The Booke of Meery Riddles*,³ the Holme ms. bears a closer relation. One-third of the queries of the earlier collection⁴ appear in the later, but the badly worded,

shows that the English text is "a very discreet abridgement of a French book, *Demaundes Joyeuses en manière de quolibetz*, of which a copy in black letter and without date is found in the British Museum" (assigned by Catalogue to 1520; by Kemble with greater probability to a date before 1500).

¹ *H.* 6 (*D. J.* 46); *H.* 73 (*D. J.* 45); *H.* 78 (*D. J.* 47); *H.* 94 (*D. J.* 14); *H.* 121 (*D. J.* 12); *H.* 140 (*D. J.* 40).

² *H.* 17 (*H and D*, 27)—exact; *H.* 18 (*H and D*, 28)—exact; *H.* 19 and 127 (*H and D*, 29)—many verbal differences; *H.* 20 (*H and D*, 50)—exact; *H.* 21 (*H and D*, 51)—exact. *H.* 143 and *H and D*, 41 treat somewhat similar motives.

³ Of this group containing 76 riddles, 16 questions and 133 proverbs, Hazlitt (*Handbook*, 508) notes eight editions: 1600, 1617, 1629, 1631 (Bodl. Libr.), 1660 (Brit. Mus.), 1672, 1673, 1685. The edition of 1629 is reprinted by Halliwell, *Literature of XVI and XVII Centuries Illustrated*, London, 1851; and the edition of 1660 by the same scholar in 1866 (25 copies). Halliwell surmises—it is only empty speculation—that 'his text is a reprint of an "Old Book of Riddles," mentioned by Laneham in 1575, which was perhaps the book lent by Master Slender to Alice Shortcake' (*Merry Wives*, I, I, 211). A former owner of the Brit. Mus. copy of *H and D* claims the same honor for that book.

⁴ The twenty-six parallels between the problems of the two groups vary from mere likeness of motive to the closest verbal resemblance:—*H.* 2

often incomplete Holme versions are so inferior to the riddle-forms of the other group that we must attribute the large number of resemblances merely to the working of a common tradition—admitting perhaps the possibility of an indirect literary connection between a half-dozen later queries in our ms. and their counterparts in the printed text. To summarize, the very imperfection of many of our queries, as contrasted with the more complete forms of the riddle-books, constitutes the highest evidence of their dependence upon popular oral transmission.

Not a few of the Holme problems are world-riddles, or queries popular in many ages and various lands (*Notes*)—some known to the Greeks, some current in the collection of Symphosius, some whose vogue began later in medieval Europe.¹ Parallels to others of less age and repute are found in this or that country, Germany, in particular, offering numerous analogues.² Others again are distinctively English in their range³—if the negative result of a fruitless search

(*B. M. R.* 71), same motive differently treated; *H.* 28 (*B. M. R.* 70); *H.* 30 (*B. M. R.* 24); *H.* 38 (*B. M. R.* 66); *H.* 40 (*B. M. R.* 4); *H.* 41 (*B. M. R.* 45); *H.* 50 (*B. M. R.* 1); *H.* 54 (*B. M. R.* 49); *H.* 55 (*B. M. R.* 16); *H.* 58 (*B. M. R.* 58)—different answer; *H.* 59 (*B. M. R.* 60); *H.* 62 (*B. M. R.* 67); *H.* 63 (*B. M. R.* 42); *H.* 78 (*B. M. R.* 61); *H.* 93 (*B. M. R.* 52)—exact; *H.* 104 (*B. M. R.* 69)—exact; *H.* 105 (*B. M. R.* 76)—almost exact; *H.* 110 (*B. M. R.* 15 and 21); *H.* 115 (*B. M. R.* 37); *H.* 121 (*B. M. R.* 41); *H.* 126 (*B. M. R.* 6)—exact even to wording of answer; *H.* 131 (*B. M. R.* 2); *H.* 135 (*B. M. R.* 44)—almost exact; *H.* 136 (*B. M. R.* 73)—exact; *H.* 144 (*B. M. R.* 28).

¹Among the more famous riddles are these:—Nos. 1 (Sphinx); 4 and 12 and 131 (variations of Homer's Flea riddle); 5 (Ice); 6 (Cain); 9 (Coffin); 10 (Lot's Daughters); 11 (Lot's Wife); 13 (Bookworm—Sym. 16); 14 (Smoke—Sym. 7); 15 (Oak); 22 (Androgynus the Eunuch); 24 (Cock in Noah's Ark); 39 (Mill-sails); 50 (Two-legs, Three-legs, etc.); 53 (Sow with Pigs); 76 (Samson's riddle); 144 (Rose).

²See my *Notes* for the German parallels to the following:—Nos. 2, 7, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 39, 45, 63, 78, 86, 99, 101, 121, 122, 125, 135, 136, 137.

³I include in this list three groups of Holme problems:—a) Those found only in the three early riddle-books, Nos. 17 (*H and D*), 19 and 127 (*H and D*), 20 (*H and D*), 41 (*B. M. R.*), 54 (*B. M. R.*), 55 (*B. M. R.*), 62

for similar continental motives may be trusted. And, finally, there is a very large number of riddles, eminently popular in form and thought, to which my necessarily limited search has revealed no parallels.¹

Despite imperfections of matter and crudeness of form, the Holme Riddle-book remains by far the most extensive and valuable of all English collections of problems; and this first edition of its contents may have some little worth to scholars, for its effort to present these genuinely popular products in the light of their origins and history.

(*B. M. R.*), 93 (*B. M. R.*), 110 (*B. M. R.*), 115 (*B. M. R.*), 126 (*B. M. R.*); b) Those common to early riddle books and other English collections, Nos. 18, 21, 33, 59, 105, 140; c) Those found only in the later collections, Nos. 43, 48, 51, 52, 56, 61, 89, 96, 113, 116, 118, 120, 123, 128, 130, 137, 139, 142. To these I may add as a fourth group all those isolated riddles to which I can discover neither native nor foreign analogues (*infra*).

¹Such lonely problems are Nos. 3 and 114, 8, 16, 23 and 77, 33, 35 and 141, 42, 46, 47, 49, 60, 65, 66, 68, 69 and 70, 71, 72, 80, 83, 87, 90, 92, 95, 97, 98, 102, 103, 106, 107 and 132, 108, 109, 112 and 129, 117, 124, 133. This list would be greatly diminished by an investigation of the riddles, unpublished as yet, in English mss. (a few such I have examined, *Notes*) and in the peasant speech. The popular riddle of England has been sadly neglected by collectors and students of folk-lore; hence the printed material is totally inadequate for the proper study of variant versions of native queries.

THE HOLME RIDDLES.

TEXT.

[Fol. 1 a.]

- [1] Q. W^t cratur is that in the world that first goes on [MS. one] 4 foot then 2 foot then 3 foot & then wth 4 foot againe
 A. a man for being a child creeps on [MS. one] his hands & knees in his strength on [MS. one] his 2 foot & old wth a stafe & in his second childhood creeps on [MS. one] all fore againe.
- [2] Q. By what strang[e] mariage was that the strang[e] kindred was procured that 2 mother[s] should produce 2 sonnes that shold be the sonnes of there sonnes, brothers to ther husbands & uncles to each other and yet both lawfully borne in wedlock & they there true mothers
 A. these 2 women had 2 sons that married crosswise [MS. crosly], one to the others mother & gat each of them a sonne therby wth were thus allyed as afor[e]mentioned.
- [3] [Crossed out and repeated, No. 114]
- [Fol. 1 b.]
- [4] Q. W^t is that that having taken wee have lost & haveing not taken we have kept
 A. A vermine that is taken & cast away & that al[l] they do not take the[y] keepe about them.
- [5] Q. my mother brought me forth wⁿ shortly j her daughter brought her forth againe
 A. water that is made ice & then water againe.
- [6] Q. w^t one man was that that slew at once the forth part of the world
 A. caine that slew his brother wⁿ ther was but 4 persons in the world.

- [7] Q. who weare those that fought before the[y] were borne
A. jacob & esau in ther mothers wombe.
- [8] Q. w^t sepulcher is that & wher doth it stand that that toucheth nether heauen earth sea nor land
A. the tom[b]e of mahomet being a chest of iron was drawne up by loadstones to the tope of mecha a church belonging to the persians where the turkes goe a[s] pilgrime[s].
- [Fol. 2 a.]
- [9] Q. ther was a man bespoke a thing which when the o[w]ner home [MS. whon] did bring he that mad[e] it did refuse it, he that bought it did not use it & he that had it did not know whether he had it, yea or noe
A. a coffin bought by another for a dead man.
- [10] Q. 2 sisters standing on a tombe thus bewaled the dead ther in alas here lys our mothers husbant our husband our childrens father & our father how can this bee
A. it is ment lots daughters on the tombe of ther father.
- [11] Q. that wth thou lookest on o traveller is a sepulcher wthout a carcasse & a carcasse wthout a sepulcher & how can that be
A. the piller of salt lots wife was turned into.
- [12] Q. in thickest woods j hunt with eagles 10 after the chase wth when(?) j doe discry j dispossesse me of [MS. off] not usefull then & w^t j take not only that keep j
A. a man scratching his head wth both his hands.
- [Fol. 2 b.]
- [13] Q. l[e]arning doth feed me yet j know no letter j have lived among books yet am never the better j have eaten up the muses yet j know not a verse what student that is j pray yⁿ rehearse

- A. a worme bred in a booke.
- [14] [a] Q. w^t is that mak[e]s tears without sorow tak[e]s his iourney to heaven but dys by the way is begot wth another yet that other is not begot wthout it
- or this
- [b] w^t is that that if [it] be seene can not be taken if it be taken can not be held & wⁿ it is thought to be some thing by & by it proves to be nothing
- A. smoake.
- [15] Q. wⁿ j lived j fed the liveing now j am dead j beare the live[in]g & with swift speed j walk ou^r the liveing
- A. a ship mad[e] of oake groweing feeds hogs with acorns now b[e]ars men & swims ou^r fishes.
- [Fol. 3 a.]
- [16] Q. christopher bare christ, christ bare the world, where stood christophers foot
- A. he stood in the sea for christ bare but the sines of the world.
- [17] Q. j was round and small like a p[e]arle then long & slender as brave as an earle since like a hermit j lived in a cell & now like a rogue in the wide world j dwell
- A. first an egge the[n] a silke worme then inclosed in a huske & last of all a buter fly.
- [18] Q. ther is a body wthout a hart that hath a tongue & yet no head buried it was ere it was made & loud doth speek & yet is dead
- A. a bell wth wⁿ it is cast is some[time] in the ground.
- [19] [Crossed out and repeated, No. 127]
- [Fol. 3 b.]
- [20] Q. _____

- A. A candle w^{ch} the wife sits in a candlestick
[Added by 3d scribe in yellow ink]
- [21] Q. one evening as could as could might bee with
frost & haile & pinching weather companions
about 3 tymes 3 lay close all in a place together
yet one after an other the[y] tooke a heat &
dyed that night all in a sweat
- A. a pound of candles.
- [22] Q. a man & no man going & not going in the
light & no light wth a stone & no stone stroke
a bird & no bird sitting in a tree & no tree
- [Fol. 4 a.]
- A. androgious the eunuch being spur-blind in the
twylyght stroke a bat wth a pumice stone sitting
upon a mustard tree.
- [23] [~~Crossed out and repeated, No. 77.~~]
- [24] Q. wher did the cock crow wⁿ all the world
h[e]ard it
- A. in noahs ark.
- [25] Q. w^t was that as god [MS. good] comanded to
be done & was not done & yet he was well
pl[e]ased
- A. abraham that god comanded to sacrifice his
sonne.
- [26] Q. ther is a thing that hath a mouth & can not
speake, 2 ears an cañot hear 3 foot & not go
- A. a pote.
- [27] Q. j have a little boy in a whit[e] cote the biger
he is the lesser he goes (grows?)
- A. a whit[e] candle.
- [28] Q. ther is a thing that doth both goe sit & stand
hath eight legs & lives 3 reed this ridle i pray
thee
- A. a man on horse back wth a hawke on his fist.

[Fol. 4 b.]

- [29] Q. hurble purple hath a red gurdle a stone in his belly a stake throw his a—— & yet hurble purple is neu^r the worse
A. a cherry.
- [30] Q. as sweet as milk as greene as a leefe as bitter as galle as high as a hall & yet as little as a mouse
A. a walnut.
- [31] Q. as rough as a bare as sharp as a thorne [MS. throne] as hy as a house & as litt as a mouse & this thing is meet for a king
A. a chesnute.
- [32] Q. hitty pitty with in the wall hitty pitty without the wall if yⁿ touch hitty pitty: hitty pitty will bite yⁿ
A. a nettle.
- [33] Q. j have a little posmet & in my litt posmat a litt rostmeat j cannot eat my rosmeat but j must brak my posmeat
A. a egg.
- [34] Q. on love j sit on love j stand & love j bare in my hand j se[e] my love he see[s] not me rede this ridle j pray thee
[Fol. 5 a.]
A. a woman that hath mad[e] a chest of her loves bones & his scull in her hand.
- [35] [Repeated, No. 141.]
- [36] Q. flink flank under a bank 10 about 4
A. woman milking a cowe.
- [37] Q. downe by the waterside stand a house & a plat & 4 & 20 ma[i]ds dancing ther at ev^r one with a bell & a blew hat & w^t is that
A. a feeld of hempe or flaxe.
- [38] Q. downe in a medow j have 5 swine the more meat as j give them the louder the[y] cryde the less [MS. lase] meate i give them the stiller the[y] live (lye?)

- A. 5 mills when the[y] be grinding the[y] keep
a noyse.
- [39] Q. there is 4 sister in this towne like in faour &
in gowne the hinmost is as forward as the first
[MS. i] & yet the[y] can neu^r ou^rtake one
an other
A. the 4 sales of a windy mile.
- [Fol. 5 b.]
- [40] Q. w^t is that as works al day & lies in his one
dung al night
A. egge or *Ashes* [added in yellow ink]
- [41] Q. there is a thing as little as an nit that serves
the king at a bit
A. salt.
- [42] Q. ther is a thing no bigger than a plumb that
l[e]ads the king from towne to towne
A. his eye.
- [43] Q. ther is a thing that goes rou[n]d about the
house & laves his gloves in the window
A. snow.
- [44] Q. w^t is that that goes round about the house &
stands behind the doore
A. the beesome.
- [45] Q. w^t is that as lords keep in there pockets &
begrs throw a way
A. snot of ther noses.
- [46] Q. though j be throwne from place to place & al
unseemly as j am the nisest dame in the towne
canot liue wthout me
A. [MS. Q] the dishclout.

[Fol. 6 a.]

- [47] Q. _____
A. the man stride ou^r his wife to boult the doore.
- [48] Q. _____
A. a penne.
- [49] Q. _____

- A. A gardiner geting harbes.
- [50] Q. 2 legs sat on 3 legs wth 1 leg in his hand in
coms 4 [legs] & snaches a waye 1 lege out of
2 legs hand up stand 2 legs & flang 3 legs at 4
legs & got 1 leg againe
- A. a man siting on a 3 leged stol wth leg of muton
in his hand then coms a dog & snaches the leg
of muton from the man then he throwes the
stoole at the dog & he gets it againe.
- [51] Q. as j wend on my way j hard [Fol. 6 b.] a grat
wonder 4 & 20 pots boiling & no fire under
- A. many of custurds in an oven.
- [52] Q. as j went throw the feelds j hard a boy weepe
& wale who sayd his father dyed 7 years before
he was borne
- A. he dyed cloth.
- [53] Q. as j went on my way j hard a great wonder of
a monster that had 10 h[e]ads 10 tayls 40 feet
& fore score nayls
- A. a sowe wth 9 piges.
- [54] Q. here j sawe it & yander it is
- A. our breth.
- [55] Q. M & I mad[e] grat mone wⁿ e(c) upon e(c) was
left alone
- A. Mary & john mourned wⁿ christ was one the
crose.
- [56] Q. w^t is longer then the way w^t is deeper then
the sea w^t is sharper then a thorne w^t is louder
then a horne
- A. death longer then the way hell deeper then
the sey a sting sharper then a thorne a tromp
louder then a horne.
- [Fol. 7 a.]
- [57] Q. sisly sage sits in her kage [?] & all her children
dys for age [MS. aye] yet she is a live & lusty
- A. the leaves of a tree.

- [58] Q. w^t is that as goes threw the wood & touches
ev'y twig in the wood
A. a mist in a frosty morning.
- [59] Q. w^t is that as goes throw the heye & leves his
gutes after it
A. a neele & thride.
- [60] Q. w^t is that as goes to the water gink gink & w^a
it comes ther cañot drink
A. a bridle in a horse mouth.
- [61] Q. w^t is that as goes under water & ou^r water &
touches not the water
A. an egge in a ducks belly.
- [62] Q. w^t is that as goes throwe the woode & touches
not the wood
A. a penny in a mans purse.
- [63] Q. what is that as goes to the wood & yet looks
home [MS. whome]
A. a hachet one a mans shoulder.
- [64] Q. whoe is that that gives food to others & dys
for lack him selfe
A. a minester viseting a sick person & dy him
selfe for want.

[Fol. 7 b.]

- [65] Q. nowe to a shepard did a dansell sit her body al
full of eyes as might be in it withred she was
by scorching flame a tongue she had but culd
not money gaine her wind she drue above &
eke beneth a wofull shepard came to kise her
breth but from one part she neu^r yet did
chang[e] making complaints most strang[e]
the more the shepard put his mouth unto her
mouth in stoping it she cryd a maine opening
her eyes & shutting them againe, so now w^t
this dumbe shepardise culd do, yet wher her
mouth he did but kisse he waxed dum[b]e &
she spaking is

- A. a man playing of a peere of bagpips.
- [66] Q. j saw a hill on [MS. one] a day lift up above
the ayre wth watered wth blood allway & tilled
wth grat care harbes it brought forth of mickle
worth
- A. that part of a horse that the[y] pule out his
longest haieres.
- [67] Q. w^t bird is that so hygt her place neu^r changeth
ye[t] she flys by day & night in all the world
she rangeth ouer the say at onst she flys
mounting above the lofty skise
- [Fol. 8 a.]
- A. ones thought.
- [68] Q. w^t m^r may that be whose m^r is his man
bound like a senclese foole is he with it noth-
ing can unlerned [be] yet he doth abound most
proud wⁿ that j take him by the hand although
j have him not, his maining yet j understand
though him j have for yet so wise is hee though
words nor motions showing yet 1000 kings he
tells ine words worth the knowing
- A. a man reeding in a booke.
- [69] Q. show me a horse of such a kind that in the
strangest fashion neu^r eats but of the wind
doth tak[e] his sustentation winged before
behind strang[e] & wonddrous deeds he doth
& wⁿ he runds his race upon his brest wth hast
he speeds his rains wth marvelous grace comes
from his sid[e]s that now bleeds & in his
course he doth not faile if rightly he doth wag
his taile
- A. a shipe.
- [70] Q. w^t bird is that as flies 3 cubits high & yet doth
nev^r rise wth more then 30 feet that mount &
fall wth wings [MS. wing] that have no pens at
all [Fol. 8 b.] eating the ayre it nev^r eats nor

drinks nev^r trys (?) sing spake nor thinks
 aproching nere unto her cruill death she
 wou[n]ds & kiles us wth the stones she throwes
 a friend to those that spend ther derest breath
 in spoyles & chests in mortal wo[u]nds &
 blows wher in she taks her plasur & he[r] fill
 hiding the men in waues that shee doth kill

- A. a ship in the midst of the waues is nere to
 death & being acustomed to rob, & kiling
 casteth the dead in the sea haveing 30 oares &
 many sailes & the stones that are cast are ment
 by bullets.

[71] Q. _____

- A. a woman wth a mote in her eye & the man
 licked it out wth his tonge.

[Fol. 9 a.]

[72] Q. w^t is that as is now nev^r seen by eys & who
 doth seeke to show her hath bine acounted
 wise yet somtymes we do knowe [of] her
 onely the wals by viewing well of her close
 house where she doth dwell

- A. ones thought.

[Change to yellow ink]

[73] Q. w^t tyme in the yeare is it that a cow hath most
 flesh & a goose most fethers on there backes

- A. it is w^a the bull is serving the cow & the
 gonder trading the goose.

[74] Q. _____

- A. it is a reed growing in a ditch.

[75] Q. _____

- A. a coves taile.

[76] Q. out of the eater came forth meat & out of the
 stronge came forth sweetness

- A. a hive of honey in the carcasse of a lion—this
 was samsons ridle at his wedding as you find
 judges 14. 14.

- [77] Q. who was that a[s] eu^r gave the greatest judgment the unjustest judgment the justest judgment
 A. pilate wⁿ hee condem'd christ who [was] the lord of life & the judgment in respect of him selfe was unjust but by reson hee tooke one him our sinnes it was most just.
- [78] Q. who was that that was borne [Fol. 9 b.] before his mother & had the maidenhead of his granmother
 A. it was abell for his mother was not borne but was created & made of the earth & he first died & was buried & laid [MS. lead] in his granmother the earth.
- [79] Q. who was it that leapt & yet neu^r went out of his place
 A. it was iohn baptist who lept in his mothers wombe wⁿ the uirgine mary did salute his mother.
- [80] Q. w^t woman is that that is nether wife maide nor widdowe
 A. it is one that hath had a bastard.
- [81] Q. who was that that was both maid wife & widdow & yet had a childe
 A. it was virgine mary for shee was contract to iosephe & so was a wife yet he did not ly with her til shee had brough[t] forth her first borne w^{ch} was not begotten & so shee was maide & widdow.
- [82] Q. what is that that is round as a cup yet all my lord[s] oxen canot draw it up
 A. a well.
- [83] Q. _____
 A. a turnipe pasmet(?) or carrat that goes stife into the pot yet come[s] soft out.
- [84] Q. w^t is that as goes under wood to the water & under water home [MS. whome]

A. a woman faching a cruck of water.

[Fol. 10 a.]

- [85] Q. _____
- A. it is a reddish.
- [86] Q. who was that that had children before his
mother was borne
- A. it was caine for his mother was not borne but
created.
- [87] Q. w^t creatur is that that neu^r eate but sleep
- A. the dormouse.
- [88] [Crossed out. Given *supra*, No. 54.]
- [89] Q. w^t is that as is nether fish flesh blood nor
boone yet can eate meate & goe
- A. a snale.
- [90] Q. what is that as the more hould it hath the waker
it is & the lese hould it hath the faster it houlds
- A. a ioyners houldfast wth will not hold any thing
tell it be putt at the end.
- [91] Q. S^r j would desire of yⁿ if yⁿ plase it is a thing
yⁿ neu^r had nor shall have yet give to me yⁿ
very esily may
- A. * * * a woman desire[s] that the man would
get her wth child that she may have it by him
although hee can not have it himselfe.

[Change to black ink]

- [92] Q. my flesh and my skin is red but whit[e] is all
my hart wher round about the wall is set
beaten with every dart

[Fol. 10 b.]

- A. it is a cherry & cherry stone.
- [93] Q. w^t is that as is whit[e] as any snowe
& yet as black as any crowe
and more pliant then a wand [MS. want]
tied in a silken band
& every day a princes peere
looks on it wth a mirth that is cleer

- A. it is a book ti'd wth silke st[r]ing, the pag[e] whit[e] letter black—leaves limber & pliant.
- [94] Q. it was not it is not nor ev^r shall be hold up
your hand & yⁿ shall it see
- A. the little finger not so longe as the rest.
- [95] Q. sweet La : such a boone j crave
as being got againe yⁿ have
nay if yⁿ surfitte of my request
the gift returnes with interest
tis not so wanton as may show
a venus blush a cupids bow
for that blisse wth j desire
may parallell dianas fier
tis such that in a moments play
is given & is gon away
then if yⁿ grant to me the blisse
sweet Lady tell me what it is
- A. *a kisse.*
- [96] Q. my coat is green & j can prat of divers things
with in my grat, in such a prison j am set
that hath mor[e] trap-holes then a nett
- A. a parrot in a cage.
- [97] Q. in open feild j canot ly within a box of ivory
my lady rest me quietly
- A. a fan of feathers in a La : cabanet.
- [98] Q. round j am yet cannot rest when j am mounted
of the best
- [Fol. 11 a.]
- A. a tennis ball.
- [99] Q. tell thy Master in my name wⁿ trees are turned &
well[s] be dry & quick be dead, then come will j
- A. tis midnight wⁿ a gentle woman correcting her
maineing promised her lord that she would com.
- [100] Q. j am called by the name of man yet am as
little as a mouse, wⁿ winter comes j love to bee
wth my red target near the hous

- A. a robbin redbreast.
- [101] Q. j was not j am not & shall not be yet j do
walke as men may see
- A. it is a man whose name was Not.
- [102] Q. in the last minute of my age j do wax young
again & have so still continued since the
world first begane
- A. the moone.
- [103] Q. j do owe most yet nothing pay, evill j am &
the worse j say
- A. ingratitude.
- [104] Q. beyond the seas there is an oake & in that oake
ther is a nest & in that nest there is an egge &
in that egge ther is a yolk wth calls together
christian folke
- A. the church is taken for the oake the steeple for
the nest the bell for the egge & the clapper
for the yolk wth calls the people.
- [105] Q. ten thousand children beautifulle of this my
body bred both sones & daughters finely deckt
alive & they are dead, my sones were put to
extreme greife by such as loued them well my
daughters died of extreme age & why j cannot
tell
- [Fol. 11 b.]
- A. the mother is a tree the sons the fruit & the
daughters the leaues.
- [106] Q. _____
- A. [*Crepitus Ventris.*]
- [107] [~~Crossed out and repeated, No. 132.~~]
- [108] Q. as j went through my houter touter houter
trouter perly j see one M^r higamgige com[e]
ou^r the hill of parley but if j had my tarly
berly, tarly berly berly j would have bine met
with M^r Higamgige come ou^r the hill of parley
- A. a man going ou^r a hill a flee flew ou^r his head.

- [109] Q. j tould the bell j tould to Mas j tould yⁿ my
true loues name read what it was
[Fol. 12 a.]
A. his name was thomas.
- [110] Q. one thousand six hundred forti an one is the
faire la: name at [MS. of] the font stone
A. her name is Anne.
- [111] Q. as j went by the way j met wth a boy
j tooke him my freind for to bee
he took of his hat an drew [MS. & draw] of
his gloves
& so saluted mee
A. [h]is name is Andrew.
[Here second hand begins.]
- [112] Q. _____
A. a purse.
- [113] Q. when sturdy stormes arise
shall quiet calmes appeare
j often see in ashes dust
ly quickned coales of fire
with in my words mark well my minde
you shall therein a question finde
A. it is the first word of ev'y line.
[Here third hand begins.]
- [114] Q. _____
A. the heart of man wth is of a triangular figure
the begining of loue.
[Fol. 12 b.]
- [115] Q. ten mens strength ten mens length & ten men
canot reare it.
A. a cable rop[e].
- [116] Q. ten teeth & neer a tongue, it is sport for old
& yong: j pulled it out of my yellow fleece &
tickled it well on the belly piece.
A. it is one playing on a violin.
- [117] Q. _____

- A. a woman sewing [MS. sowing].
- [118] Q. on yonder hill ther stand[s] a knight booted
& spured & stands upright gray-grisled is his
horse, black is his saddle, j have tould yⁿ
his name thrice what is it say you.
- A. the mans name is His.
- [119] Q. j saw a sight the other day, a damsell did
begin the fray: she with her dayly friend
did meet, then standing in the open street
she gave such hard & sturdy blowes he bled
10 gallons at the nose: yet neith^r seem to faint
nor fall, nor gave her any abuse at all.
- A. a pumpe.
- [120] Q. j went & j went & j cannot tel whither j met
& j met j cannot tell who: j had a gift given
me j shall never forgo yet j came home a true
Maiden altho.
- [Fol. 13 a.]
- A. a child went to be christianed.
- [121] Q. a water there is j must pass a broader water
never was: & yet of all waters j ever did se,
to pass over with less jeopardy.
- A. a dew.
- [122] Q. _____
- A. a man fishing & a woman at a well scouring
of her kettle, desireing his fish were therein.
- [123] Q. j have a chapple all in green, forty souldiers be
therein & euery souldier cloathed in white, ile
give yⁿ a groat & tell me it right.
- A. a pumpian.
- [124] Q. _____
- A. a woman geting of Herbs.
- [125] Q. four & twenty white Bulls sate upon a stall,
forth came the red Bull & licked them all.
- A. it is ones teeth & tongue.
- [126] Q. _____

- A. An Eglantine Berry, etc, etc,
 [Fol. 13 b.]
- [127] Q. far in the west j know not where
 are trees men say that oysters beare
 that oisters should be bred so high
 me thinkes it soundeth like a lye
 that female plants j know its true
 in London streets bear oysters new
 & fish & flesh & now & then
 the[y] bear j tell yⁿ handsome men.
- A. euery man & woman is a tree & by such trees
 you know w^t fruit are born in London & other
 cittyes.
- [128] Q. As j was walking late at night, j through a
 window chanced to spy : a gallant with his
 hearts delight he knew not that j was so nigh :
 he kissed her & close did sit to little pretty
 wanton Gill untill he did her favour get &
 likewise did obtaine his wille.
- A. a yong man in a tavern drinking a Gill of sack
 to chear up his spirits & so obtaind his will.
- [129] Q. _____
 A. it is a muffe.
- [130] Q. _____
 A. a maid that hath a sheath, & a yong man put
 a knife into it.
- [131] Q. j went to the wood & got it, j set me down &
 sought it: j kept it still against [Fol. 14 a.]
 my will & so by force home j brought it.
- A. a thorn in a man's foot, who sate down to look
 it out, but could not find it.
- [132] Q. _____
 A. a Goosberry bush bearing fruit.
- [133] Q. _____
 A. a Buck that had clapt his horns in a Bush &
 could not get them out againe.

- [134] Q. unto the exchange j went some knacks for to buy, within a cloister there was panting a monster certainly: foot & hands it had full eight, & four eyes clear of sight: 4 ears whereby to hear, & 2 bodies exceeding clear.
A. it was an exchang[e] woman big with child.
- [135] Q. j went to the Orchard where j saw Apples, j got no Apples, j gave noe Apples & j left no Apples & yet j both got gave & left.
A. there was on 3 Apples of wth he got one, gave on[e], & left one.
- [Fol. 14 b.]
- [136] Q. there was 2 fathers a hunting went & also 2 sons for the same intent: they caught conies in all but three, yet euery one has one how can this be.
A. on[e] of the sons had a son, thus he was a father & standeth both for father & son.
- [137] Q. there was a King met a King in a narrow lane, said the King to the King wher hast thou Bin? j have Bin in the wood hunting a doe, j pray thee lend me the Dog j may do soe: call him to thee & tell me his name, j count him a wise man that tells me the same.
A. the mens names were King & the dogs name was Bin.
- [138] Q. _____
A. a strawberry.
- [139] Q. As j went over Hottery Tottery, j looked into Harbora Lilly, j spied a cutterell playing with her cambril: j cryed Ho, neighbour ho, lend me your cue & your goe, to shoot at yonder cutterell playing with her cambril & [ile give] y^u the curle of her loe.
A. a man calling to his neighbour for a gun to shoot a Deer & he should have her Humbles.

- [140] Q. there is a Bird of great renown, usefull in citty & in town, none work like unto him can doe: hes yellow black & green a very pretty Bird j mean, yet he is both firce & fell, j count him [ms. hin] wise that can this tell.

[Fol. 15 a.]

- A. the painfull Bee.
- [141] Q. the Bull Bulled it, the cow calved it * the smith made it, & the stail grew in the wood.
- A. an Arrow, the metteriall whereof proseeded from all them mentioned.
- * the gonder gott it, the goose hatched it.
- [142] Q. the calfe the goose & the Bee, England is ruled by these three.
- A. vellom, the quill & wax, by w^{ch} all deeds & charter[s] are made.
- [143] Q. _____
- A. a maid was sick who desired to be lett blood.
- [144] Q. there is a thing w^{ch} hath five chins 2 hath beards 2 hath none, & one it hath but half an one.
- A. a rose bud whose outward gree[n] leaves are some jaged others plaine.

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[21 a.]

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 a goosberry bush & fruit
 Buck taken by horns in a Bush
 Exchang woman with child
 3 Apples on a tree
 2 ffather & 2 sons all but 3
 King the mens name
 strawberry
 a gun to shoot a dear
 a Bee

} 14

maid let blood
 a rose bud

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NOTES.

- [1] The history of the Sphinx riddle has been traced by Gyraldus (Reusner, I, 10), Friedreich, 84 f. and Ohlert, pp. 31-35. Among many classical forms cited by these scholars note that of Asklepiades (*Athenaeus*, x, p. 456^b; comp. *Anthol. Palat.*, Didot, XIV, No. 64): and among modern versions see Karlsruhe ms. (Mone, *Anzeiger*, VIII, 1838, p. 259, No. 175); Sloane MS. 1489 (17th cent.), fol. 14 a, No. 9 (Latin); *Rev. des Langues Romanes*, XII (1877), p. 172, No. x (Limousin); and Wossidlo, No. 344. Compare Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx, Grundzüge einer Mythengeschichte*, Berlin, 1889.
- [2] For slightly different forms, consult "An account in Record Office, Jan. 9, 8 Henry VIII" (*N and Q*, 6th Ser., I, 294, April 10, 1880); Sloane MS. 1489, fol. 16 a; and *B. M. R.*, No. 71. *Strass. Rb.*, No. 305, and Simrock³, p. 99, offer a very similar riddle;

and Pitrè, p. cxx, cites a Sardinian dramatic story (28 lines) with like motive.

[3] Crossed through, and repeated, No. 114.

[4] *Infra*, Nos. 12, 131.

[5] The Roman grammarian, Pompeius, tells us that this question was often in the mouths of the boys of Rome (Keil, *Scriptores Art. Gram.*, v, 311, cited by Ohlert, p. 30, Note). It appears in Bede's "Flores" (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 94, 539 f.; Kemble, *S. and S.*, 325), in *E. B. R.*, xxxiv, in Vienna ms. 67 (9th cent.), No. 39 (Mone, *Anz.*, VIII, 224), in Karlsruhe ms. von Engelhusen (Mone, *Id.*, 316) and in three of Reusner's authors (I, 21, 82, 259). I note several versions among the unpublished mss. of the British Museum:—in Latin form in Arundel 248 (14th cent.), fol. 67 b, and in Harl. 3831 (16th cent.), fol. 7 a; and as a four-verse enigma in Harl. 7316 (18th cent.), p. 60, fol. 28 b. See Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, Bk. III, Arber's Reprint, p. 198; and, among modern German *Volksrätsel*, Carstens (Schleswig Holstein), *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, VI (1896), p. 422, and Simrock³, p. 96. Compare my article, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xviii, No. 1 (Jan., 1903), p. 4.

[6] The pedigree of this world-riddle is traced by Wossidlo, No. 411, Notes. He finds it in Reinmar von Zweter (Roethe's *Ed.*, 1887, 205, cf. 512 f.); Freidank (Grimm's *Ed.*, 1834, p. 109, 8 f.); *Strass. Rb.*, No. 284; *Augsburg Rb.* (Wackernagel, *H. Z.*, III, 33); Therander (*Ænigmatographia*, No. 77); Rolland, p. 112, No. 263 (here combined, as in Mecklenburg version, with *Holme Rid.*, No. 78); and elsewhere. I mark its appearance in Tubinger ms. 1493 (Mone, *Anz.*, VIII, 93); Reusner, I, 265 (Lorichius); *D. J.*, No. 46 (Kemble, *S. and S.*, 290, 294); *B. M. R.*, No. 25; Simrock³, p. 148; *Archiv per. stud. delle tradiz.*

popolari, x, 397, No. 6 (Siena); and *Rev. d. Langues Romanes*, xi, 1877, p. 7 (Catalonia).

- [7] Compare Tub. MS. 1493 (Mone, *l. c.*); *Strass. Rb.*, No. 279; and R., I, 265 (Lorichius).
- [8] The fable of Mahomet's tomb is discussed at length, *N. and Q.*, 7th Ser., VIII, 1889, 188, 274. Among familiar references to the legend are Addison's *Spectator*, No. 191, and Gibbon, *Decline and Fall, etc.*, c. I, Milman Ed., Paris, 1840, VI, p. 232, N. G. remarks: "The Greeks and Latins have invented the vulgar and ridiculous story that Mahomet's tomb is suspended in the air at Mecca by the action of equal and potent loadstones (Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, 1715, s. v. "Mahomet" D. D.) * * * 1) The prophet was not buried at Mecca; 2) The tomb at Medina is on the ground." Alex Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, II, c. 98 (*Rolls Ser.*, 1863, p. 183), mentions magnet-balanced *statue*—not *tomb*—of Mahomet at Mecca. To the riddle I have discovered no analogues.
- [9] For numerous references to this widespread riddle, consult Wossidlo, No. 403, Notes, and Petsch, 107–110. English instances are *R. R. B.*, p. 4; Halliwell, *N. R.*, p. 74, No. CXXIV; Chambers, p. 108; and Gregor, p. 79.
- [10] One of the oldest and best-known of relationship-riddles, as *E. B. R.*, XLVIII, shows. Schechter ("Riddles of Solomon in Rabbinic Literature," *Folk-Lore*, I, London, 1890, p. 354) cites this from *Midrash Hachephez* (Brit. Mus. Yemen MS. Or. 2382) as second query proposed by Queen of Sheba to Solomon (Compare Friedreich, pp. 98–99, citation of an older Midrash; Hertz, "Die Rätsel der Königin von Saba," *H. Z.*, xxvii, 1883, 1–33; Wünsche, *Rätselweisheit bei den Hebräern*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 16). It appears twice in Reusner's collection (I, 335, 353), in the second case as a mock-epitaph; is noted by Wossidlo,

No. 983, Notes, in several modern German forms; and is considered by Petsch, p. 14. Compare the Scandinavian versions (*Izlenzkar Gatur*, 594, 688, and Hylten-Cavallius, No. 117), and the English forms (Chambers, p. 113, and Gregor, p. 76).

- [11] In *N and Q*, 4th Ser., VIII, 56, July 15, 1871, is discussed "a Latin riddle published as the concluding lines of the celebrated Bologna enigma, 'D. M. Celia Laelia Crispis' engraved on marble in Senator Volta's country-seat—but, in fact, not on marble at all but taken* from an old parchment at Milan, written in Gothic characters:—

'Hoc est sepulchrum intus cadaver non latens
Hoc est cadaver sepulchrum extra non habens.'

This is assigned to Politian in Reusner's collection (Friedreich, 208)—with answer, "Niobe." The enigma is solved, "Lot's Wife," in *N and Q*, July 29, 1871, and is shown, *Id.*, IX, 82, Jan. 27, 1872, to be simply 'another version of the epitaph to Niobe by Ausonius (No. 29), of which the Greek form, sometimes attributed to Agathias, appears among *Ἐπιγράμματα Ἀδέσποτα* in Brunck's and Jacobs' collections. Friedreich, 45, cites two similar epigrams of Lauterbach (1562)—one with "Lot's Wife," the other with "Niobe" as answer. Rolland, No. 262, presents a French variant (Mantôche), "Quelle est la femme qui est morte sans laisser de cadavre?" and ms. Harl. 7316 (middle 18th cent.), p. 58, furnishes an English verse-form of the enigma:—

"Stay, Traveller, and wondering here behold
A Tomb, which doth within no corps enfold.
Said I, a Tomb? Here I mistaken was,
It is a Corps and wants a Tomb, alas!
Was I mistaken? No, for it is either;
Nay, it is both; and truly it is neither."

- [12] This is one of the three Holme versions (compare Nos. 4, 131) of the famous "Louse" or "Flea" riddle, which, tradition tells us, so baffled Homer that he died of shame ("Vita Homeri" by Plutarch, Westermann, p. 23, Bergck, *Gr. Lit.*, I, 244). Ohlert, pp. 41 f., has carefully outlined its history. It passed into a proverb (Strabo, III, 2, 9, p. 147; *Athenæus*, VI, 233e), and was written on the walls of Pompeii (Dilthey, *Epig. gr. Pomp. rep trias*, p. 12). It is found in Symphosius (No. 30, *Pediculus*); in Alcuin (*DPA*, 90); still in a Latin form in a Tyrolese MS. of first half of 14th cent. (*Anz. f. d. Alt.*, xv, 1889, 143); and in Reusner, I, 378. Ohlert discovers it still living in Spain (see Demófilo, No. 843), and Gascony; and Wossidlo, No. 450, Notes, marks its occurrence in Mecklenburg, in the Aargau (Rochholz, *Alemannisches Kinderlied*, Leipzig, 1857, p. 274) and in the Tyrol (Renk, *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, v, 147, No. 1). In England the riddle takes its place as a Latin enigma in MS. Sloane, 955, fol. 1, A^o 1612 ("In densis silvis venor bis quinque catellis," etc.); in third Holme form in *B. M. R.*, No. 2, and in *R. R. B.*, p. 10; and, as an art-riddle, in *N and Q*, 3d Ser., VI, 288, Oct. 8, 1864. See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xviii, I, p. 3.
- [13] The ultimate source is Symphosius, 16, *Tinea*. See *E. B. R.*, XLVIII, and *Iz. Gat.*, No. 761; and note recent English forms, *W. N. R.*, p. 2, *R. R. B.*, p. 14 ("mouse in a study"), and *R. C. C.*, No. 64.
- [14] [a] The Smoke riddle of Symphosius (No. 7). Ohlert, p. 138, notes that a Greek riddle (*Anthol. Pal.*, XIV, 5) is very like Sym.; and Wossidlo, No. 148, Notes, offers many analogues to the final motive of the Latin. See also Therander, No. 31, and Demófilo, Nos. 548, 550. MS. Sloane 848 (early 17th cent.), fol. 32, translates Sym.'s enigma:—

“ I teares doe cause, though cause of grief be none :
My father wh’ begott me, without me never was borne.”

[b] The Holme motives are found in 10th-cent. Reichenau ms. 205 (M and S, *Denkmäler*³, 20), “Quid est quod fuit et modo non est?” and in Yorkshire¹, No. 6.

- [15] For many continental parallels, see Wossidlo, No. 78, Notes. Additional references are Heinrich von Neuenstadt’s *Apollonius*, No. 3 (Schröter, *Mitt. der deutschen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung vaterl. Sprache und Alterthümer*, v, Heft 2, Leipzig, 1872, p. lv f.); Reusner, I, 280, II, 71; Simrock³, p. 97; and *R. R. B.*, p. 2:—

“ Full forty years I live and oft do alms give,
Yet never roam half a mile from home ;
But, when I’m dead, it plainly doth appear,
I travel night and day both far and near.”

Here the contrast between “the dead” and “the living” is weakened.

- [17] *H and D*, 27 (exact).
[18] *H and D*, 28 (exact). *R. R. B.*, p. 7 (exact).
[19] Crossed out, and repeated, No. 127. *H and D*, 29 (slightly different).
[20] *H and D*, 50 (exact). Somewhat different double-meaning riddles of the Candle appear, Rolland, pp. 78–79, No. 162; *W. D. W.*, p. 1.
[21] *H and D*, 51 (exact). *Wit’s Recreations*, reprinted from four editions (1640, 1641, 1654, 1663) by Hotten, London, n. d., p. 301 (nearly exact). See slightly different French riddle, Rolland, p. 80, No. 163.
[22] Ohlert, pp. 28–30, gives Greek versions of this riddle (*Athenaeus*, x, 452^o; Suidas, s. v. *αἴνος*; *Schol. Plat.*

de rep., v, 479^o) and cites two modern forms, one German (Simrock³, p. 42), the other Swedish (*Zs. f. d. Myth.*, III, 349). For further discussion of the problem, compare Hagen, *Antike und mittelalt. Rätsel-poesie*, 1869, p. 17; *N. Pr. Prov. Bl.*, IX, 379; Frischbier, *Urquell*, II, x, 167; Pitrè, p. xlix. The query belongs to the same class as the famous Snow and Sun riddle (Wossidlo, No. 99, Notes).

[23] Crossed out, and repeated, No. 77.

[24] Wossidlo, No. 648, Notes, gives several analogues to the similar Mecklenburg Ass in the Ark riddle:—Tannhuser, M and S³, II, 70; Freidank (Grimm, 1834), p. 109, 10; Köhler, 15th-cent. Weimar ms., No. 6 (*Weimar Jhrb.*, v, 334); *Strass. Rb.*, No. 285; Therander, No. 214; Rolland, p. 113, No. 265. I find other examples of this:—Tubinger ms. 1493, 15th cent. (Mone, *Anz.*, VIII, p. 50); *Rockenbüchlein*, bl. 2b, l. 102 (Petsch, *Palaestra*, IV); *Augs. Rb.*, No. 56; Reusner, I, 265 (Lorichius); Simrock³, p. 149; and the current English version (Kemble, *S and S*, p. 294).

[25] Compare German riddle on the same subject, Haase (Ruppin), *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, v, 399, No. 169:—

“Gott sprach ein Wort und meint es nicht,
Der Mensch vollbracht's und that es nicht.”

[26] The Gallician riddle, Demófilo, App. 2, Pt. I, No. 39 (“*Tèn pès e non anda, Alas e non voa*”) is very like Holme. Lincoln riddle, No. 13, which the German query (Simrock³, p. 68) closely resembles, is not so specific:—

“Black within and black without,
Three legs and an iron cap.”

Yet different are the Shetland *guddik* (Spence, *Shetland Folk-Lore*, Lerwick, 1899, p. 184), and the Italian *Pentola* problems (Pitrè, Nos. 587-593).

- [27] Halliwell, *N. R.*, p. 79, No. CXLV, gives a more usual form of this riddle, "Little Nancy Etticoat, etc." Compare Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 146; Lancashire¹, No. 5, "Nancy Neppicoat;" Lincoln, No. 20, "Nanny goat;" the German riddle of "Lütt Johann Ölken" (Wossidlo, No. 416, Notes; Petsch, 113; Simrock², p. 65); and the Norwegian Candle-problem (Landstad, *Norske Folkeviser*, 1853, p. 305, No. 36, cited by Müllenhof, *Zs. f. d. Myth.*, III, 1855, 13).
- [28] *B. M. R.*, No. 70, furnishes a more complete version:—

"Down in a dale there sits and stands,
 Eight legs and two hands,
 Livers and lights and legs three:
 I count him a wise man that tells this to me."

Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 3d Ed., 1891, p. 94, compares *Heidreks Gatur*, 35 ("Odin on Slepnir"), with the order of the Oracle of Delphi to Temenos 'to find a man with three eyes (*i. e.*,—"a one-eyed man on horseback"), to guide the army.' See Hylten-Cavallius (Swedish), No. 5, Notes; Rolland, p. 15, No. 35 ("Man on Horseback"); Pitrè, No. 866; *Rev. d. L. R.*, XII (1877), p. 172 f. (Limousin); Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, XXIII, 256, No. 162 (many ref.); Wossidlo, No. 424, and *New Coll. of Enigmas*, 1810, Query XVI, p. 199. The Anglo-Saxon runic riddles (*E. B. R.*, XX, LXV) are perhaps fragments of a similar problem.

- [29] This Cherry riddle with many variations is widespread in England:—Halliwell, *N. R.*, p. 75, No. CXXX, "Dick Red Cap, / A stick in his hand and a stone in his throat;" Chambers, p. 109, "A little wee

man in a red coat, etc.;" Gregor, p. 80; Lincoln, No. 6, "A man with a red coat." In Germany these "Cherry" motives are found not only in *Kirsche* riddles (Reusner, I, 243; Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, IX, 67, No. 11; Wossidlo, No. 181), but also in *Arbutus* and *Hagebutte* problems (Reusner, I, 281; Simrock³, p. 21; Wossidlo, No. 209).

- [30] Compare *B. M. R.*, No. 24, "What is that, as high as a hall, as bitter as gall, as soft as silk, as white as milk?" and Halliwell, *P. R.*, pp. 142-143. Continental analogues are *Strass. Rb.*, No. 153; Reusner, I, 282-283 (Latin and German); Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, IX, 69, No. 24; Rolland, pp. 50-51; Demófilo, App. 2, Pt. VII, No. 17, p. 385; *Arch. * * * trad. pop.*, I, 398 f., No. 35 (Marchigiani); II, 577, No. 27 (Bologna); IV, 537, No. 17 (Ticino).
- [31] The German analogue is offered by Simrock³, p. 18:—

"Hoch wie ein Haus
Klein wie ein Maus
Stachlich wie ein Igel
Glänzend wie ein Spiegel." (Kastanie.)

Very similar is the version of Haase (Ruppín, *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, III, 74, No. 73). But the Holme riddle has nothing in common with the well-known *Castanea* logograph (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVIII, p. 7, Note).

- [32] This Holme riddle was printed by Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 149. With it we may compare the Shropshire counterpart (No. 2), "Itty pitty in the hedge, Itty pitty out, etc.;" the Scotch Nettle-name problems of Chambers, 109, "Heg-beg adist the dike, etc.," and of Gregor, p. 80, "Hobbity-bobbity; Robbie Stobbie, etc.;" and the less vivid "nameless" queries of *W. D. W.*, pp. 9-10, and *R. R. B.*, p. 17. German parallels are Simrock³, p. 28, "Krippel die Krappel;"

Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, IX, 75, No. 69, "Doktor Kraus;" and Wossidlo, No. 51:—

"Achter'n hus' steit Peter Krus;
Wenn man em anfött, denn bitt he."

- [33] For this I find no analogues. The various French, German, Italian and Spanish riddles are of a very different sort: compare Rolland, pp. 34–37; Simrock³, pp. 30–33; Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, XI, 352–355, Nos. 56–78; Renk, *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, v, 152, Nos. 85–93; Pitrè, Nos. 868–875; Demófilo, Nos. 533–547.
- [34] Pitrè, LXXX–LXXXVII ("Il corpo dell'amante ucciso"), traces this ghastly riddle-motive through the folk-literature of many countries:—Italy (Pitrè, No. 941), Greek island of Milo, Hungary and Spain (Demófilo, p. 332). The problem is known in every part of England: *R. R. B.*, p. 7; Gregor, p. 82; Chambers, p. 108 (No. 1); Henderson, *Notes on Folk-Lore of Northern Counties*, etc., London, 1866, Appendix, p. 318 (Devonshire); *Folk-Lore*, IX, London, 1898, p. 260 (Lincolnshire). Petsch, pp. 17–18, cites the English riddle, compares it with Simrock³, p. 173, "Op Leef seet ek, op Leef eet ek, u. s. w.," and shows that it is but a stronger form of the famous *Halslösungsrätsel* of Ilo (Simrock³, p. 171; Wossidlo, pp. 191–198, No. 962; pp. 321–322):—

"Auf Ilo geh ich,
Auf Ilo steh ich,
Auf Ilo bin ich hübsch und fein,
Rat't, meine Herren, was soll das sein?"

- [35] Repeated, No. 141.
- [36] Compare Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 148, "Link-lank on a bank, ten against four;" Lancashire,¹ No. 4, "Clink-

clank under a bank, ten against four ;” and Shetland *guddik* (Spence, p. 182), “Tink-tank, twa in a bank, ten about four.” Close foreign analogues are Hylten-Cavallius, No. 10, “Tio draga fyra,” and Meltzl, *Szekler Volksrätsel*, etc., London, 188-?, No. 10, “Tiz huz negyet” (Ten draw four). More remotely connected are the Mark riddle (see Simrock³, p. 34), cited by Müllenhof, *Zs. f. d. M.*, III, 5, “Twe ruhe ranken, vier kummandanten, u. s. w.,” and the French query, Rolland, p. 21, No. 43, “Dix tirans, quatre pendans.” Pitrè, p. cxxxii, cites the English version under “alliterative problems.”

- [37] Of the same sort is *R. R. B.*, p. 12 (cf. Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 146):—

“At the end of my yard there is a vat,
Four and twenty ladies in a plat (?);
Some in green gowns, and some in blue hats.
I count him a wise man, who tells me that.”

See Renk (Tyrol), *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, v, 153, “77 Schwestern haben gleiche Kappeln auf. ;” and Demófilo, *App. 2*, Pt. III (Catalonia), No. 6, p. 360:—

“Cuatro senyoretas
Ballan dins un plat,
Cotileta verda
Y vestit morat.” (Berengena.)

Compare *Id.*, Pt. IV, No. 19, p. 369 ; Pt. VII, No. 22, p. 386.

- [38] “Two millstones” is the subject of this riddle in *B. M. R.*, No. 66 ; and in Shetland (Spence, p. 184):—

“Twa grey grumphies lay in ae sty,
Da maer dey get, da maer dey cry,
Da less dey get, da stiller dey lie.”

- [39] Similar English riddles are *R. R. B.*, p. 14; and Lincoln, No. 26:—

“Mother, father, sister, brother,
All runnin’ after one another
An’ can’t catch one another.” (Mill Sails.)

More like the Holme version is the 15th cent. French problem, Rolland, p. 101, No. 235, “Emmy les champs a quatre soeurs qui courent aussi fort l’une comme l’autre et si ne peuvent rataindre l’une l’autre.” Bladé, *Prov. et Dev. Pop.* (Armagnac), 1879, p. 218, No. 95, gives many French and Italian parallels. German analogues abound: Simrock³, p. 98; Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, XXIII, p. 257, No. 168; Wossidlo, No. 156. All these are Windmill riddles, but the same motive is found in the *Rotae* enigma of Symphosius (No. 77), and in numerous Wheel queries of the present:—Rolland, p. 96, No. 218; Wossidlo, No. 157; *Arch. per stud. trad. pop.*, VII, p. 427, No. 141 (Florence, 1558); X, p. 397, No. 44 (Siena); *Rev. d. L. R.*, XI, p. 7 (Catalonia), XII, p. 172, No. 61 (Limousin).

- [40] The second answer, added afterwards, is undoubtedly correct and is the only one given to the riddle in Holme’s Index. Compare *B. M. R.*, No. 4, “What is that that shineth bright all day and at night is raked up in its own dirt? (Fire);” and Rolland, p. 74, No. 152.
- [41] *B. M. R.*, No. 45, is the same riddle.
- [43] Compare Shropshire, No. 10, and Lincoln, Nos. 7, 8:—

“Round the house and round the house,
And leaves a *white* glove in the window (Snow).”

“Round the house and round the house
And leaves a *black* glove in the window. (Rain).”

- Note also Sunshine riddles of Lincoln, No. 9, and Yorkshire², No. 3, and the Sunbeam query of Shropshire, No. 11.
- [44] Shropshire, No. 13, is exactly like Holme; and the same motives are found:—*W. N. R.*, p. 12; *R. R. B.*, p. 20; Lincoln, No. 22; Wossidlo, No. 291. The Broom enigmas of Symphosius, No. 78, and Vienna MS. 67, No. 19 (Mone, *Anz.*, VIII, 219), are of a very different sort.
- [45] Though this riddle does not appear in the English collections that I have consulted, yet it is common in the folk-mouth in both England and America. I mark two German versions:—Schell, No. 52, *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, III, 297, “De Bür schmitt et fott on de Städter steckt et en de Täsch;” and Haase, No. 214, *Id.*, v, 402, “Der Arme schmeisst’s weg und der Reiche steckt’s in die Tasche (Der Nasenschleim).” The problem is well-known in France, Italy and Spain:—Bladé, *Prov. et Dev. Pop.* (Armagnac), 1879, p. 212, No. 66, La Morve; *Arch. * * * trad. pop.*, II, p. 575, No. 6 (Bologna); Pitrè, No. 475; Demófilo, *App.* 2, Pt. I, No. 24, p. 345; Pt. II, No. 18, p. 356; Pt. VII, No. 39, p. 390.
- [46] The Spanish *Estrapajo* riddles (Demófilo, Nos. 438, 439), full of vivid personification, are far superior to the Holme problem.
- [48] *W. D. W.*, p. 8, is somewhat similar. The Holme query has nought in common with the excellent pen-riddle of Brit. Mus. MSS. Sloane 1489 (17th cent.), fol. 16 a, No. 6, and Harl. 7316 (18th cent.), fol. 33 b, p. 70; and its German parallels, Wossidlo, Nos. 83–86; nor with the obscene Prussian riddle, Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, XI, 357.
- [50] A universal riddle, the germ of which I discover in Bede’s “Flores,” No. 13 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 94, 539), “Vidi bipedem super tripodem sedentem: cecidit bipes,

corruit tripes." Wossidlo, No. 15, Notes, furnishes many German, Frisian, Danish and French examples (compare Petsch, p. 80), to which I may add Swedish (Hylten-Cavallius, No. 83) and Italian (Pitrè, No. 923) and Spanish (Demófilo, App. 2, Pt. VII, No. 36, p. 389) variants; and I offer as English references:—*B. M. R.*, No. 1; Halliwell, *N. R.*, p. 74, No. 126; Lincoln, No. 31.

- [51] The Holme solution is much weaker than that of Lincoln, No. 3:—

"As I was going over Humber,
I heard a great rumble,
Three pots a-boilin';
An' no fire under.

(Water under the boat)."

- [52] Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 145, gives a more elaborate version; and I find yet another form in MS. Sloane 1489, fol. 16 b, No. 10, "As I walke downe yon gate, I spyde a boy, was weeping and wayling, I ask what a[i]lde him, he sd. his fa. and mo : dyed 20 yeare ago, and he was but 7 yeares old." With this Dyer riddle compare John Heywood's epigram of the Dyer's Wife ("5th Hundred of Epigrams," 1562, No. 36, *Proverbs and Epigrams of J. H.*, Spenser Soc., 1867, p. 185):—

" * * * * *

Were he gone, diar woulde I never mo wed;
Diars be ever diying, but never ded."

- [53] This "monster" riddle has a famous history. Ohlert, pp. 38–39, marks its appearance in the "Melampodie" of Hesiod (Strabo, XIV, 1, 27, p. 642), and points to the Icelandic parallel, *Heidreks Gatur*, No. 12 (Sow with nine young); and Heusler, *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, XI,

1901, 141-142, compares with the *H. G.* version:— Aldhelm, VI, 10; *E. B. R.*, XXXVII (Sow with five pigs); and the modern riddles of the Faroës (*Zs. f. d. M.*, III, 125) and Iceland (*Izl. Gat.*, Nos. 447, 448). *R. R. B.*, p. 9, is very like Holme. Riddles with a similar theme are found in Hungary (*Mag. für die Litt. des Auslandes*, 1856, p. 364) and in the Tyrol (Renk, *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, v, p. 152, No. 76); and the Latin homonym of Reichenau ms. 205, No. 6 (M and S, *Denkmäler*³, VII, p. 20) has a like motive.

- [54] Compare *B. M. R.*, No. 49, "Here I have it and yonder I see it (My breath in a misty morning)." Repeated, *infra*, No. 88.
- [55] *B. M. R.*, No. 16, offers both the Holme version and the following:—

"A thousand and one (M and I) made
great moan,
When a hundred (c) upon a hundred
(c) was left alone."

- [56] Professor Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, vol. I, No. 1, "Riddles Wisely Expounded," cites several groups of ballads, containing these questions and others of like sort, which are duly answered by a maiden, who thus gains a husband or foils a fiend. In the English forms, "Love is longer than the way, Hell deeper than the sea; Thunder louder than the horn, and Hunger sharper than the thorn;" in the Scotch (Motherwell), "Wind is longer than the way * * * Shame is louder than the horn." In "Captain Wedderburn's Courtship" (Child, I, 419), "Hell is deeper than the sea;" and in the 15th-cent. Dialogue, "Inter Diabolus et Virgo" (Furnivall, *Eng. Stud.*, XXIII, 444; Child, v, 282) we have the usual English answers with the exception that "Loukyngye ys longer

than the way." The foolish Holme solutions of Sting and Tromp are due perhaps to a lapse of the scribe's memory. In the many "husband-gaining" riddles of the Continent (Child, I, 1) our queries do not appear.

- [57] *R. R. B.*, p. 13, offers an interesting variant:—

"Old mother old, she stands in the cold,
Her children die with age;
She lives and brings forth young,
And everyone without a tongue.

(Apple-tree)."

See *infra*, No. 104.

- [58] Compare *B. M. R.*, No. 58, "What is that goeth through the wood; and leaveth on every bush a rag? (Snow)." Contrast *infra*, No. 62.
- [59] The parallels are suggestive:—*B. M. R.*, No. 60, The Needle "goes through thick and thin and draws his guts after him;" the Silk-weaver's Shuttle of *W. D. W.*, p. 7, 'leaves its guts still behind;' while in the Needle riddle of Halliwell, *N. R.*, p. 81, No. 153, "Old Mother Twitchett * * * left a bit of her tail in a trap" (cf. Rolland, p. 87, No. 188). Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1891, p. 92, cites an Aztec analogue, "What goes through a valley and drags its entrails after it?" Compare Pitrè, No. 14; Demófilo, App. 2, Pt. I (Galicia), No. 21, p. 344; Meltzl, *Szekler Volksrätsel*, No. xv.
- [61] The same query appears, Yorkshire², No. 5, and Shropshire, No. 14, with the far better answer, "A woman crossing a bridge with a pail of water on head" (cf. *infra*, No. 84). Very similar in motive are the German Sun riddle (Simrock³, p. 96) and the Italian Shadow query (Pitrè, No. 525).
- [62] A less commonplace solution is given to *B. M. R.*, No. 67, "What is it that goeth through the wood and

toucheth never a twig? (The blast of a horn or any other noise)." See *supra*, No. 58.

- [63] Wossidlo, No. 283, cites Mecklenburg form, "Geit to holt un kickt to huus," and points to German, Norwegian and Slavonic parallels. Another English version is *B. M. R.*, No. 32.
- [64] The tame answer suggests a lapsed solution; though *Curé* riddles are not uncommon in France (*Rev. d. L. R.*, XII, 1877, p. 172, No. 10).
- [65] This has little in common with the long Anglo-Saxon Bagpipe enigma (*E. B. R.*, XXXII).
- [67] Compare ms. Sloane 848 (early 17th cent.), fol. 32:—

" I alwaies run as eache man sees as though
I weare in chase,
And yet I never use to change or once
move from my place."

The spirited German *Gedanke* riddle (Wossidlo, No. 106 c), "Es lief ein Häschen wohl wacker, u. s. w." is not unlike Holme; and the Spanish *Pensamiento* problem is a very close analogue (Demófilo, App. 3, L, No. 8, p. 435):—

" Cnal es el ave de tanto bolar
Que buela en un punto más alta que el cielo
La tierra y abismos traspasa de un buelo
Y a do se aposenta no ocupa lugar," etc.

- [69] To these literary enigmas with their interesting popular elements I have discovered no close parallels. Compare, however, *E. B. R.*, XXXIII; *W. N. R.*, pp. 14, 23, and *P. Cap.*, p. 5 (good art-riddles); Wossidlo, No. 101, Notes; Petsch, p. 47 (Schiller's enigma); and the many ship-riddles of *Izl. Gat.*
- [70]

- [73] This riddle was well-known in 15th-century France (Rolland, p. 141, No. 352) and 16th-century Italy (*Arch. per stud. trad. pop.*, VII, p. 429, Florence, 1558; compare Pitrè, No. 1133), and appears in England in both *D. J.*, No. 45 (Kemble, *S and S*, p. 290), and ms. Sloane 1489, fol. 44 b, No. 6. Kemble, p. 294, notes its appearance in Howell's *English Proverbs*, p. 12.
- [76] Samson's riddle is considered at length by Friedreich, pp. 151-155, and Wünsche, *Rätselweisheit bei den Hebräern*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 11-13. It appears in Latin form in Reusner, I, 357 (Lauterbach), and in Buchler's *Gnomologia*, 1614 (cited by Friedreich). It has left its traces on the Offices of the Church (Fitzgerald, *Gentleman's Mag.*, N. S., 27, 1881, p. 179) as well as on profane poetry (compare Waller's poem, "Of the Lady Mary, Princess of Orange.")
- [78] A widely known riddle. I note first the English versions:—*D. J.*, No. 47, "What was he that was begoten or his fader and borne or his moder and had the maydenhede of his beldame?" (Abel); *B. M. R.*, No. 61, "What was he * * * grandame?" The Earth is Abel's grandmother or "Adam's mother:" compare *D. J.*, No. 3, and the many references to this seeming incest in Kemble's *S and S*, pp. 295-298. Wossidlo, No. 411, Notes, furnishes a dozen continental parallels to our riddle:—early and modern German (Reinmar, 205; Freidank, p. 109, 8; *Strassb. Rb.*, No. 284; *Augs. Rb.*, No. 55, and Therander, No. 77), Frisian, French (Rolland, p. 112, No. 263), Italian and Hungarian. Add to these the Spanish query (Demófilo, No. 13) and the 9th-cent. Latin version, *Joca Monachorum*, No. 3 (*Monatsber. d. k. pr. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1872, p. 106 f.), "Qui aviam suam virginem violavit?"

- [79] Compare Tubinger ms. 1493 (Mone, *Anz.*, VIII, 50, No. 161), which has as answer, "J. Baptista locutus est antequam natus."
- [81] See *Joca Monachorum*, No. 33, "Qui femina ante cognovit filium quam maritum (Sancta Maria);" the Mary riddle of Aurelius Prudentius (Reusner, I, 295); and Hylten-Cavallius, No. 122, "Ett barn utan man (Jungfru Marie son)."
- [82] This riddle appears in many English collections. Note *Sir G. G.*, p. 11, for its usual form:—

"As round as a hoop
As deep as a cup
All the king's horses
Can't draw it up."

Compare Halliwell, *N. R.*, p. 75, No. 129 ("As round as an apple, etc."), and Yorkshire,¹ No. 1. Rolland, p. 97, No. 221, cites the Paris riddle:—

"Qu'est-ce-qui est rond comme un dé
Et que des chevaux ne peuvent porter?"

The shape-motive is found in many riddles of the Romance languages:—Bladé, *Prov. et Dev. Pop.*, p. 212, No. 67; Pitrè, No. 649; Demófilo, No. 832. See Virgil's Well enigma (*Eclogues*, III, 104).

- [84] See *supra*, No. 61, Note.
- [85] Repeated, *infra*, No. 138, with answer, Strawberry.
- [86] A variant of No. 78.
- [89] Somewhat similar is the fine riddle of Lancashire², No. 1:—

"Bloodless and boneless
And goes to the fell footless. (A snail.)"

The Snail riddle, *B. M. R.*, No. 34, is very different.

- [91] The same riddle is met in both America (*P. Cap*, p. 23, Husband) and France (Rolland, p. 124, No. 283, "Un mari et le lait").
- [93] See *B. M. R.*, No. 52 (exact).
- [94] Though this query appears, with the Holme answer, in *New Coll. of Enigmas*, London, 1810, p. 199, Qu. XIII, yet it is but a variant of *D. J.*, No. 14, "What thyng is it that never was nor never shall be? Never mouse made her nest in a cattes ear." This second solution is that of a French analogue (Souché, *Bulletin de la Soc. de Statistique* * * * *Deux-Sèvres*, Niort, 1881, p. 579); and Kemble, *S and S*, p. 293, cites from Howell's *British Proverbs*, p. 24, a similar Welsh saying.
- [96] Compare *Sir G. G.*, p. 16 :—

"Cloth'd in yellow, red and green,
I prate before the king and queen;
Of neither house nor land possessed,
By lords and ladies I'm caressed.

(A Parrot.)"

The well-known *Itum Paraditum* riddle of the Holly (Lincoln, No. 30) is transferred to the Parrot (Lancashire², No. 4).

- [97] The obscene Fan of Feathers problem, *H and D*, No. 25, is very different.
- [98] This has nothing in common with Symphosius, No. 59, *Pila*, and its many descendants.
- [99] This is a weaker version of the fine *Rätsel-märchen* of the 15th-century Weimar MS. (Köhler, *Weimar Jhrb.*, v, 336, No. 14; cf. Friedreich, p. 242):—

"Ein herr hett einen lieben bulen und er schicket seinen knecht zue ir und liess sie fragen, wen er zu ir solt kommen. Do sprach sie zu im :—

Sag deinem herrn, dass er kum
 Wenn all tann lere stien,
 Und all baum zue samen gien,
 Und wenn das tot das lebendig hat
 überwunden,
 So wirt dein herr in grossen freuden
 gefunden.

So sprich und kum also : wenn all tann lere stien, das ist wenn all krausen lere stien ; wenn all baum zue samen gien, das ist wenn man die leden vor den venstern zue thut ; wenn das tot das lebendig überwindt [*Augs. Rb.*, No. 3 ; Reusner, II, 70], das ist wenn man den aschen über das feuer legt."

[100] The same riddle appears, *R. R. B.*, p. 21 ; *A. R. B.*, p. 20 ; *P. Cap.*, p. 6.

[101] This corresponds closely to the German riddle, Simrock³, p. 85 :—

“Ich bin *nicht*, ich war *nicht*, ich werde
nicht sein,
 Du meinst ich scherze, ich sage dir nein,
 Ich stehe ja sichtlich vor deinem Gesicht,
 Und kannst du mich rathen, so nennst du
 mich *nicht*.”

And MS. Sloane 1489, fol. 28 a, No. 11, has a similar theme :—

“I doe it, yet I doe *not* : I see it is *not* :
 I goe, my foot moves *not* : I speake,
 my tongue stirres *not*.”

Compare Polle, *Wie bezeichneten die alten Griechen den Witz*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 31–43, “Ueber Nichts.”

[104] See *B. M. R.*, No. 69 (exact). *W. N. R.*, 23, “Ring of Bells,” *Id.*, 24, “St. Nicholas Steeple” and *W. D.*

W., p. 4, "Bell in Steeple" are not like the Holme riddle. But a Spanish problem (Demófilo, App. 2, Pt. VII, No. 62, p. 395) is a very close analogue:—

"En medio del campo hay un tronco (torre),
 En medio del tronco una astilla (campana),
 En medio de la astilla una cuerda ;
 Tira la cuerda y canta el hueso (badajo)."

- [105] *B. M. R.*, No. 76, is a variant of the same riddle. Compare *supra*, No. 57.
- [106] *R. R. B.*, p. 20, treats the same subject in different fashion.
- [108] This has been printed, not very accurately, by Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 150.
- [110] Compare Introduction for discussion of possible reference to year of MS. (1641?). *B. M. R.*, No. 15, has the same answer:—

"Yonder side there is a boate
 The king's daughter of England, there she sate ;
 Ann if I you tel her name, no man it wot.
 What is the maid's name that sate in the boat ?

Solution—Her name is An * * * but this riddle is not to be seene on the booke, but to be put without the book or else it will be soon understood."

See also *B. M. R.*, No. 21, "L and U, and C and I, So hight my Lady at the Font-stone." The German "*Und*" *Namenrätsel* (Simrock³, p. 85 ; Wossidlo, No. 960) is unlike our problem.

- [111] A slightly different form of this riddle is furnished by Halliwell, *N. R.*, p. 77, No. 138:—

"As I was going o'er Westminster Bridge,
 I met with a Westminster scholar,
 He pulled off his cap an' drew off his glove,

And wished me a very good morrow.

What is his name? (Andrew)."

Compare also Lincoln, No. 2.

[112] Repeated, *infra*, No. 129, with slight changes and with another answer.

[113] This word-acrostic appears in ms. Sloane 1489, fol. 47 a.

[115] Compare *B. M. R.*, No. 37, "Ten men's strength and ten men's length, and ten men cannot set it on end (A Rope or Cable of ten fathom long);" and Lincoln, No. 18.

[116] See Gregor, p. 78 (exact).

[118] An interesting parallel is the Yorkshire name-riddle, cited by Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 149:—

"There was a man rode through our town,
 Gray Grizzle was his name,
 His saddle-bow was gilt with gold;
 Three times I've named his name.
 (Gaffer Was.)"

Note, too, Lincoln, No. 16, "Was."

[119] Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 149, printed this Holme problem. The riddle appears in several collections:—*W. N. R.*, p. 20; *R. R. B.*, p. 21 (two lines missing); *A. R. B.*, p. 26 (not "damsell," but "hostler").

[120] With very slight differences in *R. R. B.*, p. 11. A Ruppin riddle (Haase, *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, v, 406, No. 276) of unlike motive has a like answer:—

"Wer kommt 'verquer' nach der Kirche?
 (Das Kind, das zur Taufe gebracht wird)."

[121] The Holme riddle was printed by Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 149. I find it in *D. J.*, No. 12; *B. M. R.*, No. 46; Köhler, No. 15 (*Weim. Jhrb.*, v, 329 f.); *Strass. Rb.*, No. 51; Reusner, I, 279 (Lorichius), II, 69; Simrock³, p. 96; Rolland, p. 14 (15th-cent. French form).

- [122] Compare Köhler, No. 17, and various Mecklenburg riddles (Wossidlo, No. 434^a, Notes).
- [123] This problem is found in *R. R. B.*, p. 13 ("children" not "soldiers"). The literary riddle of the Pumpkin (*W. N. R.*, p. 13) is of quite other sort.
- [125] See *R. R. B.*, p. 21 ("cows" not "bulls"); Yorkshire¹, No. 10 ("beasts"); Haase, No. 97, *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, III, 77, and Simrock³, p. 102, "Ein kleines Ställchen voll weisser Hühner mit einem rothen Hahn;" Renk, *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, v, 147, No. 7, "Ein Stall voll weisse Schaf;" Wossidlo, No. 276, Notes (Norse, Slavonic and Italian analogues); Hylten-Cavallius, No. 43 ("white cattle and red cow"); Rolland, p. 59 f. (various teeth and tongue riddles); Bladé, *Prov. et Dev. Pop.*, p. 223, No. 116 ("white nuns and red monk in convent"); Demófilo, App. 2, Pt. II (Catalonia), No. 27, p. 358 ("nuns and monk").
- [126] *B. M. R.*, No. 6, is the exact counterpart of this riddle even to the wording of the answer.
- [127] Repetition of No. 19. This strange art-riddle is presented somewhat more elaborately, *H and D*, No. 29:—

" Far in the west, I wot not wheare,
 Are trees, men say, which oysters beare,
 I wonder how this comes about
 Those oysters flie not, out of doubt,
 And fall straight like a swarm of bees
 At home here on our apple trees.
 Growe they on trees, those oysters? fie!
 Methinkes it soundeth like a lie.
 A kinde of trees, I know 'tis true,
 In purpoole lane beare oysters new
 And fish and flesh and now and then
 They beare (I tell you) honest men.

If every man and woman be an arbor reversa,
then the shril oister queanes in Graies Inne lane
are trees and plants etc."

- [128] The Anglo-Saxon Beaker riddle (*E. B. R.*, LXIV) has a similar motive similarly treated.
- [129] The Muff riddles of *W. D. W.*, p. 5 ("A dainty fine thing, etc."), and of Ruppín (Haase, No. 101), Mecklenburg (Wossidlo, No. 69) and Pomerania (*Urquell*, IV, 148, No. 12) are like the Holme query only in their coarse suggestion. See *supra*, No. 112.
- [130] This appears in a slightly different form, *R. R. B.*, p. 11. Compare also *E. B. R.*, XLV.
- [131] See *supra*, No. 12, Note.
- [132] A repetition with slight changes of No. 107.
- [134] This "monster" riddle is of the same class as *supra*, No. 53. Note Symphosius, No. 90, *Mulier Gemellipara*; and Aldhelm, I, 10, *De Puerpera Geminos Enixa*:—

"Sunt mihi sex oculi, totidem simul auribus
exsto;
Sed digitos decies senos in corpore gesto."

Donna Gravida riddles are common in Italy:—*Arch. * * * trad. pop.*, I, p. 398, No. 7 (Marchigiani); VII, p. 427 f., No. 47 (Florence, 1558); Pitriè, No. 246 (Notes).

- [135] *B. M. R.*, No. 44, is almost a verbal counterpart. The "Lincolnshire House riddle" (*N and Q*, 4th Ser., x, 312) furnishes a better version:—

"A man without eyes saw plums on a tree,
Neither took plums nor left plums; pray
how could that be?"

So it is cited by Halliwell, *N. R.*, p. 79, No. 143. Müllenhof long since (*Zs. f. d. Myth.*, III, 13) pointed

to the German parallel (Simrock³, p. 100):—"Ein Mann der keine Augen hatte sah Aepfel auf einem Baume hangen. Er warf darnach, da fielen keine herab und blieben auch keine hangen." I meet the riddle twice among Demófilo's Spanish problems:—App. 2, Pt. I, No. 13, p. 342 (Galicia); App. 2, Pt. VII, No. 20, p. 386.

- [136] *B. M. R.*, No. 73 (exact even to form of answer). The same riddle has a long history in Germany. It appears in *Strass. Rb.*, No. 311:—

"Zwen Vätter und zwen Sün
Fingen drey Hassen küen,
Das yedem ward einer
Und mangelt keiner."

It is translated into Greek by Camerarius (Reusner, I, 254) and takes three Latin forms:—Lorichius (Reusner, *l. c.*); Buchler, *Gnomologia*, 1614, No. 6 (Friedreich, p. 219); and Mone, *Anz.*, VII, p. 49, No. 149. Modern German versions abound:—Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, XXIII, 243, No. 17; Simrock³, p. 87; and Wossidlo, No. 902, Notes (other native references). I find the motive in the same dress in Sweden (Hylten-Cavallius, No. 103); but with a different setting in Italy (Pitrè, No. 931):—"Vi sono due padri e due figlioli: hanno tre uova e se ne mangiano uno per uno."

- [137] Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 141, published the Holme version, and in *N. R.*, p. 82, No. 155, gave a traditional form of this riddle. The Dorsetshire query (*N and Q*, 3d Ser., IX, 50), "A body met a body in a narrow lane, etc.," is much like Holme. For various German riddles of dog-names, see Mone, *Anz.*, VII, p. 265, No. 245; Woeste, *Zs. f. d. Myth.*, III, 184, Nos. 26–31 (Mark); Frischbier, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, XXIII, pp. 261–262,

Nos. 202 f.; Wossidlo, No. 953 ("Kaiser Karl hatt'n Hund").

- [138] A repetition of the Radish riddle, *supra*, No. 85. *R. R. B.*, p. 3, gives a slightly shorter version of this problem. Very similar is the Strawberry query offered by Meltzl, *Szekler Volksrätsel*, No. 39.
- [139] The Holme riddle is printed by Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 150; and is found with a few changes in *R. R. B.*, p. 12.
- [140] This riddle also is published by Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 149. One of its motives, "None work like unto him can doe," appears in the Bee riddle, *D. J.*, No. 40:—"What is it that is a wryte and is no man and he dothe that no man can and yet it serveth both God and man?" Kemble, *S. and S.*, p. 293, points out this motive in Ray's collection of proverbs (see Bohn, *Ed.*, 1855, p. 218):—

"The little smith of Nottingham
Who doeth the work that no man can."

P. Cap., p. 22, and *R. R. B.*, p. 16, furnish a Bee problem of yet another kind:—

"There's a little short gentleman
That wears the yellow trews."

- [141] A repetition of No. 35.
- [142] See Halliwell, *P. R.*, p. 144 ("the world" not "England"). The motive of the Latin enigma, Cleopatra B. IX (14th cent.), fol. 11 a, No. 9, is slightly different:—

"Bos gestat spinam de qua facit anca [anser] rapinam,
Qd. rapit anca bovi, dat vitulo aut ovi."

- [143] Very like is the Needle riddle, *H and D*, No. 41. Compare the double-meaning Italian problems of Blood-letting, Pitriè, Nos. 368-369.

- [144] This interesting problem is found in many Latin versions:—Vienna ms. 67, No. 35, Mone, *Anz*, VIII, 219 (l. 2, “et hirsuta barbibus quinque complectitur ulnis”); ms. Arundel 248 (14th cent.), fol. 67 b; Reusner, I, 373, 380; two Netherland mss. of 17th cent. (Mone, *Anz*, VII, p. 48, No. 126; p. 49, No. 141). Simrock³, p. 20, and Wossidlo, No. 155, Notes, offer several modern German versions. *B. M. R.*, No. 28, is the best English form:—

“Five brethren were bred at once
 Without any flesh, blood or bones,
 Two have beards and two have none,
 The fifth have but half a one.

Solution—The five brethren be five green hearbs under the Rose leaves, which spring all at one time, two of them have bristles like unto beards on the edges and the other two have none but be plain on the edges and the fift is bristled on the one side and plain on the other.”

A Latin version of the riddle was published, *N and Q*, 3d Ser., v, 153, and in later numbers of this periodical was translated (*Id.*, 199) and explained (*Id.*, 309, 365).

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

VIII.—LITERARY SYMBOLISM IN FRANCE.

(The terms "symbolist" and "décadent" are often considered synonymous. This has its reason for being; the two directions are related not only empirically, but logically. Symbolism calls forth Decadentism. However, for a study of the contemporary movement in French literature it would be advantageous to separate the two tendencies. This is easy enough, seeing that Symbolism has relation, above all, to the very foundation of the thought of the poets and writers of the group in question, while Decadentism is related to the expression of that thought. Up to this time Decadentism has been studied too much, Symbolism too little. Hence the confusion of criticism, which, itself ignorant of the fundamental side of the problem, has kept in ignorance the public wishing to draw inspiration from it. We are speaking naturally of a particular criticism, the official one in France: Brunetière, Doumic, Lemaître, etc. Men like Mauclair or Beaunier were yet too young to give sufficient value to their authority against these pontiffs, at a time when that would have been necessary for the understanding of the new-comers. However, the two recent books by Kahn (*Symbolistes et Décadents*, Paris, Vanier, 1902) and by Beaunier (*La Poésie nouvelle*, éd. du Mercure de France, Paris, 1902) will henceforth render inexcusable, even among the general public, the superficial appreciation of Symbolism which has been the fashion up to now.

I.

From the preceding it may be seen that virtually nothing has been said, or rather an incorrect statement has been made, by declaring that Symbolism consists simply of speaking in symbols, instead of employing ordinary terms. The use of the symbol with the poets of the new school is merely the

result of their whole attitude towards the world ; it is a means, not an end. Not the *how much*, nor the *how*, but the *why* of the symbol will give us the key to their art.

In order to understand what Symbolism really is, it must be remembered first of all that (it is a reaction, a reaction against the naturalistic literature of yesterday. And what is Naturalism? To define it in two words: it is the introduction of science into literature, and especially the introduction of scientific proceedings into literature. In science the absolute and the so-called metaphysical are banished from the beginning; everything is examined from the relative point of view of cause and effect. More than that, preference is given to physical and physiological causes. To make of scientific examination and treatment the actual object of literature, this is what Zola and his disciples have done. To employ the same proceeding of mathematical accuracy in the world of thought, when the physiological or the physical causes themselves could not be reached; to conceive of psychical phenomena as theorems,—this is what Bourget and the school of the psychological novelists have done. Bourget has, in fact, only speculated in a field left free by Zola; he has looked for the natural causes in the internal life. That is also Naturalism, if the term is taken in its complete and logical sense. Both Zola and Bourget are, moreover, disciples of the same master, the positivist philosopher, H. Taine. Finally, the influence of science in literature has been so great that it has prevailed even in poetry, especially among the authors known by the name of “Parnassiens.” We find the elements of Naturalism not only in the spirit of their poetry, from which they have banished all dreaming, every thing that, so to speak, lacks consistency, and of which they require ideas that are clear, definite and logical, thus too often excluding emotion to make room for analysis; but also in their language, which calls only for the correct term, strictly exact, scientifically cold.

The Symbolists have reacted upon all this, and from this reaction spring most of the characteristics of their writings. We will pass in review the principal ones. The majority of our examples have been chosen from Régnier, for two reasons: first, because he is pretty generally considered the most eminent poet of the group in France; then, also, because he has never allowed himself to be led into too great excesses. As our object is not to offer matter for jest to those who see only extravagances in the works of the Symbolists, but rather to find what there may be of good and of reasonable in their point of view, it is advantageous to be able to borrow what is needed, from a man like Régnier. He has emancipated himself with his fellow-poets, but, guided by an undisputable sense of the poetic, a very refined literary tact, and an aristocratic reserve in his sentiments, he has emancipated himself in a manner that is very correct, very elegant, and sometimes very prudent.

(The first distinctive feature of Symbolism, in opposition to Naturalism, is that of discarding the element of mathematical precision in the descriptions, of stiff and dry exactness in the development of events. The means of accomplishing this which first presents itself to the mind, is that of separating as much as possible the subject of the poem, the novel, or the drama, from all the concrete conditions of existence. The time is not defined; there are novels by Régnier that might as well have taken place in ancient times as in the middle ages or in our days. Also there is no fixed place, the descriptions are, as a rule, very vague—which does not, however, prevent them from being very beautiful sometimes—so that it is impossible to find a word that would permit of placing geographically the locality of the scene. Régnier gives so little thought to the exactness of his descriptions that he sometimes makes curious topographical mistakes, as when he places a forest on the shores of the Delta in Egypt, near the pyramids and the sphinx (*Épisodes*: “Paroles dans la

Nuit, Sonnet-prélude"). Pierre Quillard gives the following indication at the beginning of his Mystery, *La Fille aux Mains coupées*: "*L'action se passe n'importe où, et plutôt au Moyen-Age.*" Moreover, (to emphasize this feeling of non-realism in the reader, the Symbolists often let satyrs, fauns and centaurs frequent their forests; their lakes are peopled with nymphs and tritons. Or else they take their heroes directly from fairy-tales, as in the piece entitled, *Le Sixième mariage de Barbe-bleue*; or, finally, they place contemporary characters in a scene of other times. Régnier has a marked predilection for old castles in ruins and the old halls of the knights, where one is conscious of shadows all about and hears the voices of the past. He has, at times, an admirable manner of expression for carrying us into these surroundings of fairyland and fancy.

Rien ne souriait dans la maison natale
 Grave de vieux silences accumulés
 Et jamais on n'ouvrait la porte, car les clefs
 On les avait perdues,
 Un soir que toutes choses s'étaient tues;
 Les pas y glissaient dans les couloirs dallés
 Si tristement qu'on eût dit des pas
 Qui s'en allaient mourir tout bas
 Derrière les portes des autres salles. . . .

(*Tel qu'en Songe*—"Le Seuil.")

A very odd sensation is produced also by Laforgue's peculiar combinations of religious beliefs and rites. An excellent instance is found in his "*Lohengrin, fils de Parsifal*" (*Moralités légendaires*, III) where the Christian, Mussulman, Roman, Semitic, Gallic cults are combined into a strange and fanciful *mélange*.

Another characteristic of Symbolism consists in shaking off the yoke of the essential principles of science, the law of cause and effect: every effect has its determined, defined cause, and there is never more in the effect than in the cause. The Symbolists, without absolutely denying this principle, gladly take up the ancient idea of the Pythagoreans, that of the *Συμπάθεια πάντων*. A number of causes are overlooked

in giving an account of phenomena; those indicated, for instance, by scientists, are only the most striking and not even always the true ones. (On the contrary, the mysterious influences, insignificant in appearance, are the ones which really determine the majority of events—and it is the value of these intimate causes, impalpable and imperceptible to our senses, and so mercilessly banished by the Naturalists, which the symbolists wish to point out. An excellent example, and one met with frequently, is the importance attributed to the silent fall of the dead leaves in a quiet autumn landscape.

“J’étais arrivé à un endroit de la forêt où elle m’apparut à sa suprême beauté automnale. De grands arbres espaçaient une carrière. Leur feuillage était roux et doré, et, bien que le soleil eût disparu, il semblait s’en continuer un éclat aux cimes où persévérerait l’illusion de sa survie par la teinte de sa présence. Aucune des feuilles ne remuait et pourtant une parfois, d’or déjà terne et sec, d’or clair et encore vivant, tombait comme si le petit bruit mélancolique de la fontaine où elles refétaient leurs suspens, eût suffi à déterminer dans la sorte d’indifférence silencieuse de l’air le prétexte de leur chute.

“Je regardais celles qui tombaient au bassin de la source. Deux, puis d’autres encore et une que je sentis frôler ma main. Je tressaillis, car j’attendais, anxieux de ce silence, pour continuer ma marche, que quelque cri d’oiseau ait rompu l’immobile sortilège. Tout se taisait d’arbre en arbre, et si loin que je me sentais pâlir moins peut être de solitude, que de cette carresse de feuille qui m’avait effleuré la main plus légère qu’au songe les lèvres même du souvenir. Je m’approchai de l’eau, instinctivement, pour y voir mon visage et l’y voyant pâle et perplexe, vieilli de tout ce qu’une onde ajoute de nocturne à ce qui s’y mire, je pensai à Hermogène, mon maître Hermogène.”—(*Contes à soi-même*—“Hermogène.”)

Here is another example, of a gentleman whose death is felt in an occult and mysterious way by the physical world in the midst of which he had lived :

“Comme si la présence paternelle imposait autour de soi par sa durée une sorte d’attitude aux êtres et aux choses, les effets de sa disposition se répandirent alentour. Tout se désagrèga. Des jointures invisibles craquèrent en quelque occulte dislocation. Les plus anciens serviteurs moururent un à un. Les chevaux des écuries périrent presque tous; on retrouvait les vieux chiens de meute engourdis à jamais, les yeux vitreux et le museau enfoui entre leurs pattes velues. Le château se dégrada; les combles se

délabrèrent; le soubassement se tassa; des arbres du parc s'abattirent, barrant les allées, écornant les buis; la gelée fendit la pierre des vasques; une statue tomba à la renverse et je me trouvai dans l'insolite solitude de la demeure déserte et des jardins bouleversés, comme au réveil d'une saison séculaire où j'eusse dormi les cent années du conte."

(*Contes à soi-même*—"Récit de la dame aux sept miroirs.")

Such curious protests against the encroachments of science have very much the appearance of a return to the beliefs of those times when science had not yet accomplished its work of destroying the faith in the supernatural. The one just quoted, for instance, cannot be read without calling to mind the recital of the death of Christ in the Gospels:

"Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour. . . . And behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake and the rocks rent; and the graves were opened and many bodies of the saints which slept arose. . . ."

Or that of the death of Roland:

"Meantime in France an awful scourge prevails:
Wind, storm, rain, hail and flashing lightning bolts
Conflict confusedly, and naught more true,
The earth shook from Saint Michel-del-Peril
As far as to the Saints, from Besançon
Unto the sea-port of Guitzand; no house
Whose walls unshaken stood; darkness at noon
Shrouded the sky. No beam of light above
Save when a flash rips up the clouds. Dismayed
Beholders cry: 'The world's last day has come
The destined end of all things is at hand!
Unwitting of the truth, their speech is vain
'Tis dolour for the death of Count Rolland!"

(Translation by Rabillon.)

It is evident that in putting aside the natural causes of events—and by natural causes are understood those known to the scholar,—and in seeking to make men imagine occult actions everywhere, the Symbolists have been led to give up the naturalist and rationalist theory of the antagonism existing between science and religion. Some have made much ado

about this feature of Symbolism, which, however, ought not to mislead us. A correct statement of facts would require the substitution of the word metaphysics for religion. It is very true that one of these poets, Louis le Cardonnell, turned priest, and that others declared themselves good Catholics. But it is easy to see that even the most famous among these converts, Huysmans, did not embrace the traditional Catholicism. He set up for himself a religion of art, and wanted to invest it with reality by clothing it in the ritualistic forms of the church of his country. Also care must be taken not to confound the religion of the converted Verlaine with the mysticism of the Symbolists. Verlaine was a sincere Catholic at his time, and he was unconscious of the true character of his action when he sang the praises of a courtesan in the same words that he had used in singing the Holy Virgin. What the Symbolists of to-day seek above all is much less religious emotion in itself, than abnormal sensations, the effects of religious excitations on souls that have no faith. As has been said—and in this they descend in direct line from Baudelaire—“it is the research after sensations considered exquisite only because they are forbidden.” It is not the ecstasy arising from a long continued contemplation of God, but the morbid ecstasy of nervous exhaustion. There is, no doubt, some relation between the two, but in the first the individual acts in good faith, while in the second he knows that there is question only of a physiological state of the nerves, to which there is no corresponding reality.

The following poem by le Cardonnell betrays the difference between genuine religious mysticism and the mysticism of the Symbolists, which is only metaphysical, one might even say agnostic :

Tryptique.

De neige dans la nuit de gaze
 Et des lueurs de nimbe au front
 Une sainte et son ange vont
 Ivres d'extase, ivres d'extase

Suivant leur ombre qui s'allonge
 Dans le clair de lune profond,
 Deux gratteurs de viole vont
 Ivres de songe, ivres de songe

En désertant la folle brume
 Où leurs os trouvaient le temps long
 Deux titubants squelettes vont
 Ivres de lune, ivres de lune.

The quality preferably developed in and by the symbolists is the intellect. Their heroes, almost without exception, possess a delicate and often subtle power of thought. They are thinkers, dreamers, empyreal philosophers. Never, or very rarely, are they men of action; they do not live, they are lived, they do not seem to know anything of the battle of life, they dream their existence, "ils se songent" according to an expression dear to Régnier; sometimes they even "se resongent." This is in keeping with their general attitude towards life. As Naturalists pretend to know the causes of everything and the working of them, they may, at least partly, hope to react upon them. Action has some meaning. Not so with the Symbolists who believe in unknown and unattainable causes. To them passivity is the natural attitude. Hence the veil of gentle sadness spread over the whole universe as seen by the majority of our authors. But it is a sadness *sui generis*, indefinite, vague, and might just as well be called simply lack of gladness. Joy is found in action, and when man does not act, he feels no joy. So, as joy is connected in the mind with the idea of activity, sadness is associated with the thought of passivity. The sadness of the symbolists is a sort of boredom.

It must be recognized however, that often, behind this boredom, there is something other than the simple distrust of action. There is a positive and manifest incapability of experiencing normal and healthy feelings. A foundation of truth cannot be denied the argument of M. Nordau; the word "degenerate" is perhaps a little strong, but there are

certainly several clearly pathological cases among our authors. We are in presence of extreme lymphatic temperaments, or those that pose as such. One of the commonest manifestations of this particular morbid propensity is their predilection for the autumn :

“ Une rose d'automne est plus qu'une autre exquise.”

Doubtless autumn has its charms, but in the Symbolists the love for the season which introduces death too often implies a corresponding and very strong antipathy for the other seasons which mark the return to life and its full bloom. The master, Stéphane Mallarmé, is very seriously affected in this way. Not only does he love all that is old, all that does not savor of “ l'action ” (“ Frisson d'hiver ”), but the coming of spring causes him a genuine nervous prostration :

“ Le printemps maladif a chassé tristement
L'hiver, saison de l'art serein, de l'art lucide,
Et dans mon être, à qui le sang morne préside,
L'impuissance s'étire en un long baillement.
Puis je tombe énérvé de parfums d'arbres, las,
Et creusant de ma face un fossé à mon rêve,
Mordant la terre chaude où poussent les lilas
J'attends en m'abîmant que mon ennui s'élève.”

(“ Feuille surnuméraire.”)

He cries out in epileptic dismay at sight of an azure sky. He likes to contemplate things only indirectly, through the window-panes, or across the mists, “ ces chers brouillards qui emmitoufflent nos cervelles.”

While, however, one can prevent oneself from acting, one cannot at will think or not think. The mind lives, so to speak, in spite of us. But at least one need not trouble to think methodically, logically. Thought must be left to wander where it will ; instead of our directing it, it should be allowed to lead us. This manner of writing unsystematically, giving as large scope as possible to the association of ideas—

entirely individual, as goes without saying—has not a little contributed to gaining for the symbolists a reputation for incomprehensibility, against which it would be difficult to defend them. Moreover, the poet's mind, intentionally turned away from the practical side of life, fleeing the commonplace, is very apt to go astray in the speculative spheres little frequented by the general public. Thus he is led to perceive between events those strangely subtle relations of which mention has been made, that mysterious affinity between our feelings and nature. In terms of psychiatry this might be called hyperesthesia of the intellect. See what the philosopher Eustase has discovered in his adored Humbeline, and how a symbolist makes love. To the philosopher, Humbeline is an "abréviation de l'ensemble de l'univers."

"Chaque jour Eustase allait chez elle comme la veille, et le charme de la conversation qui se tenait entre la jeune femme et le philosophe était dû à l'échange loyal qu'ils faisaient entre eux de la réciproque utilité où ils s'étaient l'un à l'autre. Humbeline dispensait Eustase de se mêler à la vie. Les aspects s'en trouvaient pour lui résumés en l'instructive dame avec ce qu'ils ont de contradictoire et de divers. Cette délicate personne était à elle seule d'un tumulte exquis. Toute l'incohérence des passions existait en ses goûts, réduits à une dimension minuscule et à un mouvement infini mais équivalent. En surplus elle offrait à Eustase le souvenir de tous les paysages où s'efforce et s'éténue ce que nos sentiments y retrouvent de leur image. Les robes déjà pour leur part figuraient les nuances des saisons et l'ensemble de sa chevelure était à la fois tout l'automne et toutes les forêts. L'écho des mers murmurait certes en les conques naïves de ses oreilles. Ses mains fleurissaient les horizons dont les gestes traçaient les lignes flexibles.

"C'étaient ces ressemblances que lui interprétait Eustase; il lui en détaillait les infinitésimales analogies et lui donnait le plaisir d'avoir, à chaque instant, conscience de ce qu'elle était, agrandie de ce qu'elle semblait être. Elle touchait ainsi au monde par chaque pore de sa peau charmante et par chaque point de son égoïsme moite, friable et comme spongieux, n'aimant que soi dans tout, mais d'une façon communicative et amalgamée" ("Eustase et Humbeline"). And when sometimes "ils juxtaposaient leurs pas pour quelque promenade. . . . Eustase se promenait moins avec elle qu'en elle." He made delightful journeys there, and on his return liked to say to her: "Le couchant de votre chevelure fut d'un or bien tragique ce soir, Humbeline."

This example shows already in what consists the difference between the symbol of the Symbolists and that of the poets of tradition. The latter have no other purpose than to render their thought clearer and more precise by the use of the image; so much so as to make it impossible to misunderstand the idea presented. As one example may be quoted a few stanzas from the famous poem of Sainte Beuve, "La Rime." One picture follows the other to fix the conception of the author, to lay open his thought in all its aspects, to make it clear from all points of view :

Rime qui donne leurs sons
 Aux chansons,
 Rime, l'unique harmonie
 Du vers, qui sans tes accents
 Frémissants
 Serait muet au génie.

 Rime, *écho* qui prends la voix
 Du haut bois
 Ou l'éclat de la trompette,
Dernier adieu d'un ami
 Qu'à demi
 L'autre ami de loin répète;

 Rime, *tranchant aviron*,
Éperon
 Qui fends la vague écumante;
Frein d'or, *aiguillon d'acier*
 Du coursier
 A la crinière fumante;

Agrafe autour des seins nus
 De Vénus

Col étroit par où saillit
 Et jaillit
 La source au ciel élançée.

Anneau pur de diamant

Clef.

fée au léger voltiger

. etc., etc.

Exactly the contrary is true of the Symbolists. They make use of the symbol just because *they do not* wish to present their thought in a clear and precise form. Thought is too subtle and varied to be really adequately expressed; words are too coarse interpreters to have the delicate feelings and sentiments of a poetic soul intrusted to them. Not only, therefore, must no effort be made to express one's feelings, to define them by words, but in order to be sure not to rob them of the airy something that is in them, one must speak only in the indefinite form of symbols:

“Ta pensée garde toi de la jamais nettement dire. Qu'en des jeux de lumière et d'ombre elle *semble* toujours se livrer et s'échapper sans cesse,—agrandissant de tels écarts l'esprit émerveillé d'un lecteur, comme il doit être, attentif et soumis—jusqu'au point final où elle éclatera magnifiquement *en se réservant, toutefois et encore, le nimbe d'une équivoque féconde* afin que les esprits qui t'ont suivi soient récompensés de leurs peines par la joie tremblante d'une découverte qu'ils *croiraient* faire, avec l'*illusoire* espérance d'une certitude qui *ne sera jamais*, et la réalité d'un *doute délicieux*. Ainsi sauvegardé par cette initiale prudence d'éviter la précision, tu iras, Poète, par tes propres intuitions, restées indépendantes, plus loin dans les voies même purement rationnelles que les plus méthodiques philosophes, et la plume te deviendra talisman d'invention, de vérité. Qu'alors on te reproche d'être obscur et compliqué, réponds: que les mots sont les vêtements de la pensée et que tous les vêtements voilent; que plus une pensée est grande et plus il la faut voiler, comme une enveloppe de verre les flammes des flambeaux et des soleils, mais que le voile ne cache un peu que pour permettre de voir d'avantage et plus sûrement.”—(Ch. Morice: “La littérature de Tout à l'heure.”)

All this is founded on the truth that to define is to limit. The more characters there are given to an object the more it is individualized, the less play it leaves to the imagination. To take a very simple example: given a circle drawn on a piece of paper, this circle can represent a great many things, an apple, a ball, a head, a cheese, a button, the sun, the moon, a watch, a ring, a wheel, a plate, a drum, etc., etc. But by adding only four small lines representing a mouth, a nose

and two eyes, the drawing can represent only a face, or perhaps for children the sun and the moon. By again adding two small handles on the sides, positively nothing else but the face of a man can be suggested. Therefore, since one of the principles of Symbolism is to replace the expression of things by the suggestion of them, and, moreover, to render the task of creating in the mind of the reader as considerable as possible with the help of suggestion, the natural means is that of defining as little as possible. In order to attain this end the Symbolist painter, Carrière, before trying to reproduce his model, retreated from it until he saw nothing more than a cloud. Thanks to this task of personal interpretation which is demanded of the reader, he becomes a fellow-worker with the poet; he produces by him and with him. This is a proceeding which the Symbolists are very proud to have introduced into art. Mallarmé, Boschot, Morice duly insist on it, and Régnier wrote not very long ago, “. . . et je ne suis pas sûr que ce ne soit pas la particularité qui leur vaudra le mieux la mémoire de l'avenir.”—(*Mercur de France*, August, 1900.)

There are two ways of making the task of the reader considerable: that of expressing as little as possible of the thought, and that of expressing it in the form of symbols so perfectly mysterious and vague as to make sure that the intimate idea of the poet be not betrayed.

After the first of these manners, M. René Ghil evidently arrived at genius at a stroke, when, in one part of his poem, “Le geste ingénu,” he leaves two large pages blank and then places at the bottom of the second, in a corner, this eloquent octosyllabic verse:

“Mille sanglots plangorent là!”

Nevertheless—in spite of the perfect logic of this system—the symbolists have found it to be expedient not to abuse this too deep poetry, and have striven to move their readers by other means than silence.

Whoever has read their works knows that it is possible to remain vague without keeping silence. It would be easy to quote a number of stanzas where surely no one, excepting at best the author, could find any sense. It is better to quote some of the less unintelligible ones, in order to place our finger on the point. One passage is chosen from Régnier, who, for that matter, has been forward enough in this tendency, but whose verses are in some fashion comprehensible in spite of the obscurity of the thought.

On the threshold of life the poet figures to himself his fate :

“ Et je pensais mes Destinées.
 Je les voulais, hautes et graves, emphatiques
 En un clair drapement de gloire et taciturnes
 Avec des orgueils sur les lèvres, les unes !
 Et magnifiques
 Avec des torsos nus à la proue
 Parmi les fleurs des mers en écumes
 Avec des torches en leurs mains spoliatrices,
 Ou graves et dures
 Et lentes avec des palmes sous les portiques
 Où des enfants jettent des pierres aux armures
 Qui se bossellent et retentissent,
 Et hiératiques sur des sièges de marbre
 Où leur front se repose à leur geste immuable

 Et lentement j’imaginai mes Destinées.
 Elles serraient des glaives à la poignée
 Elles marchaient le long de la mer
 Elles marchaient dans le soleil
 Puis elles s’assirent le long de la mer
 Elles saignèrent dans le soleil
 De leurs pourpres trainant sur le sable amer
 L’emblème douloureux que saignerait leur chair. . . .”

(*Tel qu’en Songe*—“Le Seuil.”)

Prose does not exclude this use of the symbol. One need only quote Régnier’s very typical symbolistic story entitled “Hertulie ou les Messages” (*Trèfle Noir*). Hermotine loves Hertulie. They meet every day for aerial conversations in a garden mysteriously arranged and decorated. One day

Hermotine leaves without saying good-bye and sends tidings in the form of symbolistic objects: an arrow, a gourd, a mirror, a key, a ripe ear, all of which are deposited in turn in the house of Hertulie by an invisible hand. It seems that he has left her, to love her after a fashion still more ethereal. At least that appears to be implied by the letter written to his friend, Hermas, at the time of his abrupt departure:

“Elle accusera mon amour, et si je la quitte, c’est à cause de l’amour. L’amour seul nous fait nous-mêmes; il nous rend comme nous serions, car il devient ce que nous sommes. . . . L’amour est beau. La laideur seule de nos âmes grimace sur son masque qui les représente. . . . Imagine alors ô Hermas, la beauté, si au lieu de se grimer en des cœurs ténébreux, il se dénudait en des âmes radieuses. . . . L’amour est l’hôte de la sagesse et je pars lui préparer sa demeure. . . .”

He will not come back—that is a thing of course; and she will die of grief. As for the symbolic objects, Régnier has pity on his readers, and, in a final letter, permits the friend, Hermas, more perspicacious than they, to furnish enlightenment:

“J’ai compris l’envoi de la flèche messagère; faite de plume et d’acier, elle allège en nous ce qui peut s’envoler, elle tue ce qui doit y mourir. Le poignard nu signifiait déjà ton mortel désir d’être un autre homme, et la gourde voulait dire ta soif de te connaître au miroir emblématique là où l’on s’apparaît au delà de soi-même; mais quand j’ai reçu la clef fatidique, j’ai deviné qu’elle t’ouvrait l’accès de ton Destin, et l’épi mûr, ô Hermotine! te représente à mes yeux.”

Some of the symbols used by our poets are particularly characteristic. Two of them may be mentioned here. First the mirror, symbol of solitude and meditation. Contemplating oneself in a mirror is seeing oneself outside of oneself—“miroir emblématique où l’on s’apparaît au delà de soi-même.” In a case of close intimacy, a man may become the mirror of another:

“Je m’apparus en toi comme une ombre lointaine.”

(Mallarmé.)

In love, a woman may become the mirror of a man. In Régnier she tries often to be that, but he does not believe

her, in general, equal to the task. The fate of Hertulie has been indicated already. In other poems, by the same author, there appear women who have awaited sometimes for centuries, even "depuis l'éternité," the man whose mirror they might be. But he does not come, or passes without stopping :

"Mets notre chevelure en pennon à ta hampe
Doux chevalier ; rêve par nous ton rêve épars,
Et viens à nous de par la vie et les hasards,
Nous sommes le Miroir, et l'Amphore et la Lampe."
(*"La Vigile des Grèves"*—*Poèmes anciens et romanesques.*)

Another symbol dear to the Symbolists in general and to Régnier in particular, is nudity. It is incredible how often the adjective *nu* is found in his prose and poetry. The reader may remember having seen it in several of the preceding quotations. We must take it, so to speak, as the symbol of the symbol, such as it was described above. The use of this term is due to their desire to leave the idea bare of all determining qualities, in order that the reader himself may invest it with specific attributes according to his temperament or to his passing moods. A few examples may render this clearer :

"J'ai cru voir ma Tristesse—dit-il—et je l'ai vue
—Dit-il plus bas—
Elle était nue
Assise dans la grotte la plus silencieuse
De mes plus intérieures pensées
.
Elle y était silencieuse
Assise au fond de mon silence
Et nue ainsi que s'apparaît ce qui pense.
(*Tel qu'en Songe*—
"Quelqu'un songe d'aube et d'ombre.")

Or this :

"L'enfant qui vint ce soir était nu
Il cueillait des roses dans l'ombre
Il sanglotait d'être venu
Il reculait devant son ombre
C'est en lui nu
Que mon destin s'est reconnu." (Ibid.)

Or again :

“ la lassitude
De son espoir en pleurs près de son orgueil nu.”

His Gods, his heroes, his women are very likely to be nude symbols. The beautiful poem in the *Épisodes*, “Les mains belles et justes,” is the most characteristic production of the poet from this point of view. He extols in ample verses the beautiful hands “qui n’ont jamais filé,” and in the following stanzas regrets that the whole body is concealed, the mouth and eyes covered with paint, and the breast, the hips, etc., veiled by garments, veils “dont le rêve s’indigne.” Only the “beautiful” hands are bare and speak to the mystic soul of the poet. May these hands also be “just” and tear off the veils which shroud “les purs nus triomphaux,” and may a bath take away the paint!

This image is often met with in the other symbolists, as has been said. The following line by René Ghil is often quoted :

“Nu du nu grandiose et pudique des roses.”

Or this from Rodenbach :

“Le ciel est gris, mon âme est grise
Elle se sent toute déprise
Elle se sent un parloir nu. . . .”

The intentional lack of sharp outlines, or the overlapping of our different perceptions and thoughts has brought forth in the domain of sensation another peculiarity of the Symbolists. As it has often been made use of to ridicule the young poets, it may be well to show how it is logically connected with their general attitude towards life. Not only do they understand everything after their own fashion, but they are endowed with an acuteness of the senses which makes them see, hear, taste, smell, and touch differently from men in general. Their sensibility depends very little on their specific senses; the sensations derived from the latter being blended in one spiritual sphere, whence every material element seems to be banished. In other words, the sharpness of their senses

is such that they obtain the sensation of sound by their eyes, their mouth, and their nose, just as well as with their ears. In the same way they have visual impressions through the ears and sensations of touch through their olfactory organs.

The best known of these interchanges or substitutions of sensations is the reciprocal calling forth of sounds by colors and of colors by sounds. One single sonnet of the Symbolists has done more to popularize this phenomenon than all the patient investigations of experimental psychologists :

A noir, *E* blanc, *I* rouge, *U* vert, *O* bleu, voyelles
Je dirai quelque jour vos naissances latentes
A noir corset velu des mouches éclatantes
Qui bombillent autour des puanteurs cruelles,

Golfe d'Ombre ; *E* candeur des vapeurs et des tentes
Lance des glaciers fiers, rois blancs, frissons d'ombelles ;
I pourpre, sang craché, rire des lèvres belles
Dans la colère et les ivresses pénitentes ;

U, cycles, vibrations divins des mers virides
Paix des pâtis semés d'animaux, paix des rides
Que l'alchimie imprime aux grands fronts studieux ;

O Suprême clairon, plein de strideurs étranges
Silences traversés des Mondes et des Anges
—*O* l'oméga, rayon violet de ses yeux."

Some friends of the late Rimbaud, the author of this sonnet, maintain that it is merely a joke. There is, however, reason to believe that they admitted this interpretation only when they saw the ridicule cast upon it by the public. It seems to have been meant very seriously at first.¹ Besides,

¹ In his *Saison en enfer*, Rimbaud writes: "A moi l'histoire d'une de mes folies . . . j'inventai la couleur des voyelles! *A* noir, *E* blanc, *I* rouge, *O* bleu, *U* vert. Je réglai la forme et le mouvement de chaque consonne et avec des rythmes instinctifs, je me flattai d'inventer un verbe poétique, accessible un jour ou l'autre à tous les sens. . . Ce fut d'abord une étude, j'écrivais des silences, des nuits, je notais l'inexprimable, je fixais des vertiges." M. Kahn comments as follows upon this passage: "Le texte est net. Le sonnet des voyelles ne contient pas plus une esthétique qu'il n'est une gageure, une gaminerie pour étonner le bourgeois. Rimbaud

the idea is not a new one. As is known, it has been expressed by Baudelaire, and no one has thought of maintaining that he was in fun. Moreover, since Rimbaud, the idea has been taken up so repeatedly that it is impossible to call in question the seriousness of the poets who make use of it.

On the same subject, for instance, are written the following inspiring lines of René Ghil, one of the "enfants terribles" of Symbolism.

"Constatant les souverainetés, les Harpes sont blanches; et bleus sont les Violons mollis souvent d'une phosphorescence pour surmener les paroxysmes; en la plénitude des ovations les Cuivres sont rouges, les Flûtes, jaunes, qui modulent l'ingénu, s'étonnent de la lueur des lèvres; et sourdeur de la Terre et des Chairs, synthèse simplement des seuls instruments simples, les orgues toutes noires plangorent" (*Traité du Verbe*).

Finally it has been most elaborately worked out by Régnier in his story, *Le Sixième mariage de Barbe bleue*.

The scene is laid in Brittany, the land of legends. A man sits dreaming in a boat that drifts on the quiet current of the water. Arriving at twilight in a bay of the river, whence he sees a house, he goes ashore to pick a rose in the garden. A woman appears and shows him the ruins of Blue-beard's castle. There seem to wander about them the shades of Blue-beard's wives "nues de leurs robes appendues au mur du réduit sinistre où le sang successif des cinq épouses avait rougi les dalles! . . . Comment eussent-elles erré autrement que nues puisque leurs belles robes avaient été la raison de leur mort et le seul trophée que voulût d'elles leur singulier mari?"

There follows a description of the gowns, on account of which they had had to die. The "bizarre et barbu seigneur" loved all these women. Why then did he kill them? Be-

traversa une phase où tout altéré de nouveauté poétique, il chercha dans les indications réunies sur les phénomènes d'audition colorée quelque rudiment d'une science des sonorités. Il vivait près de Charles Cros, à ce moment hanté de sa photographie des couleurs et qui put l'orienter vers des recherches de ce genre" (Kahn, *Symbolistes et Décadents*, p. 275).

cause he wanted them only in order to draw from them certain sensations, which he could obtain without them just as well after a short time. He could suggest them artificially; the women need only to leave him a remembrance of their figures, of the subtle fragrance of their flesh. Having that, he could dispense with their material and real presence. They became useless. To quote Régnier :

“ Hélas, il ne les aima que pour leurs robes variées, ces épouses douces et altières, et sitôt qu’elles avaient façonné les étoffes qui les vêtaient aux grâces de leur corps, qu’elles y avaient imprégné le parfum de leur chair et communiqué assez d’elles-mêmes pour qu’elles leur fussent devenues consubstantielles, il tuait d’une main cruelle et sage les Belles inutiles. Son amour en détruisant, substituait au culte d’un être celui d’un fantôme fait de leur essence dont le vestige et le mystérieux délice satisfaisaient son âme industrielle.”

This is not all. To add still more to the suggestion called up by the shape of the gown, its color, and the subtle perfume emanating from it, Blue-beard—a thorough Symbolist, as is seen—had the furniture and hangings matched to these sensations. Finally he completed his work by having melodies played which corresponded to the tone of the perfume, the color, and the shape of each lady called up, and by reserving a special room for each gown with its group of corresponding sensations :

“ L’ingénieur Seigneur s’enfermait pendant de longues soirées, tour à tour, dans l’une de ces salles où brûlait un parfum différent. Les mobiliers assortis aux tentures, correspondaient à des intentions subtiles. Longtemps, passant sa main dans sa longue barbe parsemée de quelques poils d’argent; l’Amant solitaire regardait la robe appendue devant lui en la mélancolie de sa soie, l’orgueil de son brocart ou la perplexité de sa moire. Des musiques appropriées sourdaient du dehors à travers les murailles. Auprès de la robe blanche (ô tendre Emmène, ce fut la tienne!) rôdaient des lenteurs de viole languissante; auprès de la bleue (qui fut toi, naïve Poucette!) le hautbois chantait; près de la tienne, mélancolique Blismonde, un luth soupirait parcequ’elle fut mauve et que tes yeux étaient toujours baissés; un fifre riait, suraigu pour rappeler que tu fus énigmatique, en ta verte robe encorailée Tharsile! mais tous les instruments s’unissaient quand le maître visitait la robe d’Alède, robe singulière qui avait toujours semblé vêtir un fantôme; alors la musique chuchotait tout bas, car Barbe-bleue avait beaucoup aimé cette Alède. . . .”

The master of the place, however, still missed something in the sensations of love. He sought a sixth wife. He loved a shepherdess. What wedding-dress would she wear? As she was not rich, she thought her nudity would be her finest ornament, and by her innocence she broke the charm that had doomed to death the five first brides, for without a dress she could not leave her lord either the cast of her figure, nor the particular perfume of her flesh. If she were killed, she would be dead for Blue-beard as well.

The few facts mentioned will be sufficient to show that, for almost every single characteristic feature of Naturalism, Symbolism has developed another one in an opposite direction. To a few laws of nature discovered by scientists and put to use by naturalists, the Symbolists have opposed innumerable causes of a metaphysical order (metaphysical to be taken in the Aristotelian sense); to a stiff and conventional world they have opposed one of fancy; to the every-day type of man, the most extreme cases of individualism; to the normal, the abnormal; to determinism, occultism; to simplicity, complexity.

In so doing they have rendered a service to literature which ought not to be disregarded. They have taken up again the true artistic tradition of yore, they have broken the false ideal of identifying science with art. Science deals, if I may be allowed to use the expression, with the skeleton of life; different manifestations are completely isolated from the concrete conditions of existence, and studied in the abstract; but art deals with real, concrete, full life.

The time may come when Symbolism will be regarded as a simple prolongation of Romanticism. Its originality will appear substantially diminished the day when some one shall undertake to compare the Symbolists, for instance, with V. Hugo. Their desire to go beyond the laws known to science, which is their central preoccupation, corresponds almost exactly in V. Hugo to what Mabilleau has so well called *le*

sens du mystère. "The poet has succeeded in acquiring—at least in imagination—a kind of intuition of that which is out of reach of both senses and perception. Time and space, or rather eternity and infinite, chaos, night, death, that which is indeterminate in things, unknown in thoughts, the unattainable and the inexpressible—all this he feels, and renders it in images that convey to us his own feelings."

To make good use of this "*sens du mystère*" requires nothing less than genius. Now Symbolism in France, it must be recognized, has produced only rude outlines and sketches of an ideal masterpiece. Its votaries' distinct influence on their contemporaries is mainly due to the fact that they have uttered a common protest, which, practically, proved more effective than isolated genius alone; then, too, their very timely appearance, when a thorough reaction against Naturalism was most needed, must also be taken into account. But these are only contingencies which do not in the least affect the principle in itself. There have been Symbolists elsewhere than in France. No one, for instance, seems to have possessed in a more remarkable fashion the talents required for their special kind of literary products than Edgar Allan Poe. No one can be said to have better pointed out the existence of astonishing relations, which science does not mention,¹ between phenomena apparently utterly disconnected. No one has better hinted at a secret world and minute inter-actions beyond the realm of sensations, without ever betraying the least belief in arbitrariness in the deepest mysteries. It is not astonishing that the French Symbolists feel for E. A. Poe a great admiration, which, however, has not resulted in a satisfactory imitation, excepting, perhaps, in a few of the works of Maeterlinck.

Again, both Romanticism and Symbolism are plainly individualistic tendencies. Here lies, it is true, one great difference between the two schools; one could say that individualism

¹At least, it did not mention them until the "Society for Psychological Research" was founded.

is developed in the sense of quantity with the Romanticists, but in the sense of quality with the Symbolists. The first put into their works an ego that is common to all men. It is only in the intensity of emotion and feeling that their poets really differ from ordinary people. On the contrary, Mallarmé and his disciples wish to put forward the peculiarly individual part of the ego in their characters,—in whose forms they often disguise themselves—the *exceptional* ego, as they call it themselves; an exceptional which often assumes the form of artificial, abnormal and morbid cases, as when a naturally sensual woman seeks gratification of her depraved tastes in chastity, in “l’horreur d’être vierge” (*Hérodiade*, by Mallarmé), or a man who spends incredible sums of money to produce by selection natural flowers which shall have the appearance of artificial ones (Huysmans’ *Des Esseintes*).

And yet, does not this very curiosity for the exceptional, which develops so easily into the taste for the physically and morally ugly, remind us of some of Victor Hugo’s best known characters, from the Quasimodo in *Notre Dame de Paris*, to the Crapaud of the *Légende des Siècles*? Or, in general, of the theory expressed in these verses of the “Réponse à un acte d’accusation :”

“ Pas de prunelle abjecte et vile que ne touche
L’éclair d’en haut, parfois tendre et parfois farouche ;
Pas de monstre chétif, louche, impur, chassieux
Qui n’ait l’immensité des astres dans les cieux.”

II.

All we have said so far was with reference to the philosophy of Symbolism. But, paradoxical as it may at first sight appear, with regard to the form adopted for its literature Symbolism is in still more direct connection with earlier writers of the nineteenth century.

There are two kinds of formal so-called innovations of the symbolists which it is important to distinguish. Some may

be considered more specifically and logically symbolistic, some have no necessary connection with this literary movement.

Let us first consider the latter. A whole series of accusations which have been directed, as it happens, against the Symbolists might be brought with equal justice against other writers. In unison with all contemporary authors, they have sought to renovate the literary language. Who could blame them? When this is done with moderation, tact, and taste, it is but commendable. There is no reason, for example, why a nation should stick for ages to the same old stock of poetical comparisons without ever renewing them. Régnier likes to compare the redness of sunset to blood; he writes beautiful lines on this subject, and that is enough to justify him :

“ Le soleil saigne aux Occidents stigmatisés
Elargissant sa plaie en la pourpre des nues
Qu’attisent les pointes de glaives aiguisés.”

(“Jouvence”—*Épisodes.*)

The following is certainly an original manner of speaking of a bird’s song, but it is laughable only when judged at first sight, or because it is different from what is customary :

“ J’entendis sur l’étang chanter votre oiseau d’or :
Le bois clair se gemme de voix de pierreries,
De voix de diamants, de voix de rubis, de voix de saphir,
Et le chant s’exhale plus riche à se fleurir
Et l’oiseau semblait crier des pierreries.”

(“Le songe de la forêt”—*Poèmes anciens et rom.*)

The following is a clever picture by Verhaeren :

“ Les horloges
Volontaires et vigilantes
Pareilles aux vieilles servantes
Boitant de leurs sabots ou glissant sur leurs bas,
Les horloges que j’interroge
Serrent ma peur en leurs compas. . . .”

The same must be said with regard to the peculiar combinations in the vocabulary of the symbolists. Régnier has

“des souvenirs blancs et noirs;” his heroes utter “des mensonges bleus;” their heads are adorned by “de chantantes chevelures;” they employ their “mains ténébreuses;” they are lost in the contemplation of vases “fragiles, compliqués et taciturnes,” while they are surrounded by “ténèbres endolories.” But, if such expressions are, perhaps, more frequent with our poets than with other contemporaries, similar ones can nevertheless be found in the works of even hardened realists. Zola uses “ombres bleues” and even “gaités blondes.” Daudet speaks of “après-midi blondes.” All the first pages of the very realistic novel by Caraguel, *Les Barthozouls*, are a classic example of the new style. To give one more illustration, what has contributed more to the success of Judith Gautier’s delightful volumes than her exquisite use in French of the strange and poetic images of the Orient?

To speak now of the elements of form more specifically connected with Symbolism, the most important seems to be the principle formulated by Verlaine and constantly repeated by those who make use of his name, namely, that the new poetry must, above all, be musical. The idea of this theory is easy to grasp. The essence of symbolic art, as has been abundantly proved, consists in reacting upon the fixedness and precision of Naturalism in all fields, in blurring the outlines and blending the colors, in suggesting the thought by the emotions, and not the emotions by the thought expressed in words. Music does just this, and it was hence quite natural to resort to its means and its method of action, *i. e.*, to seek the poetic effects wanted from the sound of the words and verses rather than from their meaning :

“De la musique avant toute chose,
Et pour cela préfère l’Impair
Plus vague et plus soluble dans l’air
Sans rien en lui qui pèse ou qui pose.

(Verlaine: *Jadis et Naguère*.)

This explains the frequent return to the still undeveloped and therefore undefined and unprecise literary methods of poetry in the middle ages, to alliteration and assonance. They sometimes, with the Symbolists, take the place of rhyme, sometimes are used together with it.

Alliteration :

“ Des couples amoureux s'arrêtent
Et hument dans l'air lourd la langueur du Léthé.”

(Stuart Merrill: “Les gemmes.”)

Assonance :

“ La foule des Filles mi-nues
Ondule en la houle des jours ;
Midi divinise des nues
La foule des Filles mi-nues.
Un hymne aux rimes inconnues
S'essore vers les hauts séjours ;
La foule des Filles mi-nues
Ondule en la houle des jours.”

(*Ibid.*)

In this stanza, as in many other instances, there is not only assonance, but a combination of the three musical elements of verse : assonance, alliteration, and rhyme.

Here is another example of rhyme strengthened by assonance and by internal rhyme :

“ C'est à cause du clair de la lune
Que j'assume ce masque nocturne
Et de Saturne penchant son urne
Et de ces lunes, l'une après l'une.”

(Verlaine.)

Many new words in the so often satirized Symbolistic vocabulary, as well as the obsolete terms resurrected, are inspired by the same principle: they are used on account of their musical qualities: *clangorer*, *édénique*, *hymniclame*, *callipédique*, *ithyphallique*, etc. Furthermore, it must be admitted that certain of their new formations aim at producing sensational effects: *anacampsérote*, *bardocuculé*, *tarrabalation*, etc.

It may be well to remark here that the Symbolism of sound in poetry is more natural in a country of music like Germany, and would not have caused so much surprise there as in

France. No extensive research would be needed to find numerous instances of German verses in which the relations between the sounds and the sense to be expressed are even more divergent than in the Symbolist poetry. Reference may be made to several pages on this subject by Richard M. Meyer, "*Künstliche Sprachen*" (*Indogerm. Forschungen*, October, 1901; pp. 243 ff.). He quotes, for example, a recent poem by R. Dehmel, *Der Glühende*:

. . . . "Singt mir das Lied vom Tode und vom Leben
Daglioni, gleia, glühlala."

This refrain, invented by the author, shows but a faint resemblance to the word *glühen*. These are not even musical words, but only sounds. The Symbolists in France have not gone so far as this.

In an exactly opposite direction, but with the same purpose of suiting the expression to the emotion that is to be roused, the new poets have been led to overstep the limits of traditional versification. Their fondness for their ideas was strong enough to lead them to the extremes of the free verse (*vers libre*). For them "verse, after all, is but a consequence and a result; it should grow according to, and it should be subordinate and proportional to, what it is to express or to suggest; it is nothing in itself and should only be what it is made. In short, verse is but a part of the rhythm, which alone it should obey" (Régnier). It would, however, be a mistake to consider this a great innovation.

It is natural that G. Kahn, who first formulated this theory and was one of the first to make use of the "*vers libre*," should have exaggerated its significance. Purely from the point of view of prosody, at least, the poets using the "*vers libre*" have simply put into definite form, with its logical and final consequences, what V. Hugo and his friends timidly attempted by means of reforms which at that time seemed unspeakably daring: the displacing of the caesura, and letting the sense

run on into the next line. The natural result of these two reforms is, on the one hand, to lengthen or shorten the poetic sentence. On the other hand, since the rhyme was very often used simply to strengthen the effect of syllabism, by furnishing in its turn a regular and obvious division supporting that of the caesura, the rhyme is only an assonance placed anywhere in the poetic phrase. The rhyme as such may be said to be suppressed. As has been seen, assonance has, in fact, often taken its place in the poetry of the Symbolists. Thus, starting from the poets of the romantic school, the blank verse and the "vers libre" are nothing but a logical consequence. Exploits, or jests, such as the following by Verlaine, serve as transition :

"En fait d'amour, tu ressucite-
Rais un défunt. . . ."

Or

"Voyez Banville et voyez Lecon-
Te de Lisle. . . ."

The reason why the Symbolists were the ones to definitely complete the evolution of the blank verse and of the "vers libre," is that the spirit of their poetry was peculiarly adapted to it. But the instrument was there.

In spite of appearances absolutely contradictory, it is found even in Banville. When the punctilious theorist of the "Parnassiens" sums up his whole chapter on poetic licenses in the words: "Il n'y en a pas," he simply expresses the Symbolistic principle of versification. For him "le poète pense en vers," *i. e.*, the form and the matter are *a priori* bound together in the conception of the poet. The idea necessarily presents itself to him in form of verses, or else he is no true poet, but only an imitator. It is just this that the modern poets wish also. Only, while Banville declares that the true poet always thinks in verses which are in keeping with the prosody of his *Petit Traité de Poésie française*, the Symbolists declare that there are as many good prosodies as there are true poets or even poems. In that they come

nearer the truth than Banville; there is not the same artificiality in them as in the author of the *Petit Traité*.¹

The meaning of all this is, that behind the rules and greater than they, is always the poet. It is only when the rhythm is but faintly perceptible, and only at intervals, that the field of pure poetry is left for that of poetic prose. An example of this is the following stanza from "La Dame à la falx" by Saint-Pol-Roux :

" En leur robe d'aurore
 Images de la vie,
 Voici, minces et riantes
 S'avancer les fiancées
 Des cinq étudiants
 Qui ce jour d'hui chevauchent avec le prince vers la ville
 Après l'échange en ces murailles de l'anneau des fiançailles.
 Suivent les gens de la Vallée
 Pastoures, vigneron, moissonneurs, bûcherons,
 Chargés de dons ayant pour Orient la châtelaine au front de blé."

The lines of 14, 15 and 18 syllables are no longer verses, while, in fact, the one next to the last is a double verse of six syllables with rhyme, and the seventh can be decomposed in the same fashion.

Such passages are, however, rather scarce. It may, on the contrary, be said that almost always the Symbolists retain either syllabism or rhyme in their verse, sometimes even the refrain. By this they implicitly acknowledge that an arti-

¹ The contradiction in Banville amounts to this: he does not consider as poetic licence what the traditional authors and poets call by that name. He speaks as follows of the run-over verse, which is of extreme importance in the case in hand. Letting the sense overflow into the next line has a justification, therefore it is not a poetical licence. "Quelle est," he says, "la valeur poétique et historique de la règle qu'ils (three verses of Boileau enjoining the observance of this rule) énoncent?—Nulle. Elle n'existe pas, elle ne saurait exister et pourtant elle a fait bien du mal. . . ."

" Cette règle qui l'a imaginée, formulée, édictée?—Boileau—Qui a mis hors la loi, dévoué aux dieux infernaux les poètes qui refusaient d'obéir à cette règle?—Boileau—Sur quoi Boileau appuyait-il sa règle draconienne?—sur rien."

ficial element, however slight, is nevertheless necessary. They are often very clever indeed at hiding the outer devices, and so obtain effects the more remarkable that the means of their production are harder to detect.

The following lines by Viélé Griffin are an illustration of the above :

“ Je leur dirai
 Que rien ne pleure, ici,
 Et que le vent d'automne aussi
 Lui qu'on croit triste est un hymne d'espoir ;
 Je leur dirai
 Que rien n'est triste ici, matin et soir,
 Sinon, au loin.
 Lorsque Novembre bruit aux branches
 Poussant les feuilles au loin des sentes blanches.
 —Elles fuient, il les relance
 Jusqu'à ce qu'elles tombent lasses,
 Alors il passe et rit—
 Que rien n'est triste ici.
 Sinon au loin sur l'autre côte
 Monotone comme en sonnant la même note
 Le heurt des haches brandi tout un jour
 Pesant et sourd.”

The contrast with other times is due to the fact that the sensibility to the rhythm has grown with the ages. It would be wronging the modern literary sense to believe it necessary to have recourse to the methods of versification of the *Roi d'Yvetot* in order to rouse the faculty of poetic perception. But it does not follow from the fact that the distinction between prose and verse has become more delicate, that there exists no such distinction. It should especially be remembered that the printer's art does not make the poet.

To quote the clearest example, the *Poèmes en prose* by Paul Fort generally contain very harmonious lines, only instead of being placed one below the other, they are printed one after the other like sentences in prose :

Cette fille elle est morte, est morte dans ses amours.
 Ils l'ont portée en terre, en terre au point du jour.

Ils l'ont couchée toute seule, toute seule en ses atours,
 Ils l'ont couchée toute seule, toute seule en son cercueil.
 Ils sont rev'nus gaiment, gaiment avec le jour
 Ils ont chanté gaiment, gaiment : "chacun son tour,
 Cette fille, elle est morte, est morte dans ses amours. . ."
 Ils sont allés aux champs, aux champs comme tous les jours.

In the ballad of "Paris sentimental", *Sur le Pont au Change*, the second stanza is entirely composed of alexandrines, if the silent syllables are only a bit arranged :

Sept heures vont sonner à l'horloge du palais. ||—L'occident, sur Paris, est comme un lac d'or plain. || Dans l'est nuageux gronde un orage incertain. || L'air est chaud par bouffées, à peine l'on respire. || Et je songe à Manon et deux fois je soupire. || L'air est chaud par bouffées et berce l'odeur large || de ces fleurs qu'on écrase. . . . On soupire en voyant || de frais courants violets, s'étirer sous les arbres || du Pont-Neuf qui poudroie sur le soleil mourant. ||—"Tu sais, toi Manon, si je t'ai bien aimée!" || L'orage gronde au loin. L'air est chaud par bouffées.

So there is no need for anxiety in regard to the future of French poetry. Neither of its two formal elements, rhyme and syllabism, has disappeared, nor is called upon to vanish completely. The rhyme is often transformed into alliteration and assonance, but it was in itself nothing except an assonance employed very systematically ; moreover, it had come to be less of a musical element than simply an automatic teller to announce the end of a rythmical period to the idle or slow ear. Thus, even if the rhyme were dropped, there would still remain syllabism with its natural corollary of rythmical accentuation, which is the only absolutely indispensable element. Often verses have been quoted from the prose of Rousseau, of Buffon, of Chateaubriand, of Renan ; it is obviously only the arrangement and number of syllables that make verse in these cases ; there is no rhyme nor assonance.¹

¹A few examples may be interesting here. This is a famous passage in Buffon, *Le cheval* :

"La plus noble conquête—que jamais l'homme ait faite—est celle de ce

In brief, then, the reform of the Symbolists in the field of French prosody might be reduced to the assertion that either the number of the syllables, or the element of sound now called rhyme, would be sufficient for the production of verse, one of them alone just as well as the two together. Nevertheless they have so little given up the use of them either separately or even together that not only the independent critics, but they themselves in estimating each other's works, admire most those verses which are the most regularly constructed and truly Parnassian. "Le bateau ivre," by Rimbaud, is written in stanzas of four verses alternately rhyming and entirely in accordance with the traditional rules, except for one irregularity, the singular *lenteur* rhyming with the plural *chanteurs*. The "Sonnet des Voyelles" is also regular; and so are "Les mains belles et justes," by Régnier; the "Complaintes" and the "Imitation de Notre Dame la Lune," by Laforgue, where only a few irregularities are to be found; the *Serres Chaudes*, by Maeterlinck, etc., etc., without counting the large number of octosyllabic verses by Verlaine. The following charming fancy, though written by Stuart Merrill, would unhesitatingly be attributed to Banville by one not knowing :

Par les nocturnes boulingrins
Les crincrins et les mandolines
Modulent de demi-chagrins
Sous la vapeur des mousselines.

fier et fougueux animal—Qui partage avec lui les fatigues de la guerre—et la gloire des combats."

In Marmontel's *Incas* (quoted by Boschot, *Crise poétique*) :

"Le ciel était serein, l'air calme et sans vapeur—et l'on eût pris en ce moment—l'horizon du coucher pour celui de l'aurore."

The following from Rousseau, whom Mirabeau had called "notre plus grand harmoniste :

"Ses yeux étincelaient du feu de ses désirs. . . .

"Mon faible cœur n'a plus que le choix de ses fautes. . . .

"Mais j'ai lu mieux que toi dans ton cœur trop sensible. . . .

"Où m'entraînent les chevaux avec tant de vitesse? . . . O amitié!
O amour! est-ce là votre accord? Sont-ce là vos bienfaits? . . . As-tu bien consulté ton cœur en me chassant. . . ."

Bleus de lune, au vert des massifs
 Les jets d'eau tintent dans les vasques
 Et c'est parmi les petits ifs
 Comme des rires sous des masques.

En poudre et panier pompadour
 Et des roses pourpres aux lèvres
 Les marquises miment l'amour
 Avec des manières si mièvres. . . .

* * *

Symbolism, as a doctrine, like all literary tendencies, reflects the spirit of its surroundings. The Symbolists have often been reproached their nervousness, the morbid character of their literature, and the lack of will power and énergie in the majority of their works. There is reason in this, for their attempts at poetry of action, as sketched in one of the chapters of Vigié Lecoq's *Crise poétique*, are utopian and dreamy in character, or softly and vaguely anarchical. But why have only the Symbolists been attacked? They are the representatives of the spirit of the "fin de siècle" on the European continent. They express this spirit more freely and more completely, and probably on account of the resemblance the public blames them more than others. The most humiliating faults are less concealed, their consequences are not avoided as in others, but they are none the less in the general current. In a recent book, *Le crime et le suicide passionnels*, Mr. Proal, the learned writer on criminal jurisprudence, says: "In the XVIIth century collections were made of thoughts, maxims, and reflections. Pascal wrote his *Pensées*, La Rochefoucauld his *Maximes*, La Bruyère his *Caractères*, Vauvenargues his *Réflexions et Maximes*, Duclos his *Considérations sur les Mœurs*. To-day sensations are collected; meditations are no longer written. With the exception of Mr. Sully Prudhomme, who writes philosophic poems, thinkers are scarce among the poets. The books of literary criticism, of travel, and even of history, are now only books of impressions and sensations. There are books entitled *Idées et Sensations* by the brothers de Goncourt, *Sensations d'histoire* by Barbey d'Aureville, *Sensations d'Oxford* and *Sensations*

d'Italie by P. Bourget, and *Sensations de littérature et d'art* by Byvaneck. Mr. Jules Lemaitre, a critic with the gift of observation, and capable of following the traditions of the great moralists, yields to the fashion of the day in writing the *Impressions de Théâtre*. The part of the writer seems no longer to make men think, but to make them feel. Sensations are substituted for perceptions, pictures for ideas. Literature becomes painting, music, photography." Not only literature but all society is suffering of the evil of aboulia. The Symbolists are, after all, the products of these surroundings. "After impressionist literature," says Mr. Proal, "came impressionist painting, impressionist jury justice, and impressionist politics. *Les sensations d'un juré* have been written; one might write the *Sensations d'un député*. . . . France has become as impressionable and sensitive as a nervous woman." The fault of the Symbolists, then, is that of too faithfully reproducing the spirit of their times.

But it ought to be remarked that France is not, as is the too common belief, the only country to have created Symbolists. It is true the majority of them live in Paris; the difference in origin of these authors, however, shows plainly that the disease is general. Without counting the group of Belgians in Belgium, Verhaeren, Rodenbach, Morice, Lemonnier, Eckhoud, and at times Maeterlinck,—René Ghil, though living in France, is a Belgian, J. K. Huysmans a Hollander, Jean Moréas a Greek, Gustave Kahn a Semite, Fr. Viélé Griffin and Stuart Merrill are Americans, Charles Vignier and Mathias Morhard are Swiss, and Dumur is of Swiss and Italian extraction.

As for the future of Symbolism, it cannot expect to exert its influence very much longer. Indeed, owing to the extreme character of its manifestations, it is bound to be particularly ephemeral; for, the more intense the action, the sooner comes the reaction. In fact, the new generation is already here and has broken with the Symbolists in terms not to be mistaken in the two domains of life and of art. In literature the attack

has come from two sides simultaneously, from the school of Toulouse, whose members are called *les Toulousains*, and from a group of young writers at Paris called *Naturistes*.

It is easy to guess what they substitute for Symbolism. It is logical that since all had been done to withdraw from nature and what is normal, all must now be done to come back to it. Symbolism has reacted upon Naturalism, Naturalism must now react upon Symbolism. "C'est fini," exclaims the theorist of the new tendency, Maurice Leblond, "des expertes combinaisons sentimentales ou lexicographiques. L'Art de demain se distinguera surtout par l'absence presque totale de ces techniques prétentieuses et subtiles, et la pensée ne s'éperdra plus aux labyrinthes ombreux de la phraséologie contemporaine. L'on comprend que les prochaines réformes littéraires après toutes ces crises anormales et ces tentatives capricieuses aboutiront à un effet simpliste. Un retour aux ondes lustrales de la tradition s'impose et ces jeunes hommes le proclament qui, brisant l'étroite contrainte égoïste, abandonnent les chancelantes tours d'ivoire pour courir joyeux et craintifs vers l'étreinte tumultueuse et forte de la vie." These are pompous words to announce the advent of a new worship of nature, and the return to a literature which shall be more "simpliste." But the more or less unconscious meaning of this eloquence is the intention to return to a realism which shall be inspired not by the base and despicable side of nature, but by all that is healthy, strong, and poetic in it. Two other groups of poets have lately come up, who preach substantially the same gospel. The first call themselves *Les poètes de l'École française*, and have published in common *La foi nouvelle* (Sept., 1902), a book of verses containing sample productions of their lyre. The second, headed by Fernand Gregh, raised, early in 1903, the flag of a new Humanism.¹

ALBERT SCHINZ.

¹See a fair criticism of the new "Humanisme," in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 Janv. 1903, by Doumic.

IX.—CYNEWULF AND ALCUIN.

Attention has been called by Prof. A. S. Cook¹ to an interesting parallel between the description of the Day of Judgment in Cynewulf's *Elene*, vv. 1277-1320, and a passage in Alcuin's *De Fide Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis*.² Prof. Cook believes that the correspondences between these two passages are so complete as to prove the dependence of Cynewulf upon Alcuin. Inasmuch as Alcuin's treatise was not written until 802-4 A. D., Cynewulf's dependence, if established, would oblige us to throw the *Elene*, and perhaps the rest of the Cynewulfian poetry, into the 9th century. The vital importance of such a conclusion to the whole question of Cynewulf's date and identity is apparent.

The substance of Prof. Cook's argument is that, in describing the purgatorial ordeal, both Cynewulf and Alcuin exhibit certain variations from orthodox Catholic theology, which are not to be found elsewhere before the appearance of Alcuin's treatise. It is of course difficult, if not impossible, to believe that the learned Alcuin took his theological peculiarities from the Anglo-Saxon poet. Consequently Cynewulf must have depended upon Alcuin for his purgatorial conceptions. Or, as Prof. Cook sums up the case: "The doctrine of Cynewulf and Alcuin was first formulated by the latter, as an independent development based upon preëxisting hints, but . . . it never obtained the currency which attached to the opinions of the more authoritative Gregory. Hence, though sustained for a time by the personal adherents of Alcuin, or by the Occidental wing of the Roman church, it would gradually yield to a more orthodox or more prevalent view, and finally disappear altogether."³

¹ *Anglia*, Vol. xv, 1892, pp. 9 ff.; cf. also the *Christ of Cynewulf*, ed. A. S. Cook, 1900, pp. lxix-lxx.

² Liber III, cap. 21, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. CI, p. 53. ³ *Anglia*, xv, p. 20.

But before consenting to place the stigma of eschatological heresy upon two such pious churchmen as Alcuin and Cynewulf, whose reputations have hitherto been untarnished, let us consider in detail those peculiarities in the purgatorial descriptions, to which our attention has been called.

I.

1. The first and most important point relates to the time at which the purgatorial ordeal is to take place. In the Alcuin passage and the *Elene*, Prof. Cook finds, "*the representation of a purgatorial fire on the Day of Judgment, through which not only sinners, but even the highest saints, must pass.*" On the other hand, according to Prof. Cook, "in the more familiar conception of purgatory, it belongs to a state intermediate between death and the final judgment."¹ This, of course, is perfectly true with respect to the purgatorial doctrine as it was finally elaborated by Gregory the Great. And it is to be noted that none of the purgatorial descriptions quoted in Prof. Cook's article as remote parallels to Alcuin and Cynewulf are earlier than Augustine.² Among the earlier Fathers, however, the doctrine of a purgatory after the resurrection found very general acceptance. The editors of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, in a note on a passage in Lactantius, call attention to the wide currency of this opinion among the early Fathers:

"Poenas animarum et praemia differi in diem iudicii universalis post corporum resurrectionem, atque eas interim in una communi custodia detineri Lactantius est opinatus. . . . Idem senserunt et quidem antiquorum Patrum."³

¹*Anglia*, xv, p. 13.

² Prof. Cook quotes from the purgatorial descriptions of Caesarius of Arles (Pseudo-Augustine), Bede, Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Ælfric. The general resemblance between these passages and the descriptions of purgatory in the Anglo-Saxon poets had already been noted by Waller Deering (*The Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day*, 1890, pp. 23 and 27).

³ Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. vi, col. 802, note.

Pseudo-Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, and Victorinus are cited as sharing this opinion as to the time of the purgatorial ordeal. To this list still other names might be added. Let us undertake briefly to follow the course of this doctrine of a Judgment-Day purgatory as it was developed by the Ancient Fathers.

If we look for the starting point of the doctrine we must, of course, begin with the Scriptures themselves, from whence the materials for the patristic descriptions were chiefly drawn. Passing by the visions of the Apocalypse, which easily lend themselves to this interpretation, we find three Biblical passages which are woven into the fabric of the purgatorial doctrine: (1) the description of the conflagration of the world at the last day, in II Peter 3:10-12; (2) the declaration that the Lord shall come like a refiner's fire to purge the sons of Levi, Mal. 3:2-3; (3) the description of the fire that shall try every man's work, I Cor. 3:12-15.

In the writings of Origen (185-254 A. D.), these three passages are found already organized into a thoroughly developed notion of the Judgment-day ordeal. Referring to the scoffs of Celsus at the idea of a world conflagration, Origen replied:—

“Ignorat, quod etiam quibusdam Graecorum visum est et quod fortasse ab antiquissima Hebraeorum gente acceperant, ignem mundo inferri lustralem, aut fortasse poenae simul et remedii loco futurum, prout cuique opus erit: ignem, qui uret quidem, non vero consumet eos, in quibus non erit materia quae confici debeat; uret autem et consumet eos, qui in construendo actionum, sermonum, cogitationumque, ut ita dicam, aedificio ligna, foenum et stipulam adhibuerint. Docent etiam divinae scripturae Dominum *ut ignem conflatorii et herbam fullonum* ad eos accessurum esse, qui propter commixtam quamdam ex malitia materiam igne indigent, quo illa aeris, stanni plumbique permixtio quasi confletur.”¹

That all men would need such a purgatorial process at the resurrection, Origen distinctly affirmed:—

¹ *Contra Cels.*, Lib. v, 15, ed. DelaRue, 1733, Vol. I, p. 588.

“Ego puto, quod et post resurrectionem ex mortuis indigeamus sacramento eluente nos atque purgante: nemo enim absque sordibus resurgere poterit.”¹

Compare also a passage in the Sixth Homily on Exodus: “Veniendum est ergo omnibus ad ignem, veniendum est ad conflatorium. Sedet enim Dominus, et conflatur, et purgatur filios Juda.”² Also in his third Homily on the 36th Psalm, Origen gives a more detailed account of the fire at the last day which should try the works of every man, even Peter and Paul:—

“Si vero in hac vita contemnimus commentis nos divinae scripturae verba, et curari vel emendari ejus correptionibus nolumus, certum est quia manet nos ignis ille qui praeparatus est peccatoribus, et veniemus ad illum ignem in quo uniuscujusque opus quale sit ignis probabit. Et (ut ego arbitror) omnes nos venire necesse est ad illum ignem. Etiam si Paulus sit aliquis vel Petrus, venit tamen ad illum ignem. Sed illi tales audiunt: *Etiam si per ignem transeas, flamma non adurat te.* Si vero aliquis similis mei peccator sit, veniet quidem ad ignem illum sicut Petrus et Paulus, sed non sic transiet sicut Petrus et Paulus.”³

Among the Greek Fathers, Origen’s conception of a purifying ordeal at the Judgment-day does not seem to have exerted wide influence. Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390 A. D.) shows, in at least one passage, an unmistakable reflection of Origen’s doctrine, but he touches upon it with some caution:—

“In altero aevo igni fortasse baptizabuntur; qui postremus est baptismus, nec solum acerbior sed et diuturnior, qui crassam materiam instar feni deprecatur, ac omnis vitii levitatem absumit.”⁴

In the writings of Gregory of Nyssa (ca. 331–400), one finds a more detailed statement of this purgatorial ordeal.

¹ In *Lucam Hom.*, XIV, ed. DelaRue, Vol. III, p. 948 A.

² Ed. DelaRue, Vol. II, p. 148 B.

³ Ed. DelaRue, Vol. II, p. 663–4. In addition, cf. Origen’s *16th Homily on Jeremiah*, DelaRue, Vol. III, p. 231–2; and *2nd Homily on I. Kings 28*, DelaRue, Vol. II, p. 498.

⁴ *Orat.* XXXIX, 19, Migne, *Patrolog. Graeca*, Vol. 36, col. 358; cf. also *Orat.* XL, *Ibid.*, col. 730.

A sentence may be cited from his *De Anima et Resurrectione*:—

“Ac quemadmodum illi qui auro materiam immistam per ignem expurgant, non solum id quod adulterinum est igne liquefaciunt, sed omnino necessarium est, ut purum quoque una cum adulterino, improbo atque corrupto liquefiat, atque hoc consumpto illud maneat: eodem modo plane necesse est, ut dum vitiositas purgatorio igni absimitur, anima quoque, quae cum vitiositate unita est, in igne sit, donec id quod inspersione est adulterinum, materiale atque fucatum et corruptum totum aboleatur igne consumptum.”¹

But in general it must be said that the notion of a purgatorial ordeal made but slight impression upon the early Greek Fathers. However, when one turns to the early Latin Fathers the case is strikingly different. Not only the main outlines of Origen’s doctrine, but also the very phrases and illustrations of his purgatorial descriptions, meet us again in the writings of the early Latin Fathers.

Among the Latin Fathers, the earliest description of the Judgment-day ordeal which I have noted occurs in the following passage from the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius (ca. 265—ca. 325 A. D.). The figures in parenthesis are of my own addition:—

“(1) Idem igitur divinus ignis una eademque vi atque potentia, et cremabit impios, et recreabit, et quantum e corporibus absumet, tantum reponet. . . . Sed et justos cum judicaverit, etiam in igni eos examinabit. (2) Tum quorum peccata vel pondere, vel numero praevaluerint, perstringentur igni atque amburentur: (3) quos autem plena justitia et maturitas virtutis incoxerit, ignem illum non sentient; habent enim aliquid in se Dei, quod vim flammae repellat, ac respuat. Tanta vis est innocentiae, ut ab ea ignis ille refugiat innoxius; qui accepit a Deo hanc potentiam, ut impios urat, justis obtemperet.”²

Hilary (300—367 A. D.) tells us that on the day of Judgment men must be subjected to the unwearied flame, “in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandae a peccatis animae

¹ Migne, *Patrolog. Graeca*, Vol. 46, col. 99.

² Lib. VII, cap. 21, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. VI, col. 802.

supplicia." Not even the Blessed Mary herself will escape this ordeal.¹

When we come to Ambrose (ca. 340–397 A. D.) we find the fiery ordeal of the Judgment-day described with elaborate detail. One of the most significant of these descriptions occurs in his Commentary on Ps. 36. The passage is of such importance that it must be quoted at length:—

"*Ignē nos examinasti, dicit David. Ergo omnes igne examinabimur. Et Ezechiel dicit (Mal. 3: 2–3): Ecce venit Dominus omnipotens; et quis sustinebit diem introitus ejus; aut quis sustinebit cum apparuerit nobis? Quoniam ipse introibit sicut ignis conflatorii et sicut alveus lavantium; et sedebit conflans et purgans sicut aurum et argentum: et purgabit filios Levi, et effundet eos sicut aurum, et sicut argentum, et erunt Domino offerentes sacrificium in aequitate. Ignē ergo purgabuntur filii Levi, igne Ezechiel, igne Daniel. Sed hi etsi per ignem examinabuntur, dicant tamen: *Transivimus per ignem et aquam.* Alii in igne remanebunt: illis rorabit ignis, ut Hebraeis pueris, qui incendio fornacis ardentis objecti sunt; ministros autem impietatis ultor ignis exuret. Vae mihi si opus meum arserit, et laboris hujus patiar detrimentum! Et si salvos faciet Dominus servos suos, salvi erimus per fidem, sic tamen salvi quasi per ignem; et si non exurimur, tamen uremur. Quomodo tamen alii remaneant in igne, alii pertranseant, alio loco nos docet Scriptura divina. Nempe in mare Rubrum demersus populus est Ægyptiorum, transivit autem populus Hebraeorum; Moyses pertransivit, praecipitatus est Pharaō: quoniam graviora eum peccata meruerunt. Eo modo praecipitabuntur sacrilegi in lacum ignis ardentis, qui superba in Deum jactare convicia."*²

The many points of resemblance between this description by Ambrose and the Alcuin passage need not be pointed out in detail. It will not escape notice that the allusion to the Hebrew youths in the fiery furnace is common to both.

In another place Ambrose tells us that this purgatorial ordeal is the baptism by fire to which Christ referred. This fiery baptism is to take place, "post consummationem saeculi." Even such saints as Peter and John must pass through this

¹Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. ix, col. 522; cf. also Hilary's *Treatise on Ps. 65* (*Ibid.*, col. 432). In this later passage, however, it is not certain that he is referring to the ordeal at the Judgment-day.

²Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xiv, col. 980–1.

fire. The result of the purging flame shall be to cleanse the soul from sin, as gold is refined from dross: "Veniatur ergo ignis consumens, exurat in nobis plumbum iniquitatis, ferrum peccati, faciatque nos aurum sincerum."¹

In the writings of Jerome (345-420 A. D.) one finds again a reflection of Origen's doctrine of a Judgment-day purgatory, though Jerome's allusions are neither so frequent nor so detailed as those of Ambrose. In his Commentary on the Book of Amos, Jerome makes the ten tribes of Israel represent the heretics, while he likens the two tribes of Judah

"ad Ecclesiam et Ecclesiae peccatores, qui confitentur quidem rectam fidem, sed propter vitiorum sordes purgantibus se indigent flammis: ideo nunc Dominus ad ignem iudicium vocare se monstrat: ut uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probet," etc.²

In his Commentary on Isaiah, Jerome also gives a description of the fiery purging of those who have built wood, hay and stubble, connecting this ordeal with the last Judgment.³ But it is clear from this passage that Jerome did not share the opinion of the earlier Fathers, that even the saints were to be subjected to this ordeal. Instead, he represents it as taking place "before the eyes of all the saints."

It is with Augustine that the first important modification of the early doctrine appears. Neither in Origen nor in the Latin Fathers before Augustine, does one find the slightest suggestion of a purgatorial ordeal in the intermediate state. By all, the fiery cleansing was associated with the events of the last day. Ambrose, indeed, expressly states that, during the period between death and the Judgment, souls are held in a state of suspense.⁴ Augustine was apparently the first to suggest that there might be a purgatorial ordeal in the

¹ Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xv, col. 1227-8; cf. further Ambrose, *In Ps. 1. Enarratio*, Migne, Vol. xiv, col. 950-2.

² Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xxv, col. 1071.

³ Migne, *Patrol.*, xxiv, col. 677-8.

⁴ "Solvitur corpore anima, et post finem vitae hujus adhuc tamen futuri iudicii ambiguo suspenditur" (Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xiv, col. 344).

interval between death and the general resurrection.¹ It is noticeable that, though offering this suggestion of an intermediate purgatory, Augustine declines to give his own authority to it. Again, in his Commentary on Ps. 57:8, Augustine shows some uncertainty as to the time when the purgatorial ordeal is to take place: he says it will occur "at that time when we shall have departed out of this life, or when at the end of the world men shall have come to the resurrection of the dead."² It is clear that Augustine never really abandoned the idea of a fiery purging at the Judgment-day. Prof. Cook has already cited his description of the conflagration of the world at the last day.³ A still clearer reflection of Origen's Judgment-day purgatory is to be found in Augustine's Commentary on Ps. 118. I quote a few sentences:—

"Veniet et caminus. . . . Vespera enim illa finis est saeculi; et caminus ille, veniens dies iudicii. Divisit inter media illa quae divisa erant, etiam caminus. . . . Veniet caminus, et ad dextram poni sine camino non poterit."

Then follows an exposition of the "wood, hay and stubble" passage, concluding:—

"*Ipsae autem, inquit, salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem. Hoc aget caminus; alios in sinistram separabit, alios in dextram quodammodo eliquabit.*"⁴

But in Augustine's Judgment-day ordeal it is clear that the earlier notion of a fire through which even the saints must pass has been definitely abandoned. The operation of the fire is restricted to the wicked and to those Christians whose sins have not been expiated by penance. The saints,

¹ *De Civitate Dei*, XXI, 26; Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. XLI, col. 745.

² Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. XXXVII, col. 686.

³ *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. XX, cap. 18, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. XLI, col. 684.

⁴ Migne, *Patrol.*, XXXVII, col. 1362-3; cf. also Augustine's *Enchiridion*, Migne, Vol. XL, col. 265.

on the other hand, are represented as high above the reach of the flame.¹

It is noteworthy that Augustine's disciple, Caesarius of Arles (469-542 A. D.), continued to maintain the doctrine of the Judgment-day purgatory in a description very similar to those of Ambrose :

"Recapitulatio. Sors triplex hominum in iudicio.

. . . . (1) Omnes sancti qui Deo fideliter serviunt, lectioni et orationi vacare, et in bonis operibus perseverare contendunt, nec capitalia crimina, nec minuta peccata, id est, ligna, fenum et stipulam supra fundamentum Christi, sed bona opera, id est, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos superaedificantes, per ignem illum, de quo dicit Apostolus, *Quia in igne revelabitur*, absque ulla violatione transibunt. (2) Illi vero, qui quamvis capitalia crimina non admittant, et ad perpetranda minuta peccata sunt faciles, et ad redimenda sunt negligentes; ad vitam aeternam, pro eo quod in Christam crediderunt, et capitalia peccata non admiserunt, venturi sunt: sed prius aut in hoc saeculo per Dei justitiam vel misericordiam, sicut jam dictum est, amarissimis tribulationibus sunt excoquendi, aut illi ipsi per multas eleemosynas, et praecipue dum inimicis suis clementer indulgent, per Dei misericordiam liberandi; aut certe illo igne, de quo dicit Apostolus, longo tempore cruciandi, ut ad vitam aeternam sine macula et ruga perveniant. (3) Illi vero qui aut homicidium, aut sacrilegium, aut adulterium, vel reliqua his similia commiserunt, sicut jam dictum est, si eis digna poenitentia non subvenerit, non per purgatorium ignem transire merebuntur ad vitam, sed aeterno incendio praecipitabuntur ad mortem."²

Prof. Cook admits the similarity between this passage and Alcuin's, but distinguishes Alcuin's conception from that of Caesarius on the ground "that the latter, in speaking of purgatorial torment, allows that it may be inflicted in this life. Alcuin, on the other hand, knows nothing of the alternative."³ But Caesarius really says nothing more than that the tribulations which one endures in this life, and the good deeds which one performs, diminish by so much the purgatorial pains of the Judgment-day ordeal. This is a

¹ Cf. *Commentary on Ps. 104: 12*, Migne, *Patrol.*, xxxvii, col. 1362-3; also *De Civit. Dei*, Lib. xx, 18 and 21, Migne, *Patrol.*, xli, cols. 684 and 692.

² Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xxxix, col. 1949; cf. also the opening section of the sermon, col. 1946.

³ Cook's *Christ of Cynewulf*, p. lxix.

commonplace in homiletic literature, to which Alcuin would no doubt have given ready assent. The fact remains that Caesarius here affirms a purgatorial ordeal in connection with the Judgment, through which all men—even the saints—must pass.

In the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604 A. D.), the doctrine of a purgatory in the intermediate state found its first authoritative statement. Gregory's representations of purgatory are substantially those which survive in Catholic dogma to-day. They are so familiar that it is unnecessary to illustrate them by quotations. But, though the intermediate purgatory of Gregory was eventually adopted by the Roman church, it did not immediately drive out the Judgment-day purgatory of the earlier Fathers. One still finds after Gregory's time echoes of the older purgatorial descriptions of Origen and Ambrose. The passages in the *Elene* and in Alcuin's treatise are excellent examples of the continued influence of the earlier conception. Both in representing the purgatorial ordeal as taking place on the Judgment-day, and in making even the saints pass through the fire, Cynewulf and Alcuin are strictly faithful to the ideas of the Fathers before Augustine.¹

2. The second of the peculiarities which Prof. Cook finds in the purgatorial descriptions of Cynewulf and Alcuin is: "*All men are divided into three groups (viz. impii, sancti, justi) which are variously dealt with by the purgatorial flame.*"

Returning to Origen, we find, in his purgatorial description in the Sixth Homily on Exodus, what is in effect a three-fold division, though the classes are not explicitly named (the figures in parenthesis are my own):—

¹ Bellarmine (*De Purgatorio*, Lib. II, cap. 1), discussing Alcuin's representation that the saints also pass through the purgatorial fire, expressly states that he was not the first who held this view. After citing other cases from the Fathers, he refers to the Vision of Fursey (Bede, *Ecol. Hist.*, Lib. III, cap. 19) as affording another instance of this conception.

“Sed et illuc cum venitur, (1) si quis multa opera bona, et parum aliquid iniquitatis attulerit, illud parum tanquam plumbum igni resolvitur ac purgatur, et totum remanet aurum purum. (2) Et si quis plus illuc plumbi detulerit, plus exurit, ut amplius decoquatur, ut etsi parum aliquid sit auri, purgatum tamen resideat. (3) Quod si aliquis illuc totus plumbeus venerit, fiet de illo hoc quod scriptum est, demergetur in profundum, tanquam plumbum in aquam validissimam.”¹

The various effect of the flame upon the several classes is plainly distinguished. Perhaps we may compare also a passage in Origen's Commentary on Romans (Lib. iv, 11), in which men are definitely divided into three classes—*impii*, *peccatores* and *infirmi*.² The *impii* are the pagans; the *peccatores* those who sin wilfully; the *infirmi* those who endeavor to live righteously, but through weakness fall short of their good intentions. Inasmuch as Origen clearly affirms that there is no man without sin, he appears to embrace all men in these three classes.

In Lactantius, the three-fold division of mankind in the purgatorial fire comes out more explicitly. In the passage already quoted (see above, p. 312) the groups are stated as (1) “impios,” (2) “justos,” (3) “quos autem plena justitia et maturitas virtutis incoxerit” (*i. e.* the saints).

Coming to Ambrose, we find that he formally divides mankind at the resurrection into three “ordines:”—(1) “justi,” (2) “peccatores,” (3) “impii.” The most explicit statement of these three “ordines” is to be found in his exposition of the doctrine of the first and second resurrections:—

“Ergo *impii non resurgunt in judicio*: hoc est, in portionem eorum qui judicium subituri sunt; *nec peccatores resurgunt in consilio justorum*. Vides quia surgunt *impii* et non surgunt in judicio justorum, quia peccatores etsi non resurgunt in consilio justorum; resurgunt tamen in judicio. Unde videntur qui bene crediderunt, et fidem suam etiam operibus exsecuti sunt, ipsi non judicari sed surgere in consilio justorum: peccatores autem qui non possunt inter justos surgere, surgent in judicio. Habes duos ordines. Tertius superest impiorum, qui quoniam non crediderunt jam judicati sunt; et ideo non surgunt in judicio, sed ad poenam.”³

¹ Ed. DelaRue, Vol. II, p. 148.

² Ed. DelaRue, Vol. IV, p. 541.

³ Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. XIV, col. 950-2; cf. also Ambrose, *In Ps. 118 Expositio*, Migne, xv, col. 1266-7.

This belief in a first and second resurrection was a feature of the chiliastic conceptions which prevailed in the church for several centuries, but died out soon after the time of Ambrose. We need not concern ourselves with them here. For our present purpose the significance of this passage in Ambrose lies in its clear recognition of the three-fold division of mankind at the last day.

Finally, in the passage from Caesarius of Arles already quoted (see above, p. 316), the three-fold division of men in the purgatorial fire is again clearly set forth, as I have indicated by the figures in parenthesis.

Obviously, therefore, it cannot be maintained that there was any savor of novelty in Alcuin's three-fold division of mankind.

The remaining points enumerated by Prof. Cook as peculiar features of the *Elene* and Alcuin passages may be dealt with more briefly. They have really been covered by the quotations from the Fathers already considered.

3. "*The righteous experience but little suffering in the flame.*" This is a commonplace in the purgatorial descriptions of the early Fathers. In the passage from Origen already quoted (see above, p. 311), he tells us that when such as Peter and Paul come to the purgatorial fire they shall hear the words: "Though thou pass through the fire the flame shall not scorch thee." Lactantius likewise affirms that the just will not feel the fire, but that their innocence will repel the force of the flame (see above, p. 312). Ambrose repeatedly expresses the same notion. The just, he tells us, shall be like the three Hebrew youths who received no injury in the fiery furnace (see above, p. 313). One may refer also to the exposition of I. Cor. 3:15 by "Ambrosiaster" or pseudo-Ambrose, in a commentary on Paul's Epistles, written between 366 and 384 A. D. I quote a single sentence:—

"Cum enim nihil in illo sordis inventum fuerit pravae doctrinae, ut in bono auro; ita erit ut tres fratres in camino ignis, mercedem vitam aeter-

nam cum gloria accepturus: quia sicut aurum et argentum et lapides quos ignis non consumit; ita et bonus magister incorruptibilis permanebit."¹

This treatise was from early times accepted as by Ambrose himself. Indeed, it is explicitly attributed to Ambrose by Alcuin's disciple, Haymo (who died in 813). Finally, it will be recalled that Caesarius of Arles represents the saints as passing through the fire "absque ulla violatione" (see above, p. 316).

4. *"The partly sinful are purified, and made worthy of the glory of Eternal blessedness."*

This point need not detain us, for the references already cited, as well as many others which might be added, show that this was the universal doctrine of the Fathers.

5. *"The impious are thrust down from the torment of the purgatorial fire to perpetual flames."*

Here again is a common-place, repeated in varying phrases by all the Fathers whose writings have been quoted. "If anyone is found wholly leaden," wrote Origen, "he shall be cast down into the depths, like lead in the mighty waters" (see above, p. 318). Ambrose compares the fate of the wicked to that of the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea: "Thus the sacrilegious shall be precipitated into the lake of glowing fire" (see above, p. 313). We may compare also Caesarius' statement that the greater sinners "shall be hurled down to death in the eternal fire" (see above, p. 316).

6. *"To the three-fold division succeeds a two-fold into abandoned sinners and the righteous."*

Surely this is nothing more than the universal representation of Catholic theology that the final consequences of the last Judgment will be eternal bliss for the righteous and everlasting punishment for the wicked.

¹ Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xvii, col. 199-200.

We have now completed our examination of the several points cited by Prof. Cook as peculiarities of the purgatorial descriptions of Alcuin and the *Elene*. Perhaps we have unnecessarily multiplied quotations from the Fathers. It has been our purpose, however, to show not merely that a parallel could be found in the Fathers for the purgatorial conceptions of Cynewulf and Alcuin, but that these conceptions were so widely prevalent, especially among the Latin Fathers before Augustine, that they must have been familiar to any 8th century author who was at all versed in patristic lore.

So far as the Alcuin passage is concerned, I have been fortunate enough to discover its immediate sources. The larger part is taken almost verbatim from a sermon by St. Eligius, Bishop of Noyon, who died in 659 or 665. Into this extract from Eligius, Alcuin has thrust several sentences from Augustine's *Enchiridion*. Altogether, the Alcuin passage is an extraordinary mosaic. A comparison of his text with his sources, in the double column below, sheds a valuable light upon the literary methods of Alcuin's time.

ELIGIUS.¹

"De quo igne iudicii Dei, Apostolus ait: *Uniuscujusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit*, quod de igne purgatorio eum dixisse non est dubitandum. Quem ignem aliter impii sentient, aliter sancti, aliter justii. Impii siquidem de illius ignis cruciatu ad perpetuas ignium flammam detrudentur; sancti vero qui sine omni peccatorum macula in corporibus suis resurgent, quia *super fundamentum* quod Christus est, *aurum, argentum et lapides pretiosos*, id est, sensum fidei lucidum, eloquium salutis clarum, et opera pretiosa

ALCUIN.²

"De igne diei iudicii Apostolus ait: *Uniuscujusque opus quale sit, ignis declarabit*. De igne purgatorio hoc eum dixisse non est dubitandum, quem ignem aliter impii sentient, aliter sancti, aliter justii. Impii siquidem de illius ignis cruciatu ad perpetuas ignium flammam detrudentur. Sancti vero, qui sine omni peccatorum macula in corporibus suis resurgent, qui *supra fundamentum*, quod est Christus, *aurum, argentum et lapides pretiosos*

¹ Homily VIII: *In die Coenae Dom.*, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. LXXXVII, col. 619.

² Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. CI, col. 53.

ELIGIUS.

aedificaverunt, tanta facultate illi igni praevallebunt quanta integritate fidei et dilectionis Christi in hac vita custodierint praecepta.

Erunt ergo quidem justi minutis quibusdam peccatis obnoxii, qui aedificaverunt supra fundamentum, quod est Christus, fenum, ligna, stipulam, quae significant levium peccatorum diversitatem, a quibus non digne adhuc expurgati inveniuntur cum coelestis civitatis gloria digni inveniuntur.

Illo quoque transitorio igne, et toto extremi iudicii die completo,—

ALCUIN.

aedificaverunt, tanta facilitate illum pervolabunt ignem, quanta integritate fidei, et dilectionis Christi in hac vita custodierunt praecepta, eritque illis ille ignis diei iudicii, sicut tribus pueris caminus Babyloniae fornacis fuerat, qui absque omni flammarum laesione in Domini laudes omnium pulchritudinem creaturarum convocabant.

Sunt ergo quidam justi minutis quibusdam peccatis obnoxii, qui aedificaverunt supra fundamentum, quod est Christus, fenum, ligna, stipulas, quae illius ignis ardore purgantur, a quibus mundati, aeternae felicitatis digni efficiuntur gloria.

Illoque transitorio igne, et toto extremi diei iudicio completo,

AUGUSTINE.¹

“Post resurrectionem vero facto universo completoque iudicio, suos fines habebunt civitates duae, una scilicet Christi, altera diaboli; una bonorum, altera malorum; utraque tamen et angelorum et hominum.

Istis voluntas, illis facultas non poterit ulla esse peccandi, vel ulla conditio moriendi; istis in aeterna vita vere feliciterque viventibus, illis infeliciter in aeterna morte sine moriendi potestate durantibus, quoniam utriusque sine fine.”

ELIGIUS.

—unusquisque secundum modum meritorum, aut damnabitur, aut coronabitur.”

dividentur duae congregationes, sanctorum et impiorum; una Christi, altera diaboli; una bonorum, altera malorum; utraque angelorum et hominum.

Istis voluntas, illis facultas non poterit ulla esse peccandi, nec ulla conditio moriendi; istis in aeterna vita vere feliciterque viventibus, illis infeliciter in aeternis tormentis sine moriendi potestate durantibus. Quoniam utique extremi iudicii ventilabrum discernit frumentum a paleis;

unusquisque secundum modum meritorum aut damnabitur, aut coronabitur. Quidam videlicet juxta

¹ *Enchiridion*, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. XL, col. 284.

ALCUIN.

peccatorum qualitatem mitius torquentur, qui minore scelerum pondere gravantur. Sunt etiam et sanctorum merita diversa; quorum quisque secundum meritorum magnitudinem aeternae recipiet praemia beatitudinis. Quod ipse Dominus in Evangelio significabat dicens: in domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt (Joan. 14, 2); sed nemo in illis alicujus laetitiae, vel beatitudinis sentiet detrimentum, quia unicuique sufficet, quod accipiet, quia Christus erit omnia in omnibus (Coloss. 3, 11)."

Even the comparison of the experience of the saints in the flame to the youths in the fiery furnace, which Alcuin has inserted into his extract from Eligius, was not original. It is found in very similar language in the purgatorial descriptions of Ambrose (see above, p. 313), and Ambrosiaster (see above, p. 319). The last three sentences of the Alcuin passage (beginning "Quidam videlicet juxta," etc.) appear to be drawn more or less directly from the writings of Augustine. Compare Augustine's account of the gradation of the punishments of the wicked in hell in his *City of God*.¹ The description of the diverse rewards of the saints in heaven according to their merits, is found in similar phrases in Augustine's "De Sancte Virginitate."²

We are thus able to account for everything in the Alcuin passage, excepting certain grammatical changes. Surely no man deserves less than Alcuin to lie under the suspicion of originating a heresy.

II.

It remains to ask how the case stands with the passage in the *Elene*. Is it possible still to maintain that the purgatorial

¹ Lib. XXI, 16, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. XLI, col. 731.

² Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. XL, col. 410.

conceptions of the *Elene*, though not originating with Alcuin, may yet have been first received by the Anglo-Saxon poet from the pages of Alcuin's treatise? On the face of it, such an argument would be extremely precarious, if not absolutely impossible. In the first place, it will be noted that whatever resemblances exist between the descriptions in Alcuin and the *Elene* consist in similarities of idea, not of phrase. Prof. Cook does not attempt to carry the parallel further than this. Indeed, there is not a single phrase in the Anglo-Saxon description which could be pointed to as a direct reminiscence of the Alcuin passage.

Again, such an argument would oblige us to deny to Cynewulf a first-hand acquaintance with patristic literature. But in his edition of the *Christ*, Prof. Cook himself has pointed out more than one passage which seemed to be a reminiscence of Ambrose, and at least three passages which directly depend upon Caesarius of Arles.¹ Furthermore, if Cynewulf was also the author of the Phoenix, as Prof. Cook is inclined to believe,² he must have been acquainted with the works of Lactantius.³

It may also be pointed out that a comparison of the Judgment-day passage in the *Elene* with those of the *Christ* involves Prof. Cook's theory in a further difficulty. In his article in *Anglia*, Prof. Cook notes the fact that, in the *Christ*, Cynewulf shows none of the peculiar features of the purgatorial description in the *Elene*. "Can this indicate," he asks, "that at the time of its composition he was not yet acquainted with the teaching of Alcuin?"⁴ Evidently Prof. Cook has since abandoned the explanation which he suggests here, for

¹ Cook's *Cynewulf's Christ*, pp. 193, 210, and 217.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxiv.

³ Prof. Cook points to the fact that a copy of Lactantius was in the York Library in Cynewulf's time, and believes that our poet might easily have read it there. But the York Library contained, beside Lactantius, the works of Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, Augustine, and numerous other theological treatises.

⁴ *Anglia*, Vol. xv, p. 17.

in his edition of the *Christ*, he is confident that the picture was written first, though "the interval between the two can hardly have been very long."¹ Prof. Cook's theory, therefore, obliges us to suppose that Cynewulf, in his earlier work, met with the Judgment-day purgatory for the first time in Alcuin's treatise and adopted it in the *Elene*, only to discard it soon after in the *Christ*. Cynewulf must thus have changed his purgatorial conceptions twice after he had reached old age. This difficulty disappears if we suppose that both in the *Elene* and the *Christ*, Cynewulf drew the outlines of his picture from the writings of various Fathers, but without being conscious that there was any essential inconsistency between them.² In the former he was more directly influenced by the descriptions of the Judgment-day purgatory in the works of such Fathers as Ambrose and Caesarius. In the latter, on the other hand, the influence of Augustine and Gregory seems to have been stronger.

But, before going further, let us look at the passage in the *Elene*:

- 1276 Swa þeos world eall gewiteð,
 ond eac swa some, þe hire on wurdon
 atydrede, tionleg nimeð,
 ðonne dryhten sylf dom geseceð
 1280 engla weorude. Sceall æghwylc ðær
 reordberendra riht gehyran
 dæda gehwylcra þurh þæs deman muð
 ond worda swa same wed gesyllan,
 eallra unsnyttro ær gesprecnra,
 1285 þristra gebonca. þonne on þreo dæleð
 in fyres feng folc anra gehwylc,
 þara þe gewurdon on widan feore
 ofer sidne grund. Soðfæste bioð
 yfemest in þam ade, eadigra gedryht,
 1290 duguð domgeorne, swa hie adreogan magon

¹ Cook's *Christ of Cynewulf*, p. lxx.

² Alcuin also affords elsewhere a Judgment-day description which wholly lacks the special purgatorial features which we have been considering (*Adversus Elipandum*, Lib. III, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. CI, col. 277).

- 120 earfeðum eaðe gebolian,
 125 gra mægen : him gemetgaþ eall
 130 es leoma, swa him eðost bið,
 135 sylfum geseftost. Synfulle beoð
 140 mane gemengde in ðam midle þread
 145 hæleð higegeomre in hatne wylm,
 150 þrosme beþehte. Bið se þridða dæl,
 155 awyrgeðe womsceaðan in þæs wylmes grund,
 160 lease leodhatan lige befested
 1300 þurh ærgewyrht, arleasra sceolu
 1305 in gleda gripe. Gode no syððan
 1310 of ðam morðorhose in gemynd cumað,
 1315 wuldorcynige, ac hie worpene beoð
 1320 of ðam heaðuwylme in helle grund,
 1325 torngeniðlan. Bið þam twam dælum
 1330 ungelice : moton engla frean
 1335 geseon, sigora god ; hie asodene beoð,
 1340 asundrod fram synnum swa smæte gold,
 1345 þæt in wylme bið womma gehwylces
 1350 þurh ofnes fyr eall geclænsod,
 1355 amered ond gemylded : swa bið þara manna ælc
 1360 ascyred ond asceaden scylda gehwylcere,
 1365 deopra firena þurh þæs domes fyr.
 1370 Moton þonne siðþan sybbe brucan,
 1375 eces eadwelan ; him bið engla weard
 1380 milde ond bliðe, þæs ðe hie mana gehwylc
 1385 forsawon, synna weorc, ond to suna metudes
 1390 wordum cleopodon. Forðan hie nu on wlite scinaþ
 1395 englum gelice, yrfes brucaþ
 1400 1320 wuldorcyniges to widan feore. Amen.

It will hardly be necessary to enter upon a detailed analysis of this passage. It will be seen that there are no elements in Cynewulf's description which could not have been derived from the purgatorial representations of the Fathers, quoted in the preceding pages. Indeed, quite as strong a case might be made out for Cynewulf's dependence on the homily of St. Eligius, as for his dependence on Alcuin's treatise. For it will be noted that all the points of resemblance upon which Prof. Cook has laid stress fall within that portion of the Alcuin passage which was borrowed from Eligius. As for the concluding sentences of the Alcuin passage, which de-

scribe the gradation of the eternal joys of
and of the punishments of the wicked in hell,
without a parallel in the *Elene*.

I think it can be shown, however, that the Anglo-Saxon poet was not depending either on Alcuin or on Eligius. For when one closely compares the description in the *Elene* with the Eligius-Alcuin passage, several significant points of difference appear.

1. The opening lines (1276 b-1285 a) have no parallel in Eligius-Alcuin. These verses seem to be a direct reminiscence of the Scriptures themselves. Thus

Cf. 1276 b.-1278 with II Peter 3:10-12.

Cf. 1279-1282 with Matt. 16:27: "For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds."

Cf. 1283-1285 a with Matt. 12:36: "And I say unto you that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of Judgment."

2. The Eligius-Alcuin purgatorial description has as its central motif the "wood, hay and stubble" passage in I. Cor. 3:12-15. Indeed that portion of the passage which deals with the purgatorial ordeal itself, is largely devoted to the exposition of this Pauline figure. On the other hand, in the *Elene* the burning of the "wood, hay and stubble" is not once mentioned. Instead we find the figure of refining gold in the smelting-furnace (vv. 1307-1313). Is it likely that, if Cynewulf had been depending on the Eligius-Alcuin description of purgatory, he would have completely ignored the very figure on which it was based? In this connection it will be recalled that the figure of the smelting-furnace is very frequently found in the purgatorial descriptions of the Fathers. Is it likely that the occurrence of the smelting-furnace figure in both Cynewulf and the early Fathers was a mere coincidence?

3. In the *Elene*, the three groups which share in the purgatorial ordeal, are: (1) "soðfæste," (2) "synfulla," (3)

Alcuin's three groups, on the other hand, are "sancti," (3) "justi." Perhaps one ought not attach much significance to the different order in which these three groups are mentioned and described. The poet might have changed the order for the sake of climax in his description. But it is to be noted further that the names of the three groups in the *Elene* do not agree with those given by Alcuin. "Womsceaþan" corresponds to "impii," and perhaps "soðfæste" might pass as an equivalent for "sancti." But this leaves us with the "synfulle," of Cynewulf's middle group, to balance Alcuin's "justi." It is clear then that Cynewulf could not have derived the names of his three groups from Alcuin. Where did he find them? If we turn to Ambrose we find the three groups enumerated as (1) *justi*, (2) *peccatores*, (3) *impii*. Here we have the precise equivalents of Cynewulf's terms, arranged in precisely the same order.

4. In speaking of the final departure of the wicked into the abyss of fire, Cynewulf tells us:

"Gode no syððan
of ðam morðerhofs in gemynd cumað
wuldorcyninge" (vv. 1301-3).

There is nothing corresponding to this in Alcuin. But Prof. Cook himself¹ has pointed out the resemblance of this passage to a sentence in a sermon by Caesarius of Arles: "Ubi lux nunquam videbitur nisi tenebrae, et non venient unquam in memoriam apud Deum."²

5. Cynewulf's three groups are assigned definite positions in the purging fire: (1) The righteous are "yfemest in þam ade," (2) the sinful are "in þam midle þread," (3) the accursed are "in þæs wylmes grund." We look in vain in the Eligius-Alcuin description for anything corresponding to this. It may perhaps be said that this arrangement of the groups is

¹ Cook's *Christ of Cynewulf*, p. 217.

² Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xxxix, col. 2210.

due merely to the poet's visualization of the scene. But it is significant that one finds a similar arrangement in the writings of Augustine.¹

6. Cynewulf's description of the joys of the blessed (vv. 1314-1320) shows no direct correspondence to Alcuin ("Sunt etiam et sanctorum merita diversa," etc.). Cynewulf says nothing of any gradation of the rewards of the righteous. A closer approach to this portion of the *Elene* passage will be found in the descriptions of Ambrose.²

7. Finally, attention may be called to a significant difference between Cynewulf and Alcuin in the order of the events related. In Alcuin's account the formal separation of the two congregations is not mentioned until after the description of the transitory fire. This seems to indicate that Alcuin thought of the purgatorial ordeal as preceding the Judgment arraignment.³ This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that at this point Alcuin is quoting Augustine. Both Augustine and Gregory affirmed with positiveness that the purgatorial process would be completed before the Judgment itself.

In the *Elene*, however, the Judgment precedes the purgatorial fire. After the three groups enter the fire, they are not again assembled for a final separation into two congregations. The wicked are precipitated thence into the abyss, while the other two groups pass directly from the fire to paradise. Nor is the order of events in the *Elene* to be explained as merely an instance of confusion or inaccuracy on the part of the poet. For in the earlier Fathers also the Judgment arraignment precedes the purging fire. Note particularly the tenses in the passage from Lactantius already quoted: "Sed et justos cum judicaverit, etiam in igni eos examinabit" (see above, p.

¹ Cf. *Commentary on Ps. 104: 12*, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xxxvii, cols. 1362-3; also *De Civit. Dei*, Lib. xx, 18 and 21, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xli, cols. 684 and 692.

² Thus, for example, cf. Ambrose, Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xv, col. 1227-8.

³ Alcuin's order is necessarily somewhat confused inasmuch as he is quoting both from Eligius and from Augustine.

312). This order comes out even more unmistakably in Ambrose's doctrine of the first and second resurrection (see above, p. 318). As soon as the Judgment of the "justi" and "peccatores" has been completed, the "impii" are raised, and all three "ordines" are tried by the purgatorial flame. The "justi" pass easily through the fire, the "peccatores" endure a more severe ordeal, but both classes on leaving the fire, proceed at once to the rewards of Paradise. The "impii," on the other hand, do not escape at all from the flame, but are cast down into the abyss. It seems clear, therefore, that the *Elene*, in representing the purgatorial ordeal as succeeding the Judgment arraignment, is following the order of events found in the writings of the earlier Fathers.

These differences between the *Elene* passage and Alcuin, taken in connection with the facts previously presented, seem to make the argument against Cynewulf's dependence on Alcuin entirely conclusive. Let us sum up the case in a word :

1. The purgatorial conceptions embodied in the *Elene* and the Alcuin passages were commonplaces in the writings of the early Fathers.
2. Alcuin himself borrowed his purgatorial description outright from older sources.
3. There is abundant evidence in the Cynewulfian poetry that its author was acquainted with the patristic writings.
4. There are no points in the *Elene* description which might not have been derived from the Fathers quite as well as from Alcuin. Indeed, there is one sentence imbedded in the *Elene* passage which Prof. Cook shows was derived from Caesarius of Arles.
5. There are a number of important differences between the purgatorial description in the *Elene* and that of Alcuin, which could hardly have occurred if Cynewulf was depending on the Alcuin passage.

What, then, was the source of the *Elene* passage? It is altogether improbable that any such definite sources as I have pointed out for the Alcuin passage will ever be found for the purgatorial description in the *Elene*. Our Anglo-Saxon author was writing a poem and not a theological discourse. A freer and more imaginative handling of his material is, therefore, to be presumed. That his mind was saturated with patristic lore, there can be no doubt. Why should he have confined himself to a single homily or even a single author for the materials which he wove into his Judgment-day description? We ought not, then, to be disappointed if we fail to find all the elements of the *Elene* passage in a single source.

Still, one may say without hesitation, that of all the Fathers quoted the writings of Ambrose afford the closest resemblances to the description in the *Elene*. In Ambrose are to be found all the points which Prof. Cook noted as peculiar to Cynewulf and Alcuin. In Ambrose also are found the exact equivalents of the three groups in the Cynewulfian description. And Ambrose makes use more than once, in his purgatorial descriptions, of the figure of the smelting-furnace by which gold is purged from the dross. We may, therefore, regard Ambrose as the general source of this passage in the *Elene*. But in the statement that the wicked after being cast into hell, shall never again come into the memory of God we seem to have a reminiscence of Caesarius of Arles. And it is possible that the influence of Augustine is to be recognized in the arrangement of the groups in the flame.

In this connection attention may be called to a passage in the *Phoenix*, containing a representation of the Judgment-day ordeal which, though briefer, is yet essentially similar in conception to that in the *Elene*. I quote vv. 508-545:

508 “ þonne on leoht cymeð
ældum þisses in þa openan tid

- fæger and gefealíc fugles tacen,
 þonne anwald eal up astelleð,
 of byrgenum ban gegædrað,
 leomu lic somod and liges gæst
 fore Cristes cneo : Cyning þrymlice
 515 of his heahsetle halgum scineð,
 wlitig wuldres gim. Wel biþ þam þe mot
 in þa geomran tid Gode lician !
 þær þa lichoman Leahtra clæne
 gongað glædmode, gæstas hweorfað
 520 in banfatu, þonne bryne stigeð
 heah to heofonum. Hat bið monegum
 egeslic æled, þonne anra gehwylc
 soðfæst ge synnig sawel mid lice
 from moldgrafum seceð Meotudes dom
 525 forht afæred. Fyr bið on tilhte,
 æleð uncyste. þær þa eadgan beoð
 æfter wræchwile weorcum bifongen,
 agnum dædum : þæt þa æpelan sind
 wyrta wynsume, mid þam se wilda fugel
 530 his sylfes nest biseteð utan,
 þæt hit færinga fyre byrneð,
 forsweleð under sunnan and he sylfa mid
 and þonne æfter lige lif eft onfehð
 edniwinga. Swa bið anra gehwylc
 535 flæsce bifongen fira cynnes
 ænlic and edgeong, se þe his agnum her
 willum gewyrceð, þæt him Wuldorcynig
 mechtig æt þam mæþle milde geweorþeð.
 þonne hleopriað halge gæstas,
 540 sawla soðfæste song ahebbað,
 clæne and gecorene, hergað Cyninges þrym
 stefn æfter stefne, stigað to wuldre
 wlitige gewyrtað mid hyra weldædum.
 Beoð þonne amerede monna gæstas.
 545 beorhte abywde þurh bryne fyres."

It will be noted that in this description the only place for the Judgment itself must be at vv. 512-7, or before the purgatorial ordeal. There is certainly no place left for it after the fiery cleansing. Here, then, we have another instance of the earlier conception of purgatorial fire consequent upon the Judgment. The author of the *Phoenix* seems to have

found the suggestion for this allegorical comparison in a treatise entitled, *De Trinitate*, or *In Symbolum Apostolorum*. The real author is unknown, but the treatise was circulated under the name of Ambrose. Speaking of the phoenix, this author says:—

“Cujus avis naturam hanc esse tradunt: cum enim ad summam venerit senectutem, dicitur tamdiu in aera sublimari, ut usque ad nubes et ignem perveniat: quo igne contacta, mox se in secretissimum fontem praecipitem dans, tertio mergit; et mox ad pristinae juventutis vires atque speciem revocatur. Quod nobis ita futurum beatus Apostolus promisit, dicens: *Uniuscujusque quale sit opus, ignis probabit.*”¹

Whether the author of the *Phoenix* be Cynewulf or not, makes no difference for our present purpose. At least, we have a case of another Anglo-Saxon poem exhibiting a purgatorial conception similar to that in the *Elene*. And the Anglo-Saxon author of the *Phoenix* has also evidently taken his suggestion directly from the works of Ambrose, or, to be more exact, from a spurious writing passing under his name.

In conclusion, let us ask how the results of this examination of the sources of the *Elene* passage affect the question as to Cynewulf's date. On philological grounds, scholars have quite generally agreed in assigning the Cynewulfian poetry to the second half of the 8th century. With Cynewulf's dependence on Alcuin out of the way, no reason would remain for throwing his poetry over into the 9th century. Indeed, the discovery that the Anglo-Saxon poet was reflecting the purgatorial conceptions of the earlier Fathers, in so far as it has any bearing upon the time of his composition, might be regarded as favoring the earlier date. For, after the time of Gregory, the later form of the purgatorial doctrine must have continued to extend itself more and more widely. Not too much reliance can be placed on this argument, however, for in the Alcuin passage and even in Ælfric's homilies, we still have echoes more or less distinct of the earlier doctrine.

¹ Migne, *Patrol.*, Vol. xvii, p. 545. Cf. also Vol. xvi, col. 1331.

The most that can be said with certainty is that there is nothing in the *Elene* passage which is inconsistent with an 8th century date.

Further, though the question of Cynewulf's identity forms no part of the present discussion, it will be seen that the conclusions here reached leave the way open to an identification of the Anglo-Saxon poet with Cynewulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, who died in 783. This identification was first mentioned in 1844 by Kemble,¹ who, however, rejected it. Kemble attributes the suggestion of this identification to James Grimm, but it is not to be found in Grimm's introduction to his *Andreas und Elene* (1840). The identity of the poet and the Northumbrian bishop was first accepted in 1865 by Dietrich,² and in 1880 by Grein.³ More recently, Trautman has forcibly, and it seems to me convincingly, presented the arguments for the identification of the poet with the Bishop of Lindisfarne.⁴ Biographical theories concerning Cynewulf based on the interpretation of the Riddles have been exploded by the proof that the Riddles are not Cynewulfian;⁵ the Northumbrian home of the poet has been established by the philologists, who have also inclined to date his poetry in the latter half of the 8th century; evidence that the poet was an ecclesiastic is continually accumulating, as his thorough acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers becomes manifest. Why, then, should we not identify the poet with the historically known Northumbrian bishop?

CARLETON F. BROWN.

¹ J. M. Kemble, Preface to *Codex Vercellensis*, p. viii.

² *De Oruce Ruthwellensi*, p. 14. ³ *Angelsächs. Grammatik*, p. 11.

⁴ *Kynewulf der Bischof und Dichter*, 1898.

⁵ See Mr. W. W. Lawrence's article, *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, New Series, x, 2.

X.—THE FABLE REFERRED TO IN *ALISCANS*.

Some years ago (in the academic year 1898–99), while reading *Aliscans* with a few students, I reached an explanation of v. 3053 in Guessard and Montaiglon's edition which still seems to me plausible, even after the recent remarks of M. Gaston Paris on the same subject (*Romania*, xxxi, 100 ff.). I, therefore, make it public.¹

Paris, it will be remembered, proposes for the line the reading: "Est ço la fable dou tor et dou nuiton?" He argues that *nuiton* might easily have been corrupted by scribes into *mouton*, but that *mouton*, had that been the original reading, would not have been so altered into *nuiton*, this latter being a rare word, "qui devait embarrasser les scribes." Moreover, one of the three MSS. (out of a total of thirteen whose readings he gives) which favor his reading is one which is often alone in preserving original readings and archaic forms. But it is doubtless the former of these arguments which was in his opinion decisive; the latter, if it had stood alone, would hardly have induced him to express the view presented in his article. I shall, therefore, now consider only the former argument.

The question of the comparative difficulty of the readings *mouton* and *nuiton* Paris considers as offering no room for doubt. But two objections to his opinion on this point present themselves, and each of them seems to me to have weight. In the first place, is it quite certain that the word *nuiton* was really rare, or rare enough to embarrass scribes at all? Even if the word occurred only three or four times in the Old French literature preserved, it might still have been fairly frequent in conversational use, so that everybody was

¹ It was the search for something better than Rolin's explanation of the passage (see the note on v. 2807 in his edition), which seemed to me inadmissible, that led to my own explanation.

acquainted with it, for it is the name of a creature common enough in folk-lore. The different forms it shows, compared with its probable origin, point to popular etymology so-called, which indicates that the word, even if originally learned, had at least begun to be popular; it is found in La Fontaine in the form *luito*n, and, to say nothing of the modern form *lutin*, it occurs in modern dialects with initial *n* and initial *l* (*nuton*, *luton*; see Littré, s. v. *lutin*; and also H. de Nimal, *Légendes de la Meuse*, pp. 138 ff.; *Rev. des Trad. pop.*, IV, 665; Theuriet, *Trad. pop. du Doubs*, p. 518; it is curious that, instead of *lutin*, the name *mouton* is also found, as *mouton enroncé* in Normandy, *mouton blanc* in Picardy; see *Rev. des Trad. pop.*, VIII, 46¹). Chrétien de Troyes has the word (*netun*), and Foerster says in his note on *Ivain* 5273 (in the large edition) that the word occurs very often. His references may be taken to include the passage cited in Godefroy's *Dict.*, x, 101 (not in print in 1887, the date of Foerster's edition), since among other references he mentions Godefroy.

Palæographically considered, the change from *mouton*, which may, by a mere blunder or from some other cause, have been spelt *nuton*, to *nuiton* is perfectly simple. Nothing was easier than to misread *mu* as *nui*, and it now appears that this easy blunder would hardly have been avoided on account of any difficulty caused by the word *nuiton*. It is also possible that some form of *nuiton* was substituted for *mouton* as the result simply of mishearing, if a scribe was writing from dictation.

But there is another and perhaps a stronger objection to reading *nuiton* in this verse. As we have seen, there is no difficulty about the *nuiton* as a folk-lore animal, but he is not a fable animal. In fables the animals are or were traditionally familiar to everybody, and the reason is not far to seek; it lies in the nature of the fable with its attached moral. In our passage the allusion was evidently to a well-

¹ The last four references are from Professor Kittredge's article in *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xv, 430, n. 3; 431, n. 1; 432, n. 7.

known fable, and we may feel pretty sure that the animals in it were of the common kind, such as are usually found in fables. An ordinary scribe would probably not have noticed the difficulty I mention; if he read the word as *nuiton* he would hardly stop to reflect that this word was not likely to occur in a fable. I would not deny the possibility that some mediæval man wrote a fable containing a *nuiton*, but if this rather unlikely thing did really happen it is hardly probable that his production ever attained sufficient currency to be referred to in the manner found in our poem.

The variations in the name of the other animal indicate that copyists have blundered or have even deliberately altered a word which seemed to them for some reason unfitting. The readings we have are *tor*, *cor*, *coc*, *louf*¹ (in one MS. only; it is true, one of the thirteenth century, and also one of the three which support the reading *nuiton*). It is possible that the original word had three letters, of which the first and the third are not certain, while all the readings agree, perhaps by chance, in giving the second letter as an *o*. The reading *tor* has the strongest manuscript support, and if a suitable fable about the bull and the ram could be found there would be no need of searching further; that is, we should accept the reading of the older editions as correct (except perhaps for the orthography). It is this difficulty that makes me reluctant to accept this reading. I cannot help feeling that a well-known fable must have been meant here.

The examination of the manuscript readings, then, does not enable us to explain the passage satisfactorily. But if we knew the fable we could at once tell the correct reading, and we should put it in, however weak the manuscript evidence for it might be. Perhaps we shall meet success if we attack the problem in a different way.

¹This form occurs also in Montaiglon and Raynaud, *Recueil des Fabliaux*, III, 191, and Godefroy (in vol. x) has other examples of the final *f* in the word. It occurs again (in the same MS. which gives it in the *Aliscans* passage) in the *Enfances Vivien*, tir. XIII, v. 40, where the commoner spellings *lou* and *leu* are in other MSS. (see Wahlund and v. Feilitzen).

Let us consider the situation in the poem and ask what sort of fable we should expect to find referred to in this line. The king has promised aid for the city of Orange (cf. vv. 2944–2948), and now, when Guillaume, reminding him of his promise, speaks the words in vv. 3044–3046, the king answers :

“ Et nos en parleron,
Et le matin savoir le vos lairon,
Ma volenté se jo irai ou non.”

That is, he gives an evasive answer, seeming to withdraw his pledged word. At this Guillaume in rage breaks out with the words in vv. 3052 ff. : “ What? we’ll talk about it? Is this the fable of the . . . ? ” Evidently, since the king seems inclined to break his word, the fable, if it is to have the proper point, must be one in which there is a flagrant breach of a solemn promise. It is obvious that only a pretty familiar fable (familiar, that is, to anybody who was at all acquainted with fables) will answer the requirements of the situation. The chances are that so common a fable as the poet must have had in mind would not be lost ; more than one of the mediæval collections would be likely to contain it.

Is there now such a fable among the mediæval fables known to us, and one which is also not excessively divergent from the manuscript readings for this passage? These requirements are somewhat exacting ; it is quite possible that there never existed more than one fable which would meet them in anything like a satisfactory way. And if we require that one of the animals must be the ram (*mouton*) it seems that it ought to be possible to find the fable without much difficulty. Indeed, whether we were to make this last requirement or not, whether we were to start from it or from the first requirement (that which calls for a fable the point of which lies in a broken promise) we should, as it happens, probably be guided to the same fable. For there is one, and I think only one, which meets all the conditions, though it is perhaps not quite so convincing in explaining the manuscript readings as we

might wish. But it gives us as the animal associated with the ram the one we should most naturally expect, the wolf, and the divergent readings of the manuscripts are by no means hopelessly inexplicable. The fable I mean is the one *de lupo et ariete* (see Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins*, 2^e éd., II, 365, 557, 594, and no. 50 in Warnke's edition of the fables of Marie de France; cf. also Warnke's article on the sources of Marie's fables in *Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für Hermann Suchier*, pp. 199-200, for different forms of the fable, indicating a certain degree of popularity). Here we have a promise of a religious character, which is accordingly peculiarly binding, but which is shamelessly evaded as soon as the test comes. The wolf has promised to fast (during Lent in Marie), but the sight of the ram is too much for his scruples, and he says in Marie's French :

Jeo puis bien prendre le multun,
 Sil mangerai pur un salmun;
 Mielz valt li salmuns a mangier,
 E sil puet l'um vendre plus chier.

With this fable available is it necessary to assume a lost fable in order to explain the line in *Aliscans*? (Of course it is not asserted that our poet got his knowledge of it from Marie.) If we write *lou*¹ instead of *louf* we have what may have been written by the author of this passage, though the manuscript evidence alone could scarcely have led us to this reading. Nor can it be said that, the wolf being a very common animal in fables, mention of him could not have disappeared from this passage if it had been there originally. The very fact that the wolf is so often mentioned in fables might, for instance, conceivably make a scribe suspicious if he did not recognize the fable meant. If he knew our fable with some such moral as it has in Marie's collection, that might make him think it could not be the one to which the

¹ For *lou* cf. also a text in a similar dialect, the *lai de Melion*, v. 299 (*Zi. f. rom. Phil.*, VI, 98), where *lous* rhymes with *tous*.

poet was alluding, for that moral is directed primarily against gluttony. He might accordingly have substituted the name of a different animal. Or he might have done so without going through any such process of reflection.

Perhaps these considerations will justify the conclusion that the first animal in our passage was the wolf and the second the ram. If so, the verse may be restored thus :

Est ço la fable dou lou et dou mouton ?

E. S. SHELDON.

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XI.—THE SYMMETRICAL STRUCTURE OF DANTE'S
VITA NUOVA.

At the beginning of the *Vita Nuova* Dante tells us that he proposes to copy into the little book words which he finds written in the book of his memory under the rubric *Incipit Vita Nova*; thus he brought together lyrics that he had already written, and connected them by a narrative and analysis in prose.¹ The *Vita Nuova* belongs, then, to the class of writings made up of alternating prose and verse. As in the case of the *Convivio*, this method of composition was perfectly natural under the circumstances; Dante doubtless intended to do for his own early poems what had been done for certain Troubadours by the compilers of some of the Provençal anthologies, in which a prose biography is interspersed with specimens of the poet's verse. This has been

¹The edition cited here is: *La Vita Nuova di Dante Alighieri*, con commento di T. Casini, 2a edizione, Firenze, 1891. E. Moore's edition (in *Opere di Dante*, Oxford, 1894) and Prof. Norton's translation agree with Casini in chapter-numbers 4 to 26; as they divide into two the chapter that Casini numbers 26, their following numbers are one higher than his. Witte's edition agrees with Moore's beyond cap. 3.

pointed out by Pio Rajna,¹ who further suggests² that the analytical *divisioni* may have been modeled on certain works of St. Thomas. The prose explanations in the Provençal anthologies are called *razos*, and Dante uses the word *ragione* with the same meaning.³ In at least one respect, however, the *Vita Nuova* differs in form from the other works of this type; for the poems do not simply follow one another chronologically or according to the exigencies of the narrative, but are arranged on a symmetrical plan. The credit for having made this plain belongs to Professor C. E. Norton, who pointed it out in 1859. But more than twenty years earlier Gabriele Rossetti had explained the essential features of the symmetrical arrangement in a letter to Charles Lyell, dated January 13, 1836, which was printed for the first time in 1901, and which reads in part as follows:⁴

“The interpretation of the *Vita Nuova* depends upon knowing what portions of it are to be taken first, and what portions are to be taken last. This enigmatic booklet contains thirty-three compositions (*vide* your Index), relating to the thirty-three cantos of each section of the *Commedia*. These poetic compositions are to be divided into three parts, according to the three predominant canzoni. The central canzone, which is “Donna pietosa,” is the head of the skein, and from that point must the interpretation begin; then one must take, on this side and on that, the four lateral sonnets to the left, and the four to the right—(the last one to the right has been somewhat altered by Dante, but it is in fact a sonnet). On this side and on that follow the two canzoni, placed symmetrically; and the one explains the other. And thus, collating the ten compositions to the right with the ten to the left, we come finally to the first and the last sonnets of the *Vita Nuova*, which contain two visions. . . . The central part, which constitutes the Beatrice Nine, consists of nine compositions.”

¹*Lo Schema della Vita Nuova*, Verona, 1890; cf. Scherillo, *Dante e Bertram dal Bornio*, in *Nuova Antologia*, LXXI, 94 (1897); *Giornale Storico d. Lett. Ital.*, XVI, 474 (1890).

²*Per le “Divisioni” della “Vita Nuova,”* in *Strenna Dantesca* compilata da Bacci e Passerini, I, 111, Firenze, 1902.

³*V. N.*, cap. 35, 36, 37, 39, 40; cf. Crescini, *Le “razos” provenzali e le prose della “Vita Nuova,”* in *Giornale Storico d. Lett. Ital.*, XXXII, 463 (1898); and Tobler in *Archiv f. d. Stud. d. Neueren Sprachen*, LXXXV, 121.

⁴*Gabriele Rossetti, a versified Autobiography, translated and supplemented by William Michael Rossetti*; London, Sands & Co., 1901, p. 137.

It is to be noted here that Rossetti, seeing clearly the symmetrical arrangement of the poems, made it a part of his system of interpreting Dante's works; and also that he gave the number of the lyrics in the *Vita Nuova*, which in reality is thirty-one, as thirty-three. As he indicated, he derived this number from the first edition of Lyell's translation¹ of Dante's lyrical poems. Lyell numbers continuously the lyrics of the *Vita Nuova*, and includes among them Guido Cavalcanti's reply to the first sonnet; he also counts separately the alternative beginnings of the eighteenth sonnet, and thus arrives at thirty-three numbers. In his second edition² he changes his system of numbering. A few years later Rossetti published a statement of his discovery,³ still giving the number of poems as thirty-three, and now stating definitely that one of them is by Cavalcanti. He divides the poems into three groups, the first and the last each containing eleven brief compositions, while in the centre are eight sonnets and *tre sole canzoni solenni*. The first *canzone* and the last treat respectively the life and death of Beatrice, while the central one contains the germ of the fiction of the whole book. Now, if we put *ten* in place of *eleven*, this scheme agrees essentially with the one to be explained presently. Rossetti perhaps repeated his statement in the unpublished portion of his *Beatrice di Dante*, of which only the first part was printed.⁴ The manuscript was turned over to Aroux; and Rossetti was displeased to find his theories carried by this writer to an

¹*The Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri*. Translated by Charles Lyell, Esq.; London, Murray, 1835.

²*The Lyrical Poems of Dante Alighieri*. Translated by Charles Lyell, A. M.; London, William Smith, 1845. This edition differs in various ways from the first.

³G. Rossetti, *Il Mistero dell' Amor platonico*, London, 1840, vol. II, p. 637. This passage was pointed out and discussed by Federzoni, *Questioni Dantesche: Vecchie e nuove considerazioni sul disegno simmetrico della "Vita Nuova,"* in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, XXIV, no. 43; 26 Ottobre 1902.

⁴*La Beatrice di Dante*, di Gabriele Rossetti. Londra, stampato a spese dell' autore, 1842.

extreme that he himself could not approve.¹ The ideas expressed in the following passage² on the *Vita Nuova* seems to have been derived by Aroux from Rossetti; the number thirty-three, in particular, he would hardly have found elsewhere:

“Ce bizarre opuscule contient trente-trois compositions poétiques. Ce nombre est exactement en rapport avec celui de chacune des trois parties de la *Comédie*. Leur disposition symétrique est telle, qu’elles se trouvent exactement divisées par onze, et que parmi elles, dominant le tout, se déploient trois Canzoni solennelles, dont celle du milieu contient le germe de toute la fiction de l’ouvrage, fiction qui va se développant de droite et de gauche,” etc.

Buried in Rossetti’s manuscript and in this book by Aroux, which well deserves the epithet *bizarre* that its author applies to the *Vita Nuova*, the symmetrical arrangement awaited a new discoverer. But as a curious example of the persistence of error, we may note that Dr. Edward Moore,³ apparently following Aroux for the moment, gives “the number of the poetical compositions of the *Vita Nuova*” as thirty-three.

In 1859 Professor Charles Eliot Norton published⁴ *The New Life of Dante. An Essay, with translations*. In an appendix was a note “On the Structure of the *Vita Nuova*,” reprinted in the subsequent editions of the complete translation. Before going further, we must see how the theory of symmetrical arrangement is deduced. The book contains thirty-one lyrics, arranged in the following order:

5 sonnets
1 ballata
4 sonnets
1 canzone
4 sonnets

¹ See *Dante hérétique, révolutionnaire et socialiste*, par E. Aroux; Paris, Renouard, 1854. Cf. *Autobiography of Rossetti*, p. 68; and Z. Benelli, *G. Rossetti, notizie biografiche e bibliografiche*, Firenze, 1898, p. 38.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

³ *Studies in Dante*, second series, Oxford, 1899, p. 121, note.

⁴ At Cambridge, Mass., in a limited edition. The translations, but not the appendix, had already appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The complete translation was published at Boston in 1867 and again in 1892.

1 *canzone*
 3 sonnets
 1 stanza
 1 *canzone*
 1 sonnet
 1 imperfect *canzone*
 8 sonnets.

The three *canzoni* are longer and more elaborate than the other poems, having respectively 70, 84, and 76 verses; the second is the longest, and occupies the central position, with fifteen poems on each side of it. The fourth *canzone*, with 26 verses, the *ballata*, with 44, and the second and fourth sonnets—*sonetti rinterzati*, with 20 verses each—are nearer in length to the ordinary sonnets than to the *canzoni*. The *stanza*, according to Dante's statement, was the beginning of a *canzone*, the composition of which was interrupted by the death of Beatrice; it has 14 lines, and metrically it is so nearly like a sonnet that it may be called one. We may, then, reduce our scheme to this:

10 minor poems, all sonnets but one.
 CANZONE I
 4 sonnets
 CANZONE II
 4 sonnets
 CANZONE III
 10 minor poems, all sonnets but one.

Moreover, the first and third *canzoni* correspond strikingly to one another. The first, called *figliuola d'amore*, is in praise of the living Beatrice, who is desired in Heaven; Dante speaks,

“ Donne e donzelle amorse, con vui,
 Che non è cosa da parlarne altrui.”

The third, called *figliuola di tristizia*, is in praise of the dead Beatrice, who has gone to Heaven, and contains these words, referring to the former *canzone*:

“ E perché mi ricorda che io parlai
 De la mia donna, mentre che vivia,
 Donne gentili, volentier con vui,
 Non voi' parlare altrui.”

Meanwhile in the central *canzone*, written while Beatrice was still alive, Dante describes to certain ladies a vision of her death :

“Io dissi: ‘Donne, dicerollo a vui.’”

This is the arrangement of the lyrics primarily according to their form, as Professor Norton explains it in the three editions of his translation. In the third edition¹ he shows also how a different numerically symmetrical division can be made out, according to subject; this had apparently never been noticed before. The first ten poems concern Dante's own experiences as a lover; after them he takes up “a new and more noble theme,”² the praise of his lady. The tenth poem of the second group is interrupted by the death of Beatrice, and again Dante takes up a “new subject.”³ Finally, after the third group of ten, we come to the final sonnet, which is distinct from the rest, and is called “una cosa nuova.”⁴ This last poem, like the *canzoni* which begin the second and third groups, is addressed to “gentle ladies.” This scheme: 10 + 10 + 10 + 1, recalls the grouping into three canticles of the cantos in the *Divina Commedia*: (1 + 33) + 33 + 33.

Since pointed out by Professor Norton, the symmetrical grouping of the shorter poems around the *canzoni* has until recently always been accepted as a fact, where mentioned at all, as by Witte,⁵ D'Ancona,⁶ Scartazzini,⁷ Mazzoni,⁸ Carpenter,⁹ and Moore,¹⁰ all of whom give credit for the discovery to Professor Norton. Two writers have used it as an important

¹*The New Life of Dante Alighieri*, translated by C. E. Norton; Boston and New York, 1892, p. 133.

²*V. N.*, 17.

³*V. N.*, 30.

⁴*V. N.*, 41.

⁵*La Vita Nuova di Dante*, ed. C. Witte, Leipzig, 1876, p. xx.

⁶*La Vita Nuova di D. A.*, ill. per A. d'Ancona, 2^a ed., Pisa, 1884, p. 175.

⁷*Enciclopedia Dantesca*, Milano, 1898-99, vol. II, p. 2159.

⁸Review of Earle's article, mentioned below; *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, VI, 59.

⁹*The Episode of the Donna Pietosa*, by G. R. Carpenter, in *Eighth Annual Report of the Dante Society*, Cambridge, 1889, p. 39.

¹⁰*Studies in Dante*, second series, pp. 115, 130.

element in their theories,—John Earle¹ in his interpretation of the *Vita Nuova*, and G. Federzoni² in discussing the date of its composition. Another writer³ appears to think that he has discovered symmetry in the *Vita Nuova* for the first time. But in 1901 a violent attack was made on the whole theory of symmetrical arrangement by Michele Scherillo;⁴ and as a number of critics⁵ have since declared the theory “demolished,” it is a matter of some interest to determine whether anything of it remains.

Scherillo's chief argument is simply a general denial that any symmetry exists. The self-evident fact that the four poems of intermediate length do not occupy symmetrical positions with reference to each other, seems to him a fatal weakness. Indeed, he declares that the presence of a fourth *canzone*, even a short one, is sufficient alone to overthrow the whole scheme of pretended symmetry. Counting up lines, he finds that the first ten poems have 182, the last ten 152. The *stanza*, although very like a sonnet, is not one, strictly speaking, for one of its lines has only seven syllables. The first and third *canzoni*, although they correspond in subject, fail to do so in metrical structure; their rhymes are not similarly arranged, and although each has five fourteen-line stanzas, one has a six-line *commiato* in addition. The structure is, then, lop-sided. And why, continues Scherillo, is there no symmetry in the arrangement of the prose paragraphs? In reply to this, it is only necessary to recall that the numbering

¹*Dante's 'Vita Nuova,'* published anonymously in the *Quarterly Review*, CLXXXIV, 24–53 (July, 1896); in Italian in the *Biblioteca Storico-critica d. Lett. Dantesca*, XI, Bologna, 1899, with the author's name.

²*Quando fu composta la "Vita Nuova"?*, first published in 1898 in *Roma Letteraria*; reprinted in *Studi e Diparti Danteschi*, Bologna, 1902.

³M. Martinozzi, *Sovra la partizione della Vita Nuova*, Modena, 1902. I have not seen this work, and know it only through reviews in *Giornale Storico*, XL, 457, and *Rassegna Bibliografica d. Lett. Ital.*, x, 197.

⁴*La Forma architettonica della Vita Nuova*, in *Giornale Dantesco*, IX, 84.

⁵See *Giornale Storico*, xxxviii, 470, XL, 457, and XLI, 390; *Rassegna Bibliog.*, IX, 235, and x, 197; E. Lamma, *Questioni Danteschi*, Bologna, 1902, pp. 145, 163.

of the paragraphs was not done by Dante, and is not found either in the manuscripts or the early editions;¹ but in any case we should not expect the prose commentary to be treated like the verse.

After reading these arguments, one is tempted simply to ask: "What of it?" For, as a matter of fact, they leave absolutely untouched the essential part of the theory,—twenty-eight short poems arranged symmetrically around three *canzoni*, which are in every way written on a different scale from the rest.² This much of symmetry, even if no more could be found, is too remarkable to be the result of chance. Scherillo thinks, however, that if Dante had intended any symmetry at all, he would have carried it out more thoroughly, as in the *Divina Commedia*, and would not have admitted irregularities. But we must remember that the scheme of the *Commedia* was surely arranged before any considerable part of the verses was written, whereas the *Vita Nuova* was made up out of materials already at hand;³ and, moreover, a counting-up of lines does not make cantos and canticles exactly equal. Unfortunately, Scherillo, the great value of whose researches, particularly on the *Vita Nuova*, no one will wish to deny, seems in this case to be actuated by a feeling of personal or "patriotic" hostility against foreign critics. Commenting on Dr. Moore's accidental misstatement that there are thirty-three lyrics in the *Vita Nuova*, he remarks that "arithmetic is surely not a matter of individual opinion, even in England."⁴ His own arithmetic, however,

¹ Cf. D'Ancona, *V. N. di Dante*, p. viii; Witte, *V. N. di D.*, p. xvi; *Rassegna Bibliog.*, x, 198.

² Cf. G. Federzoni, *Nota su la forma architettonica della V. N.*, in *Giornale Dantesco*, x, 3, where many of Scherillo's arguments are successfully refuted.

³ Scherillo's objection would have considerable force if we accepted the theory of Earle, *loc. cit.*, that the *V. N.* was written all at one time, contrary to Dante's statements.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 84. As to the number thirty-three, I have shown that the error comes from Rossetti through Aroux. In one place (*ibid.*), Scherillo has been unable to translate English correctly, for he says, quoting Moore, "the symmetry of its design," cioè del povero Dante."

is sufficiently individual to concoct this equation $(3 \times 10) + 3 = 43$. To sum up, then, he declares that anyone who believes that Dante had the intention of arranging the *Vita Nuova* symmetrically shows "deplorable ingenuousness and lack of critical training." It seems to me, however, that these deplorable qualities are shown rather by attempting to deny what is evident.

But the theory of symmetry has been carried further. The central *canzone*, it has been said, should be, both in subject and in form, the most important poem in the book. Thus Earle¹ maintains that if the *Vita Nuova* were biography, the third *canzone*, written in connection with the death of Beatrice, would occupy the central position, and not a subordinate one; hence, he argues, the facts, even if true, are of no importance; the symbolism is the thing. Precisely, returns Scherillo, who in general disagrees totally with Earle; if there were any symmetry, the third *canzone*, not the second, would necessarily be the centre. But do not both critics neglect Dante's distinct statement² that he does not intend to treat of the death of Beatrice? Written after Dante's eyes "had wept for some time,"³ the third *canzone* tells of his grief for Beatrice's death; but we need not necessarily connect it closely with the actual event, and we must remember its striking correspondence with the first *canzone*. In any case, as Professor Norton says,⁴ the second *canzone*, the most elaborate and important poem of the whole, serves to connect the life of Beatrice with her death, and rightfully holds the central position in the scheme. Federzoni⁵ agrees with this, and goes further; he believes that when the

¹Article cited; in *Quarterly Review*, p. 52; in Italian version, p. 77.

²"Avvegna che forse piacerebbe a presente trattare alquanto de la sua partita da noi, non è lo mio intendimento di trattarne qui per tre ragioni . . . e però lascio cotale trattato ad altro chiosatore," *V. N.*, 28. The "three reasons" have been thoroughly discussed by C. H. Grandgent, *Dante and St. Paul*, in *Romania*, xxxi, 14-27 (1902).

³*V. N.*, 31.

⁴*New Life*, 1892 edition, pp. 130-133.

⁵*Studi e Diparti Danteschi*, pp. 49-73.

poems were brought together the second *canzone* was written especially to occupy the central position. But the existence of a scheme does not depend on the relative importance of the three *canzoni*.¹

The second symmetrical grouping pointed out by Professor Norton exists simultaneously with the first in a very striking way, and cannot be entirely accidental; but just how far Dante arranged the double symmetry it is difficult to say. Of course, the second scheme depends, to some extent, on the first. The symbolic numbers *three* and *ten* are evident in both schemes. With a little ingenuity the number *nine*, which is so important in the *Vita Nuova*, can be found also; Rossetti² noticed that between the first and third *canzoni* are nine poems; Federzoni³ noticed the same thing, and also that between the first vision-sonnet and the first *canzone*, and again between the third *canzone* and the final vision-sonnet, there are also nine poems, so that this scheme, with *three nines*, results: $1 + 9 + 1 + 9 + 1 + 9 + 1$. However, to such ingenuities as this, little importance should be attached.

Various other schemes of dividing the *Vita Nuova* according to subject have been proposed, but the only one containing the element of symmetry is by Federzoni.⁴ After adopting the division into three parts as proposed by Rossetti, he makes in each of these three parts three subdivisions, or nine in all, as follows: First Part, announcement—awakening of love—vicissitudes of love; Second Part, praise of Beatrice—presentiment of her death—death of Beatrice; Third Part, love for the *donna gentile*—reawakening of the first love—announcement of a grand vision. In this scheme, striking correspondences can easily be found. But even if we accept this partition as exhaustive and accurate, it is hardly possible to prove that Dante had any such elaborate arrangement in mind when he distributed the lyrics symmetrically.

¹ Cf. Lamma, *Questioni Dantesche*, p. 158.

² See letter, quoted above.

³ *Studi e Diporti*, p. 52.

⁴ See his article in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, already cited.

Assuming much or little of symmetrical arrangement, then, but assuming that it exists as a part of Dante's plan, in connection with the visions and the symbolic numbers,—why did the poet wish “to produce an effect of symmetry that is not to be found in life?”¹ Does this in itself necessarily prove that the *Vita Nuova* is made up of imaginary incidents, or that it has only a symbolic meaning? By no means. We must remember that in his earlier literary work Dante was influenced chiefly by Provençal models. The Troubadours were satisfied to lavish all their artifices on single poems; would not Dante think it a mark of superior power to be able to combine such separate poems into a symmetrically organic whole? The symmetry of construction in the *Divina Commedia* cannot be found in earlier descriptions of visits to the other world; it is one of Dante's original contributions, as distinguished from what he derived by imitation. So in the *Vita Nuova*, out of materials already at hand, he wove together facts and fancies, experiences and imaginations, into an organic art-work to which he subsequently gave an allegorical interpretation.

Some Dante-scholars will say that this last statement implies too much belief in the historical accuracy of the *Vita Nuova*, others that it implies too little; but it seems to me to indicate the only rational basis for interpreting the book in connection with Dante's other works.² If a study of the Troubadours teaches us anything on this subject, it is that Dante founded his book on real events, which he worked into a narrative with various literary artifices. In this connection we must take account of the symmetrical construction of the book, which is one of these artifices; others are the modes of expression, such as the personification of love, and the use of the vision as a literary form. The art and symbol-

¹ Carpenter, *Episode of Donna Pietosa*, p. 39.

² Cf. I. del Lungo, *Beatrice nella Vita e nella Poesia del Secolo XIII*, Milano, 1891, p. 47 and *passim*; various other writers might be cited who express similar ideas.

ism do not, then, depend primarily on the invention of significant incidents, but on making incidents, whether real or invented, conform to the chosen scheme. In the *Convivio*,¹ with a different point of view, Dante gives an allegorical interpretation of the last part of the *Vita Nuova*, which has led many to believe that the book had no other meaning. But Dante tells us that although the true and fundamental meaning of any work is the allegorical, the literal meaning must come first.² So he wrote his poems as they were suggested to him from time to time by circumstances, without thinking either of an allegorical interpretation or of a scheme for symmetrical arrangement. Indeed, it was probably not until after the death of Beatrice, the episode of the Donna Pietosa, and the renewal of his faithfulness to Beatrice's memory, that the idea came to him of collecting his scattered verses into a book which should give a connected account of his New Life. The symmetrical structure of the book is strong evidence that he arranged the poems and wrote the prose all at one time. Hence it follows that his mental attitude when he wrote the prose governed the selection and interpretation of the poems.³ For instance, the first sonnet, which was doubtless written, as Dante says, in 1283, describes a vision in which Love shows Beatrice to Dante, and then goes away weeping. In the prose description⁴ of this vision, however, Love carries Beatrice away towards Heaven. We find added, then, an idea which is not inconsistent with the words of the sonnet, but which surely was not in Dante's mind originally. The addition was presumably made for the purpose of making this first sonnet correspond with the last one in the book, which also describes a vision, and

¹ Trattato II, cap. 1.

² *Ibid.*; cf. *V. N.*, 25.

³ Cf. E. Gorra, *Per la Genesi della Divina Commedia*, in his *Fra Drammi e Poemi*, Milano, 1900, p. 117.

⁴ *V. N.*, 3. It is to be borne in mind that the prose was written ten years or more after the sonnet.

connects Love, Beatrice and Heaven.¹ Thus the book as a whole gains in unity and symmetry. So also the name of Beatrice, aside from one exceptional case,² is not mentioned in the verses written during her life; but in the prose it is frequently mentioned, and she is spoken of at the very beginning as glorified in Heaven. It would be possible, then, to find an allegorical meaning in the prose and not in the verse, if such an interpretation were otherwise desirable.

Following a similar line of reasoning, Federzoni³ maintains that several of the poems were written, not when they purport to have been, but simultaneously with the prose, or even later, in order to fit into the symmetrical scheme. The second *canzone* in particular, he thinks, judging both from its subject and from its style as compared with the accompanying prose, could not have been written until after Dante's final and complete return to Beatrice, as related in the *Purgatorio*, xxx and xxxi. Now since Dante dates his great vision in 1300, Federzoni thinks that the *Vita Nuova* must have been composed either in or shortly before that year.⁴ But this conclusion rests on a misapprehension; just

¹This was suggested by Gorra, *loc. cit.* If we accept his interpretation, we have no need to explain the sonnet as Dante's first conception of the *Divina Commedia*, or as a reference to Beatrice's death or marriage. The commentators who advanced these interpretations were trying to explain the prose rather than the sonnet itself.

²This is in the fourteenth sonnet (*V. N.*, 24), of which the ninth line reads: "Io vidi monna Vanna e monna Bice." Scherillo has suggested (see *Giorn. Dantesco*, x, 110; *Bullettino d. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, ix, 43) that this sonnet was written only for the eye of Guido Cavalcanti, whose lady was Vanna; in that case, the exception would prove the rule. "Monna Vanna e monna Bice" are mentioned again in Dante's sonnet: "Guido, vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io," which is not included in the *V. N.*; a new reading and interpretation have been suggested in this case by Barbi (see *Bullettino*, iv, 160).

³*Studi e Diporti*, pp. 47-76, 123-153.

⁴Federzoni does not at all depend on the argument that the twenty-fourth sonnet refers to a pilgrimage of 1300. This argument, advanced by Lubin in 1862, and once accepted by many critics, was demolished once for all by Pio Rajna, *Per la Data della Vita Nuova*, in *Giornale Storico*, vi, 113 ff.

as the vision was a conventional literary form, so the date 1300 was chosen for external reasons, and not because Dante had any particular inner experience at that time. The idea of the *Divina Commedia* developed gradually, and certainly had not reached its final form until long after the *Vita Nuova* was finished.¹ Thus the most probable date for the composition of the *Vita Nuova* still remains between 1293 and 1295;² but so far as the fictitious date 1300 goes, the *Divina Commedia* might have been conceived long before. Federzoni's arguments from the style of the second *canzone* will appeal to a reader who is predisposed to agree with them; but they are largely subjective, and their validity is disputed.³

That Dante, not finding all the poems that he needed for his scheme, may have written some for particular positions in the *Vita Nuova* while he was writing the prose, is not in itself impossible.⁴ Yet we must notice that he excuses the omission of a poem on the death of Beatrice, and does not furnish the poem. On the other hand, he does not use all the poems already written; and one factor in determining his choice was no doubt the symmetrical scheme. Thus the first *canzone* of the *Convivio*, *Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete*, relates the events of the last part of the *Vita Nuova*. Provided the scheme had allowed another long *canzone*, this one would naturally have found a place there, if, as seems probable, it was written before the *Vita Nuova* was finished.⁵ By being

¹ Cf. Gorra, *op. cit.*

² See Casini, *V. N.*, p. xx; Scartazzini, *Dante-Handbuch*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 285; Paget Toynbee, *Dante Dictionary*, Oxford, 1898, s. v. *Vita Nuova*; D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, nuova edizione, Firenze, 1903, I, 283.

³ See Lamma, *Questioni Dantesche*, pp. 139 ff. Cf. *Bullettino d. Soc. Dant.*, VIII, pp. 32, 264, 267; *Rassegna Bibliog. d. Lett. It.*, VIII, 195.

⁴ So he may have changed the chronological position; the sonnet *Deh peregrini* (*V. N.*, 40) would more naturally come before the episode of the Donna Pietosa,—cf. Ronchetti, *Di un possibile spostamento nella tessitura della V. N.*, in *Giornale Dantesco*, II, 221.

⁵ It was written before 1295; cf. Scartazzini, *Dante-Handbuch*, p. 300; Carpenter, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f., 60. But Angelitti, *Cronologia delle opere minori di Dante*, Città di Castello, 1886, pp. 3 ff., says 1296.

reserved for the *Convivio*, it received a different interpretation from what it would have had in the *Vita Nuova*. It is not necessary to discuss here which of the extant poems attributed to Dante were contemporaneous with the *Vita Nuova*, and might have found a place in it if the poet had so willed.¹ But evidently in studying this question the symmetrical scheme of the book should not be neglected.

In conclusion, what are we to say of the artistic value of this artifice which is so foreign to our modern methods? Let us answer the question with this other, asked by an American poet:² "Is love less love because the lover in the very heavenly excess of his devotion shall wreath it about with all the flowers his fancy can gather under the whole heaven of poetry?"

KENNETH MCKENZIE.

¹ Cf. D'Ancona, *Vita Nuova*, 2a ed., pp. 117-123.

² Sidney Lanier, *Shakspeare and his Forerunners*, New York, 1902, I, 169.

XII.—INDICO LEGNO.

“Oro ed argento fino, cocco e biacca,
Indico legno lucido e sereno,
Fresco smeraldo in l'ora che si fiacca”

are the substances Dante cites in *Purgatorio*, VII, 73–75, as being surpassed in color by the flowers and grass of the Valley of the Princes. The criticism on verse seventy-four divides into two schools according to the punctuation assigned to the passage by commentators. One section, and perhaps the greater, holds that Dante meant the whole line to refer to one substance, some word from India; the other, putting a comma after the first word, has it that the poet had two colors in mind when he wrote the words: the color of indigo and that of some “wood shining and clear,” which latter is however rather dull and obscure of interpretation. Among the substances guessed at by the commentators there is none that fits well the sense of the passage, neither ebony nor “quercia marcia” having colors appropriate to a description of bright flowers. Philalethes joined those who hold that “indico” should be interpreted as meaning indigo rather than Indian, feeling a need of blue among the flower colors. In the meadows of Saxony corn flower, speedwell, lungwort and borage are common on every hand and make generous gift of pure blue to the kaleidoscope of nature; but did Dante have any such association with the color? What place does blue hold in the *Divina Commedia*? It is surprising to find that there are only five references in the whole poem that surely can be interpreted “blue.” In the *Inferno* we have two of the purses worn by the usurers described with azure in the blazon (*Inf.*, XVII, 59 and 64). In *Purgatory* the noonday light turns the heavenly blue to white (*Purg.*, XXVI, 6) and in two passages the heavens have the color of sapphire (*Purg.*, I, 13, and *Par.*, XXIII, 101). In

one passage we cannot be quite sure that "smalto" may not mean blue—the doubt hinging on an ambiguity of reference to the earthly or the heavenly paradise; the frequent use Dante makes of the word to describe greensward is rather a strong argument for the former interpretation. This scarcity of blue in the coloring of the *Divina Commedia* is the more striking when we remember how rich in cobalt, ultramarine, and smalt were the illuminations and frescoes that made up the art of Dante's contemporaries, and how strong the visualistic power of the artist was in Dante.

As to the flowers that Dante weaves into his scenes, after the manner of an illuminator bordering the pages of a missal with arabesques and flowery devices: in the *Inferno* there are two similes based on flowers (*Inf.*, II, 127, and IX, 70), but there is no place for them among the shades. On the mount of Purgatory we find them in abundance at both confines of the land of purgation: in the Valley of the Princes the grass upon which the spirits sit is gemmed with flowers, among which the serpent tries to slip to disturb the peace of the place; the wings of the angel who admits the poets to the sixth round waft a breeze laden with the sweetness of grass and flowers (*Purg.*, XXIV, 147); then we have in the vision of Leah gathering flowers (XXVII, 99) the foreshadowing of the meeting with Matilda "choosing flower from flower with which her way was painted" in the earthly paradise (XXVIII, 41); then in XXVIII, 55 we learn that these flowers are "vermiglio e giallo." The passing of the candlesticks and elders in the church pageant is designated by the grass and flowers being rid of them; and it is in the midst of a rain of flowers thrown from the chariot of the church that Beatrice appears (XXX, 20 and 28). The elders who represent the books of the Old Testament are crowned with snowy lilies, the representatives of the Acts and Epistles with red. In *Paradise*, XXX, 65, by the banks of the stream of light, grow flowers "like rubies set in gold," and we find the yellow and white consummated in the heavenly rose, in

whose golden heart the snowy hosts of the Lord minister to the blessed. In Hell and Paradise alike green finds no place: Hope is not for the doubly dead, nor have those who have attained salvation need of her help: in Purgatory she appears on every hand, ready to sustain the laboring souls, faint in the pale rushes of humility that edge the shore, deep and strong in the eyes of Beatrice.

In his choice of flowers and flower colors Dante seems to have been guided by traditional symbolism and literary custom. We have the rose of Sharon and the lily of the valleys in the midst of silver, gold, and green in the Song of Solomon; in the Provençal we have "el prat son gruoc [yellow], vert e vermeilh," from P. Raimon de Toloza, *Poz vezem*, and "Don son vermelh, blanc e vert li brondelh;" again, in Petrarch we find "i fior vermigli e i bianchi" (Sonnet xxxi), and "Ma pur che l'ôra un poco, Fior bianchi e gialli . . . mova" (*Canz.*, XII, 80-1), showing how red and yellow and white had become the conventional literary colors for flowers in the south; whereas in *Minnesang's Frühling*, p. 90, we find the blue that Philalethes wanted: "Wize, rote rosen, blawe bluomen, gruene gras."

It is perhaps worthy of notice that Petrarch follows Dante in the omission of blue from his palette: Laura's eyes are "tra 'l bel nero e 'l biancho" (*Canz.*, VII, 50), and red and white are most abundant after the green of the beloved laurel.

To return to the passage in the seventh Canto of the *Purgatorio*, what light have we gained, by this long digression, that may be turned upon it with advantage? With the exception of such a case as that of a color described as being "fra rose e viole," we have found the colors of flowers in Dante to be limited to red, white, and yellow. The "indico legno" would then seem to be some substance having one of these three colors. If we allow ourselves to be guided by the symmetry of the passage,—and Dante delighted in such formalities,—we find a second yellow to be required, and then

we shall have: *oro, argento, cocco, biacco, indico legno*; i. e., yellow, white, red, white, yellow (?).

What vegetable substance will satisfy all the needs of the passage? "Legno" is used to denote so many things made of wood that it is easy to see that it may be applied to any product of a tree, natural or artificial. In the *Divina Commedia* Dante uses it nine times meaning boat, five times for tree, once for board, once for the pole of the chariot of the Church, and once for the Cross of Christ, beside the passage in question. Now, what is there among the products of India that is clear and shining?

India was a natural source to draw on for similes, having been the country of marvels for many generations. In its untravelled lands fable placed the gardens of the Hesperides, transplanting them from the western to the eastern verge of the inhabited world; and in many legends the island of the earthly paradise was dimly visible from its farthest shores. According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, VII, 2), "the trees, in India, are said to be of such vast height that it is impossible to send an arrow over them. This is the result of the singular fertility of the soil, the equable temperature of the atmosphere, and the abundance of water." Dante refers to this belief in *Purg.*, XXXII, 40-2, where, growing by the source of Lethe and Eunoë, above all atmospheric influence, in the soil where all fertility has its origin, the tree of knowledge "spreads its top so wide and high that it would be wondered at by the Indians in their forests."

In Pliny's *Natural History*, Book XXXVII, Chapter 11, we find India given as one of the sources of amber: a material, which, being of vegetable origin and both shining and clear, would fit our passage well, and one whose bright yellow would complete the color symmetry. Pliny gives us many Greek legends about amber, some referring to its Baltic, some to its Indian origin, and many, through a geographical ignorance that gives Pliny great joy, placing the islands where it is most abundant at the mouth of the Po instead of at that

of the Vistula. Among the facts recorded about it, referring to the uses made of it by the Germans, Pytheas is quoted as saying: "Incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo." The passages referring to India are the following: "item in India, gratisque thure esse Indis; Ctesias Indis flumen esse Hypobarum, quo vocabulo significatur omnia in se ferre bona: fluere a Septemtrione in exortivum oceanum juxta montem silvestrem arboribus electrum ferentibus. Arbores eas siptachoras vocari, qua appellatione significetur praedulcis suavitas." "Hic (Sophocles) ultra Indiam fieri dixit e lacrymis Meleagridum avum Meleagrum deflentium;" and again, "Certum est gigni in insulis septemtrionalis Oceani et a Germanis appellari glessum. . . . Nascitur autem de fluente medulla pinei generis arboribus, ut gummi in cerasis, resina pinis. Erumpit humoris abundantia: densatur rigore vel tepore aut mari (*al.* autumnali)." "Nasci et in India certum est. Archelaus, qui regnavit in Cappadocia, illinc pineo cortice inhaerente tradit advehi rude, polirique adipe suis lactentis in(*de*)coctum."

In Book IV, Ch. 27, Pliny quotes Timaeus on the subject of amber thrown up by the waves of the Baltic; and in Book IV, Ch. 30, there is another passage, referring to the amber-bearing islands of the North, closely followed by the statement that "Timaeus the historian says that in an island called Mictis . . . white lead is found." White lead and amber in such close proximity strongly suggest the "biacca, Indico legno" of the passage under consideration.

Pliny's long article on the nature and history of amber follows upon the sections treating of murrhine vessels and crystal, a juxtaposition which also finds its parallel in Dante, where, in *Par.*, XXIX, 25, "ambra" is grouped with "vetro" and "cristallo."

In *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Book II, Ch. 6, Dante mentions Pliny in a list of Latin prose writers of eminence,—a list that seems to be composed of the names of authors whose works were known to Dante, rather than a random selection from literary history.

Among other authors known to Dante we find the following references to amber: Virgil in the eighth Eclogue, lines 52-4, writes:—

“Nunc et oves ultro fugiat lupus, aurea duræ
Mala ferunt quercus, narcisso florent alnus
Pingua corticibus sudent electra myricæ,”

recognizing the vegetable origin of amber. In Ovid, *Met.*, II, 340 et seq., the story of Phaëton tells how, after he was struck by lightning, his sisters were changed to poplars from which their tears fell as amber and were borne by the river, on whose bank they grew, into the sea. Lines 364-6 read as follows:—

“Inde fluunt lacrimæ, stillatque sole rigescunt
De ramis electra novis, quæ lucidus omnes
Excipit et nuribus mittit gestanda Latinis.”

Another line in Ovid (*Met.*, xv, 316):—

“Electro similes faciunt auroque capillos,”

recalls the passage in Pliny where he tells how “Domitius Nero in caeteris viæ suæ portentis capillos quoque conjugis suæ Poppeæ in hoc nomen adoptaverat quodam etiam carmine succinos appellando,” and how after that a new hair dye became the fashion in Rome under the name of amber-color (xxxvii, 12). Further, Solinus, *Polyhistor* (*De Scandinavia Insula*), writes “Et India habet succinum.” Isidore in his *Origines*, Book xvi, Ch. xxiii, describes the nature of amber and recognizes its vegetable origin in the following words: “Electrum vocatum quod ad radium solis clarius auro argentoque reluceat. Sol enim a poetis electron vocatur. Defaecatius est enim hoc metallum omnibus metallis. Hujus tria sunt genera. Unum quod ex pini arboribus fluit, quod succinum dicitur.” This last passage yields us three interesting points of comparison with the line in Dante’s poem. “Reluceat” conveys the same idea as Dante’s “lucido;” that this quality is said to be greater in amber than in either gold

or silver would give an ascending scale, such as we might look for, to the sequence of the colors of the line in the *Purgatorio*; "defaecatus" means clear, free from dregs, a meaning very well embodied in the Italian adjective "sereno."

The joint evidence of the various passages quoted would seem to be that the phraseology used by several of the authors with whose works Dante was familiar, in describing amber or using it in similes, was closely related to "Indico legno, lucido e sereno." The Indian origin is a point of common knowledge: Pliny does not hesitate to use the word "ligno" in connection with it; and by associating it with crystal and "adamantis" he, silently to be sure, notes those qualities which Isidore expresses by the words "reluceat" and "defaecatius."

The passage mentioning the lofty trees of India, taken together with the amber question, is of especial interest as showing a possible direct use made of the *Historia Naturalis* by Dante. Paget Toynbee, in the Dante Dictionary, was of the opinion that although Dante may have been acquainted with Pliny's work, he did not make actual use of it. May we hope to have added another name to the list of Dante's sources and to have thrown light on an obscure passage?

MABEL PRISCILLA COOK.

XIII.—NOTES ON CANADIAN FRENCH.

These notes embody the result of a study of a Canadian French dialect spoken in Clayton, N. Y. There is in this village a colony of seven or eight hundred French Canadians, most of whom have come from the District of Montreal during the past fifty years. The older generation, as a rule, is illiterate; the younger generation reads and writes English, but not French. These colonists, therefore, have kept their French free from the leveling-down process of the school-master.

In all parts of Canada the French language has been influenced to some extent by English and contains more or less Anglicisms. The language of the "enlightened" has been thus influenced vastly more than the speech of the common people. In the French of the Clayton colony there is a surprisingly small number of Anglicisms. Inflection and syntax seem to have been influenced very little; but several English words are in common use, such as *buggy*, *steamboat*, etc. All such English words have been excluded from these notes, except a few that I know to have replaced their French equivalents throughout the greater part of the District of Montreal, such as *poste-office*.

The phonetic notation used in these notes is taken from Professor Grandgent's *Short French Grammar*, except that nasality is here indicated by the use of heavy-faced type. "Final" means at the end of a breath group, "C. F." refers to the French of the Clayton colony, and "S. F." refers to standard French. As a rule, mention is made of only those sounds, forms, and expressions that differ from their standard French equivalents.

In C. F. there is less tenseness of the vocal organs and vowel sounds are less "rounded" or "closed" than in S. F.; and, as a rule, long vowels are longer and the stress on the

final syllable is heavier. As a result of the stress on the final syllable, the penult is sometimes slighted, and sometimes it is omitted altogether, as in *argnée* (*araignée*), *balyer* (*balayer*), *oryer* (*oreiller*), etc.

VOWELS.

a, between S. F. *a* and *á*: *cage, large, place, travailler, femme, fanale, parole, quasiment*. In a few words C. F. *a* is S. F. *a* in *dame*: *boucane*.

á, nearly like English *a* in *all*: this sound occurs in most words that have *á* in S. F., and also regularly at the end of a word: *cable, casser, chássis, classe, grâce, paille, bataille*; *plat, rat, pas, il va, il a, là*.

è, at end of a word, or before *r* + consonant, nearly like S. F. *a* in *là*, but more "open:" *français, paix, lait, respect, forêt*; *verte, herbe, fermer, personne*. In *vert*, *è* has this sound, although *t* is silent; this is probably by analogy with *verte*.

In a closed syllable *è* long and *é* are between S. F. *è* and *é*: *française, reine*; *bête, fête, il rêve*.

Les, mes, ces, etc., *est, le* after verb, are pronounced *lé, me, cé*, etc., *é, lé*, and *que* is pronounced *qué*.

ë and *è* are both represented in C. F. by a sound nearly like S. F. *è*: thus, *brun* and *brin* are nearly *brè*.

i, final = S. F. *i*: *vie, il crie*.

Before a consonant C. F. *i* is between English *i* in *bitter* and S. F. *i*: *vite, île, vif, piquer*.

ò, less "rounded" than in S. F.—nearly like English *o* in *done*: *donner, j'aurai*.

u, final = S. F. *ü*: *tu, pu, plus*.

Before a consonant, C. F. *ü* is nearly like German *ü* in *Brücke*: *lune, brune, fume*. An exception is *une*, which is pronounced *èn*. (Note that in C. F. *un* and *une* are pronounced *è* and *èn*.)

u, final = S. F. *u*: *vous, fou*.

Before a consonant C. F. *u* is between English *u* in *full* and S. F. *u*: *coûte, écroule*.

wa, the letters *oi* usually represent *wè* in C. F.: *toi, moi, oiseau, poire, soir, étoile, soif, voir*. The letters *oi* represent *wa* in some words: *loi, roi, oie, trois*; and *wá* in other words: *bois, pois*. The letters *oi*, immediately following *r*, represent *è*: *droit, étroit, froit* (see *t* below).

CONSONANTS.

ch, between sonants, becomes sonant: *achever* (aj-vé), *il achète* (i-la-jèt), *le cheval* (lej-val).

g, before *e* or *i*, becomes *y*: *guide* (yid), *guerre* (yèr).

h: the initial vowel of a stressed syllable is aspirated to avoid hiatus: *la hanche* (la hách), *une maison haute* (èn-mé-zò-hót), *j'm'en vas le donner à elle* (jmá-vál-dò-né-a-hèl). There is usually no aspiration if the syllable is not stressed.

j, before a surd, becomes surd: *j't'ai vu* (chté-vü).

k, between sonants, sometimes become sonant; *un canif* (è-ga-nif), *le secret* (lez-grà). With *le secret* compare S. F. *le second* (lez-gò).

l: at end of a word, *-le* is usually omitted: *cable* (câb), *table* (tab).

r is lingual. Final *re* is usually retained, but is lost in *notre, votre, -autres*, and a few other words.

t is pronounced at end of *froit* (*froid*), *étroit*, *droit*, and usually in *lit, lait, fait, nuit, tout, debout*, etc. In a few words *t* is replaced by *k*: *pataque* (*patate*), *tabaquère* (*tabatière*), *théquère* (*thétière*), *quins* (*tiens*). In the last three examples there is evidently a development of *ty* into palatal *t*, and of this palatal *t* into palatal *k*. Compare the Parisian colloquial French *piquié* (*pitié*).

Note.—There is often uncertainty with regard to the pronunciation of *è* and *t* at the end of a word; thus, *lait* is sometimes pronounced *lèt* and sometimes *là*, but *là* is considered the better pronunciation.

v is usually omitted before *w*: *avoir* (a-wèr), *voir* (wèr), *avoine* (a-wèn).

List of some words in which unclassified phonetic changes occur. The S. F. form is given in parenthesis.

âb (*arbre*); *argnée* (*araignée*); *balyer* (*balayer*); *barouette* (*brouette*); *bartelles* (*bretelles*); *bin* (*bien*); *boîte*, "box," pron. *bwét* (*il boîte*, "he limps," is pron. *i-buèt*); *cafière* (*cafetière*); *canegons* (*caleçons*); *cas'* (*casque*); *chinée* (*cheminée*); *ène* (*une*); *frémi* (*fourmi*); *froit* (*froid*); *ganif* (*canif*); *icite* (*ici*); *m'non* (*melon*); *oryer* (*oreiller*); *pataque* (*patate*); *pias'* (*piastre*); *poêle*, pron. *pwél* (*poil* is *pwèl*); *rabourer* (*labourer*); *segret* (*secret*); *sieau* (*seau*); *souyer* (*soulier*); *tabaquère* (*tabatière*); *théquère* (*théière*); *timber* (*tomber*); etc.

Many of these words are often pronounced correctly, but the pronunciation given above is the more common.

In the phonetic notation of the following tables and illustrative sentences the letter *â* is used to denote C. F. *è* at the end of a word.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS—CONJUNCTIVE FORMS.

SINGULAR.

	Subject.	Dir. Obj.	Ind. Obj.
First Person.....	je, j', ch'	me, m'	me, m'
Second Person.....	tu, t'	te, t'	te, t'
Third Person—Masc....	i, il	le, l', lé	y
—Fem. ...	a, al	la, l'	y

PLURAL.

	Subject.	Dir. Obj.	Ind. Obj.
First Person.....	ô, ôl	nous	nous
Second Person.....	vous	vous	vous
Third Person—Masc. and Fem...	i, il	les, l's	leurs

Note.—While educated French Canadians use *on* 'we,' the illiterate commonly use *ô* or *ôl*. The *l* is probably by analogy with *i*, *il*, and *a*, *al*.

The forms *je, tu, i, a, ô, i, me, te, le, la* are used before a consonant; the forms *j', t', il, al, ôl, il, m', t', l'* are used before a vowel. In rapid speech *j'* and *ch* may be used before a consonant, if not spirant, *j'* before a sonant and *ch'* before a surd, thus *j'm'en vas* (jmâ-vâ), *ch'pense pas* (chpâs-pâ); and *m', t',* or *l'* may be used before a consonant, if preceded by a vowel; thus, *i m' donne* (im-dôn), etc. The form *l's* may replace *les*: *i l's aime* (il-zèm).

The form *lé* is used after an imperative. Thus, *donne-le* and *donne-les* sound alike (dôn-lé).

When an indirect object pronoun is used with a verb, the construction is as follows:

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>i m'a donné</i> (i-mâ-dò-né) | <i>i nous a donné</i> (i-nu-zâ-dò-né) |
| 2. <i>i t'a donné</i> (i-tâ-dò-né) | <i>i vous a donné</i> (i-vu-zâ-dò-né) |
| 3. <i>i y'a donné</i> (i-yâ-dò-né) | <i>i leurs a donné</i> (i-lër-zâ-dò-né) |

When both a direct object and an indirect object pronoun are used with a verb, the construction is as follows:

SINGULAR.

PLURAL.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>i m'l'a donné</i> (im-lâ-dò-né) | <i>i nous l'a donné</i> (i-nu-lâ-dò-né) |
| 2. <i>i t'l'a donné</i> (i-tlâ-dò-né) | <i>i vous l'a donné</i> (i-vu-lâ-dò-né) |
| 3. <i>i l'a donné à lui</i> (i-lâ-dò-né-a-lüi) | <i>i l'a donné à eux-autres</i> (i-lâ-dò-né-a-hö-zót) |

Observe that in the third person the direct object is conjunctive, while the indirect object is disjunctive. The direct object pronoun, if the sense permits, is often omitted; thus, *donnes-y* (dôn-zi) "give it to him," *j' leurs ai donné* (jlër-zé-dò-né) "I gave it to them," etc.

Some or *any* is *en, 'n*. The form *'n* is generally used after *i, a,* or *ô*; thus:—

J'en ai deux (jâ-né-dö) "I have two (of them)."

t'en as deux (tâ-nâ-dö) "you have two (of them)."

i'n a deux (i-nâ-dö) "he has two (of them)."

a'n a deux (a-nâ-dö) "she has two (of them)."

ô'n a deux (ô-nâ-dö) "we have two (of them)."

vous en avez deux (vu-zâ-na-vé-dö) "you have two (of them)."

i'n ont deux (i-nô-dö) "they have two (of them)."

Similarly, *i'n a pas* (i-nâ-pâ) "he hasn't any."

When *en* is used with an indirect object pronoun, the construction is as follows :

i m'en a donné (i-mâ-nâ-dò-né) "he gave me some."

i t'en a donné (i-tâ-nâ-dò-né) "he gave you some."

i y'en a donné (i-yâ-nâ-dò-né) "he gave him (her) some."

i nous en a donné (i-nu-zâ-nâ-dò-né) "he gave us some."

i vous en a donné (i-vu-za-nâ-dò-né) "he gave you some."

i leurs en a donné (i-lër-zâ-nâ-dò-né) "he gave them some."

donnes-moi-s-en (dòn-mwè-zâ) "give me some."

donnes-toi-s-en (dòn-twè-zâ) "give yourself some."

donnes-y-en (dòn-zi-yâ) "give him (her) some."

donnes-nous-en (dò-nu-zâ) "give us some."

donnez-vous-en (dò-né-vu-zâ) "give yourself some."

donnes-leurs-en (dòn-lër-zâ) "give them some."

Similarly, *quins-toi-s-y* (kè-twè-zi) instead of S. F. *tiens-t'y*. (For *quins* = *tiens*, see *quindre* under Irregular Verbs.)

PERSONAL PRONOUNS—DISJUNCTIVE FORMS.

	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
First Person.....	moi	nous-autres
Second Person.....	toi	vous-autres
Third Person—Masc...	lui	} eux-autres
—Fem ...	elle	

I do not remember ever having heard the disjunctive pronouns *nous*, *vous*, *eux* used without *autres*, except *vous*, when referring to one person : *ô vend du bois nous-autres itou* (o-vâ-dü-bwâ-nu-zô-ti-tu) "we sell wood too."

RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

Qué is used as subject pronoun, and *à qui* in place of *dont*: *J'ai vu l'homme qu' est venu* "I saw the man that came"; *Je connais l'homme à qui le garçon est mort* "I know the man whose son has died." *Lequel* with a preposition is often replaced by *ioù-'st-ce qué*: *la chaise ioù-st-ce qué j'ai mis mon chapeau* "The chair on which I placed my hat."

Ce qui and *ce que* are C. F. *quoi 'st-ce qué* (*kwa-ské*): *dis-moi quoi 'st-ce qu'a fait ça* "tell me what did that"; *dis-moi quoi 'st-ce qué t'as vu* "tell me what you saw."

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

The interrogative pronouns are *qui-st-ce qué* (*ki-ské*) *who*, *whom*, and *quoi 'st-ce qué* (*kwa-ské*) *what*:—*qui-st-ce qu'a fait ça?* "who did that?"—*à qui-st-ce qué tu l'as donne?* "to whom did you give it?"—*quoi-'st-ce qué tu ueux?* "what do you wish" (less often, *quoi ueux-tu?*); *quoi-st-ce qué c'est qu'a timbé?* "what is it that fell?"—*pour qui-'st-ce qué c'est?* "whom is it for?"—*pour quoi 'st-ce qué c'est?* "what is it for?"

DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES.

SINGULAR.

Masculine—Before a consonant.....*ce, c'*
 Before a vowel.....*cet, c't*
 Feminine—Before a consonant.....*cette, c'tté*
 Before a vowel.....*cette, c'tt'*

As a rule, the forms *c'*, *c't*, *c'tté* and *c'tt'* are used if stress and euphony permit; these are the forms that are regularly used with *-là* and *-icite*. Ex. :—

ce tapis (se-ta-pi)
sur c'tapis-là (sü-sta-pi-lâ)
cet homme (se-tôm)

pour c't homme-icite (pur-stò-mi-sit)
cette femme (sèt-fam)
pour c'tté femme-là (pur-sté-fam-lâ)
cette heure (se-tër)
à c'tt' heure (a-stër)

The plural form *ces* is used as in S. F.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

SINGULAR.

Masculine—*çula* (sü-lâ), “this” or “that (one).”
 Feminine—*c'tt' elle-là* (stè-lâ), “ “ “

PLURAL.

Masc. and Fem.—*ces-la* (sé-zlâ), “these (ones).”

I do not remember ever having heard *-icite* used in place of *-là* in the above forms. If not emphatic, *ça* would replace all three forms given above. Evidently *çula* is a contraction of *celui-là*.

SINGULAR.

Masculine—*le cel* (le-sèl), “the one,” “that.”
 Feminine—*la celle* (la-sèl) “ “ “

PLURAL.

Masc. and Fem.—*les ceux* (lé-sèz), “the ones,” “those.”

Ex. :—*je veux pas c'tté fourchette-icite ; je veux c'tt' elle-là*
 “I do not wish this fork, I wish that one ;” *je préfère mes chevaux aux ceux de mon père* “I prefer my horses to my father's.”

VERBS.

The forms in *-ons*, 1st pers. plur., are replaced by the 3d pers. sing. with the pronoun *ô*, *ôl*, except in the *imperative* of some verbs, as *allons-nous-en*, *partons*, etc.

The *present perfect* replaces the *preterite* ("narrative past") and the *past anterior* tenses: *aussitôt qu'il est venu, j'ai parti* "as soon as he came (had come), I left;" *je l'ai vu aussitôt qu'il a entré* "I saw him as soon as he came (had come) in."

The *future* tense is usually formed as follows:

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| Sing. | { | 1. <i>je m'en vas le faire....</i> "I shall do it." |
| | | 2. <i>tu vas le faire.....</i> "you will do it." |
| | | 3. <i>i va le faire.....</i> "he will do it." |
| Plur. | { | 1. <i>ô va le faire.....</i> "we shall do it." |
| | | 2. <i>vous allez le faire.....</i> "you will do it." |
| | | 3. <i>i vont le faire.....</i> "they will do it." |

The regular S. F. *future* tense is sometimes used in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. Compare *si j'ai l'argent, je l'achèterai* "if I have the money, I shall buy it;" *je m'en vas l'acheter, si j'ai l'argent* "I shall buy it if I have the money."

The *imperative*, 2d pers. sing., of the first conjugation, takes final *s*, by analogy with other imperative forms: *donnes-y le livre* (dòn-zi-le-livr) "give him the book."

The *past subjunctive* forms of only two verbs, *venir* and *aller*, are retained, and they are used only as an auxiliary to form a new past subjunctive tense. *Venir* is thus used much oftener than *aller*. Ex. :—

Je voudrais que vous vinssiez venir demain "I wish you would come to-morrow."

Je voudrais qu'i vînt aller "I wish he would go."

Je voudrais que je vinsse être riche "I wish I might be rich."

Il avait peur qu'a vînt mourir "he was afraid she would die,"

il avait peur qu'ô vînt partir hier "he was afraid we should leave yesterday."

J'avais peur qu'il allât faire froid "I was afraid it would be cold."

It is not uncommon to hear the 3d pers. sing. forms *vînt* and *allât* used in all three persons and both numbers, except

the 2d pers. plur.; thus, *il avait peur que je vint mourir* "he was afraid I should die."

In forming the compound "perfect" tenses, *être* is used as auxiliary with *aller*, *venir*, *naître*, *mourir*, and *avoir* with *entrer*, *partir*, *rester*, *sortir*, *timber*, etc.

IRREGULAR VERBS.

Avoir (a-wèr)

PRES. IND.

<i>j'ai</i> (jé)	<i>il a</i> (ó-lâ)
<i>t'as</i> (tâ)	<i>vous avez</i> (vu-za-vé)
<i>il a</i> (i-lâ)	<i>il ont</i> (i-lò)

PRES. SUBJ.

<i>j'äie</i> (jäi)	<i>il äie</i> (ó-lâi)
<i>t'äies</i> (tâi)	<i>vous äiez</i> (vu-zâi-yé)
<i>il äie</i> (i-lâi)	<i>il äient</i> (i-lâi)

Être (étr)

PRES. IND.

<i>je suis, je su', chu</i> (je süi, je sü, chü)	<i>il est</i> (ó-lé)
<i>t'es</i> (té)	<i>vous êtes</i> (vu-zét)
<i>il est</i> (i-lé)	<i>i sont</i> (i-sò)

When unstressed and separated from *je*, *suis* becomes *su'*: *je me su' coupé la main* "I cut my hand." When unstressed, *je suis* may become *chu*: *chu pas allé* "I didn't go."

PRES. SUBJ.

<i>je sois</i> (je-swè)	<i>il soit</i> (ó-swè)
<i>tu sois</i> (tü-swè)	<i>vous soyez</i> (vu-swè-yé)
<i>i soit</i> (i-swè)	<i>i soient</i> (i-swè)

Aller (a-lé)

PRES. IND.

<i>je vas</i> (j'vâ)	<i>il va</i> (ó-vâ)
<i>tu vas</i> (tü-vâ)	<i>vous allez</i> (vu-za-lé)
<i>i va</i> (i-vâ)	<i>i vont</i> (i-vò)

PRES. SUBJ.

<i>j'alle</i> (jal)	<i>il alle</i> (6-lal)
<i>t'alles</i> (tal)	<i>vous alliez</i> (vu-za-lyé)
<i>il alle</i> (i-lal)	<i>il allent</i> (i-lal).

In the past tenses, when denoting motion with a definite object in view, *être* is regularly used instead of *aller*: *il a pas été hier à Montréal* "he didnt go to Montreal yesterday." As an independent verb, *s'en aller* is generally used: *J'm'en vas à la poste-office* "I am going to the post-office." As an auxiliary verb, *s'en aller* is generally used in the 1st pers. sing., *aller* in the other forms (see *future* tense above).

PRES. IND.

Quindre (S. F. *tenir*).

<i>je quins</i> (je kè, chkè)	<i>il quint</i> (o'-kè)
<i>tu quins</i> (tü kè)	<i>vous tenez</i> (vu-tné)
<i>i quint</i> (i-kè)	<i>i quennent</i> (i-kèn)

PRES. SUBJ.

<i>je quenne</i> (je-kèn, chkèn)	<i>il quenne</i> (o'-kèn)
<i>tu quennes</i> (tü-kèn)	<i>vous teniez</i> (vu-te-nyé)
<i>i quenne</i> (i-kèn)	<i>i quennent</i> (i-kèn)

IMPERATIVE.

2d pers. sing.—*quins* (kè); 2d pers. plur.—*tenez* (te-né)

The other forms are :—

Imper. Ind.— <i>tenais</i> , etc.	Conditional— <i>quindrais</i> , etc.
Future— <i>quindrai</i> , etc.	Participles— <i>tenant</i> , <i>tenu</i> .

Dire—Pres. Ind. and Imperative, 2d pers. plur., *disez*.

Dites is sometimes used. I once heard: *disez-moi quoi'st-ce qué vous dites* "tell me what you are saying."

Faire—Pres. Ind. and Imperative, 2d pers. plur., *faisiez*.

Pres. Ind., 3d. pers. plur., *faisent*.

Pres. Subj., *faise*, etc.

Pouvoir (pu-wèr)—Pres. Ind., *peux*, etc.
Pres. Subj., *peuve*, etc.

Savoir (sawèr)
Pres. Subj.—*save*, etc.

Vouloir (vu-lwèr)
Pres. Subj.—*veule*, etc.

INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES.

Interrogative sentences are usually formed as follows: *parles-tu?* or *parlez-vous?* “are you speaking?”—*i parle-ti?* “is he speaking?”—*a parle-ti?* “is she speaking?”—*ô parle-ti?* “are we speaking?”—*i parlent-i?* “are they speaking?”—*i l'a-ti acheté?* “has he bought it?”—*al est-i allé se coucher?* “has she gone to bed?”—*ce garçon rêve-ti?* “is this boy dreaming?”—*la fille rêve-ti?* “is the girl dreaming?”

If the sentence is introduced by an interrogative pronoun or adverb, *est-ce qué* is used as follows: *ioù 'st-ce qu'il est?* “where is it?”—*quand 'st-ce qu'a va venir?* “when will she come?”—*comment 'st-ce qu' ô va le faire?* “how shall we do it?”—*combien 'st-ce qu' i y en a?* “how many are there?”—*quoi 'st-ce qué tu veux?* “what do you wish?”

NEGATIVE SENTENCES.

In negative sentences *ne* is regularly omitted; and *p'us* (pü) means *no more, no longer*. Ex. :—

J'en ai pas “I have none”; *dis-y pas* “don't tell him”; *prends-lé pas* “don't take it”; *Je l'ai jamais vu* “I have never seen him”; *i travaille p'us* “he isn't working any longer”; *j'en veux p'us* “I don't wish any more” (“I wish some more” would be *j'en veux encore*).

ADVERBS.

Plus

More than, before a numeral, is *plus que* (plü-ské), never *plus de*. In forming comparatives, “more” is

plus (plü): *plus vieux* "older." Note that *no more*, *no longer*, with a verb, is *p'us* (pü).

Ne is not used: *il a pas été à Québec* "he didn't go to Québec;" *J'ai peur qu'i le fasse* "I'm afraid he'll do it."

Si, meaning "yes," is not used.

PARTITIVE CONSTRUCTION.

In the partitive construction the definite article is never omitted:

Je veux du bois "I wish some wood."

Je veux du bon bois "I wish some good wood."

Je veux pas du bois "I don't wish any wood."

LIST OF SOME WORDS IN COMMON USE.

Achever, to finish.

À c'tt' heure, now.

Barbot, m., beetle.

Barge, f., row-boat.

Bateau, m., large row-boat and sail-boat combined, which the Canadian French used when migrating up the St. Lawrence river.

Bicycle, f., bicycle.

Bin (*bien*), much, many; very (as in Standard French; but *très* and *beaucoup de* are rarely used): *j'ai bin du temps à faire ça*; *il est bin fatigué*.

Blanc d'Espagne, m., chalk.

Blé d'Inde, m., Indian corn (this is often written and understood to mean *blé dinde*).

Boucaner, to smoke: *la lampe boucane* "the lamp is smoking" (to smoke tobacco is *fumer*).

Bougrane, f., man's coat (from *bougran*?)

Bouquet, m., flower, flowering shrub.

Butin, m., cloth, clothes, goods, luggage.

- Cage*, f., cage, raft: *cage de billots*, raft of logs; *cage de plançons*, raft of hewn timbers.
- Canard*, m., duck, tea-kettle.
- Capot*, m., overcoat.
- Cas'* (*casque*), m., cap.
- Casser*, to break (*rompre* rarely used).
- Chaise berçante*, f., rocking-chair.
- Char*, m., railway car or coach.
- Châssis*, m., window.
- Chesse*, dry.
- Col*, m., neck-tie.
- Collet*, m., man's collar.
- Corps*, m., undershirt.
- Couverture*, f., cover, roof (*toit* rarely used).
- Creux*, hollow, deep: *un puits creux* "a deep well."
- Criature*, f., woman (*femme* used only in the sense of "wife").
- Culottes*, f., trousers (*pantalon* understood but rarely used).
- Égouine*, f., saw.
- Fleur*, f., flower, flour, meal (*farine* rarely used): *fleur de blé*, wheat flour; *fleur de blé d'Inde*, "corn" meal; *fleur d'avoine*, oat meal.
- Fargure*, f., liver (*foie* used in the expression *huile de foie de morue*).
- Galette*, f., cake: *galette de noce* "wedding cake."
- Gazette*, f., newspaper (*journal* rarely used).
- Gondendard*, m., cross-cut saw.
- Guedelles*, f., currants.
- Habillement*, m., suit of clothes.
- Houle*, f., wave.
- Itou*, also, too (*aussi* rarely used).
- Ioù*, where (literally "there where:" *ioù* is often pronounced *iwou*).
- Jaquette*, f., night-gown.
- Jonc*, m., plain finger ring (*bague*, a ring with setting).
- Jongler*, to let one's mind dwell on something: *j'ai jonglé toute la nuit* "I thought about it all night."
- Lard*, m., pork: *lard frais*, fresh pork; *lard boucané*, bacon.
- Lave-mains*, m., wash basin.

- Lieux*, m. plur., water-closet.
Magasin, m., shop, store.
Maringouin, m., mosquito.
M'non, m., melon : *m'non français*, musk-melon ; *m'non d'eau*, watermelon.
Mouche à miel, f., honey bee.
Moustique, f., black-fly of the Northern Lakes.
Navot, m., rutabaga turnip.
Ó (on), pers. pron., we.
Parc, m., pasture.
Par-dessus, m., overshoes, overalls.
Parole, f., word (*not* rarely used).
Pataque, f., potato : *pataque sucrée*, sweet potato.
Pias' (piastre), f., dollar.
Poche, f., pocket, sack : *poche d'avoine* "sack of oats."
Potager à diner, m., dinner pail.
Profiter, to grow (speaking of living beings) : *l'enfant profite* "the child is growing rapidly."
Propeleur, m., steamboat.
Quart, m., barrel.
Quasiment, almost.
Querir (pron. *kri*), in the sense of *chercher* ; thus, *j'ai été querir* for *je suis allé chercher*.
Quindre, to hold (see above, among irregular verbs).
Rabiole, f., turnip (see *navot*).
Rester, to remain, live, dwell : *il reste icite* "he lives here."
Rôtir, to fry : *pataques rôties*, fried potatoes ; *rôtir dans le fourneau*, to roast, bake.
Salade, f., lettuce.
Sciote, m., buck-saw.
Surtout, m., cut-away coat, Prince Albert coat.
Tableau, m., black-board (only *image* is used in the sense of "picture").
Tarte, f., pie.
Trempe, wet : *l'herbe est trempe* "the grass is wet."
Valise, f., traveler's trunk.

XIV.—MICHAEL DRAYTON AS A DRAMATIST.

Contemporary allusions to Drayton's contact with the Elizabethan drama are not very numerous. We know that he had some contact; and during the year 1598 he did a great deal of dramatic work. In his *Elegy to Reynolds* (1627), wherein he speaks of "poets and poesie," there are reminiscent suggestions of Marlowe, Nashe, Shakspeare, Jonson, Chapman, and Beaumont. But the strain of this very poem seems to hint that his memory was more tenacious of epic and lyric associations. In 1598, Meres in his *Palladis Tamia* puts Drayton among the writers "best for tragedie," along with Marlowe, Peele, Kyd, Shakspeare, Chapman, Dekker, and Jonson.¹ Drayton's dramatic period paralleled the dramatic incident called "The War of the Theatres." Mr. Fleay finds Drayton in the current of this strife.² Dr. Penniman, however, in his careful survey, does not associate Drayton with this dramatic contest.³

How close Drayton was to Shakspeare and Jonson is not known. He seems to have come to London about the time Shakspeare left Stratford. Tradition tells us that Drayton was with Shakspeare and Jonson at New Place just prior to the death of the great dramatist in 1616. Drayton was a patient of Dr. Hall, the son-in-law of Shakspeare. Both Drayton and Jonson worked for Henslowe, but never in collaboration. Mr. Fleay asserts that Shakspeare had an early companionship with Drayton in the Chamberlain's company and that it terminated in a misunderstanding in 1597.⁴ This is mere conjecture.

¹ Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, edited by Haslewood, 1815, *Ancient Critical Essays*, II, p. 150.

² Fleay, *Life and Work of Shakespeare*, 1886, p. 293.

³ Penniman, *The War of the Theatres*, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, 1897.

⁴ Fleay, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 78.

Drayton's name has been associated with thirty-three plays. Twenty-four are positively attributed to him wholly or in part by Henslowe's Diary.¹ These we shall call the Henslowe group. Nine are conjecturally attributed to him, wholly or in part, by Mr. Fleay. These we shall call the Fleay group.

So far as positive evidence is concerned, all is contained in the Diary. Outside of that, all is tradition or conjecture. Mr. Fleay has associated the following plays with the name of Drayton:—*Sir Thomas More*, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, some revision of the second and the third parts of *Henry VI*, *The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *The London Prodigal*, *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, the revision of *Richard III*, and the Induction of the *Taming of the Shrew*.²

The association of these plays with Drayton is based upon certain theories deduced by Mr. Fleay from a study of the Henslowe group. These theories have been followed to a greater or less degree by Mr. Elton.³ If the theories are not tenable, Drayton's association with the plays falls with the theories.

Drayton's dramatic associations suggest many interesting topics. What was the relation of Henslowe to the Admiral's men? What was the relation of an unattached writer of the Popular School to the theatre? What was the financial value of an ephemeral drama? and what were the earnings of a dramatist of the Popular School for his pen work, as distinct from the receipts of an actor or a shareholder in a theatrical company? The writers of the Popular School were often very prolific. Dekker had forty years of productive activity.

¹ *Diary of Philip Henslowe*, edited by Collier for the Shakespeare Society, 1845.

² Fleay, *Life and Work of Shakespeare*, 1886. See Index, p. 361, and pp. 27, 31, 41, 131, 158, 226.

Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the Elizabethan Drama*, 1891, vol. I, pp. 142, 151.

³ Elton, *Introduction to Michael Drayton*, Spenser Society Publications, 1895, pp. 26, 27.

Heywood said himself that he had "either an entire hand or at least a main finger" in two hundred and twenty plays.¹ Rowley's name is attached to fifty-five plays. Webster wrote seventeen. It becomes an interesting question as to what these plays were worth financially to their authors and collaborators.

When we touch Drayton's group, other interesting questions are suggested. What in general was the relation of author and patron in Elizabethan England? Were dramatic writers really ashamed of their work? Did men of genius or of literary repute hesitate to labor in the drama? Upon some of these topics Drayton's career may throw side-lights.

As an appendix to this article there is a table of the Henslowe group of plays. From this table we learn that Drayton was concerned in at least twenty-four pieces. These twenty-four plays cost Henslowe £133, 9s, or an average of £5, 10s per play.² There is of course an element of error. I think we may safely state that six pounds in money was the average price. The Diary states this sum to have been the contract price for *William Longsword*, *Mother Redcap*, *Henry I.*, *Mad Man's Morris*, *Hannibal* and *Hermes*, *Chance Medley*. The three parts of the *Civic Wars in France*, *Connan*, and *Wolsey*, each cost six pounds. And when we have a full record of other plays, their price varies not much from this sum.³

We notice also that most of this work was done by Drayton in 1598. He began late in 1597 with *Mother Redcap*. In this year we have seventeen plays. After this he seems to have given up dramatic work. During 1599 he has only three plays; in 1600, one play; in 1601, one play, and that upon a subject especially attractive to Drayton; and in 1602 he is credited with two plays, one of them upon the

¹ Heywood, Introduction to *The English Traveler*.

² Fleay, *Chronicle*, I, p. 125. The price of *Patient Grissell* was £6.

³ Henslowe, p. xxv, has additional figures on the price of plays.

popular theme of Julius Caesar. Drayton seldom went beyond Britain for his themes.

During 1598, Drayton earned about forty pounds with his dramatic work. If we estimate the value of money as five times what it is to-day, we have the sum of one thousand dollars. The year before, Drayton had published his most popular and successful work, *England's Heroical Epistles*. This was one of the great literary successes of the day. It must have yielded him some money. Hence, at this particular period we find Drayton with many patrons, hosts of friends, a splendid literary reputation, and probably a fair income. Moreover, he must have been a very busy man. For, as we shall see farther on, he was engaged upon other literary ventures while he was working at the drama.

Drayton's own part in these twenty-four plays it is impossible to determine, since nearly all of them have perished. He is credited as the sole author of the play *Longsword* or *Longberd*. He was to receive six pounds for it. We are not positive that these two names refer to the same play. I have regarded the entries as of one play upon which five pounds were paid. The play is not extant, and Henslowe has entered no record that it was ever completed. All the other plays were in collaboration.

Drayton had eight collaborators. In 1598 he worked with Antony Munady, Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and Robert Wilson, Jr. In 1599 and 1600, Richard Hathway joined in the production of *Tudor* and *Constance*. In 1601 Wentworth Smith worked with him upon *Wolsey*. And as late as 1602 we find our author writing in partnership with Webster and Middleton. His association with Munady, Dekker, and Chettle began early and lasted long. Wilson does not appear after 1599. Mr. Fleay says this was Robert Wilson, Jr., who was buried at Cripplegate, November 20, 1600. Of Wentworth Smith nothing is known outside of Henslowe's Diary, and the only play in which any of this Smith's work has come down to us is Heywood's *Royal King*

and *Loyal Subject*. Hathway also is known only from the *Diary*.

With these Henslowe plays as a starting point, some of Drayton's biographers, notably Mr. Fleay, who is followed by Mr. Elton, indulge in speculations that invite study. They assert that about 1597 Drayton lost his patrons; for four or five years, from 1599 to 1602, he produced nothing for the press; he became very poor, and perforce associated with Philip Henslowe for the sake of bread and butter. That this is a period when Drayton seems to have been in financial distress. That after 1598 he wrote for another company in addition to Henslowe's, and so we have the Fleay group of plays from his pen. That in 1602 he met Sir Walter Aston, and thereupon his prospects began to brighten and his fortunes to mend. Then he quit play-writing, because it was to him a degradation. And because of this antipathy he never published any of his dramatic work. Let me quote at length from Mr. Fleay:—

“In 1597 we reach a distinct epoch in Drayton's career. He was at this time driven by necessity and the failure of his patron's promises to write for the theatre. He continued to do so for five years; and not till after the accession of James, and his meeting with a new patron in Sir W. Aston, was he able to give up this, to him, unpalatable occupation.

“It is specially to be noted that he, like Beaumont, never allowed his name to appear in print as an author for the stage. The only published play in which we positively know him to have been concerned (*Sir John Oldcastle*) bore on its title-page ‘by William Shakespeare.’ As no play by Monday, Wilson, or Hathway, his co-adjutors in this one, was ever attributed to Shakespeare, and as Drayton was the only one of the four ever connected with Shakespeare's company of players, it becomes a matter of great interest to investigate what connexion Drayton may have had with other plays wrongly attributed by publishers or tradition to the great dramatist. For if this attribution of the *Oldcastle* play was

due to Drayton's connexion with it, as it manifestly was, the same thing may have happened in cases hitherto unsuspected.

"From the list of plays written for Henslowe many results follow, important for Drayton's biography. It is evident from the smallness of the sums advanced in some instances that it was during this period that money was urgently needed by him. Moreover not one of these twenty-four plays was ever published with Drayton's name attached to it, and only one published at all. He evidently regarded his connexion with the stage as a degradation.

"A further examination of Henslowe's list shows that of the twenty-four plays there given, eighteen were written in about a year, in 1598; while in the remaining four years, 1599-1603, during which Drayton continued to write for the stage he only assisted in producing six plays for Henslowe. It seems probable that during this time he must have been writing also for another company; he had to live, had lost his patronage from the Bedford family, and certainly produced nothing for the press."¹

I quote also from Mr. Elton:—

"Drayton's career from 1598 to the end of the reign is obscure. It is only known that despite his fame he was a theatrical hack, little patronised, poor, and co-operating with fourth-rate men. It is a barren and dejected chapter. . . . About Christmas, 1597, he first seems to have joined one of the needy syndicates dependent upon Henslowe. . . . This is a sorry record."²

These opinions call for a study of the patronage of Drayton; his literary work during his dramatic period; his poverty; and his repugnance to the drama.

The subject of the character and extent of the patronage extended to the Elizabethan authors has never been fully worked up. It offers a broad field for original investigation.

¹ Fleay, *Chronicles*, I, pp. 150, 151.

² Elton, *Introduction to Drayton*, pp. 25, 26.

The practice of seeking a patron seems to have been quite general, and was founded on conditions that extend far back into the Middle Ages. Shakspeare was exceptionally independent, yet even he enjoyed the favor of Southampton. Ben Jonson's tributes to noble families are numerous and, in addition, he was always welcome at Court. His income came almost entirely from patronage. He told Drummond that "of his plays he never gained two hundred pounds."¹

It seems to have been necessary for a playwright to depend upon something extraneous for a livelihood.² Hence many dramatic authors identified themselves with a theatre or its company. In the later period of his life Shakspeare was earning above six hundred pounds a year in money of the period.³ This was largely due to the receipts of the theatre in which he was a large holder.

It is difficult to estimate the money value of patronage and dedication. This latter was often inspired by gallantry, gratitude, or friendship. Sometimes dedicatory lines were written for a fee. Ward tells us that the ordinary fee for these complimentary efforts was forty shillings.⁴

In the case of Drayton, it must not be forgotten that in 1598 he had behind him a successful career as a poet. His pastorals, his sonnets, his legends, his epic of Mortimer, had all appeared. In 1597 he issued his *Heroical Epistles*. This was his most successful work. Edition after edition was called for by popular appreciation. And it was upon the completion of these *Epistles* that he next began to work on the drama. At this moment his fortunes were very bright.

Drayton was never without some patron to whom he might dedicate his newest work. In 1590 he offered the first outpourings of his muse to Lady Devereux; and in 1630, forty

¹ Jonson, *Conversations with Drummond*, printed for Shakespeare Society, 1842, p. 35.

² Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, 1899, I, 448.

³ Lee, *Life of William Shakespeare*, 1899, pp. 198, 204.

⁴ Ward, *Dramatic Literature*, III, 256, note.

years later, he tendered his last work to Lord and Lady Dorset. Lady Dorset placed a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. During these forty years he had hosts of friends: many of them noble, whom he addressed once and again. These included the king, the princes of the royal blood, prominent and influential noblemen and their ladies. Queen Elizabeth I think he did not directly address, although his *Eglogs* contain the *Song to Beta* after the manner of Spenser's *Song to Eliza* in the *Shepherds' Calendar*.

With some of these patrons Drayton was on terms of intimate association and manly dependence. This is notably true of the Gooderes, the Bedfords, and Sir Walter Aston. Drayton seems to have made friends and kept them long. His friendship for Anne Goodere lasted throughout his life. He was close to Aston from 1602 until long after the publication of *Polyolbion*. His association with Shakspeare and Jonson seems to have covered a long period, and as late as 1627 he pays them a tribute in his elegy to Reynolds. His relations with Drummond, Wither, Browne, are all pleasant. So, too, with noble friends: he had many, he gave them many a tribute, and he was the recipient of many a bounty that he does not hesitate to acknowledge with a grateful pen. The idea that he lampooned the Countess of Bedford under the name of Selena in the eighth *Eglog* of the 1606 edition is wholly foreign to the character of the man as well as contrary to the facts of his relation to her as his patroness.¹ Drayton frequently revised his work and changed his dedications. This change may have been for no other purpose than freshness and contemporaneousness.

The following statement of Drayton's patrons from 1594 to 1605 includes the author's entire dramatic period. Our authorities for the facts are the bibliography at the end of Elton's monograph; Fleay's *Chronicle of the English Drama*, vol. I, p. 138; and the Spenser Society's reprints of Drayton's works:—

¹ Elton, *Introduction to Drayton*, p. 9.

1594, *Matilda*. Dedication to Mistress Lucie Harrington. *Ideas Mirrour*. Dedicatory sonnet to Sir Anthony Cooke.

1595, *Endimion and Phoebe*. Dedicatory sonnet to Lucy, Countess of Bedford :

“Great Lady, essence of my chiefest good.”

1596, *Mortimeriados*. Stanzas and Sonnets to Countess of Bedford. *Legends*. Dedication in prose to Lucy of Bedford and in verse to Lady Anne Harrington.

1597, *England's Heroical Epistles*. Dedication to the Earl and the Countess of Bedford.

1598, *Epistles*, as above.

1599, *Epistles and Sonnets*. Dedication and dedicatory verses as above.

1600, *Epistles and Sonnets*. I cannot learn whether the dedication is missing here. But I gather from Mr. Fleay¹ that the sonnet to the Countess of Bedford is retained in the *Sonnets*.

1602, *Epistles and Sonnets*. The dedication to the *Epistles* is here omitted; wherefore Mr. Fleay argues that Drayton broke with the Bedfords about 1601. This edition contains fifty-nine sonnets. I cannot learn positively whether the Bedford sonnet reappears in this issue; but I infer that it does for two reasons: First, Mr. Fleay does not speak of the omission.² Were the sonnet absent, he probably would have mentioned the fact. Secondly, Mr. Elton says³ the verses are reproduced as before in 1600 and in 1599; and we learn from Mr. Fleay that the Bedford sonnet is in the edition of 1599.⁴

1603, *The Barrons Warres with the Epistles and the Sonnets*. This volume is assigned to Ling, October 8, 1602. This edition contains sixty-nine sonnets. Mr. Fleay says that “in the October 8, 1602 edition the Bedford sonnet was

¹ Fleay, *Chronicle*, I, p. 153.

² Fleay, *Chronicle*, I, p. 153.

³ Elton, *Introduction*, p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

permanently withdrawn." This is wrong. Mr. Elton says the Bedford sonnet is in this edition. And the Spenser Society's reprint of the 1605 edition contains the sonnet. Hence there is no omission to show a break between Drayton and Bedford. This 1603 edition is dedicated to Drayton's new patron, Sir W. Aston. The dedication of *Mortimeriados* and *Epistles* to Bedford had been withdrawn and Aston's name substituted. But *Mortimeriados* was now old and *The Barons' Wars* was practically a new work. And the dedication of the *Epistles* to Bedford had been repeated in 1598 and 1599: while the tribute to Lady Bedford had not ceased in the sonnet.

1603, *To the Majestie of King James*. A gratulatory poem.

1604, *The Owl*. Dedicated to Sir W. Aston. *A Paean Triumphall*, to the Majestie of the King. *Moses in the Map of his Miracles*, to Aston.

1605. This year witnessed the publication of Drayton's first great Anthology, reprinted in two volumes by the Spenser Society. *The Barrons Warres* has a dedicatory sonnet to Sir Walter Aston, "my most worthy patron." Then follow the *Epistles* with prose dedications for each pair of letters. These prose dedications are warm in their acknowledgment of "gracious favors to my unworthy selfe." Among the patrons with whom Drayton is still upon terms of intimacy are "My very good Lord, Edward Earle of Bedford;" "The excellent Lady, Lucie Countesse of Bedford;" "The Vertuous Lady, the Lady Anne Harrington;" "My worthy and honored friend, Sir Walter Aston;" "The Right Worshippful Sir Henry Goodere of Powlesworth, Knight;" "The Vertuous Lady, the Lady Francis Goodere, wife to Sir Henry Goodere." Then follow the Sonnets; with particular sonnets to the King, to Sir Anthony Cooke, to Lady Harrington, and the familiar sonnet to Lady Bedford.

From this long array of dedications, it is evident that it is the idlest conjecture to assume that Drayton had a rupture with the Bedfords or the Harringtons. Mr. Fleay's infer-

ence that Drayton's dramatic career was induced by poverty consequent upon the failure of his patron's promises, has no basis in fact. It is singular that Mr. Elton should have been led to accept such an assumption. In 1605, we find Drayton on the warmest terms with his old friends, the Gooderes, the Harringtons, the Bedfords, and Sir Anthony Cooke. Also he has a new friend in Aston. It is to be noticed, moreover, that Drayton did most of his work for Henslowe in 1598. In this year his earnings from his plays were largest. But even Mr. Fleay does not suggest any lack of patronage at that date.

In addition to loss of patrons, Mr. Fleay assumes that during the four years from 1599 to 1603 Drayton "certainly produced nothing for the press."

An examination of Drayton's literary work will be interesting in this connection. Our author was a voluminous writer, a tireless worker. At the same time he was a somewhat leisurely man. He was apt to set himself a huge task and ply it with steady industry until the end was attained. He seems never to have been idle; projecting new things and recasting old things made busy a long reach of life.

From his coming to London, about 1587, to 1597 he had a period of great creative activity. In 1587 he wrote the dirge to Sidney, in 1591 the *Harmony of the Church*. Then follow in chronological order the pastorals, the sonnets, *Endimion and Phoebe*, *Mortimeriados*, until the period culminated in the magnificent epic success, *England's Heroical Epistles*. During this period of ten years, Drayton's work was almost exclusively creative. He revised and republished almost nothing. *Piers Gaveston* and *Matilda* (1593-4) were reissued in 1596 to make a trilogy of legends with *Robert of Normandy*. This was the only republication. In view of the common assertion that Drayton was always refileing and polishing, the wholly original character of the work of this decade suggests a new conception of Drayton's mastery of his art.

Next comes the period from 1597 to 1605. This was almost wholly a period of reconstructing and recasting his former work. The only important creative attempt was his dramas. He wrote two poems to James, very unimportant. But the period was one of great literary activity. The sedulous filing, the wholesale recasting, the indefatigable labor given to the perfecting of his work, all show Drayton as a model for our own age, whose feat is to make a list of the best hundred books that have been written and published during the current fortnight. Drayton's creative period had been crowned by the *Heroical Epistles*. These were his chief work, very popular, and the consummation of the activity and aspiration of a decade. Edition after edition was demanded. As Drayton satisfied this popular demand by repeated issues, he also revised and republished his earlier works. The sonnets reappeared in 1599, 1600, 1602, 1603, and 1605; and in each issue the changes were many and important. The epistles were reissued, "newly enlarged and corrected," in 1598, 1599, 1600, 1602, 1603, and 1605. The work put upon *Mortimeriados* was remarkable. Drayton was dissatisfied with the poem both as to form and content. "As at first the dignitie of the thing was the motive of the doing, so the cause of this my second greater labour was the insufficient handling of the firste." *Mortimeriados* had been written in the rime-royal of the *Mirror for Magistrates*—a book that Drayton was very familiar with and to whose 1610 edition he made a contribution. Dissatisfied with this stanza, he recast the entire poem into Ariosto's *ottava rima* and renamed it *The Barrons Warres*. This work of revision must have equaled that of the original effort. In his preface he remarks that "it were more than boldness to venter on so noble an argument without leisure and studie competent." The new volume appeared in 1603. Hence from 1599 to 1603, the period in which Mr. Fleay says Drayton produced nothing for the press, there were issued at least three "newly enlarged and corrected" editions of the Sonnets and the

Epistles; the *Barrons Warres* was written, and in 1603 it appeared with another edition of both the Sonnets and Epistles. During 1598, he was at work upon eighteen dramas; and Meres tells us that in 1598 "Michael Drayton is now penning in English verse a poem called *Polyolbion*."¹ All Drayton's work upon his new editions must have been done after 1598, for that year was crowded with the drama. Nor must we overlook the half-dozen dramas that Drayton assisted in during 1599 to 1602. In 1605 appeared Drayton's great anthology. This volume was carefully edited; it has a new dedication to Aston; each pair of Epistles has a dedicatory preface, and there are also inserted many commendatory poems from other pens. The labor necessary to prepare this for the press must have been considerable. Drayton's work easily lends itself to division and classification. Until 1597 we have his first creative period. This culminated in his magnificent effort, *England's Heroical Epistles*. The next eight years are his first reproductive period. This culminated in the great anthology of 1605. Its finest single product is *The Barrons Warres*. But the most significant product of this period is Drayton's drama. This dramatic work was a literary failure, and Drayton probably learned his limitations. From 1605 until 1612 there is a second creative period. Here the original work consists of the *Odes*, the *Legend of Cromwell* that was included in the Higgins' edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, and the great *Polyolbion* of 1612. A second reproductive period is then closed with the folio of 1619. This folio appears midway between those of his two friends, Jonson and Shakspeare. After 1620, Drayton's third creative period employs him until his death. Here is his Caroline work, worthy of special study in itself.

Of all these five periods, the first reproductive term from 1597 to 1605 was one of his busiest and most important. Here are his great epic successes and his great dramatic

¹ Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, ed. Haslewood, II, p. 151.

failure. He shows himself to be a Spenserian in both these literary modes.

As another theme for study, let us look at Drayton's environment with Henslowe.

From late in 1597 to the middle of 1602, Drayton received from Henslowe, on a liberal estimate, the sum of fifty-two pounds. The usually accepted ratio of the values of money then and now is five to one: hence, in our money, Drayton's dramatic earnings for this period of five years was £260 or \$1,300. This is an average income of \$260 a year—certainly not large. But of these earnings, a thousand dollars were the receipts for the year 1598 alone. This was his prolific year in the drama. After this year's experimental work, he turned to his earlier work and revised it for his edition of 1605.

Drayton's period with Henslowe is interesting to the student of the Elizabethan drama. Henslowe himself is an interesting character. He was a keen business man and a successful money-maker. His career was checkered; his businesses various. In early life he was a dyer; later, a dealer in wood; still later, a pawn-broker. When Drayton met him, he seems to have been the banker or financial manager of a very successful theatre and a very successful dramatic company at whose head was the famous actor Allyn. Henslowe seems to have financed the company, made money for himself and also for the members of the troupe. While a good business man, he seems also to have been not unsympathetic in his dealings with author and actor; appreciative of a successful play and of a successful performance. When the occasion justified the outlay, he spared no money to make a play successful. The expenditures upon the Wolsey plays illustrate the point.¹ He had the task of managing the money affairs of a group of men to whom the real value of money was unknown. He and Allyn ran

¹ Henslowe, pp. 195, 196, 197, 198.

the Rose; built the Fortune; organized and directed a successful company of actors; and supplied the necessities of a group of authors, some of whom were improvident and reckless in their expenditures. Elizabethan literature is full of personalities, but I have not met any contemporary lampoon, sarcasm, or harsh criticism against this financial backer of the Admiral's men.¹

Mr. Fleay has drawn a comparison between two dramatic and financial methods:²—"During Shakspeare's career, we know of only some two dozen plays having been produced by his 'fellows,' in addition to the three dozen included in his works; and of these about two-fifths are anonymous and have been, at some time or other, ascribed in whole or in part to the great master. It is evident that he had the management of the playwriting for his house pretty nearly in his own hands, and that his method was the polar opposite to that of which we know most, viz., Henslowe's. While the latter employed twelve poets in a year, who produced for the Admiral's Men a new play every fortnight or so, the Chamberlain's Company depended almost entirely on two poets at a time and produced not more than four new plays a year. Hence the explanation of the vastly higher character of the Globe plays as compared with the Fortune: hence, also, the explanation of the small pay and needy condition of the latter, and their jealousy of the rapid advancement in wealth and position of Shakspeare, who had virtually a monopoly of play-providing for his Company."

This assumption of Mr. Fleay's is hardly fair. The difference was one of genius and personal ability rather than one of method. Nor are we sure that, outside of Shakspeare's own work, there was a "vastly higher character of the Globe plays as compared with the Fortune."³ *The Shoe-*

¹The notion that Henslowe was a hard, grasping pawn-broker of plays does not seem to be held by Mr. Ordish. V. his *Early London Theatres*, p. 148.

²Fleay, *Shakespeare*, p. 284.

³Fleay, *Chronicle*, I, p. 124.

maker's Holiday, *Patient Grissell*, and *Fortunatus* were played by the Admiral's Men: whereas *Satiromastix* was a Globe play; and *The London Prodigal*, *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, *Pericles*, *Lord Cromwell* were all written for the Globe. As to the small pay and needy condition of the Fortune's Men, we must remember that Allyn was an actor here; and we have just seen that while actively engaged with Henslowe in 1598, Drayton was not in needy condition. Nor have we learned that Jonson, Drayton, Dekker, Webster, Allyn, were jealous of the advance of Shakspeare. All this is part of the cumulative error gathered around Drayton's dramatic career. The owners of the Globe and the owners of the Fortune both made money. Both theatres developed talent. And Shakspeare's success depended, not upon his method, but upon a rare genius combined with an aptitude for the practical concerns of life. If, correspondent to the Diary of Henslowe, we had the account-books of the Globe theatre, we should know more of the financial condition of those associated with the Globe.

Another element of the cumulative error that has gathered around Drayton's dramatic work is an incautious statement by Mr. Elton that Drayton coöperated with "fourth-rate men."¹ This statement is hardly true in fact; certainly not in inference. Some of these collaborators may have been only hack-writers. Perhaps we do not know: our information is scanty. Certainly Dekker, Webster, and Middleton are not to be put into a fourth-rate class. Whatever may have been Thomas Dekker's private fortunes or misfortunes, the author of *Fortunatus* or of the lyric *Sweet Content* will not be rated very low in the scale of talent or even of genius. Nor does *The Duchess of Malfi* place Webster at the bottom of the list of Elizabethan dramatists.

Among the authors that sought service with Henslowe, we do not find Shakspeare, Fletcher, or Beaumont. But we do

¹ Elton, *Introduction*, p. 26.

find a group of men that may be divided into two classes. In the first we may place Jonson, Drayton, Webster, Middleton, Chapman, Heywood, Rowley. These men were successful, talented, popular. They were authors of some of the greatest dramas, epics, and lyrics, that have enriched English literature. They were influential men in their day; literary dictators of their times; and, when they died, they were respected and loved, and the memories of some of them are preserved in Westminster Abbey. In 1598 some of these men were young and were seeking a career with Henslowe, somewhat as a modern author seeks a publisher. Chapman was the oldest of the group; he was born in 1558 and had reached the age of forty. Drayton had not yet touched thirty-five. Heywood and Jonson were passing only twenty-six; and Rowley was still in his teens.¹

A second class may be formed with such names as Dekker, Chettle, Hathaway, Mundy. These men are obscure, or mediocre, or enemies to themselves. By virtue of his genius, Dekker should be put into our first class. But because his rare gifts were not accompanied by a tough moral fibre or a strong will, he continually thwarted his own ambitions. Some of the entries in the diary suggest unfortunate pictures:²—

“Lent unto Thomas Downton,
the 30 of Jenewary 1598 to
descarge Thomas Dickers
frome the areaste of my
lord Chamberlens men.
I saye lent 3£ 10s.”

Here is one of Dekker's escapades. Poor Chettle was con-

	<i>Birth-year.</i>	<i>Age in 1598.</i>
¹ Chapman.....	1558	40
Drayton.....	1564	34
Jonson.....	1572	26
Heywood.....	c. 1572	26
Rowley, S.....	1585	13
Chettle.....	1562	36
Dekker.....	1567	31

² Henslowe, p. 143.

tinually in debt.¹ Sometimes a fellow-author had to engage his word for the completion of Chettle's promised task. At one time Henslowe's entry shows Chettle's indebtedness to be £8 9s: this is more than the average price for a play. And finally there is the following record:²—

“Lent unto Thomas Downton
the xvii of Janewary 1598, to lend
unto harey chettell, to paye
his charges in the Marshall—
sey, the some of . . . xxxs.”

Harry Porter binds himself to serve only Henslowe. Chapman and Bird acknowledge a large indebtedness.³ We cannot tell whether these loans are made by Henslowe personally or by Henslowe as agent for the Company: probably the latter.

Within this group of genius and mediocrity, of thrift and unthrift, Michael Drayton is an important figure. He had hosts of friends and noble patrons. His literary reputation was at its zenith. Meres speaks of him in laudatory strains.⁴ During the year 1598 his earnings were considerable. We have many a record of sums paid to him; but no record that suggests improvidence or poverty. An examination of the entire list of his plays shows that eight of them were paid for not in instalments, but each in one sum: *Caesar's Fall*, £5; *Two Harpies*, £3; *Owen Tudor*, £4; *Oldcastle*, parts I and II, £14; *Civil Wars in France*, three parts, each £6; *Chance Medley* in two payments. But Drayton's share of 35s was paid to him in one entry after the other collaborators had been paid. Most of the other dramas were paid for in two or three instalments. *Hannibal and Hermes*; or, *Worse Afeard than Hurt* took seven payments for its two parts. *Richard Cordelions Funeral* was paid in very small sums to Wilson, Chettle, and Mundy; but Drayton's share of thirty shillings was paid in one sum. In the case of *Earl Godwin*,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 127, 134.

² Henslowe, p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 190, 191.

⁴ Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, ed. Haslewood.

Drayton draws the small sum of ten shillings for himself. This is the only instance of a small personal remittance. In the case of the play in which he had no collaborators, *Longsword* or *Longberd*, he receives the money in two payments. In all this record we find nothing to justify Elton's Jeremiad:¹

"The entries show the wretched haste and poverty of the authors to whom Henslowe through his agent doles out ten or twenty shillings. We find Drayton receiving these sums on loan, doubtless secured upon work yet unwritten. And we find him at least on one occasion taking the lion's share of the pittance (*Godwin*, Pt. II)."

This strain of Elton's has no justification. Drayton received these sums not so much for "work yet unwritten" as for work done. Many of the entries read "in full payment of a booke." Nor is there anywhere in Henslowe an entry of debt due from Drayton. Six pounds for a play was not a "pittance:" it seems to have been the market price. And as to Drayton's taking the "lion's share," he probably took what he had earned by a lion's share of the work. For the second part of *Godwin* he received two pounds, not thirty shillings: and in about ten of the dramas he received almost half of the entire sum paid for the play.² The whole record presents a picture of a talented, hard-working, and prosperous man. Drayton's standing with Henslowe was so good that in at least two instances he was accepted as sponsor for his less fortunate brothers in the craft.³ There were some unfortunates working for Henslowe. Haughton was in the Clink and Nashe was in the Flete. Gabriel Spenser became deeply involved. But Drayton was not in this class. Perhaps many a publishing house in its relations to our authors might produce a record such as we find in Henslowe's *Diary*. Edgar Allan Poe and James Russell Lowell both worked upon *Graham's Magazine* in Philadelphia: this fact does not prove that Lowell was intemperate in his cups.

¹ Elton, *Introduction*, p. 27.

² See table in Appendix.

³ Henslowe, pp. 131, 98, 114, 166.

We have noted Mr. Fleay's explanation of Drayton's entrance in the dramatic field.¹ "He was in 1597 driven by necessity and the failure of his patrons' promises to write for the theatre. He had to live, he had lost his patronage from the Bedford family, and certainly produced nothing for the press." We have shown that these contentions by Mr. Fleay are not tenable. The question then very naturally recurs. Why did Drayton write dramas?

The answer to this is twofold. He was induced to try dramatic work, first, by the influences around him; and, secondly, by the constitution of his mind. These two things are somewhat reciprocal.

The theatre, as an institution of society, had become very influential. The theatres were occupied by several successful companies of actors. The Chamberlain's Men and the Admiral's Men especially were drawing the attention of ambitious youths eager for a career. Hence many authors were turning to the career of the actor and to the theatres as an outlet for their pen-products, much as aspiring young authors turn to periodicals and magazines to-day. And, furthermore, the theatre offered a price for the pen of a successful writer, just as to-day a periodical or magazine bids for a successful novelist or story-teller. On this general theme, Brandes remarks:² "Every Englishman of talent in Elizabeth's time could write a tolerable play, just as every second Greek in the age of Pericles could model a tolerable statue, or as every European of to-day can write a passable newspaper article. Between 1557 and 1616 there were forty noteworthy and two hundred and thirty-three inferior English poets who issued works in epic or lyric form; yet the characteristic of the period was the immense rush of productivity in the direction of dramatic art. The Englishmen of that time were born dramatists, as the Greeks

¹ Fleay, *Chronicle*, I, 150.

² Georg Brandes, *William Shakspeare*, published by Heineman of London, 1898, I, p. 128.

were born sculptors, and as we hapless moderns are born journalists. The Greek with an inborn sense of form had constant opportunities for observing the nude human body and admiring its beauty. If he saw a man ploughing a field, he received a hundred impressions and ideas as to the play of the muscles in the naked leg. The modern European possesses a certain command of language, is practical in argument, has a knack of putting thoughts and events into words, and is finally a confirmed newspaper reader—all characteristics which make for the multiplication of newspaper articles. The Englishman of that day was keenly observant of human destinies and of passions which revelled in the brief freedom of the Renaissance. Life itself was dramatic; as in Greece it was plastic; as in our day it is journalistic, photographic—that is to say, striving in vain to give permanence to formless and everyday events and thoughts.”

We may say, then, that it was natural for Drayton to essay the drama because of his environment. But, secondly, it was logical for Drayton not only to write dramas but to write them just when he did. Earlier in our study we have remarked that Drayton attempted every literary vogue. The pastoral, the sonnet, the patriotic epic, the song, and then the drama; all forms were his. Nor must we overlook a very prominent trait of our author: a trait so characteristic that he may be dubbed the *tardy Drayton*. He seldom ventured upon a new literary mode until some one had paved the way for him. In 1597–8 the drama was a successful literary form that well might invite our author. While this was true of the general drama, it was essentially true of a certain development of the drama that must have appealed irresistibly to Drayton upon the success of his epic form in the *Heroical Epistles*. I refer to the Chronicle play.

Professor Schelling's latest volume,¹ *The English Chronicle Play*, gives us for the first time a view of this great patriotic

¹ Felix E. Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play*, 1902.

literature. The *Heroical Epistles* appeared at the time when interest in the great chronicle dramas was culminating. Shakspeare's historical plays parallel Drayton's first creative period with *Henry VI* in 1592 to *Henry IV* in 1597-8 and *Henry V* in 1599. When he finished his great chronicle epic, what more natural than that the "tardy" Drayton should now venture upon a chronicle in dramatic form? And an examination of this Henslowe group of plays shows that this is exactly what was done. We can only conjecture as to the content of Drayton's plays. Their titles however assure us of the correctness of our conclusions. He began with the Chronicle theme of William Longsword; and at least fifteen of this group of plays are on historical subjects: *William Longsword*, *Owen Tudor*, *Henry I.*, *Wolsey*, the two parts of *Godwin*, *Richard*, the three parts of the *Civil Wars*, *Connan*, the two parts of *Oldcastle*, *Piers of Exton*, and *Piers of Winchester*. Drayton was thoroughly patriotic. He touches this note in his early pastorals where he chants his refrain to *Beta*; he reproduces it in his sonnets; it is the burden of his legends, epistles, and *Barons' Wars*; it is continued in his odes of 1606; and his great spirit rises into loyal rapture all through his *Polyolbion*, wherein he sings the entire line of heroes and sovereigns down to Elizabeth. And this is the spirit that largely permeates his dramatic themes.

Another question that arises in connection with this study is, why did Drayton not publish his plays?

Of these twenty-four plays in the Henslowe group, there has come down to us only one. This is an edition of the first part of *Sir John Oldcastle*, an edition probably pirated by Pavier in 1600, and issued under the name of Shakspeare. The same year, Pavier issued another edition without Shakspeare's name: Mr. Elton takes the opposite view as to the succession of these editions.¹ As far as we know, this is the only play of the group that was ever published. Hence the natural question, why were they not published?

¹ Elton, *Introduction*, p. 73.

Mr. Fleay gives an explanation in the passage that has been previously quoted:¹ "Moreover not one of these twenty-four plays was ever published with Drayton's name attached to it, and only one published at all. He evidently regarded his connection with the stage as a degradation."

Any answer that is advanced to this question concerning Drayton will probably be insufficient. Because of our lack of knowledge a reply can be only a conjectural opinion. To me, Mr. Fleay's reply is very unsatisfactory. Not only is it a presumption without proof; but it assumes a social condition that is too frequently asserted without controversial comment. There has been published no adequate or specific study of the social status of an Elizabethan playwright or actor.² Perhaps a scholarly investigation of the theme might modify our modern point of view in regard to it. It is a common statement that the Elizabethan dramatist, actor, theatre, were all in social and moral ill-repute. If a reputable man worked as a playwright, he tried to conceal his connection with the work. This has been the source of an argument in favor of the Baconian authorship of Shakspeare's plays. Mr. Fleay cites Beaumont as one that never allowed his name to appear in print in connection with his dramas.³ Other biographers represent Beaumont, after his marriage, retiring to his country home because of social risk from connection with the theatre. Mr. Halliwell-Phillips states the case thus:⁴—"It must be borne in mind that actors then occupied an inferior position in society and that in many quarters even the vocation of a dramatic writer was considered scarcely respectable. The intelligent appreciation of genius by individuals was not sufficient to neutralize in these

¹ Fleay, *Chronicle*, I, p. 150. John R. Macarthur of Chicago University is now, 1903, editing *The Play of Sir John Oldcastle*.

² Dr. Morris W. Croll, lately a Fellow at the University of Pennsylvania, has an unpublished paper on this general subject.

³ Fleay, *Chronicle*, II, p. 150.

⁴ Halliwell-Phillips, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 1898, I, p. v.

matters the effect of public opinion and the animosity of the religious world."

Without many specific facts to justify his conclusions, Mr. Georg Brandes has scattered throughout his two volumes upon Shakspeare a sentiment somewhat similar to the above. He says:¹ "In the view of the time, theatrical productions as a whole were not classed as literature. It was regarded as dishonorable for a man to sell his work first to a theatre and then to a bookseller. We know how much ridicule Ben Jonson incurred when first among English poets he, in 1616, published his plays in a folio." And again we quote:² "We learn from the sonnets to what a degree Shakspeare was oppressed and tormented by his sense of the contempt in which the actor's calling was held. The scorn of ancient Rome for the mountebank, the horror of ancient Judea for whoever disguised himself in the garments of the other sex, and finally the age-old hatred of Christianity for theatres and all the temptations that follow in their train—all these thoughts had been handed down from generation to generation, and, as Puritanism grew in strength and gained the upper hand, had begotten a contemptuous tone of public opinion under which so sensitive a nature as Shakspeare's could not but suffer keenly." Mr. Brandes then gives a rather fantastic interpretation of many sonnet-expressions to show why the great dramatist complained of being "in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes."

In this same spirit, Mr. Ward quotes Drayton's line to Shakspeare

"one that traffiqued with the stage"

as having a half-contemptuous turn.³

To such an extreme has this sentiment been repeated without investigation, that Mr. Warton not only speaks of players and theatres as being held in low estimation, but

¹ Brandes, *William Shakespeare*, I, p. 25.

² Brandes, I, p. 347.

³ Ward, *Dramatic Literature*, I, p. 500.

puts the *poets* into the same class.¹ He says, "John Heywood died at Mechlin in Brabant about the year 1577. He was inflexibly attached to the Catholic cause and, on the death of Queen Mary, quitted the kingdom. Antony Wood remarked with his usual acrimony that it was a matter of wonder with many that considering the great and usual want of principle in the profession, a poet should become a voluntary exile for the sake of religion."

In contradiction to all this, other modern critics sometimes take an opposite view.² In his *Outlines*, Mr. Halliwell-Phillips states that literature was almost the only passport of the lower and middle classes to the nobility. As to any argument that may be based upon Shakspeare's sonnets, Mr. Sidney Lee says that if any self-reproach or fortune-chiding may be drawn from them, this "only reflected an evanescent mood. His interest in all that touched the efficiency of his profession was permanently active. He was a keen critic of actors' elocution, and in *Hamlet* shrewdly denounced their common failings, but clearly and hopefully pointed out the road to improvement. His highest ambitions lay, it is true, elsewhere than in acting, and at an early period of his theatrical career he undertook, with triumphant success, the labors of a playwright. But he pursued the profession of an actor loyally and uninterruptedly until he resigned all connection with the theatre within a few years of his death."

This whole subject has not yet been satisfactorily treated. It offers an interesting field for investigation. These various opinions as to the social status of the dramatist may be only an inheritance from careless or prejudiced writers. A very superficial glance at the period gives some rather startling facts. Shakspeare died a very influential citizen of Stratford

¹ Thomas Warton, *History of English Poetry*, edition of Hazlitt, 1871, iv, p. 88.

² Ward, *Dramatic Literature*, III, pp. 236, 248, 249. Brandes, *William Shakespeare*, I, p. 263. Halliwell-Phillips, *Outlines*, I, pp. 105, 262. Lee, *William Shakespeare*, p. 45.

and was buried in the chancel of his village church. Ben Jonson narrowly escaped knighthood; and he and Michael Drayton were both immortalized in Westminster Abbey. John Fletcher was the son of a bishop. John Lyly was a University man and in favor at Court. Edward Allyn became the son-in-law of Dr. John Donne of St. Paul's. Allyn died wealthy and to-day Dulwich College is his monument. Richard Burbage was a large property holder: his portrait still hangs in Dulwich.

In his life of Shakspeare Mr. Halliwell-Phillips¹ gives a very significant passage. It is a quotation from "The Annales or General Chronicle of England, begun first by maister John Stowe and after him continued and augmented with matters forreyn and domestique, auncient and moderne, unto the ende of this present yeere, 1614, by Edmond Howes, gentleman." The passage cites the English poets. Its significance is based on the fact that these are not men socially "off-color," but knights, esquires, and gentlemen. Howes says: "Our moderne and present excellent poets, which worthely flourish in their owne workes, and all of them in my owne knowledge, lived together in this Queenes raigne; according to their priorities, as neere as I could, I have orderly set downe." Then follows a long list from Gascoigne to Wither. Among them we notice Sir Edward Dyer, knight; Edmond Spenser, esquire; Sir Philip Sidney, knight; Sir John Harrington, knight; Sir Francis Bacon, knight; Sir John Davie, knight; Master John Lillie, gentleman; Maister George Chapman, gentleman; M. Willi. Shakspeare, gentleman; Michael Drayton, esquire of the bath; M. Christopher Marlo, gentleman; M. Benjamine Johnson, gentleman; Master Thomas Deckers, gentleman; M. John Flecher, gentleman. A long list of literary and dramatic names that seem, by this contemporary notice, to have been held in esteem, although they occupied every grade of social

¹ Halliwell-Phillips, *Outlines*, II, p. 155.

and civil position, from Fletcher, the son of a bishop, to Marlowe, the son of a shoemaker; from Dekker in the Fleet to Bacon in the Court.

We repeat, this entire subject of the social ill-repute of dramatists awaits the investigator. Our meagre glance at it encourages us in the belief that Mr. Fleay is not justified in assuming that Drayton was ashamed of his connection with the theatre, or thought his dramatic work a degradation. It is hard to conceive of Michael Drayton, sober, staid, dignified, respectable, literary, well-connected, with hosts of friends, a great poet, with no dissipated habits,—it is hard to conceive of such a man hanging about a place of which he was ashamed; resorting to a haunt of low repute in order to earn a meal; drawing his hat down over his eyes that recognition might not be followed by ostracism. Drayton's life was very quiet. He loved his friends and counted among them some of the chief poets and most learned scholars of his time. He did not feel degraded by association with the drama. On the contrary, his connection with the drama is part of the cumulative evidence that points to the respectability and influence of the career. It is a nice question as to just what constituted "society" and "social position" in Elizabethan London. Here was a cosmopolitan city of some 150,000 people. Its interests were national and world-wide. Men of every class thronged here and each class must have formed its own social circle. No doubt there was a class opposed to the theatre: so there is to-day. This modern class still arraigns the work of the man of original genius, be his name Shakspeare or Kipling. Perhaps all artists whose mode of life and thought are outside the conventional pale become isolated.

But even if it were true that Drayton was ashamed of his dramas, this fact would not account for the absence of their publication. These plays were written in collaboration. Dekker continually published, yet he did not put these plays into print. This is also true of Webster and Middleton. Some other explanation must therefore be sought.

In Collier's edition of Henslowe's *Diary* there is a hint as to why these plays were not published.¹ We have "A note of all suche bookes as belong to the Stocke, and such as I have bought since the 3d of March 1598." Then follows a list of twenty-nine plays, among which are the following of Drayton's group: *Black Batman*, *Read Cappe*, *Goodwine*, *2 p. black Battman*, *2 pt. of Goodwine*, *Mad mans morris*, *Perce of Winchester*. This appendix is made up of very many entries. Mr. Collier² explains that "all these inventories, &c., were taken in the Spring of 1598-9, and we may presume that they were made out in order to ascertain the stock of the Company of Lord Nottingham's Players in apparel, properties, and plays, before their removal from the Rose on the Bankside to the new theatre, the Fortune, in Golding Lane, Cripplegate."

We are at liberty, then, to gather from these inventories that Drayton's plays did not belong to Drayton, nor to the collaborators, nor to Henslowe, himself; but to the Company that had in charge the destinies of the Rose and the Fortune theatre. Hence the matter of publishing was wholly out of Drayton's hands.

Again we find in the *Diary* this entry:³ "Lent unto Robert Shaw, the 18 of marche 1599, to geve unto the printer, to staye the printing of patient gresell, the some of xxxxs." Upon this Mr. Collier speaks as follows:⁴ "No doubt it was thought that the printing of *Patient Grissell* would be injurious to the receipts of the theatre: a printer, who had obtained a copy of it, in March 1599, was therefore to be induced to relinquish the design of publishing the play by a present of 40s. This single fact, without adverting to others, will account for the very few plays that have come down to us in printed form, compared with the immense number written and irretrievably lost."

¹ Henslowe, p. 276.

² *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, xxxiv.

³ Henslowe, p. 167.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

Therefore, without any wild speculation, we have an explanation why Drayton's plays were not published when he issued his anthology of 1605. The plays were not his. When this 1605 edition was preparing, the plays were still in use at the Fortune theatre.

But we have not here an explanation of why the plays may not have appeared in the 1619 folio. Shakspeare's plays were not issued by himself; but they were published in 1623. And if Drayton had desired a precedent for inserting his plays in the folio of 1619, it was to be found in the plays that appeared in Ben Jonson's folio of 1616. Why did not Drayton's dramas appear in 1619, long after they probably had ceased to be called for upon the stage?

Outside of any consideration of the claims of other collaborators, my answer is that these dramas were not worth publishing. His definitive folio contained his best work, carefully polished. His dramas were not of sufficient excellence to warrant a place therein. This judgment of mine is mere conjecture: it cannot be otherwise, for Drayton's dramas are not with us. But this conjecture is based upon our estimate of Drayton's characteristics as an author.

Michael Drayton was a Spenserian. Spenser stands as a great undramatic poet in a dramatic age. Spenser is said to have composed nine comedies; but these, like Drayton's plays, are lost. The quality of his genius was apart from the dramatic temper of his great contemporaries. This lack in Spenser is tersely put by Prof. Beers: ¹—"Neither Spenser nor Pope satisfy long. We weary in time of the absence of passion and intensity in Spenser, his lack of dramatic power, the want of actuality in his picture of life, the want of brief energy and nerve in his style; just as we weary of Pope's inadequate sense of beauty."

A fine summary of the manner of Spenser is given by Prof. Schelling: ²—"What may be called the manner of

¹ Beers, *History of English Romanticism*, 1899, p. 78.

² Schelling, *Seventeenth Century Lyrics*, 1899, p. xv.

Spenser (*i. e.*, Spenser's way of imitating and interpreting nature artistically by means of poetic expression) may be summarized as consisting of sensuous love of beauty combined with a power of elaborated pictorial representation, a use of classical imagery for decorative effect, a fondness for melody, a flowing sweetness, naturalness and continuousness of diction amounting to diffuseness at times, the diffuseness of a fragrant, beautiful, flowering vine. We may say of the poets that employ this manner that they are worshippers of beauty rather than students of beauty's laws; ornate in their expression of the type, dwelling on detail in thought and image lovingly elaborated and sweetly prolonged. To such artists it is no matter if a play have five acts or twenty-five, if an epic ever come to an end, or if consistency of parts exist; rapt in the joy of gentle onward motion, in the elevation of pure poetic thought, even the subject ceases to be of much import, if it but furnish the channel in which the bright, limpid liquid continues musically to flow."

Chaucer is a dramatist. He draws character and gives it life. Spenser is not a dramatist: he is a pictorial artist. His work is static. Drayton is of Spenser's school. In the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer has given us more character-drawing than Drayton has in all of his voluminous work. In fact, in all his eclogues, legends, epistles, the *Barrons Warres* and the *Polyolbion*, Drayton has not enriched our literature by a single character creation. All through his work there is a lack of humor, a lack of movement, a lack of lyric condensation. There is a continuousness of theme, a preponderance of the epic element even when lyrical expression is sought. There is a lack of firm grasp of actual life. He retards action by moralizing and reflecting. Sometimes he even becomes didactic. He is no great narrator, although he has written so large a quantity of narrative verse. He does not state an action clearly or make it move. His pictures of life are apt to be tableaux, interspersed with reflection. Hence in the attempt to make a successful drama,

to weld epic and lyric for stage-movement, I take it that Drayton's work was deficient in humor, movement, characterization; and was marked by a large epic interference. And, for literary purposes, he did better work in epic forms.

It is a question whether such a man could construct a dramatic plot. I think he might do this. The author of the famous Sonnet 61, with its admirable repression, certainly ought to be able to block-out a plot.

These Spenserian epic virtues and dramatic shortcomings are well portrayed in the two great works that Drayton wrote about the time of his dramatic period. *England's Heroical Epistles* partakes of dialogue form, in so far as one letter replies to another; but throughout the long series there is not a suggestion of dramatic dialogue. The *Barrons Warres* is a theme that had been treated dramatically by Marlowe's *Edward II* and Jonson's *The Fall of Mortimer*. But notwithstanding the dramatic suggestiveness of the theme, Drayton's version of the story shows an utter absence of dramatic treatment. For illustration, note young Edward's attempt upon Mortimer in the sixth canto. Here is a natural dramatic climax. But the episode in the poem has no life or movement. It sinks to the level of a tableau with ethical musings and appeals. All dynamic force has been subordinated to an epic moralizing.

After the close of his dramatic experience, I think Drayton never alludes to it in any of his subsequent work. As late as 1627, in his *Elegy to Reynolds*, he evinces no very high appreciation of dramatic authors or of dramatic products. All this is in consonance with his Spenserian bias. He recognized his limitations; and, very wisely, in 1619, relegated to oblivion that literary form out of which he had drawn all the money it would yield, and which would not enhance his reputation as an author.

Perhaps Drayton's Spenserianism further explains why he never wrote a drama without collaboration. He needed the help and the stimulus of a collaborator.

Two groups of plays have been accredited to Michael Drayton. The Henslowe group has the positive testimony of the *Diary*. Of this group only one play has come down to us. Of the Fleay group, all the plays are extant. But Drayton's connection with these plays is based solely upon certain theories drawn from his association with Philip Henslowe. These theories assume that Drayton lost his patrons, ceased to write for the press, and was forced to work at the drama for a livelihood; that out of this necessity came both the Henslowe and the Fleay groups of plays; that, after he found a new patron in Sir Walter Aston, he abandoned dramatic work; and, because he was ashamed of his collaborators and had a contempt for the work, he published none of his plays. Hence the plays in the Fleay group are largely anonymous. The present writer has attempted to disprove all these theories. As a matter of fact, Drayton was a successful and prosperous man; he never lacked generous and influential patrons; he worked at the drama with men of literary ability; his revision of earlier work kept him busy with the press until the appearance of his great anthology in 1605. His neglect to publish his plays is fully accounted for by the fact that they were the property of the Company at the Fortune Theatre and in the further fact that his genius was epic rather than dramatic. There is nothing to justify the theories that associate Drayton's name with the Fleay group of plays. There is no external evidence that he had a hand in any play now extant except *Sir John Oldcastle*.

LEMUEL WHITAKER.

APPENDIX :—DRAYTON IN HENSLOWE.

A table of the Henslowe group of plays. It shows names of plays, authors and collaborators, dates of composition, sums expended upon authorship, and estimated value of Drayton's share in each play.

MY NO.	DIARY PAGE.	PLAY.	AUTHORS.	DATES.	COST.	DRAYTON'S SHARE ESTIMATED.
1	106, 107, 117	Mother Redcape	Monday, Drayton	Dec. and Jan., 1597	£ 6 s.	£ 3 s.
2	95, 142	William Longsword, Wm. Longberd	Drayton	Jan., '98	5	5
3	120	famos wares of Henry the fyrste and the prynce of Wallles	Drayton, Dekker, Chettle	March, 1598	6 5	2 5
4	121, 122, 124, 126	Goodwine and his iii Sons— Part I } Part II }	Drayton, Dekker, Chettle, Wilson	March, April, June, 1598	6	1 10
5	121	Perce of Exstone	Drayton, Dekker, Chettle, Wilson		4	2 10
6	122, 123, 125, 126	black batmone of the northe (Drayton not in Pt. II)	Drayton, Dekker, Chettle, Wilson	May, '98	7	1 10
7	124, 125, 126	Richard Cordelion funeralle	Drayton, Wilson, Chettle, Mundy	June, 98	6 15	1 10
8	126, 127, 128	Made Manes Mores	Willson, Drayton, Dekker	June, July, '98	6	2
9	127, 128, 133	Hameballe and Hermes	Willson, Drayton, Dekker	July, '98	6	2
10	127, 128, 133	Worse afeard than hurt [I regard 10 and 11 as two plays]	Drayton, Dekker	Aug, '98	5 10	2 10
11	129, 131, 134, 136	Perce of Winchester	Drayton, Dekker, Wilson	July and Aug., 1598	5 10	1 05
					£66 —	£25 —

MY NO.	DIARY PAGE.	PLAY.	AUTHORS.	DATES.	COST.	DRAYTON'S SHARE ESTIMATED.
13	132	Brought forward..... Chance Medley Wilson, Munday, Dekker, Drayton, Chettle Aug, 1598	£ 66 s. 6	£25 s. 35
14	134, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141	Syvell wares in fraunce— Part I	Drayton, Dekker	Sept., '98	6	3
15	142	Part II	Drayton & Dekker	Nov., '98	6	3
16	142	Part III	Drayton & Dekker	Nov. and Dec., '98	6	3
17	158, 162, 166	Connan prince of Cornwall lyfe of St. John Ouldcastell—	Drayton & Dekker	Oct., '98	6	3
18	236, 239	Part I } Cannot separate the cost Part II } of the two parts	Monday, Drayton, Wilson, Dekker	October, 1599	14	6 10
19	163	Owen teder	Drayton, Munday, Hathaway, Wilson	October, 1599	4	1
20	163	fayre Constance of Rome	Drayton, Hathaway, Munday, Dekker	June, 1600	5 9	1 10
21	198-222	Wolsey	Chettle, Munday, Drayton & Smythe	June, July, Aug., Oct., Nov., 1601, to May, 1602	6	1 10
22	221	Sesers falle	Munday, Drayton, Webster, Middleton, Dekker	May, 1602	5	1 5
23	222	too harpes	Munday, Middleton, Drayton, Webster, Dekker	May, 1602	3	15
24					£133 9s.	£51 5s.

During 1598 Drayton earned about £40.

XV.—THE RELATION OF THE ENGLISH “CHARACTER” TO ITS GREEK PROTOTYPE.

The writing of “Characters”¹ was at the same time one of the most prolific and the most significant phases of literary activity in the seventeenth century. Though many of these books of “Characters” have been forgotten, the titles of over one hundred and fifty are still remembered—enough certainly to show how popular the fashion of such writing was. Furthermore, its significance becomes apparent when we consider what prose fiction owes to it; for, through the periodical essay of the eighteenth century, the old formal “Character” passed into the novel and become a part of it.²

In a consideration of the beginnings of English “Character-writing” we see at once that the writing of “Characters” was not in England wholly of native origin. True, something resembling it had appeared considerably before 1608, when the first book of “Characters” was published. Indeed, as early as about the middle of the preceding century had appeared the first of a series of books which must be regarded as the immediate precursors of the “Character-books.” This was Thomas Audley’s *Fraternity of Vagabonds* (1561).³ All

¹Curiously enough, modern lexicographers have ignored the meaning which the word *character* came to possess in the seventeenth century. The “Character” was a formal enumeration, partly individualized, of the habits and peculiarities that serve to differentiate a social, ethical, or political type.

²Taine says (*History of English Literature*, vol. 2, p. 112) that in the *Sir Roger de Coverley Papers* Addison invented the novel without suspecting it.

³To this Thomas Harman was indebted for most of the material for his *Caveat for Common Coursitors* (1567). This in turn was followed in 1592 by Robert Greene’s *Groundwork of Coney-Catching*, which was practically a reprint of Harman’s book. The same may be said of Decker’s *Bellman of London* (1608). The last of the series was *The English Rogue* (1665). This contains a vocabulary, alphabetically arranged, of the cant words in use among the gypsies, which was borrowed from Harman’s *Caveat*.

these books were a mixed product of the taste which made popular the translation of such books as Mateo Aleman's *Guzman de Alfarache* and of the newly awakened interest in character analysis that marked the beginning of the decline of the Renaissance.

The old order had begun to change even before Shakespeare's death. The drama, which more than any other form of literary expression had interpreted and satisfied the popular craving for vigorous life and action, had even before 1608 begun to decay. By that time Shakespeare's great tragedies had all been written.¹ Marlowe had been stopped in the midst of his doubts, his passionate longings, his defiance, his love-making, and his fame in the old Deptford ale-house fifteen years before. The last of Jonson's three great comedies, *The Alchemist*, was not acted, it is true, till 1610; but Jonson had not, like Shakespeare, held the mirror up to nature. Not content to let his *dramatis personae* reveal themselves in action, he had, by a preference due to the analytic quality of his mind, too often attempted to reveal them himself.² In his social comedies we feel that we are among qualities and types rather than living persons, among abstractions and not characters. So, too, one has but to read the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, who continued to write till they died, the former in 1616, the latter in 1625, and in whose plays everything—development of character, dramatic

¹ Only six of his plays, *Pericles*, *Tempest*, *Cymbeline*, *Winter's Tale*, *Two Noble Kinsmen* (?), and *Henry VIII.* are assigned to a date later than 1608.

² To the list of *dramatis personae* in *Every Man Out of His Humour* (acted 1599) Jonson affixed "Characters of the persons." All through his plays Jonson carries to an extreme the stage convention of making the actors who are on the stage describe those about to enter. In *Cynthia's Revels* (1600) he not only has each person that has any part in the action described in this way, but he even puts into the mouths of the actors characters of some who have not the remotest connection with the plot. In writing these Characters, Jonson was influenced by Theophrastus, the Greek father of "Character-writing." See my article in *Modern Language Notes*, November, 1901.

probability, and even decency are sacrificed to the quest for brilliant situations—to realize that under the Stuarts the creative impulse of the Renaissance was slowly dying away. Now creative impulses occur in pulsations. In the history of every people we find an ebb and flow of literary productiveness, a great creative period being invariably followed by one of analysis. Of this fact Greece in the fourth century B. C. and seventeenth-century England are corresponding illustrations. Each had been preceded by periods of creative activity, and each was then undergoing a precisely similar transformation. “It was in accordance with the philosophic impulse of the age,” I quote from Curtius,¹ “that not individual personages, but general types of character were represented, which repeated themselves in men of the same species; thus there were brought on the stage the usurer, the gamester, the parasite, and again the dandy virtuoso, the cunning slave, the clumsy peasant—they appeared under fictitious names, which thereby acquired an universal significance.” That Sophocles was followed by Menander, and he by Theophrastus was not accidental; no more so than that Shakespeare was followed by Jonson and he by Hall. In both cases the transition was from the display of character in action to the consideration of character in and for itself, and in both cases the explanation is the same, namely, that the creative was giving place to the analytic spirit.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when Joseph Hall² in an age that was becoming more interested in the exhibition

¹ Vol. 5, Bk. 7, c. 2.

² Joseph Hall was at this time thirty-four years old. He had already become fairly well known through his published works. These had been: a poem contributed to a collection of elegies on the death of Dr. William Whittaker; his *Satires* (1597-8); and his *Meditations*, containing a hundred religious aphorisms and reflections. He had published also his final volume of verse, *The King's Prophecy, or Weeping Joy* (1603), congratulating James on his accession to the throne; and, at Frankfort (1605), he had published in Latin his *Mundus Alter et Idem*. This was translated into English in 1608 by John Healey under the title, *The Discovery of a New World*.

than in the development of character, sat down to write his *Characterisms of Virtues and Vices* (1608) he should have turned for a model to Theophrastus. This was the more natural because the *Ethical Characters* of Theophrastus had been in a measure popularized by Casaubon in a Latin translation which had appeared first in 1592, and been followed in 1598 by a second edition.¹ The "Ἠθικοὶ Χαρακτήρες" of Theophrastus, in the form in which we know it,² consists of thirty short character-sketches. In all of them the method of portrayal is the same, and is simplicity itself. It consists in defining a quality, and then proceeding to enumerate the things the type of man embodying that quality may be expected to do under given conditions.

The excellencies and defects of such a method are at once apparent. The first impression that one gets is definiteness. Theophrastus seems always to have started with a clear idea in mind of the kind of type he wished to characterize, and then to have chosen for its illustration incidents remarkable no less for their fitness than for their brevity. It must be admitted, however, that though the type is shown to us in outline bold and clear-cut, and though the incidents for its illustration are fitly chosen, one desideratum of the character-sketch is lacking, namely individuality. The character-sketch should not only appeal to us as being justly typical of a class, but should be drawn with such attention to detail that we should be almost, if not quite, tricked into the belief that the portrait is after all that of an individual. Indeed, such have been the best of the "Character-books," both English and French. So deceptive were some of them that their publication was followed almost immediately by that of numerous

¹The book seems to have been known to Englishmen long before this. Thomas Nash mentions it in one of his tracts (*The Anatomy of Absurdity*, 1589); and Chaucer evidently had read it, for he alludes to it in the *Prologue to the Tale of the Wife of Bath*, line 671.

²Some scholars consider the extant collection to be but a fragment of a longer ethical treatise.

“keys,” each claiming to identify beyond a doubt the separate “Characters” as portraits of certain of the author’s contemporaries—a claim, it may be added, which only the hopeless divergence of opinion among the authors of the various “keys” could serve in the least to invalidate.¹ Again, a weakness of Theophrastus’ method appears in the fact that there is in the sketches almost no analysis of character. Indeed there can be none where a writer contents himself with simply enumerating the actions, not necessarily connected, which may be expected from a representative of such a type as he is describing. One of the most noticeable features of the book (one can scarcely call it a defect) is an utter lack on the part of Theophrastus of any attempt to be didactic, as well as of any attempt to satirize the vices of Athenian society. The *Evil-speaker* is his worst character. But the *κακολόγος* here described is too eager and outspoken to be a detractor of the most vicious kind. This, like all the other sketches, seems to have been written in a half humorous vein, the humor showing itself in the selection of incidents, which, though not convulsingly ludicrous, and often inclining to coarseness, are on the whole mildly productive of mirth.

From this model Hall departed widely in the spirit of his work, while following it pretty closely with respect to method. The first difference one notices is Hall’s gravity of subject and of manner as compared with Theophrastus. Hall’s book consists of twenty-two “Characters”—eleven of virtues and eleven of vices. Of these latter, while six have the same titles as those of Theophrastus, the other five are typical vices of a far more serious kind than any the genial Greek philosopher had seen fit to include. Thus the *Hypocrite* heads the list, “an angel abroad, a devil at home; and worse when an angel than when a devil.” Hall’s manner is always dignified, sometimes even stately. Very seldom does he become

¹A case in point is the swarm of “keys” that followed the publication in 1688 of La Bruyère’s *Caractères, ou Les Mœurs de ce Siècle*.

in the least humorous like Theophrastus. Perhaps the nearest approach to the Theophrastic manner in this respect is at the end of the *Character of a Covetous Man*, where it is said "Gain is his godliness" and "He cares not (for no great advantage) to lose his friend, pine his body, and damn his soul; and would despatch himself when corn falls; but that he is loath to cast away money on a cord." Moreover, Hall departed from his original, not only in subject and in manner, but to some extent in method also. And in this he set the fashion for the English school of "Character-writers." Instead of merely describing the actions proper to a character, as Theophrastus had done, he comments upon it in general terms, aiming at epigram, alliteration, and such lively images as Euphuism could supply. Finally, Hall's "Characters" are still further differentiated from the Greek by at least an attempt at subtlety of analysis. We are not simply told what a man does, but are made to enter into his mental processes so as to see what is the peculiar twist in his mind that makes him act as he does. In this attempt Hall often failed, as did many of his successors, the failure being due to the fact that both he and they were deficient in that rarest of human accomplishments—the ability to detect mental and moral differences.

To show how closely Hall followed his Greek model, and with what ingenuity he modernized the details to make them suit the manners of his own age, I have arranged in parallel columns certain passages from Hall's *Characterisms of Vices* and a translation of the corresponding passages in the Greek original.¹

¹The translation is that of Prof. R. C. Jebb in his edition of Theophrastus' *Characters* (Macmillan, 1870); while the text of Hall's *Characterisms* is that of the complete edition of his works published at London in 1747. Professor Jebb, himself, notes a few of these correspondences.

HALL.

"When he walks with his friend, he swears to him that no man else is looked at, no man talked of. He hangs upon the lips that he admireth, as if they could let fall nothing but oracles, and finds occasion to cite some approved sentence under the name he honoureth. Sometimes even in absence he extolleth his patron, where he may presume of safe conveyance to his ears; and in presence he whispereth his commendation to a common friend, that it may not be unheard where he meant it."—*The Flatterer*.

"When he hath committed a message to his servant, he sends a second after him to listen how it is delivered. . . . He will ask his wife in bed if she has locked the wardrobe, and if the cupboard has been sealed, and the bolt put upon the hall-door; and if the reply is 'Yes,' not the less will he forsake the blankets and run about shoeless to inspect all these matters, and barely thus find sleep."—*The Distrustful*.

"Superstition is godless religion devout impiety. . . . This man dares not stir forth till his breast be crossed and his face sprinkled: if but an hare cross him the way, he returns. . . . If he see a snake unkilld, he fears a mischief. . . . In the morning he listens whether the crow crieth even or odd, and by that token presages of the weather. If he hear but a raven croak from the next roof he makes his will, or if a bittour fly over his head by night."—*The Superstitious Man*.

THEOPHRASTUS.

"The flatterer is a person who will say as he walks with another, 'Do you observe how people are looking at you?' . . . or will glance at him as he talks to the rest of the company . . . and will praise him, too, in his hearing."—*The Flatterer*.

"The distrustful man is one who, having sent his slave to market, will send another to find out what price he gave. . . . After his first sleep, he starts up and asks if the farthest gate were barred, and out of a fearful sweat calls up his servant, and bolts the door after him; and then studies whether it were better to lie still and believe, or rise and see."—*The Distrustful Man*.

"Superstition would seem to be simply cowardice in regard to the supernatural. The superstitious man is one who will wash his hands at a fountain, sprinkle himself from a temple font, put a laurel-leaf into his mouth, and so go about for the day. If a weasel run across his path, he will not pursue his walk until someone else has traversed the road. . . . If an owl is startled by him in his walk, he will exclaim 'Glory be to Athene!' before he proceeds."—*The Superstitious Man*.

HALL.

"No post can pass him without a question. . . . If he see but two men talk and read a letter in the street, he runs to them and asks if he may not be partner of that secret relation he offers to tell wonders, and then falls upon the report of the Scottish mine, or of the great fish taken up at Linn, or of the freezing of the Thames; and after many thanks and dismissions, is hardly entreated silence. . . . This man will also thrust himself forward to be the guide of the way he knows not."—*The Busy-body*.

"If his servant break but an earthen dish for want of light, he abates it out of his quarter's wages."—*The Covetous Man*.

"You shall find him prizing the richest jewels and fairest horses, when his purse yields not money enough for earnest."

"His talk is what exploits he did at Calais or Newport."

"Under pretense of seeking for a scroll of news, he draws out an handful of letters endorsed with his own style to the height, and half reading every title, passes over the latter part with a murmur, not without signifying what lord sent this, what great lady the other, and for what suits; the last paper (as it happens) is his news from his honourable friend in the French court."

THEOPHRASTUS.

"Also he will go up to his commanding officer and ask when he means to give battle, and what is to be his order for the day after to-morrow. . . ."—*The Officious Man*.

"On hearing the news from the Ecclesia, he hastens to report it; and to relate in addition the old story of the battle in Aristophon and of the Lacedæmonian victory in Lysander's time so that the hearers will either forget what it was about, or fall into a doze, or desert him in the middle and make their escape."—*The Loquacious Man*.

"He will undertake to show the path, and after all be unable to find it himself."—*The Officious Man*.

"When a servant has broken a jug or a plate, he will take the value out of his wages."—*The Penurious Man*.

"Also he will go up to the sellers of the best horses, and pretend that he desires to buy and quarrel with the slave for having come out without gold. . . ."

"He loves to impose upon his companions by the road with a story of how he served with Alexander."

"Then he will say that a letter has come from Antipater—this is the third—requiring his presence in Macedonia."

HALL.

"When he hath undertaken to be the broker for some rich diamond, he wears it; and pulling off his glove to stroke up his hair, thinks no eye should have any other object."—*The Vainglorious Man.*

"When a present is sent him, he asks 'Is this all?' and 'What, no better?' and so, accepts it."

"Every blessing hath somewhat to disparage and distaste it; children bring cares. . . ."

"It is hard to entertain him with a proportionable gift. If nothing, he cries out of unthankfulness, if little, that he is basely regarded; if much, exclaims of flattery and expectation of a large requital."—*The Malcontent.*

THEOPHRASTUS.

"When he is living in a hired house, he will say (to any one who does not know better) that it is the family mansion; but that he means to sell it, as he finds it too small for his entertainments."—*The Boastful Man.*

"Those who send him presents with their compliments at feast tide are told that he will not touch their offerings."—*The Surly Man.*

"The Grumbler is one who, when his friend has sent him a present from his table, will say to the bearer, 'You grudged me my soup and my poor wine, or you would have asked me to dinner.'"

"To one who brings him the good news, 'A son is born to you,' he will reply, 'If you add that I have lost half my property, you will speak the truth.'"

"If a subscription has been raised for him by his friends, and some one says to him 'Cheer up!' he will answer, 'When I have to refund the money to every man, and to be grateful besides, as if I had been done a service.'"—*The Grumbler.*

The publication of Hall's book of "Characters" was soon followed by that of others in which the influence of Theophrastus is only less apparent. Thus it is evident in the collection of "Characters" which appeared under the name of Sir Thomas Overbury in 1614;¹ and again in the *Micro-cosmography*, written by John Earle and published in 1628. I excerpt the following passages to show that the influence of Theophrastus was still strong.

¹ The full title was: *A Wife, now the Widow of Sir Thomas Overbury. Being a most exquisite and singular Poem of the choice of a Wife. Whereunto are added many witty Characters and conceited News, written by Himself and other learned Gentlemen his Friends.*

OVERBURY.

"He never spends candle but at Christmas (when he has them for New Year's gifts) in hope that his servants will break glasses for want of a light, which they double pay for in their wages."

"If he ever pray, it is that some one will break his day, that the beloved forfeiture may be obtained."
—*The Covetous Man.*

"He never salutes first."—*The Proud Man.*

EARLE.

"He loves to pay short a shilling or two in a great sum."—*A Sordid Rich Man.*

"His mind is not much distracted with objects; but if a good fat cow come his way, he stands dumb and astonished, and though his haste be never so great, will fix here half an hour's contemplation."—*A Plain Country Fellow.*

THEOPHRASTUS.

"When a servant has broken a jug or a plate, he will take the value out of his wages."

"He is apt also to use the right of seizure of goods in satisfaction of a claim."—*The Penurious Man.*

"He will not permit himself to give the first salutation."—*The Arrogant Man.*

"It is just like him, too, when paying a debt of thirty minas, to withhold four drachmas."—*The Avaricious Man.*

"He shows surprise and wonder at nothing else, but will stand still and gaze when he sees an ox, or an ass, or a goat in the streets."—*The Boor.*

Hall, Overbury and Earle were the foremost writers of "Characters" of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The foregoing examples of their indebtedness to Theophrastus—an indebtedness, it may be added, which at least one of them freely acknowledged¹—are perhaps sufficient to set forth the close relation existing between the English "Character" and its Greek original. That a relation did exist has long

¹ In the "Proem" prefixed to his collection of "Characters," Hall says: "I have here done it as I could, following that ancient master of morality, who thought this the fittest task for the ninety and ninth year of his age, and the profitablest monument that he could leave for a farewell visit to his Grecians."

been known;¹ but that it was so close as an examination of the texts proves it to have been, has not hitherto been recognized.

To trace the further development of the "Character," till in the following century it merged into the novel, is quite beyond the scope of the present paper. Suffice it to say that in the hands of those who, following the lead of Hall, wrote in imitation of Theophrastus, the English "Character" remained as a literary form to a remarkable degree unchanged. Not till the de Coverley papers appeared, did it become apparent that the form of the "Character" had in a hundred years undergone any appreciable change. But while in form the "Character" had remained pretty constant, the uses to which it had been put had varied considerably. As a weapon of political satire it had suited the needs of that turbulent period when, in the intervals of more strenuous exchanges, Cavalier and Roundhead found solace in calling each other names. It continued throughout the century, both in France and England,² to exert an influence upon comedy, due to its availability as a vehicle of social satire.³

Of the "Character" we may say, in conclusion, we are not to think of it as a passing fashion, unrelated to all that went

¹"Character-Writing had its origin more than two thousand years ago in the *Ethic Characters* of Tyrtamus of Lesbos, a disciple of Plato, who gave him for his eloquence the name of Divine Speaker—Theophrastus." Henry Morley: *Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century*, p. 15.

²After the appearance of La Bruyère's *Caractères* in 1688, which were imitated from Theophrastus, the writing of "Characters" became only less popular in France than in England, La Bruyère being followed by over thirty imitators.

³A case in point is Molière's *Le Misanthrope*, Act V, Scene IV, where Clitandre reads a letter written by Céliimène in which are satiric "Characters" of her adorers. Clitandre's comment is: "D'un fort beau caractère on voit là le modèle." As is well known, Wycherly's *Plain Dealer* is adapted from this play; and it is interesting to observe that the scene just mentioned has its counterpart in the English play (Act II, Scene I), where Olivia characterizes her admirers in the manner which the "Character-writers" had made fashionable.

before or followed it. We are to think of it rather as a form of literary art, not the highest, but still a form of it; which had a definitely ascertainable beginning; which flourished for a century, having close relations with other forms of literary art; and finally did not die, but was absorbed by one more vital.

EDWARD CHAUNCEY BALDWIN.

XVI.—IDEAS ON RHETORIC IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

I. THE VOCABULARY.

To distinguish between the course of rhetorical ideas, and the growth of style on the one hand, and of systematic rhetoric on the other, is perhaps to endeavor after too nice a distinction. Yet when we read sixteenth-century English, we may see, between the general effort to use prose with effect and the rather arid sequence of treatises on formal rhetoric, certain definite ideas on prose expression, certain views as to the best vocabulary, certain views on sentence-structure or figures of speech. The frank, vigorous prose of Latimer has style of a sort, the slight treatise of Cox has system. Neither the one thing nor the other is the opinion pro and con as to inkhorn words, for example. The following paper notes in the direction of the vocabulary only, a conscious effort to determine some fundamental principles which should obtain in the use of English as a means of literary expression.

In such a study there is always a tendency to push one's inquiries into a period where there are but hints of a possible feeling. When Caxton says¹ that he is "not learned ne knowing in the art of rethorike ne of such gaye terms as now be said in these days and used," he clearly indicates that there were others knowing in that art. Yet of the "newe eloquence" of which he elsewhere speaks² we have but little actual knowledge. There is enough to stimulate the man of letters to an idea of certain "elements of art, as balance, careful heed to longs and shorts, proportion, exquisite choice,"³ but the scholar has not as yet, so far as I know, much upon which to found a definite statement.

¹ Dedication to *Blanche and Eglantyne*.

² Prologue to *Charles the Great*.

³ Maurice Hewlett: *New Canterbury Tales*, p. 12.

When Sir Thomas More wrote the *Utopia* in Latin he probably was actuated by more reasons than one. Presumably he desired to reach the learned of all lands, and perhaps he wished especially to avoid the unlearned of his own land. The former would appreciate his ideas, the latter might take them wrongly. But a negative reason must also have been that English was hardly in his day a recognized literary language, so far at least as prose was concerned. We need not suppose that Andrew Borde, somewhat later, was expressing a universal view when he said, "The speche of England is a base speche to other noble speches, as Italion, Casty lion, and French."¹ Yet Ascham says that it would have been more honorable to his name to have written the *Toxophilus* in Latin or Greek, and adds that in the English tongue everything is done in a manner so meanly that no man can do worse.² And Elyot says, rather by the way, that certain poets "in the latine do express themselves incomparably with more grace and delectation to the reader, than our Englissche tonge may yet comprehend."³ Prose generally develops after poetry, and at a time when Wyatt and Suney were pioneers in poetic form, we should not expect such a thing as formed prose.

There was good reason for using English, however. With the loss of the French provinces, the French language had ceased to be a rival. With the invention of printing Latin had ceased to reach all readers. The spirit of nationality demanded English: the opportunities of circulation rendered it a possibility. Later the Reformation made the vernacular necessary with one set of writers, as the Renaissance made it a favorite with another. The use of English was a practical matter; it had its relation to the interests of the day. As the beginnings of rhetoric in Greece, as its earlier development had been in Rome, as the sermon-writing of the Church had been, and the introduction of rhetoric into the study of

¹*The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, E. E. T. S., p. x.

²*Toxophilus*; Ed. Arber, p. 18.

³*Boke of the Governour*; ed. Croft, I, 129.

the Civil Law, so the creation of an English prose was a practical matter to men of religion like Tyndale and Coverdale, to men of affairs like Elyot and Wilson, as well as to scholars like Cheke and Ascham.

To Sir Thomas Elyot the matter was one of patriotic feeling as much as of literature. He was a public man as well as a man of letters, perhaps more so. But he was a man of learning and he felt that it was a part of the national effort of the time to put forth his ability for the language of the country as well as for her other interests. In *The Boke of the Governour*, he propounded views upon English diction and maintained them by practice. He advocated the idea of strengthening the language by borrowing words to express ideas that could not readily be expressed in the English of his day. The idea met with acceptance, and controversy as well.

It was natural that the first question of wide interest should have concerned the vocabulary. Such had been the case in Italian, where Aretino and Bembo had been free-lance and purist, such was afterward the case in France where Rabelais and Ronsard filled roles somewhat analogous. In an effort to give the vernacular a place beside the classical tongues, it was but natural that the question of words should have first aroused discussion, for the words of one's writing were of necessity different from the words of Latin and Greek. Sentences and figures men easily thought they could imitate, but hardly words.

The vocabulary had long been a matter of interest. Caxton speaks of it. He saw the need of avoiding "old and homely terms" of "uplandish men" on the one hand, but he also disapproved of the "most curious terms of certain great clerkes."¹ But his question was largely one of dialect, where he might have gained something of the classic rhetoricians, though it does not seem that he did so. By Elyot's time the

¹*Prologue to Eneydos.*

question of dialect in literature does not seem very important, although it sometimes comes to mention even later.

Elyot's position in the matter has been long known in a general way. Croft in his edition of *The Governour* called attention to some of his statements. Elyot says that he had "intended to augment our English tongue whereby men should as well express more abundantly the thing that they conceived in their hartis . . . as also interprete out of greke, latin, or any other tongue." He adds, however, that no term was newly made by him "of a latin or french word but it is there declared so playnely by one name or another to a diligent reader that no sentence is thereby made dark or hard to understand."¹ It will be useful to extract an example or two. He speaks of "an excellent vertue whereunto we lack a name in English wherefore I am constrained to usurp a latin word, calling it *Maturity*; which worde, though it be strange and darke, yet by declaring the vertue in a few mo wordes, the name ones brought in custome, shall be as facile to understand as other words late comen out of Italy or France; and made denizens among us. *Maturity* is a meane betwene two extremities, wherin nothing lacketh or exceedeth, and is in such a state that it may neither encrease nor minish without losing the denomination of *Maturity*. The grekes in a proverb do expresse it properly in two wordes, which I can none other wyse interpret in englisse but spede the slowly, (*Σπεῦδε βραδέως*). Also of this word *Maturity*, sprang a noble and precieuse sentence, recited by Salust in the bataile againe Catiline which is in this maner or like, Consulte before thou entreprise anything, and after thou hast taken counsaile it is expedient to do it maturely. *Maturum* in latin may be interpreted ripe or redy, as frute whan it is ripe, it is at the very poynt to be gathered and eaten, and every other thyng, whan it is redy, it is at the instante after to be occupied. Therefore that word *Maturity* is translated to the actis of

¹*Boke of the Governour*, I, lxvi.

man, that whan they be done with such moderation, that nothyng in the doinge may be sene superfluos or indigent, we may say, that they be maturely done; reserving the wordes ripe and redy to frute and other things separete from affairs as we have now in usage. And this do I now remember for the necessary augmentation of our language.

“In the excellent and most noble emperor Octavius Augustus, in whom reigned all nobility, nothing is more commended than that he had frequently in his mouthe, this word *Matura* do maturely. As he shulde have saide, do neither to moche ne to litle, to soone ne, to late, to swiftly nor slowly, but in due tyme and measure. Now I trust I have sufficiently expounded the vertue called Maturitie, whiche is the meane or mediocritie betwene slouthe and celeritie, comunly called *spedinesse*.”—*Ib.*, I, 243.

This is the longest of Elyot's disquisitions upon his innovations, but there are one or two others which throw light on the matter.

“Magnanimity is a vertue moche commendable and also expedient to be in a governor and is as I have said a companion of Fortitude. And may be in this way defined, that it is an excellence of mynd concerning thynges of great importance or estimation, doing all thyng that is vertuous for the achieving of honour. But now I remember me, this word Magnanimitie being yet strange, as late borrowed out of the latyne, shall not content all men, and especially them whome nothing contents out of their accustomed *Mumpsimus*, I will adventure to put for Magnanimitie a word more familiar calling it good courage, which having respecte to the sayd definition, shall not seme moche inconveniency.”—I, 289.

“In every of these things and their semblable is Modestie; whiche worde not being knowen in the englisshe tonge, ne of al them which under stode latin, except they had redde good autours, they improperly named this vertue discretion. And nowe some men do as moche abuse the word modestie as the other dyd discretion. For if a man have a sadde countenance

at al times, and yet not beinge meued with wrathe, but pacient, and of moche gentillesse, they which wold be sure to be lerned, wil say that the man is of a great modestie ; where they shuede rather say that he were of a great mansuetude ; whiche terme, being semblably before this time unknowen in our tonge, may be by the sufferance of wise men nowe received by custome, whereby the terme shall be made familiar. That lyke as the Romane, translated the wisdom of Grecia in to their citie we may, if we liste, bring the lernynges and wisdomes of them both in to this realme of Englande, by the translation of their workes ; sens lyke entreprise hath been taken by frenche men, Italions, and Germanes, for our no little reproche for our negligence and slouthe.”—*Ib.*, I, 168.

Such was Elyot's position. He believed that the English language was inferior as a literary means to the classic languages, that it was a good and patriotic thing to improve it and the chief direction of improvement lay in the vocabulary. He seems to have borrowed a good many words : Croft quotes a considerable list, to which additions might be made. The subsequent publication of the New English Dictionary shows that some of these words had been previously used. But a careful correction of this list would not be very useful, even if it could be carried out completely, for though it might be the case that some of these words had been already used, we cannot be sure that Elyot was aware of the use. His general idea is made plain by the extracts : lists of words serve only as illustration.

This opinion Elyot seems to have modified as time went on. *The Governour* was his first work : in *The Castel of Helth*, published three years afterward, we find much the same thing. The following list will give an idea of his usage. When it is recollected that *The Castel of Helth* is rather a small book of about two hundred pages, it will seem a considerable showing, though perhaps not more than we should expect from a medical book.

Abstersive, Adolescence, to Adust, Adustion, Aggregatours, to Appaire, Aposthume, Bayne, Carayne, Carnosity, Condyte, Conglutinate, Constrictise, Discrasies, Distemperance, Ductuosity, Egritude, to Expulse, to Extenuate, to Extinct, to be Fatigate, Fricasies, Fricacions (rubblings), Fumish, Fumosities, Gourmandise, Gestation ("that is to say where one is carried"), to Humect, to Incende, Incision, Infarced, Ingurgitation, Oppilations, Poise, to Repugne, to Ruminare, Saciety ("or fullness of bealie"), Saltion, Sapience, Scotomies, Sembably, Scrupulosity, Ventosities.

This is much the same sort of thing as is found in the *Governour*. Doubtless only a part of them are absolute borrowings: a number may be found before Elyot's time. But the list in general shows that its view was much as it had been in his earlier work. Later, however, Elyot seems to have receded from his position somewhat, although he makes no statement concerning any change of view. In his Latin Dictionary but a few of his inkhorn terms are to be found under their etyma. This in itself does not prove very much; the purpose of the Dictionary being to explain the meaning of Latin words, it would be natural not to use words so nearly like the Latin that they would not explain them. On the other hand familiar terms would seem to be especially called for. Still the fact that Elyot was now and then willing to translate Latin words by expressions so uncommon as *to infame* and *tourment* (engine) would show that this rule was not absolute with him. The Dictionary shows us that as a rule Elyot did not feel that the words he had himself borrowed were wholly acclimated, although he did feel himself at liberty to use them, if in a few cases only.

Other evidence, however, would lead us to think that he had modified his ideas. In *The Banket of Sapience*, about the same time as the Dictionary, there are not many very strange words—*exploitures, attemptate, distemperance* are not remarkable—and it would seem on the whole that he had somewhat modified his idea as to its being good to borrow extrava-

gantly. He may use somewhat pedantic forms, but there are none of the *egritudes* and *ventosities*, *maturities* and *humectings* of the earlier work. Nor is his style a highly Latinistic style: after a little study I should say that it was not much more Latinistic in general than Latimer's, although certainly the Latin words are apt to be more pedantic.

But in spite of any possible change of opinions, Sir Thomas Elyot may fitly stand as the leader of the movement for enriching the English language by copious borrowings from Greek or Latin, French or Italian. It is a position now rather discredited in the academic rhetorics, but there is no very obvious reason for the common position, except that it is certainly the best adapted for younger students. The language always has grown by the practice which Sir Thomas Elyot put into definite and exaggerated form, and very probably will continue to do so.

Good or bad, however, it is generally well that there should be opposition to this idea, for out of such opposition we get a better balance than we should have if the theory of constant borrowing were given a free field. The opposition has shown itself in late years by a movement to enhance the use of the Old English element in the language, as, for example, in William Morris's later prose. This is a very natural position and was held at the time of Sir Thomas Elyot's expression of his rather extravagant views. The best example of the opinion is found in the work of Sir John Cheke.

The influence of this remarkable man upon contemporary literature is not very accurately known. He was a teacher rather than a writer, and no doubt his opinions and ideas often come to expression in the work of other men. His views on this matter may be seen in a passage from the *Rhetoric* of Sir Thomas Wilson and in a letter to Sir Thomas Hoby. These two statements are well-known, most readily found in the introduction to Arber's edition of Ascham's *Scholemaster*. Besides these, however, there is a passage in

Strypes' *Life of Sir John Cheke*¹ which, though accessible enough, is not often quoted or mentioned.

Strype first mentions the efforts of Cheke to correct the spelling then current, his proposal to omit silent letters, and his indications of quantity. Next he says that "What he did further for the language was that he brought in a short and expressive way of writing without long and intricate periods." He also tells us that, like other scholars of the day, he wrote a beautiful hand. It is upon the matter of importance to us, however, that Strype is most detailed: the passage is as follows:

"And moreover in writing any discourse, he would allow no words but such as were true English, or of Saxon original; suffering no adoption of any foreign word into the English speech, which he thought was copious enough in itself, without borrowing words from other countries. Thus in his own translations into English he would not use any but pure English phrase and expression; which indeed made his style here and there a little affected and hard; and forced him to use sometimes odd and uncouth words, as desiirful, ungrevous, tollers for publicans, etc.; which perhaps might occasion that rude character Sir John Hayward gave of him, allowing his eloquence in the Latin and Greek tongues: but for other sufficiencies, so far as it appears by his books, pedantic enough. A censure too rash upon a man of such fame and learning, and indeed bespake Hayward to be but little acquainted with him and his books; being far otherwise thought as by those learned men his contemporaries that well knew him, and wanted not for skill to judge of men. But to return where we were, that indeed was Cheke's conceit, that in writing English none but English words should be used, thinking it a dishonour to our mother tongue, to be beholden to other nations for their words and phrases to express our mind.

¹ Published for the Parker Society.

“Upon this account Cheke seemed to dislike the English translation of the Bible, because in it there were so many foreign words which made him once attempt a new translation of the New Testament; and he completed the Gospel of St. Matthew, and made an entrance into St. Mark; wherein all along he laboured to use only true English Saxon words. The original under his own hand still remains in the MS. library at Beneit College, Cambridge. A specimen whereof, for the reader’s diversion I shall here set down.”

[Here are inserted the authorized version and Cheke’s translation of Matthew I. 17–20, and II. i.]

“Yet one may observe in this so overlaboured a translation (as I may term it) he is forced to make use of several words of foreign derivation.”¹

The translation of Matthew and a part of Mark, here mentioned, was edited by Goodwin in 1843 (London), and from our present standpoint is most interesting. A selection from the most noteworthy words makes very clear the theory and practice. It seems useful to add the corresponding words in the translations of Wiclif and Tyndale, which latter is the same, except in a few instances, as the “Great Bible” which I suppose to have been the one that Cheke “seemed to dislike.”

MATTHEW.	CHEKE.	WICLIF.	TYNDALE.
i. 1	stock	generacioun	generacion
i. 46	tollers	puppublicans	publicans
i. 17	out-peopling	transmygracion	captivite
ii. 1	wisards	astromyens	wise men
ii. 16	was plaied withal	was mocked	was deceyved
iv. 24	mooned	lunatik	lunatyke
25	the tencitee	decapoli	the ten citees
v. 18	goo away	passe	perisshe
vi. 19	hord	gadir	gadare
vii. 22	mighty things	vertues	miracles
23	unlawfulness	wickednes	iniquite
viii. 5	hundreder	centurien	centurion
xi. 16	kind	generacioun	generacion

¹*Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 161.

MATTHEW.	CHEKE.	WICLIF.	TYNDALE.
xii. 31	ill-speed	blasfemy	blasphemy
	34 of spring	generacion	nacioun
	35 stoor hous	gode thingis	treasure
xiii. 3	biwords	parablis	similitudes
	21 but a forwhile	temporal	but a season
	44 hoord	tresoure	treasure
	52 lerned man	wise man	scribe
xv. 19	ill wordes	blasphemyes	blasphemye
xvi. 1	token	tokene	sign
	2 teaching	teaching	doctrine
	2 church	chirch	congregation
xix. 16	everlasting	everlasting	eternal
xx. 3	comūnplace	cheping	market place
	22 wash		baptise
	washing		baptism
	25 do overmaster	ben lordes	have dominacion
xxii. 3	waiters	mynystris	ministers
	20 on writing	the writing above	superscripcion
	23 gain rising	rising agen to life	resurrection
	30 uprising	“ “ “ “	“
xxiii. 12	set upper	enhaunsid	exalted
	15 freshman	prosilite	[to bring one in to your belief]
	33 offspring	[eddris briddes]	generacion
	34 meeting places	synagogis	synagoges
xxiv. 12	unlawfulness	wickedness	iniquite
xxvi. 2	crossed	crucified	crucified
	71 gaat hous	gate	porch
xxvii. 53	rising again	resurexcion	resurreccion
	24 it was no boot	it profited nothing	he prevailed noth- ing
	60 grave	birial	tombe
MARK.			
i. 8	wasched	baptised	baptised
	13 gods messengers	aungelis	aungels
	20 hinds	hired servants	hyred servaunts

These are fair examples of Cheke's substitutions. Some of them are familiar already. What is still to remark is that although as above we find in a good many cases English expressions (or words which Cheke considered English) in place of the foreign words of Tyndale and Wiclif, yet not

infrequently Cheke has either retained or used a word of obviously foreign origin.

MATTHEW.	CHEKE.	WICLIF.	TYNDALE.
i. 19	divorce	left her	put her away
20	angel	angel	angel
23	virgin	virgin	mayde
iv. 23	synagoogs.	synagogis	synagog
	Cf. xxiii. 34		
vi. 2	hypocrites	ypocritis	ypocrites
vii. 6	margarites	margaritis	pearles
29	scribes. Cf. xiii. 52	scribis	scribes
ix. 3	blasphemeth.	blasphemeth	blasphemeth
	Cf. xii. 31; xv. 19		
ix. 12	phisition	leche	phisicion
13	sacrificed	sacrifice	offer
x. 13	salute	greet	salute
xi. 13	propheysyd	profecieden	did foresai
xiii. 20	receiveth	takith	receaveth
22	deceit	fallace	dissaytfulness
34	parables	parablis	similitudes
xiv. 26	phantasm	fantum	spirit
xviii. 24	talants	talentis	talentts
xix. 12	ennouches	gildingis	chaste
xx. 19	crucified	crucified	crucified
xxii. 5	mercat	merchandise	merchandyse
17	tribute	rent	tribute
20	image	ymage	ymage
43	spirit	spirit	spirite
xxiii. 7	curtesi	salutations	gretyngs
11	minister	mynystre	servaunt
xx. 24	desolation	discumfort	desolation
xxvi. 28	testament	testament	testament
53	legeons	legions	legions
MARK.			
i. 4	repentaunce	penaunce	repentaunce.

These few instances are enough to show that Cheke for some reason or other did not himself carry out his theory to the uttermost, even in this translation. There are also a number of cases where he has failed to substitute an English word for a foreign, in which I am inclined to believe that his

knowledge of etymology was at fault rather than his desire for purity of language. He writes *waiters* for *ministers* xxii. 3; *crossed* for *crucified* xxvi. 2; *church* for *congregation* xvi. 2; *agreed* for *reconciled* v. 24; *wasted* for *desolate* xii. 25. In such cases I suppose that he may have considered his own expressions to be native English. But with a certain unwillingness to be too particular as to his Old English scholarship, I have not pushed this enquiry very far. One thing is quite obvious and must be borne in mind: the translation was an experiment. Several times a foreign word naturalized in English is first written with a gloss and then discarded in favor of a native English expression. Thus in ix. 3 we have *blasphemeth*, and in xii. 31 *ill-speech*, and in xv. 19 *ill-words*. In xx. 19 we have *crucified*, and in xxvi. 2 *crossed*. In iv. 23 we have *synagoogs*, and in xxiii. 34 *meeting-places*. In x. 1 he seems somewhat doubtful as to writing an unfamiliar English word for a familiar foreign expression, for he writes *apostols* with the gloss "the truetorn of this is as much as to say a froesent." The gloss to Ἐκκλησία (xvi. 12) is interesting. He translates it by *Church* and remarks "and by γ truetorn of γ word may be named the outcalled. . . . We following γ Greek call yis house, as the north doth yet moor truli sound it, γ Kurk, and we moor corrupter and french-like γ Church."

But in spite of its variations this work of Cheke's shows very clearly his ideas and his purpose. He never finished this translation nor did he publish it, and the work which he did publish is by no means remarkable for its purism in this direction. While it certainly lacks any admixture of new borrowings, it has, on the other hand, very few of the strained English expressions exemplified above. I have noted in *The Hurt of Sedition*, *dehort*, *appair*, *acraseth* on the one hand, and *upstirres*, *unquietness*, *blood-shedders*, *purse-pickers*, *quarrel-makers*, *men-pleasers* on the other, which, though not all strictly English expressions, seem to have taken the place of more familiar foreign words.

Cheke's exact influence would be very hard to determine : certainly his words were not wholly wasted on Ascham and Wilson. The position of the former is well known so far as concerns his general use of English instead of Latin, but he does not give any evidence of following Cheke's more advanced opinions.

The position of Sir Thomas Wilson is now of interest. He was not so much a man of letters as a scholar at first and a man of public affairs afterward. He held a number of high positions, was ambassador to Scotland, Portugal, the Netherlands, a Member of Parliament, Dean of Durham, and so on.

His Rhetoric was published in 1553. The first part is, I believe, modeled upon Quintilian. The third book, however, is more his own. It is "of apte chusing and framing of words and sentences together called Elocution." This term we more commonly give to the process of delivery, but in the Latin rhetoric it stood for what we now call Diction. Wilson divides it into four parts : Plainnesse, Apteness, Composition, Exornacion, and in speaking of " Plainnesse, what it is " he puts himself on record on the side of those who would have their English with as little foreign admixture as possible.

" Emong al other lessons, this should first be learned, ^ȝ we never affect any strange ynke-horne termes, but so speake as is commonly received : neither sekyng to be over fine, nor yet living over carelesse, usyng our speache as most men do and ordering our wittes, as the fewest have doen. Some seke so farre for outlādishe Englishe, that they forget altogether their mother's lāgage. And I dare swere this, if some of their mothers were alive, thei were not able to tell, what thei say, and yet these fine Englishe clerkes wil saie thei speake in their mother tongue, if a mā should charge thē for cōnterfeityng the kynges English. Some farre iourneid ientlemē at their return home, like as thei love to go in forein apparell, so thei wil poudere their talke ^ȝ oversea lāgage. He that

cometh lately out of France, wil talke Frēche English and never blushe at the matter. Another choppes in with Angleso-Italiano: the lawyer wil store his stomack with the pratyng of Pedlars. The Auditor in makyng his accompt and rekenyng, cometh in with sise sould, and catere denere, for vi. ſ. iii. d. The fine courtier will talke nothing but Chaucer. The misticall wise menne, and poetical Clerkes will speake nothyng but quaint proverbes, and blind allegores, delityng much in their own darkenesse, especially, where none can tell what thei do saie. The unlearned or foolish phantasticall, that smells but of learnyng (such felowes as have been learned men in their daies) will so latine their tongues, that the simple cannot but wonder at their talke, and thynk surely they speak by some Revelacion. I know them that think Rhetorique, to stand wholly upon darke woords, and he that can catch an ynke horne word by the taile, him thei count to be a fine Englisheman, and a good Rhetorician."

After these remarks he gives various examples of misuse of language, most of which, to tell the truth, seem to have arisen from ignorance rather than pedantry. Afterward follows the often-quoted passage ("Now whereas words be received, as well Greeke as Latin, &c., f. 87. 2) in which he points out that many words of foreign origin are in common and easy use. "The folie is espied, when either we will use such words as few men doe use, or use them out of place when another might serve."

Passing over his treatment of Aptness and Composition we come to Exoruation. Here he points out that we may properly "commend and beautify our talk with divers goodlye coloures, and delightful translations [metaphors] that our speache may seem as bryghte and precious as a ryche stone is fayre and orient." But the main idea on the vocabulary is in the passage quoted.

Here it may be remarked that the other rhetoricians of the century say very little on the subject. As is noticed in our beginning, it is not always in the systematic treatises that we

shall find the rhetorical ideas. The greater number of the rhetorics of the sixteenth century are without any ideas at all, certainly upon the present subject. Cox makes no reference to the vocabulary. Sherry's book is just what it pretends to be, namely, a treatise upon the Figures of Grammar and Rhetoric. Under the head of figures he of course speaks of many things which would seem to come rather under the head of faults. Thus the term Baralexis he explains as "where a rude word or of a strange tong is brought into the Roman tong. In the English speach there be so many that some think we speak little English or none at all" (v. b). Like Sherry, Peacham writes on Figures; like him he throws little light on the literary movement of the time. I find but one allusion to our subject; in speaking of metaphor he writes: "The sixt manner of speaking or writing by this figure is, when we signifie the imitation of another man's property or fashion: this forme of speaking is very usual in the Greeke tongue, and somewhat it is used in the Latine, as where they say, Patrissare, matrissare, Platonissare, that is to say, to imitate his father, to imitate his mother, to imitate Plato, which forme our tongue can hardly imitate, except we should say, he doth fatherise, Platonise, temporise, which is not much in use. Yet the English tongue endeavoreth what it can to speake by this part as where it saith I cannot court it, I cannot Italian it."¹ These remarks find a comment in Nash, who will be mentioned later. Fenner's *Artes of Logic and Rhetorike* contains nothing to our purpose.

There remains *The Arte of English Poesie*. Puttenham's view (Lib. III, Chap. IIII) is as applicable to prose as to poetry. Our maker, or poet, he holds, must look to his language carefully and be careful that he gets what is natural, pure, and the most usual. He must avoid the language of the marches or frontiers or port towns on account of the

¹Henry Peacham. *The Garden of Eloquence*. London, 1577.

strangers, the speech of the Universities on account of scholars (who "use much peevish affectation of words out of the primitive languages") and the upland villages on account of the rustic and uncivil people. He must avoid archaisms and not follow Piers Plowman, Gower, Lydgate, nor yet Chaucer. He must avoid dialect, any speech used beyond the river Trent. He adds that "peradventure some small admonition be not impertinent, for we find in our English writers many wordes and speaches amendable, and ye shall see in some many inkhorne terms so ill-affected brought in by men of learning as preachers and schoolemasters; and many straunge terms of other languages by Secretaries and Merchaunts and travailours, and many dark wordes, and not usual nor well sounding, though they be dayly spoken in Court. Wherefore great heed must be taken by our maker in this point that his choice be good."¹

From all this we get an idea of rather a jarring set of ideas and opinions. There was a desire for good English. But there were all sorts of possibilities, and various innovations. There was dialect to be avoided, especially, it would seem, the Scotch. There were archaisms, defended and denied, particularly the dippings in the well of English undefiled. Then there were technical terms of the various professions, and importations by travelers in France and Italy. And there were the inkhorn terms of the scholars and the uncouth formations of the homely theorists.

Most of these innovations had their champions ardent and devoted. None, however, was quite so vigorous as one who sustained no cause save that of doing just as he chose. Thomas Nash, in his use of language, was of a type which may be found in every literature. He based himself, perhaps, upon Aretino, he had something of the linguistic exuberance of Rabelais. He regarded restrictions as to words much as did Richter, Carlyle or Whitman. Of course, therefore, he

¹ Ed. Arber, p. 157.

came into these controversies. One can hardly follow him through his labyrinthine squabbles, with Gabriel Harvey, say, but a note or two will be useful.

Without being too particular as to the compliments interchanged by these gentlemen, it may be remarked that Harvey was a great admirer of Cheke and Ascham, whom he mentions after Sidney and Spenser, saying that "Sir John Cheek's style was the honybee of Plato: and M. Ascham's Period the Syren of Isocrates."¹ He was for English himself without being a devoted Chaucerian. In writing about Nash he allowed himself certain liberties for which he thus apologises: "In trimming of which description, though I have found out and fecht from the mint some few new words to coulour him, grant me pardon, I think them fit for him who is so limned and coullored with all new-found villainie."²

Nash, however, fell upon him at once. He begins his *Four Letters Confuted* by reproaching Harvey for using Latin English. He uses himself, and underscores, the words *addoulce* and *entelechy*, and proceeds: "Do you know your owne misbegotten bodgery *entelechy* and *ad doulce*? With these two Hermophrodite phrases, being half Latin and half English, hast thou pulled the very guts out of the inkhorne."³ Afterward (p. 262) he gathers together a collection of Harvey's inkhornisms. It must be confessed that they are not so very bad; such expressions as *deceitful perfidy*, *addicted to theory*, *perfunctory discourse* are not so very terrible, though they may have sounded more strangely in Elizabethan ears.

As for Nash his chief aim seems to have been to vilify; he by no means troubled himself about consistency. In *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem* we find more strange expressions than he could have got out of all Harvey's works, of which the following may serve as samples: *callichrimate*, Works, IV, 51; *investurings*, 72; *sacrificatory*, 76; *delinquishment*, 78; *succoursuers*, 116; *intercessionate*, 156; *deploment*, 30. There

¹ Works, Ed. Grosart, I, 266.

² Works, III, 6.

³ Works, Ed. Grosart, II, 191.

are also a great number of derivatives in *-ize*, which are worth particular mention, *e. g.*, *unmortalize*, 70; *carionized*, 75; *oblivionize*, 79; *anatomize*, 109; and many others. Of these some were in good use at the time, but others are obviously new coinages. There was some comment upon these particular derivatives on the appearance of the first edition of *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*, and in the second edition Nash commented upon the matter.

"The plodding sort of unlearned Zoilists about London exclaim that it is a pufted-up stile and full of prophane eloquence; others object to me the multitude of my boystrous compound words and the often coyning of Italionate verbs which end all in Ize as mummianize, tympanize, tirranize. To the first array of my clumperton antagonists this I answer, that my stile is no otherwise puft up, than any mā should be which writes with any spirit; and whom would not such a divine subiect put a high ravisht Spirite into? For the prophaness of my eloquence, so they may tearm the eloquence of Sainct Austen, Jerome, Chrysostome prophane, since none of them but takes unto himself more liberty of Tropes, Figures, and Metaphors, and alleadging Heathen examples and Histories.

"To the second rancke of reprehenders that complain of my boystrous compound words, and ending my Italionate coyned words all in Ize, thus I reply: that no winde that blowes strong but is boystrous, no speech or words of any power or force to confute or persuade, but must be swelling and boystrous. For the compounding of my words, therein I imitate rich men who having gathered store of white single money together, convert a number of those small little sentes unto great pieces of gold, such as double pistols and portugues. Our English tongue of all languages most swarmeth with the single money of monosyllables,¹ which are the only scandal

¹ Cf. Gascoigne, *The Steele Glass* (Ed. Arber), p. 35: "The most ancient English words are of one sillable so that the more monasyllables that you use the truer Englishman you shall seem, and the lesse you shall smell of the Inkehorne."

of it. Books written in them and no other, seem like shop keepers boxes, that containe nothing else, save halfe-pence, three farthings and twopences. Therefore what did me I, but having a huge heap of those worthless shreds of small English in my Pia Mater's purse to make the royaller show with them to men's eyes, had them to the compounders immediately, and exchanged them four into one, and others into more, according to the Greek, French, Spanish and Italian.

"Come, my maisters, inure your mouths to it, and never trust me but when you have tride the commodity of carrying much in a small roome; you are like the Apothecaries use more compounds than simples, and graft wordes as men do their trees to make them more fruitful. My upbraided Italianate verbes are the least chrimme of a thousand, since they are grown in general request with every good Poet.

"Besides they carry far more state with them then any other, and are not halfe so harsh in their desinence as the old hobling English verbes ending in R; they express more than any other verbes whatever, and their substantives would be quite barraine of verbs but for that ending. This word mumianized at the beginning of my first Epistle is shrewdly called in question for no other reason that I can conceive but that his true derivative which is mummy is somewhat obscure also. To Phesitiens and their confectioners it is as familiar as Mumchance amongst Pages, being nothing else but mans flesh long buried and broyled in the burning sands of Arabia. Hereupon I have taken up this phrase of Jerusalem's Mumianized earth (much as to say) as Ierusalem's earth manured with man's flesh."—Works, IV, 7.

So to those who would use Chaucerisms, or Italianate phrases, or traveler's talk, or inkhorn terms, or native "tritors," we may add such as maintained the right to use any sort of word they could make up out of their own heads. And here we may leave the sixteenth century. It was in style a time of no fixed principles; to the more polished eighteenth century it seemed merely barbarous. But it was a

time of ideas ; men were thinking. There has hardly been a movement in style, so far as the vocabulary is concerned, since their time, which was not to some degree anticipated by Elyot, Cheke, Gardiner, Harvey, or Nash, or even by one of a thousand nameless euphuists whose fancy may have lasted but the hour of court fashion, or of the crowd of scholars whose learning never influenced more than the few who read their now-forgotten pamphlets.

EDWARD E. HALE, JR.

XVII.—RECENT TRANSLATIONS OF OLD ENGLISH POETRY.

The desire was expressed some years ago that we might soon have in English a collection of translations of Old English poetry that might fill the place so well filled in German by Grein's *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*. This desire is now in a fair way of accomplishment, and much has been done during the past ten years, the period embraced in this paper. As was naturally to be expected from the work previously done in criticism of both text and subject-matter, *Beowulf* has attracted more than ever the thoughts and efforts of translators, for we had in 1892 the rhythmical translation of Professor J. Lesslie Hall and the prose version of Professor Earle; in 1895 (reprinted in cheaper form in 1898) the poetical translation of William Morris and A. J. Wyatt, the editor of *Beowulf*; in 1901 the prose version of Dr. J. R. Clark Hall, author of *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*; and only the other day, in 1902, the handy prose version of Professor C. B. Tinker. It could scarcely be expected in the brief space to which this paper is limited¹ that more could be done than merely to scratch the surface of the ground, for

"I have, God woot, a largë feeld to erë,
And waykë been the oxen in my plough;"

therefore I shall attempt nothing more.

Professor Lesslie Hall has based his translation on the Heyne-Socin text, perhaps as good a text as any, though some have preferred Wyatt, but the difficulty under which any translator labors is that there is no consensus as to a standard *Beowulf*-text. A translator of twenty years ago was severely criticised because his translation did not correspond to the text that the critic happened to have in hand, whereas,

¹ Fifteen minutes.

if he had consulted the text of Grein's separate edition of 1867, he might have spared his criticism. The best service to Old English studies that some one of our younger scholars could render would be to publish a variorum edition of *Beowulf*, incorporating all the latest emendations of the hard passages,—of which there are not a few,—and then we might have a more secure basis for translation. We expected such an edition in the series which has been so auspiciously opened with Professor Cook's edition of Cynewulf's *Christ*, but it seems to have been relegated to the Greek Kalends.

Professor Hall has adopted as the vehicle of his translation an approximate imitation of Old English rhythm, two accents to the half-line with alliteration in the words receiving the main stress, and he has carried out this alliteration more consistently than any other English translator. It is needless to say that I agree with him that this verse gives a better idea of the Old English rhythm than any other English verse does, but we cannot attain ideal correctness of rhythm, and we must never force the meaning to suit the alliteration. To express as closely as possible the exact sense of the passage must be the translator's aim, and if this cannot be effected without violating the Old English alliteration, then alliteration must go. I cannot agree with Mr. Frye on "The Translation of *Beowulf*" (in *Modern Language Notes*, XII, 1897) that blank verse gives the mere English reader a better idea of the *Beowulf* than any other verse, but I prefer the position of Professor Fulton "On Translating Anglo-Saxon Poetry" (in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIII, 1898),—a paper once read before this Association. We should remember Grein's criticism of Heyne's translation: "Eine tüchtige Uebersetzung, bei der nur leider die Wahl des Metrums (fünffüszige Jamben!) eine höchst verfehlt genant werden muss." Any reader who will compare Grein's and Heyne's translations can judge of the matter for himself. It is true that I once favored the use of blank verse for such a translation *by a poet*, but I do not think that any of us who

have attempted the translation of *Beowulf* can lay claim to that appellation, except William Morris, and I shall state below my objections to his work. Did time permit, I should note some objections to Professor Hall's work also, for my copy is filled with marginal diacritics, as I read it very carefully and with great interest,—but fifteen minutes pass away very rapidly. I must, however, make one suggestion, that in a future edition the lines be numbered continuously from beginning to end, as in all editions of the poem, for the numbering of lines by cantos makes it very inconvenient for reference, and the convenience of the student should be regarded.

Our other contemporary translation, that by Professor Earle, entitled "The Deeds of Beowulf," is in prose, and to this there can be no objection, for a more exact idea of the contents of a poem can be gained from a prose than from a verse translation,—*pace* Mr. Stopford Brooke,—although naturally there is no question of rhythm. If we rule out prose for the translation of a poem, we must not only exclude three of the most recent translations of *Beowulf*, but the translations of the classics all adown the ages. Professor Earle's translation is provided with a useful Introduction, giving a brief view of the criticism of the poem, with much animadversion on Müllenhoff's *Innere Geschichte*, a synopsis of contents, and his own theory of the origin of the poem. As every one that handles the subject,—and especially our German friends,—seems to have a different theory of the origin of the poem, Professor Earle is entitled to his say, and whether we agree with his theory or not, we shall find his book a valuable addition to *Beowulf*-literature, and his large body of explanatory notes a useful aid in the interpretation of the text. Here too, if time permitted, I might comment on some passages of the translation, for I find my copy plentifully interspersed with marginal notations, but such critical comment has been ruled out, both from lack of

time and from unsuitability of subject for any but a company of Old English scholars, who alone could criticise the critic.¹

After the publication of Wyatt's edition of the poem in 1894, William Morris and himself issued from the expensive Kelmscott Press in 1895 their translation based on Wyatt's text, which they very rightly made more accessible in less expensive form in 1898. This work has no introduction, merely a brief synopsis of the argument, the translation, a glossary of names of persons and places, and a list of "some words not commonly used now." This is putting it mildly, for it is very doubtful whether some of them ever were used, and we feel almost like applying Grein's criticism of Ettmüller's translation, "Eine Uebersetzung, die bei ihren sonstigen groszen Verdiensten leider durch eine wahre Flut von Unwörtern fast unlesbar ist." The translation seems to be from two hands, for some parts of it read smoothly enough, and others poetically enough, but the translator has not always avoided alliteration in the fourth stress, indeed, he seems rather to have sought it, although it is a violation of Old English law. The prevalence also of the anapæstic measure causes too tripping a movement for the sober Old English style, and,—although it may be treason for a non-poet to criticise a poet,—it does not seem to me that Mr. Morris has attained here the beauty and accuracy of rhythm that characterize his "Sigurd the Volsung." However, some persons will read a translation of *Beowulf* that is ushered into the world by a poet, who might not read one that lacks such substantial backing, and therein I rejoice that *Beowulf* is made a more common possession of the public.

Some three years later, in 1901, we had the prose translation of Dr. J. R. Clark Hall, with introduction and notes,

¹ For the sake of correctness it may, however, be briefly remarked that in the notes on line 2157 an emendation attributed to Heyne was originally a conjecture of Grein's, which, though adopted in Heyne's fourth edition, was, as stated, dropped in the fifth, the first of the editions that received Socin's editorial care.

a bibliography,—into which has been tacitly incorporated another bibliography that I wot of,—an index of things, genealogical tables, an index of proper names, and other useful addenda, especially facsimiles of the manuscript, and pertinent illustrations. This translation is based on Wyatt's text, which is characterized as presenting very few divergences from Holder's, but, after brief statement of his own view, the author contents himself with referring for criticism to Arnold's "Notes on Beowulf," and the works of Sarrazin, Müllenhoff, and ten Brink. We still lack a thorough criticism in English of the many questions surrounding this ancient English poem, and here is another field for some one of our younger scholars.

Dr. Clark Hall has broken up the cantos by summaries of the contents every few lines, but it is a question whether this is an improvement, as it interrupts the reading of the text and greatly increases the bulk of the volume. He shows also a fondness for the use of Latinized words, as "dominion" for "people's land," and "appointed the effulgence of the sun and moon" for "set the sun and moon as lights," although Professor Earle too has here used "luminaries." It seems to me that the simplest native words are best for a translator of *Beowulf*, if one does not go to the excess, bordering on unintelligibility, of Mr. William Morris. Dr. Hall prints the episodes, as that of "Sigemund the Volsung" and that of "King Finn," in smaller type, which is an improvement.

This has been imitated in the latest published prose version of *Beowulf* during the present year, that of Professor C. B. Tinker, stated to have been made before the appearance of Dr. Hall's translation. It too has been made from Wyatt's text, and has but a short introductory note, a few explanatory notes, and an index of proper names, very brief. It seems to have been made for the use of students, as it is a small, handy, and inexpensive volume, but I think students of the poem will need more help than it gives, unless that is provided in the edition of the text, which, after all, is the

most suitable place for it. Truly there is now an *embarras de richesses* in translations of *Beowulf*, a very different state of affairs from that which existed twenty years ago, when we had only Arnold's text, with translation beneath the text, and Col. Lumsden's then recently published version in ballad-measure, a peculiarly unsuitable vehicle for such translation. For the sake of completeness I may add that there has been published this month [December, 1902] a reprint of the fourth edition (1900) of my own translation of twenty years ago, with some additions to the bibliography and a genealogy,—duly acknowledged,—taken from Max Förster's *Bēowulf-Materialien*.

Perhaps I should mention also, for the sake of additional completeness, that we just missed another poetical translation last year (1901), for the author (as he tells us) had long meditated such a work, but on casting the materials over, he found them "lacking in qualities of human interest that are necessary to modern poetical narrative," so he substituted "*Beowulf*, a Poem by Samuel Harden Church," based on the adventures of Beowulf, and introducing a love *motif* between Beowulf and Freawaru:—

"A maid with golden hair and soft blue eye,
Who grew to frolic childhood, then to youth,
And danced with Beowulf in forest glades,
And romped beneath the spreading linden-trees;"

so here we have that universal "quality of human interest" which the old bard unaccountably omitted and which is absolutely "necessary to modern poetical narrative." If Mr. Church had only given his poem another name, he might have avoided some mirth-provoking contrasts. Among "literal translations of the Saga" (to use his own words), the author mentions one by "Harrison and Sharp [!]" which I have been so unfortunate as not yet to have seen, although the edition of the poem by these writers is well known. But *Beowulf*-lore has not only provoked an original poem with that title;

it has also invaded the lecture-field, for I received not long since a circular from a gentleman who desired to give to my non-existent school a talk on "Beowulf," along with Ulysses, King Arthur, and other heroes of olden time; so we translators of *Beowulf* are responsible for having our hero exalted to that pantheon which furnishes mythical adventures to beguile the tedium of the pedagogue's instruction.¹

¹There should be added to this brief notice of English translations the German one of P. Hoffman, first published in 1893, and a second edition in 1900, a copy of which came to hand too late to be included in this paper. The author makes use of the Nibelungen-verse, although "in freer form," and he tells us that he has tried "to preserve the peculiarities of the original and to stick to the text as closely as possible." But this is not possible in the Nibelungen-verse any more than in rhyming ballad-measures. The "Fight at Finnsburg" is inserted in the episode of Finn, although the translator thinks it probably later than the "Beowulf." He mentions briefly the translations of Simrock, von Wolzogen, and Heyne, but says that those of "Grein, Holder [!], and Möller [!]," were not accessible to him, and he thinks that they are "*nicht sehr bekannt*." It is strange to find a German speaking of Grein's translation of "Beowulf" as "*nicht sehr bekannt*." The rhyming couplets and the Alexandrine movement of the verse do not remind us of "Beowulf," however accurate the translation may be in reproducing the ideas of the original. The author says that "since Wolzogen [1872] no one has had the courage to risk a new translation,"—that is, in German, for he ignores all English translations.

Since this paper was read, Professor Tinker's Doctor-thesis, "The Translations of Beowulf, a critical bibliography" (1903), has come to hand. It gives some account, with extracts and criticism, of all of the existing translations of "Beowulf," even partial ones and selections, from Sharon Turner and Thorkelin on. It will, therefore, prove very useful to the student, whether one always agrees with the criticisms or not. It was a work that deserved to be done, and it seems to have been well done. The criticism of Hoffman's translation may be specially noted as an example (pp. 99-103). The brief criticism of my own translation (pp. 83-87) takes exception to the rendering of certain words,—and doubtless these renderings might have been more exact,—and to the prosaic rhythm. I am well aware that the rhythm needs revision, as does the text also in certain passages, but, as stated above, until we have a consensus of scholars as to the text, it is useless to be continually altering a translation to try to keep pace with supposed improvements in the text of the poem. The author is right in saying that my volume "had a flattering reception,"—much more so than I anticipated,—and the continual call for successive reprints shows that it has proved useful to students.

It is time, however, to turn from *Beowulf* to translations of other Old English poetry during the past ten years. First in order of time we have a blank-verse translation of *Cynewulf's Christ* (1892) by Mr. Israel Gollancz on opposite pages from the text, a vicious method of printing if the text is to be used by students. It is no part of this paper to criticise texts, but suffice it to say in passing that Mr. Gollancz's text has been superseded by that of Professor Cook's very complete and excellent edition of *The Christ of Cynewulf* (1900), soon followed in the same year by the useful prose translation of Mr. C. H. Whitman, made from that text.¹ We are fortunate in now having this grand poem of Cynewulf in easily accessible, if not almost too elaborate, form, and a suitable translation to accompany it.

In 1892 came also Mr. Stopford Brooke's well-known "History of English Literature" (published in abridged form in 1898 as "English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest"), which contains fragments of translation from several Old English poems, the only complete ones, however, being the *Seafarer* and the *Wanderer*, of each of which we have two translations, one rhythmical in the text, and the other in blank verse in the Appendix. Mr. Brooke tells us that his chief difficulty was how to translate these poems, and then he makes the very venturesome remark: "Of all possible translations of poetry, a merely prose translation is the most inaccurate." Such a sweeping assertion is very risky. While fully agreeing with him that a translation should represent "the movement and the variety of the original verse," if we leave that out of account, we can certainly get

¹ I cannot, however, forbear here one critical remark. While Professor Cook has adopted in his text, line 40, Grein's happy conjecture *ge-ēacnung* for MS. *gearnung*, which was followed by Gollancz, his Glossary assigns to *ge-ēacnung* the meaning of *gearnung*, "reward, guerdon," or as Gollancz, "desert, meed," whereas Whitman has rightly translated it "conception," a reading that suits the passage much better. This oversight may be easily corrected, if it has not already been corrected since the publication of the work.

the ideas very accurately from a good prose translation. He rightly rules out "our existing rhyming metres:" he is more partial to blank verse, but thinks it "too stately . . . to represent the cantering movement of old English verse." I should never call that movement "cantering," and therefore should rule out an exclusively anapæstic movement as a representative of Old English rhythm. Mr. Brooke adopts a trochaic movement, two well-defined half-lines with either three or four accents to the half-line, so that we have 3:3, 3:4, 4:3, 4:4,—but this 4:4 movement is too much like "Hiawatha:"

"Hand in hand they went together
Through the woodland and the meadow."

Hiawatha is not Beowulf, even if Minnehaha might answer to Freawaru in Mr. Church's version. As already stated, I can find but two main accents to the half-line in Old English (except in the long lines), and any English rhythm that attempts to imitate that movement should have regard to this principle.

In 1895 Mr. Gollancz edited for the Early English Text Society the first part of the *Exeter Book*, containing the *Christ*, *Saint Guthlac*, *Azariah*, *The Phoenix*, *Saint Juliana*, *The Wanderer*, *The Endowments of Men*, and *A Father's Instruction*, each poem accompanied by a line-for-line translation on the opposite page, sometimes rhythmical but often very prosaic, and a comparison of this translation with his earlier translation of the *Christ* will show that he has purposely changed the blank verse rhythm to prose to secure greater accuracy of rendering. The second part of the *Exeter Book* was to have been ready in 1894, but we have looked for its publication in vain for several years. When this appears, and the edition of the *Vercelli Book*,—also projected by the Early English Text Society,—we shall have advanced a long way towards the attainment of our desires, the Cædmonian poems being then the only considerable body of Old English poetry still left since Thorpe that will await translation.

In 1899 appeared from the hands of Dr. R. K. Root a blank verse translation of the *Andrēas*, or "Legend of St. Andrew," with a brief descriptive introduction. We welcome every attempt to make the Old English poetry better known, but we have already heard Grein's opinion of Heyne's blank verse rendering of *Beowulf*, and I do not think that this verse is any more suitable for the saints' legends in the same Old English metre. If we compare Dr. Root's version with the later one of Professor Lesslie Hall, we must concede that the latter is more literal, to say the least. Of the strictly poetical merits of each I refrain from expressing an opinion, although in all blank verse renderings there is a tendency to eke out the line for the sake of the rhythm, and to accent articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and such-like light words, which accentuation grates harshly upon the ear, if it does not actually destroy the rhythm. Following chronological order I may be permitted to mention the second edition in 1901 of my own translations of the *Elene*, *Judith*, *Athelstan*, and *Byrhtnoth*, enlarged by the addition of the *Dream of the Rood*, which poem is translated entire for the first time, I believe, in English since Kemble.

The present year has seen the publication of two volumes of translations of Old English poems, the first, original, by Professor J. Lesslie Hall, containing *Judith*, *Phoenix*, *Maldon*, *Brunnanburh* and *Andrēas*, of which the *Phoenix* is a distinct addition to our existing store of Old English translations (though I cannot think that Professor Hall has succeeded as well in these as in his *Beowulf*); and the second volume by Professors Cook and Tinker, chiefly selections from already published translations, although some translations have been made expressly for this work by Professor Cook and his pupils, we infer, among others a blank verse translation of the *Dream of the Rood* by Mr. Lamotte Iddings. We should not quarrel with what we have, but we should have been more grateful if these scholars had given us original translations, by themselves or others, of all of these selections, even

if they might not have equalled those of Tennyson, the late Professor Henry Morley, and Lumsden; but doubtless the editors have designed only to popularize the Old English poems. There are some shorter pieces, however, that are additions to our present stock of translations, as the *Ruin*, the *Wife's Complaint*, the *Gnomic Verses*, the *Riddles*, the *Charms*, and a few others, and Professor Cook has supplied a prose translation of the *Phoenix*. I desire to make one suggestion to future translators, that, instead of duplicating existing translations of Old English poems, they set themselves to the task of translating those poems of which there is now no *accessible* English translation, for we cannot count the older translations of Kemble and Thorpe as generally accessible. In that event the wish with which this paper opened will soon be fulfilled, for much progress has been made during the past ten years.

In conclusion, I desire to notice briefly the various *media* used in translation. In the volume last mentioned we have prose, blank verse, ballad measures, imitative measures,—that is, measures imitative of the Old English rhythm with or without alliteration,—and some irregular verse, or, as it might be called, rhythmical prose. In remarks made above I have defended the use of prose, but I cannot consider it the best medium for the translation of poetry; the ballad-measures must be unhesitatingly rejected as producing on the ear a totally different rhythm from the Old English metre and being entirely too rapid in movement.

Professor Gummere some years ago (in *Amer. Journal of Philology*, VII, 1886), on “The Translation of Beowulf,” showed the unfitness of blank verse for the translation of that poem; and a little later, in a paper read before this Association in 1890, which appeared in the *Publications* the next year (VI, 1891), on “The Translation of Anglo-Saxon Poetry,” I attempted to show the kind of verse I thought most suitable for such translation, and I have seen no reason to change the views then expressed.

The discussion of the question was continued in 1897,—as noted above,—by Mr. Frye, favoring blank verse, and in 1898 by Professor Fulton, favoring a measure imitative of the Old English metre, in which he gave us a translation of *The Wanderer* as a specimen; so these two measures seem to hold the field at present, wherever a rhythmical translation is preferred to a prose one. Mr. Frye says: "The translation and the original should produce, each upon those to whom it directly addresses itself, essentially the same impression, and the coincidence of impression, if applied fairly and discreetly, will be found a very just test of the value of a translation;" and he proceeds to argue that this principle is fulfilled in blank verse because it "is our natural epic expression," and "is the line most susceptible of the constant variation indispensable in translating *Beowulf*;" therefore it "would seem theoretically to be the best medium for rendering *Beowulf*."

Professor Fulton, while conceding the correctness of Mr. Frye's principle, takes exception to his conclusion. He says: "No doubt a good poet might produce a very fine poem in blank verse out of the story of the *Beowulf*, but it would not be *Beowulf*. The heroic quality of such a *Beowulf* would be of a totally different kind from that of the original." (*Vide* for illustration the poem of Mr. Church mentioned above.) He then argues for the imitative measure and concludes that "A translation which does not seek to reproduce the measure as well as the matter of its original cannot, of course, give anything like a true and adequate idea of that original." When this discussion was first started, Professor Bright expressed the opinion that it was "too soon to say how Anglo-Saxon poetry should be translated." Has the time come yet for a more decided expression of opinion? Translations have multiplied, and doubtless there is a whole host of embryo translators just waiting to know what form of verse they should adopt, or whether they should stick to plain prose. Our latest translators, Professors Cook and Tinker, are very

comprehensive. They say: "It will be seen that the book does not represent any particular theory of translation to the exclusion of others. Indeed, in view of the fact that opinions on the best medium for the translation of poetry are so divergent, the attempt has been made to exhibit a variety of media." This is, indeed, very liberal; where all are so generously treated, no one has a right to complain. But I was never cut out for an agnostic. I want to know which is right. It may be that I may perpetrate in the future some more translations from Old English poetry. If I am right, I shall tread in the footsteps of the past; if I am wrong, I shall mend my ways.

Seriously speaking, will not some Old English scholar take up the subject and tell us what medium of translation makes upon his mind the impression nearest to that made by the original? This is essentially subjective, but if we can have a consensus of scholars agreeing upon any one medium, that must be taken as the standard, and variations from it must be regarded as the peculiar idiosyncrasies of the individual translators. In judging of the possibilities of an imitative measure, let not the critic confine his study to what has been done. Some one in the future may handle this measure much more skilfully than any one in the past has done, and we may approach much more closely to the impression made by the original. But whether we do or not, let us not grow weary in well-doing. Let it no longer be said that forty-five years after the publication of Grein's *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*, we cannot yet point to its equal in English, we who claim this ancient poetry by right of direct, and not collateral, descent. The clouds are breaking, the skies are brightening, as this cursory review of the progress of the past ten years shows, and perhaps in ten years more there will not be left a fragment of Old English poetry to await a translator. The advance made in the study of Old English in the last twenty years has rendered this possible; the number of students has greatly increased, and it behooves them not to

hide their light under a bushel, but to set forward and help on the good work, obeying the injunction of our latest volume, *antiquam exquirite matrem*, and whether in ballad-measure or blank verse, in imitative measure or even plain prose, to do their part towards making the precious stores of Old English poetry generally accessible to all of English-speaking race.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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XVIII.—WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY ON THE
ANTIQUITY OF GLASTONBURY,¹

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE EQUATION OF
GLASTONBURY AND AVALON.

In *Gesta Pontificum* (A. D. 1125),² and also in the first

¹ First edited by T. Gale, *Scriptores quindecimi*, &c., Oxford, 1691; hence in J. Migne, *Patrologia*, II, 179, 1682 ff. A better (but still poor) text is that of T. Hearne, in his *Adam de Domerham*, Oxford, 1727. (All extant mss. proceed from a single codex of the thirteenth century.) The history of the monastery was continued to 1290 by Adam, a monk of Glastonbury; edited by Hearne, *Adam de Domerham, Historia de rebus glastoniensibus*, Oxford, 1727. John, a monk of the same foundation, continued the record into the fourteenth century; ed. by T. Hearne, *Glastoniensis chronica sive historia*, Oxford, 1726.—Literature: T. Hearne, *History and antiquities of Glastonbury*, Oxford, 1722; R. Willis, *Architectural history of Glastonbury Abbey*, Cambridge, 1866; G. Baist, *Arthur und der Graal*, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XIX, 1895, 326–345; R. Thurneysen, *Zu Wilhelm von Malmesbury*, same journal, XX, 1896, 316–321; F. Lot, *Glastonbury et Avalon, Romania*, 1898, 529–564.

² “Glastonia est villa in quodam recessu palustri posita, quae, tamen et equo et pede aditur, nec situ nec amenitate delectabilis. Ibi primus rex Ina consilio beatissimi Aldhelmi monasterium edificavit.” *De gest. pont.*, Rolls publ., 1870, p. 196. William proceeds to state that under Alfred the place was devastated by the Danes, and remained desolate until restored by Dunstan.

recension of *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (same year),¹ William of Malmesbury attributed the foundation of Glastonbury to Ini (in his spelling Ina), acting under advice of Aldhelm (patron saint of Malmesbury). By the time of writing a *Life of Dunstan* (date uncertain), William had obtained further information; he blames Osbern, biographer of Dunstan, for making that saint first abbot of Glastonbury, which, as he says, had passed under ecclesiastical authority long before the time of St. Patrick.² From another passage of the same book we perceive that William had in contemplation a work in defence of the antiquity of Glastonbury.³ By a mention in the second book of the *Life of Dunstan* it appears that William, at the time resident in Glastonbury, had completed the promised apology.⁴ *De Antiquitate*, therefore, must have been completed in Glastonbury, at a time intermediate between the two books on Dunstan.⁵

¹ *De gest. reg. Ang.*, ed. W. Stubbs, 1887, p. 35, note. In later recensions William altered the passage, in such manner as to make it appear that Ini had only enlarged, not founded, the monastery.

² "Ipsa quidem multo ante beatum Patricium, qui anno Incarn. Domin. CCCCLXXII decessit, in jus ecclesiasticum transivit." *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls publ., 1874, p. 251.

³ "Quomodo autem et quo auctore reliquiae sanctorum de Transumbranis Glastoniam sunt advectae, in libro de antiquitate ejusdem ecclesiae accepta inserere non pigebit, si Deus mentem meam ad quod intendo direxerit." *Memorials*, p. 271. Stubbs errs in saying that William promises to introduce into his proposed work a mention of St. Wilfrid (belonging to Canterbury), p. xxix.

⁴ "Antiquitatem istius sanctissimi coenobii Glastoniensis, in quo coelestem profitemur militiam, alio opere quantum divinus favor affuit absolvimus; quam si cui voluptati erit legere, poterit alias apud nos invenire. Negotium sane illud nos frustra suscepisse non causabitur posteritas, quoniam subinde legens intellexerit quam immaniter Cantuarensis cantor in describenda patris nostri vita peccaverit." *Memorials*, p. 288.

⁵ The prologue of *De Antiquitate* mentions two books on Dunstan: "Unde, sicut aestimo, non contemnendae stilum dedi operae, qui beati Dunstani . . . vitam labore meo aeternae mandavi memoriae, duosque libros de hoc, volentibus Glastoniae fratribus filiis vestris, dominis et sociis meis, dudum integra rerum veritate absolvi." *D. A.*, p. 2. William is not in the habit of such self-laudation; the passage is evidently falsified.

Means for more precise determination of date are slender. In the final chapter, William, having occasion to mention Henry of Blois, abbot of Glastonbury, to whom the work is dedicated, calls him bishop of Winchester (a promotion received in 1126, shortly after Henry's appointment as abbot), but not papal legate (as the bishop became in 1139); he describes him as brother of Theobald, Count of Blois, but makes no mention of a second brother, King Stephen; hence it has been inferred that the treatise must have antedated Stephen's accession in 1135. The indication, however, is not decisive; in dealing with a period anterior to Stephen's reign, William may have preferred to cite only such titles to distinction as belonged to the abbot at the time in question.¹

De Antiquitate states that Arthur was interred at Glastonbury, which it identifies with Avalon. On the other hand, in the first recension of *Gesta Regum* (1125), William had affirmed that the place of Arthur's sepulture was unknown.² In later editions of the *Gesta* (not after 1140) the author retained this passage; further, having occasion to cite from the *Antiquity* chapters which mention Avalon, William omitted such allusions. Yet he refers his readers to the book he misquotes. How, in the face of such self-stultification, could he have hoped to escape the criticism to which he elsewhere shows himself sensitive?³

Under such circumstances, it is natural to remember that the *De Antiquitate* is certainly interpolated, and to suspect that Arthurian passages may be insertions by a later hand.

¹ Such is the method pursued by *Chronica Majora* (formerly attributed to Matthew of Paris), which, having occasion to mention this same Henry, in noting his elevation to the episcopate, mentions him only as nephew of King Henry, but in 1139 calls him papal legate and brother of King Stephen. That the omission of Stephen's name indicates a date earlier than 1135 is tentatively suggested by Stubbs, *G. R.*, p. xxviii, but assumed as certain by Baist, Lot, and Wesselofski.

² "Sed Arturis sepulchrum nusquam visitur, unde antiquitas naeniarum adhuc eum venturum fabulatur," p. 342.

³ See the first book of *Dunstan, Memorials*, p. 252.

This conjecture, made a generation ago by Holtzmann,¹ was received with favor, until Baist examined the *Antiquity*, with a result favorable to the substantial authenticity of the text.²

To my mind, however, in this discussion insufficient attention has been paid to the extracts, six in number, included by William in the third recension of *Gesta Regum*.³ Of these five are charters, conferred respectively by the kings Ini, Cuthred, Eadmund, Eadgar, and Cnut; but the first, a long citation, covers the early portion of the Glastonbury work. Examination shows remarkable divergence from the *Antiquity* we possess. The question arises, what is the nature of the extract? Is it a free recast, exhibiting a selection of topics, cast into new expression and arrangement? In the case of William, a laborious reworker, such method might have been adopted. The truth can be determined only by an analysis.

Before comparison can profitably be made, it will be necessary to describe Glastonbury as it existed in William's day, and to notice its subsequent vicissitudes.

The monastery had risen into importance through benefactions of Eadmund and Eadgar. As early as the day of Dunstan, if his biographies are worthy of credit, the foundation was a favorite residence of learned Irish monks, from whom the saint is said to have received instruction.⁴ The presence of Irishmen may be the reason why great Irish saints were reputed to have been connected with the monastery. Its fame as the resting-place of Patrick, a claim respecting which William at one time had his doubts,⁵ attracted numerous pilgrims from Erin, while Bridget had

¹ *Germania*, XII, 1867, pp. 257 ff.

² Baist allowed eight interpolations, mostly trifling. The additions, he thinks, may be from one hand; after their excision, the treatise becomes clear; its genuineness is guaranteed by comparison with *Gesta Regum* and the *Life of Dunstan*, *Z. F. P. R.*, 1895, pp. 328, 329; 1896, p. 320.

³ *Gesta Regum*, pp. 23, 35, 40, 158, 170, 225. The charters of Ini, Eadgar, and Cnut are preceded by some additional sentences taken in substance from the *Antiquity*.

⁴ *Memorials*, p. ii.

⁵ "Jacet ibi Patricius, si credere dignum," *Gest. Pont.*, p. 197.

been domiciled in Beckery (which in our author's day bore the cognomen of Little Ireland),¹ Benignus in Meare. Glastonbury also attempted to appropriate saints who belonged elsewhere; before William's time it had annexed Dunstan,² and pretended to possess the body of David.³

At Glastonbury William saw two churches;⁴ the older, built of wood, and of small dimensions, from his account appears to have been locally known as the Old Church. This edifice abounded in relics of the utmost sanctity. Monks of Glastonbury pronounced it to be the oldest church in England, and set forth its pretensions to primacy in extravagant forgeries which William naïvely accepted;⁵ general as was the mediæval habit of inventing monastic charters, to Glastonbury belongs unquestioned preëminence in this branch of industry.

Adjoining St. Mary's, and much larger, rose the stone church of the Apostles Peter and Paul. On the height now called the Tor stood a third structure, the dependent church of St. Michael de Torre, where were stationed two monks of Glastonbury.⁶ Five miles away, Wells Cathedral offered a perpetual reminder of a struggle acute in the twelfth century.

¹ "Beocherie, quae Parva Hibernia dicitur," Eadgar's charter, *G. P.*, p. 171. Lot thinks the name from the Irish *becc Eriu*, Little Erin; *op. cit.*, p. 547; to me the Irish explanation seems only a popular etymology on the part of Irish monks; the termination *erie* shows sufficiently the Saxon origin. The ruins of a church of St. Bridget were visible in Beckery as late as the end of the eighteenth century; J. Collinson, *History of Somerset*, II, 265.

²An assumption which William, perhaps frightened by the rebuke of Eadmer, does not notice. See *Memorials*.

³See below.

⁴"Est ibi ecclesia lignea, ut ante dixi, lapideae contermina, cujus auctorem Inam regem non falsa confirmat antiquitas," *Memorials*, p. 271. The dimensions were 109 feet by 24, Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Dunstan added a tower and porticos, *Memorials*, p. 271.

⁵"Sicut in regno Britanniae est prima, et fons et origo totius religionis, ita et ipsa supereminentem privilegii obtineat dignitatem, nec ulli omnino ancillare obsequium in terris faciat, quae super choros angelorum dominatur in coelo," *Gest. Reg.*, p. 37.

⁶Here was a fair in the reign of Henry I: Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I, 45. The present church was built in 1271; Collinson, *Hist. of Somerset*, II, 265.

Abbot Henry, to whom William dedicated his treatise, died in 1171, and was immediately succeeded by Robert, prior of Winchester; on the death of the latter in 1178, the monastery fell into the hand of the king, and so continued until 1184, when Peter de Marci was appointed, but died in the same year; he failed to obtain recognition for the monks, so that his name does not appear in the roll of abbots. On St. Urban's Day, 1184, a frightful calamity befell Glastonbury; a conflagration destroyed all buildings of the monastery, except a camera and a bell-tower. Writing a century later, Adam of Domerham cannot restrain his lamentations. "What groans, what tears, what beatings of the breast were yielded by spectators, can be imagined only by those who have suffered similar affliction. The confusion of relics, treasures in silver and gold, silks, books, and other ecclesiastical ornaments, might justly provoke grief. More vehement was the woe of the monks mindful of their earlier happiness, seeing that in all adversity bygone joy is the saddest part of misfortune."¹

Henry II, who was in control, entrusted the task of reconstruction to his chamberlain Radulf, with instructions that the unexpended balance of the revenue should be applied to rebuilding. The Church of St. Mary was reconstructed in its former position and dimensions, but was now connected with the larger church after the manner of a lady chapel; the work was pushed with such celerity that dedication took place in 1186. In order to provide for ornamentation of the new edifice, relics of the great saints were exhumed from the pavement, and deposited in shrines; such was the case with bones of Patrick, Indraht, and Gildas, as well as with those of Dunstan, now formally claimed by Glastonbury.²

The great church was designed on a vast scale, its length being set at four hundred feet; stones of the earlier building were used for the foundation. The death of the king changed the conditions. In 1189, Richard appointed to the vacant

¹Adam, p. 344.

²Adam, p. 335.

abbacy Henry of Soilly,¹ prior of Bermondsey, who is said at first to have taken an active interest in the reconstruction, but afterwards to have quarreled with the monks, and become indifferent to their interests.² Finding themselves embarrassed, the brothers resorted to the usual expedient of sending on a begging tour monks provided with relics and indulgences. The collection proved insufficient; the work languished, and the church was not dedicated until the fourteenth century.

In 1192, at a time when Richard, having returned from the Holy Land, was a prisoner in Germany, he was visited by Savaric, bishop of Wells, whose journey was inspired by a wish to arrange the quarrel between that See and Glastonbury. It was arranged that abbot Henry should be promoted to Winchester and the bishop of Wells made abbot of Glastonbury; the consent of the monks was to be procured by raising Glastonbury to the dignity of an episcopal town.³ The negotiations were conducted with so much secrecy that no inkling of the scheme had reached the ears of the brothers until their abbot had taken his departure and envoys arrived on the part of the bishop of Wells, who were charged to announce the appointment and obtain obedience to their master. The result was an explosion of anger; the monks, refusing to be placated, appealed first to the king and then to the pope; a counter-election was effected; the monastery suffered military occupation, and witnessed scenes which recalled the struggle of Saxons and Normans. The plan proved a failure; in 1205, after the death of Savaric, King John decided that the monastery should be restored to its pristine condition, and such result was accomplished by a papal bull.⁴

I may now take up the text of *De Antiquitate*, to be compared section by section, when opportunity serves, with matter

¹ De Sogliaco.

² Adam, p. 352. I fancy that the charge of indifference, brought against the abbot, is only a reflection of the quarrel which resulted from his promotion. We find him active in the exhumation of Arthur.

³ So says Adam, p. 353.

⁴ Adam, pp. 351-438.

contained in the first extract of the C recension of *Gesta Regum*.

The treatise opens with a prologue, setting forth advantages to be derived from perusal of sacred biography, and containing a dedication to abbot Henry of Blois. To the final lines correspond those prefixed to an extract in *Gesta Regum*: William asks the attention of his readers, while he endeavors to defend the aspersed antiquity of Glastonbury, by means of examples taken from its archives and arranged chronologically according to the series of abbots.¹ Except as to this passage, no means exist for checking the genuineness of the modern text; but the preface bears apparent marks of William's style, and seems to proceed from his hand, although it has, as already shown, been subjected to interpolation.

I. FOUNDATION OF ST. MARY IN GLASTONBURY, BY DISCIPLES OF PHILIP THE APOSTLE.—While preaching in the region of the Franks, as narrated by Freulf, Philip chose and ordained twelve disciples, whom he put in charge of his beloved friend, Joseph of Arimathea, who buried the Lord. In the sixty-third year of the Incarnation, and the fifteenth of the Assumption of Mary, these missionaries arrived in Britain. They failed to convert the barbarous king, but obtained the concession of a swampy and forest-girt island, known to the natives as Iniswitrin. Two later kings confirmed the donation, and bestowed on each of the twelve saints a hide of land, whence Glastonbury is thought to have derived its title of Twelve-Hides. After a time, these saints

¹ "Adestote igitur, si omnino placet, et attendite, dum per successionum seriem antiquitatem ecclesiae temptabo suspicionibus eruere, quantum ex strue monumentorum vestrorum potui corradere," *D. A.*, p. 4. With these words compare those introducing the first extract of *Gesta Regum* (C recension): "Ejusdem ecclesiae exortum et processum, quantum e strue monumentorum corradere potero, repetens ab origine pandam," *G. R.*, p. 23. The existing text of *De Antiquitate* fails to carry out this promise of chronological sequence.

were visited by the angel Gabriel, who admonished them to erect, in an indicated spot, a church, which they constructed of boughs. Inasmuch as it was the first in that region, the Son of God honored the edifice by dedication to His Mother. The twelve devoted themselves to fasting and prayer, and were, as is pious to believe, succored and supplied by the Blessed Virgin, who appeared to them in vision. The truth of these statements is confirmed by a charter of St. Patrick, as well as by statements of ancient authors; from a British historian is cited a passage, said to be his exordium, to the effect that the earliest English Catholic Christians found already in existence a church erected by no human agency, and dedicated, according to the testimony of many miracles, by the Maker of the heavens to his mother. In this desert the twelve lived as hermits, until freed from the prison of the flesh, after which time the spot became a den of wild beasts, until it pleased the Virgin to recall her church to the memory of the faithful, in a manner presently to be related.¹

¹“Sanctus autem Philippus, ut testatur Freulfus, libro secundo, capitulo iiii, regionem Francorum adiens gratia praedicandi, plures ad fidem convertit et baptizavit. Volens igitur verbum Christi dilatari, duodecim ex suis discipulis elegit, ad evangelizandum verbum vitae misit in Britanniam et ad praedicandum incarnationem Jesu Christi, et super singulos manum dexteram devotissime extendit; quibus, ut ferunt, carissimum amicum suum Joseph ab Arimathia, qui et Dominum sepelivit, praefecit. Rex autem barbarus . . . ad petitionem eorum quandam insulam silvis, rubis, atque paludibus circumdatam, ab incolis Yniswitrin nuncupatam, in lateribus suae regionis, ad habitandam concessit. Postea etiam alii duo reges, licet pagani, successive, comperta eorum vitae sanctimonia, unicuique eorum unam portionem terrae concesserunt, et ad petitionem ipsorum, secundam morem gentilem, omnes XII. portiones confirmaverunt, unde et XII. hidae per eos adhuc, ut creditur, nomen sortiuntur. . . . Duodecim igitur sancti saepius memorati, in eodem loco Deo et beatae virgini devota exhibentes obsequia, vigiliis, jejuniis, et orationibus vacantes, ejusdem virginis auxilio ac visione, ut credi pium est, in omnibus necessitatibus refocillabantur. Haec autem ita se habere, tum ex carta beati Patricii, tum ex scriptis seniorum cognoscimus. Quorum unus Britonum historiographus, prout apud Sanctum Edmundum, itemque apud Sanctum Augustinum Anglorum apostolum vidimus, ita exorsus est. . . . Sed de his postea, nunc ad incepta

Reasons will presently be given for the opinion that this entire chapter is no work of William, but the addition of a later hand. To such a view correspond the obscurity and confusion of the style, very unlike William's usual lucidity.

Does the author expect his readers to understand that Joseph of Arimathea arrived at Glastonbury, and took part in the construction of St. Mary's? An allotment of land is made to each of the twelve disciples, but none to Joseph; again, Joseph is not mentioned as a Glastonbury saint. I should think it likely that the writer meant to represent that Joseph was only put in temporary charge of the missionaries, before their departure for Britain. It was a later generation that adopted Joseph as founder, bestowed on him a marble tomb in the church, and invented a British bard who was said to have predicted the discovery of his sepulchre.¹

What authority had the author for connecting Joseph with Philip? The only testimony yet discovered is a Georgian document, assigned to the eighth century, which undertakes to describe the erection of a church at Lydda, to Mary, mother of God. The Georgian book, which professes to emanate from Joseph himself, recites his captivity by the Jews, release by the risen Savior, and collection of the sacred blood (received in the grave-clothes of Christ). At Arimathea the Redeemer appears to Joseph, breathes on the company present (which includes Seleucus and Nicodemus) the Holy Ghost, and commands Joseph to resort to Lydda, where he

redeamus. Sancti igitur memorati . . . carnis ergastulo sunt educti, idem-que locus coepit esse ferarum latibulum, donec placuit beatae virgini suum oratorium redire ad memoriam fidelium, quod quomodo evenerit jam prosequamur," *D. A.*, pp. 5-7.

¹ Melkin, a British bard and predecessor of Merlin, had indicated the locality of the tomb; from the time of its discovery rain would never be wanting in Glastonbury. *Johannes Glast.*, pp. 30, 55. In 1345 J. Blome obtained a royal license to seek for the body of Joseph, with the consent of the abbot and convent; the application was made in consequence of a divine injunction and revelation. It does not appear whether the search was prosecuted; a chronicle affirms that the relics were found in 1367, according to Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 15, who cites R. de Boston, p. 137.

will meet Philip. Joseph obeys, and reaches Lydda, whither also proceeds Philip, who preaches with success, baptizing five thousand persons. The new converts wish Philip to remain, but he declares that they will be safe under the guidance of Philip and others, and pursues his way. A site is chosen for the new church, and Peter summoned from Jerusalem in order to preside over its construction. Henceforward Joseph plays a secondary part, and does not again come into contact with Philip.¹ It will be observed that in this account Philip commends his disciples to the care of Joseph, as in *De Antiquitate*; a story resembling the Georgian document would be sufficient to account for the latter.² As to the mention of Freulf, in this name the writer has copied the statement of William, as will be seen by comparison with the following section, which is William's genuine work.

The statement regarding the supernatural erection and dedication of St. Mary's is taken from a *Life of Dunstan*, written by an author who signs himself only as B.; to this authority also the interpolator was directed by William.³ That the citation was taken from a history, that it formed the exordium of such history, and that the narrative was composed by a Briton, are affirmations referable solely to the imagination of the reworker.⁴

II. (a) FOUNDATION OF ST. MARY'S, BY UNNAMED MISSIONARIES OF ELEUTHERIUS, *Gesta Regum*.—Concerning the origin of the church exist stories so divergent and

¹A. Wesselofski, *Zur frage über die heimath der legende vom heiligem Gral*, in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, XIII, 1901, pp. 325–328.

²*Acta Sanctorum*, March 2, p. 507, mention two late notices which connect Joseph with western Europe. Richer of Sens, 13th century, declares that Moienmoutier had at one time possessed his body. Julianus, 14th century, affirms that Joseph went with James to Spain and thence to Gaul. Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

³See p. 472.

⁴The initial B. may have suggested the fiction concerning a British author. There is no reason for connecting the document with Bridferth: Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. xviii (contrary to Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 540).

unhistorical as to deserve scanty mention. The testimony of antiquity ascribes the edifice to nameless missionaries, who, according to authentic history, were sent by Pope Eleutherius to Lucius, king of Britain. On the other hand, a reputable document assigns a more ancient source, affirming that the church was built by no other hands than those of disciples of Christ; this is not unlikely, for if the Apostle Philip preached in Gaul, as Freulf avers, he would naturally have desired to sow seeds of discourse also beyond the sea.

(b) RESTORATION OF ST. MARY'S, BY PHAGANUS AND DUVIANUS, *De Antiquitate*.—In the year 166, Phaganus and Duvianus (or Deruvianus) converted Britain, and penetrating the desert, arrived at Insula Avallonia. Noticing signs of earlier habitation, they searched old histories, in which they found mention of the disciples of Philip, and finally discovered their acts; in memory of the original twelve, they established twelve hermits, a number faithfully maintained until the advent of St. Patrick. These neophytes restored the original church, and added a second church of stone, which they dedicated to Christ and the Apostles Peter and Paul. By way of corroboration is added the testimony of a work which is to be found at St. Edmunds, to the effect that the church of Glastonbury was built by no other hands than those of disciples of Christ, that is to say, the aforesaid pupils of Philip.¹

¹ In the following citation, and in other notes comparing the two texts, words common to both are left in Roman type, those peculiar to *Gesta Regum* are italicized, those belonging only to *De Antiquitate* are enclosed in parentheses. Minute variations, explicable by scribal variation, are not taken into account.

“Tradunt bonae credulitatis annales, quod Lucius rex Britannorum ad Eleutherium, decimo tertio loco post beatum Petrum papam, miserat oratum ut Britanniae tenebras luce Christianae praedicationis illustraret. Mactus animi rex . . . ipse ultro appeteret vix auditam. (De qua re ut aliquid extrinsecus dicam. . . [The writer gives a eulogy of Lucius, and a parallel with Ethelbert.]) Venerunt ergo, Eleutherio mittente, praedicatores Britanniam, quorum in aevum durabit efficacia quamvis longae situs aetatis consumpserit nomina (duo viri sanctissimi, Phaganus videlicet atque

These two accounts are contradictory, and cannot proceed from the same hand.

Gesta Regum, admittedly a genuine document, cites from the *Antiquity* a statement that, according to Glastonbury tradition, the Church of St. Mary was built by nameless missionaries; the extant text of *De Antiquitate*, an interpolated work, affirms that the church was erected by disciples of Philip, and restored by Phaganus and Deruvianus.

The *Antiquity*, as represented by the extract of *Gesta Regum*, gives an alternative account, allowing to the church an apostolic origin; as a conjecture of his own, the author adds that the apostle in question may have been Philip. It was William, therefore, who invented the association between Philip and Glastonbury. In lieu of this hesitating suggestion, *De Antiquitate* offers a detailed narrative reciting the foundation by Philip's disciples, which is prefixed as an introductory chapter. It is quite clear that this introduction

Deruvianus, prout carta Sancti Patricii gestaue Britannorum testantur. Hi igitur verbum vite evangelizantes, regem, cum suo populo, sacro fonte abluerunt anno Domini CLXVI. Hinc praedicando et baptizando Britanniae partes peragrantes, in insulam Avalloniae, more Moisi legislatoris interiora deserti penetrantes, sunt ingressi. Ubi antiquam, Deo dictante, repperunt ecclesiam, manibus discipulorum Christi, ut ferunt, constructam, et humanae salutis a Deo paratam, quam postmodum ipse coelorum fabricator multis miraculorum gestis, multisque virtutum misteriis, sibi sanctaeque Dei genetrici Mariae se consecrasset demonstravit. . . . Huic etiam ecclesiae sic repertae alium addiderunt sancti neophytae opere lapideo oratorium, quod Christo sanctisque apostolis Petro et Paulo dedicaverunt). Horum (ergo restaurata) fuit opera vetusta in Glastonia Sanctae Mariae ecclesiae, sicut fidelis per succidua secula non tacuit antiquitas. Sunt et illae non exiguae fidei literae in nonnullis locis (apud Sanctum Edmundum) repertae ad hanc sententiam: Ecclesiam Glastoniae non fecerunt aliorum hominum manus, sed ipsi discipuli Christi eam aedificaverunt (mittente scilicet Sancto Philippo apostolo, ut praemissum est). Nec abhorret a vero; quia si Philippus apostolus Gallis praedicavit, sicut Freulfus libro secundo, capitulo quarto, dicit, potest credi quod et trans oceanum sermonis semina jecit. Sed ne videar per opinionum naenias lectorum expectationem fraudare, illis quae discrepant in medio relictis, ad solidae veritatis gesta enarranda succingar."—*G. R.*, pp. 23, 24; *D. A.*, pp. 7-12.

cannot be genuine, but must have been the work of a second hand, which expanded William's hint into a positive narration; inasmuch as the prefixed section contained statements inconsistent with William's brief mention, it became necessary for the reworker also to revise the initial chapter of the original book, and pervert its language. The genuine text is given by the extract which William made in the third recension of his *Gesta Regum*; the *Antiquity*, as he wrote it, began with the first words of the extract: "Tradunt bonae credulitatis annales."

This conclusion, sufficiently certain from the relation of the texts, is confirmed by the observation of further divergencies.

William's authority for the apostolic origin of Glastonbury was a *Life of Dunstan*, produced by an author who signed himself only with an initial B. This document affirmed that St. Mary's had been erected without human hands;¹ as a result of misunderstanding or imperfect memory, William imagined that primitive Christians were intended, and proceeded to speculate as to their identity.

The reviser recognized the document, which he proceeded to utilize in his reconstruction, by introducing citations. William had observed that the treatise was not uncommon, being obtainable in sundry libraries; the reworker was able to specify these, and mentioned St. Edmund's and St. Augustine's as possessing copies. So much learning is not very surprising, considering that the recast was executed at Glastonbury, which claimed St. Dunstan, and where many scholars would have been likely to know where to look for codices of well-known biographies. That the indication was correct, is shown by the preservation of a manuscript which was owned by St. Augustine's; it does not, however, follow that the reworker used either of these codices; it seems to me more likely that a copy was contained in the library of Glastonbury, and that the interpolator only makes a show of learning

¹As Monte Gargano was built by St. Michael, Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

in filling out William's indications, by way of giving to his composition a color of genuineness.¹

In support of his suggestion as to a possible connection of Philip with Glastonbury, William cites the testimony of Freulf, to show that this apostle did preach in Gaul and the neighboring countries. The second hand retained the reference, but also duplicated it by the insertion of a similar notice into the prefixed chapter.²

An additional contradiction appears in regard to the origin of the larger Glastonbury church, that of the Apostles. This William attributed to Ini;³ the recaster, following a statement contained in the same *Life of Dunstan*, referred it to the missionaries of Eleutherius.⁴

¹ In the following extract, introduced for purposes of comparison, words common to the *Life* and to *D. A.* are in Roman, those found only in the *Life* italicized, those peculiar to *D. A.* in parentheses.

" . . . insula, antiquo *vicinorum* vocabulo Glaestonia nuncupata, (Anglorum) primi catholice legis neophitae antiquam Deo dictante repererunt ecclesiam, nulla hominum arte, ut ferunt, constructam, immo humanae salutis *coelitus* (a Deo) paratam, quae postmodum ipse coelorum fabricator multis miraculorum gestis, multisque *misteriorum virtutibus* (virtutum misteriiis) hanc sibi sanctaeque genetrici *suae* (Dei) Mariae *consecratam fore* (se consecrasse) demonstravit. (Sed de his postea, nunc ad incepta redeamus.)"—*Memorials*, p. 7; *D. A.*, p. 7. In his chapter on the missionaries of Eleutherius, *D. A.* repeats the citation, and uses the same divergencies, "virtutum misteriiis," etc. It seems to me that the writer of *D. A.* would hardly have inserted the word "Anglorum," in speaking of British time, unless he had found it in his source, which in this case could not be the extant codex of St. Augustine's, for which see Stubbs, *Memorials*, p. xxix.

² "Hic Gallis praedicavit Christum, barbarasque gentes vicinasque tenebris et tumente oceano conjunctas ad scientiae lucem fideique portum deducit."—*Freulf*, II, 4. Philip was originally described as apostle to Galatians; confusion changed *Galati* to *Galli*.—Wesseloſki, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

³ See below.

⁴ "Huic etiam (ecclesiae sic repertae) aliud addiderunt (sancti neophitae) opere lapideo oratorium, quod Christo, *ejusque sancto Petro apostolo* (sanctisque apostolis Petro et Paulo) dedicaverunt."—*Memorials*, p. 7; *D. A.*, p. ii. The reworker makes as free with the text of B. as with that of William. B. understood that the builders of the church were Saxon Christians of the fifth century; the reviser of *D. A.* understands Christians of the apostolic age.

In the preserved text of *De Antiquitate* these missionaries are given as Phaganus and Deruvianus. Concerning the orthography of the latter name arises a doubt. Giraldus Cambrensis, who had before him a text older than any we possess, in citing from the *Antiquity*, gives the spelling Duvianus.¹ There is, I think, every likelihood that such was the original form of the name; the longer designation is explicable on the supposition that a scribe assumed the existence of a mark of contraction, and wrote in the additional syllable. The interpolator, who inserted the names of personages whom William notes as unknown, doubtless borrowed these from Geoffrey of Monmouth, in whose history they also appear as Faganus and Duvianus.²

III. EARLY HISTORY OF GLASTONBURY, *De Antiquitate* only.—(a) *Authority for statements*.—The author cites, by way, as he says, of digression,³ the testimony of a certain Godefridus, monk of Glastonbury in the time of Henry of Blois, from whose epistle he has borrowed also the following paragraph. Godefridus, while in France, had learned from a monk of St. Denis that Glastonbury took in England a corresponding rank, as superior even to Rome.⁴

The mention of abbot Henry as having lived in past time shows that the passage was written after 1171.⁵ It has the appearance of an insertion by a third hand.

(b) *Settlement of Glastonbury*.—Now that an account has been given of the foundation, dedication, and rediscovery of the church, it remains to explain the habitation of the isle. Old British histories relate that twelve brothers came from North to West Britain, where they occupied several regions formerly possessed by their ancestor Cuneda. Their names

¹ VIII, 126.

² *H. R. B.*, IV, 19.

³ "Ad comprobandum antiquitatem ecclesiae, de qua praefati sumus, paullulum digrediamur."—*D. A.*, p. 15.

⁴ "Roma etenim secunda habetur."

⁵ The interpolation is admitted by Baist, *Z. F. R. P.*, 1896, p. 320.

are given, beginning with a Ludnerth and ending with a Glasteing.¹ This is the same Glasteing who through the Middle English followed his sow to Wells, and hence by a wet road called *Sugewege* (the Sow's Path), to a spot near the Old Church, where he found the animal suckling her pigs under an apple-tree, of which the apples are known as *Ealdecyrcenus Epple*, or Old-Church apples; the sow, which had eight feet, is called Old-Church sow. Glasteing, finding the place suitable, here established himself with his family, by which the isle was peopled. So say old British books.²

The passage, referring as it does to the unguine initial chapter, evidently proceeds either from the same reviser or more probably from a third hand.

The sources of this curious and confused account have been traced by the learning of Thurneysen. The notice of Cuneda and his descendants is found in the *Historia Britonum* (ascribed to Nennius). The copy used by the interpolator evidently included certain Old Welsh genealogies,³ which appear in the Harleian codex as appended to that work; of these, one proceeds in twelve generations from a (L)udnerth to a Glast; this list he fraudulently perverted in such manner as to make the names contemporaneous. The final personage, Glast, he altered into Glasteing, as a better orthography for an eponym of Glastingebury.⁴ For the migration story he utilized Irish

¹ "Nomina eorum fratrum inferius annotantur. Ludnerth, etc., Hic est ille Glasteing, qui per mediterraneos Anglos, secus villam quae dicitur Esecbtiorne. . ."

The words "inferius annotantur" may mean that the writer found the names on a page of his Nennius below that containing mention of Cuneda, that is to say, in the appended Cymric genealogy. So Thurneysen and Baist. "Esecbtiorne" is unidentified.

² "Haec de antiquis Britonum libris sunt."

³ The genealogies are printed by E. Phillimore, *Annales Cambriae and Old-Welsh genealogies*, in *Y. Cymmrodor*, ix, 180; reprinted by J. Loth, *Mabinogion*, II, 319.

⁴ "Urbs Glestingi," in the charter of Cuthred, *G. R.*, p. 40 (where the extant text of *D. A.*, doubtless wrongly, has "urbs Glastoniae").

literature. A life of St. Patrick by Tirechan, included in the ms. of Armagh (seventh century), represents the saint as having reanimated the deceased swineherd of a king of Tirota, named Cas, son of Glas. An author whose work has been copied into the Glossary of Cormac, having occasion to bring together testimonies for the existence of old Irish influence in Wales, looked on this passage as convenient for his purpose, saw fit to invert the order of father and son, and to describe Glas, son of Cas, as feeding swine at Glasimbir (Glastonbury). The interpolator in *De Antiquitate* had only to identify this Glas, in the first place with the Glast of the Welsh genealogy, then with the eponymous Glasteing.¹ The pursuit of a lost sow, attended by wonderful adventures, was a commonplace of Old-Welsh literature. The pigs and apple-tree are introduced after Virgil, who makes Aeneas determine the site of Alba Longa in a similar manner. In *De Antiquitate* the incident is out of place, considering that the Church of St. Mary is supposed to have existed before the arrival of Glasteing. Intermingled with the narration are certain items borrowed from the life of the twelfth century; we seem to perceive that the boggy road to Wells was locally known as the Sow's Path, and that a certain variety of fruit went by the name of Old-Church apples.

(c) *Different names of the isle.*—Glastingebury is named after the aforesaid Glasteing; or else it is a translation of the earlier British name Iniswitrin. The island is also celebrated under the designation Insula Avalloniae, either because of the apple-tree above-mentioned (since in the British tongue *aval* signifies apple), or else by reason of one Avalloc, who,

¹An obscure note appended to the genealogy seems to state that these children of Glast are identical with certain Glastenic who came to or from Loytcoyt.—Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 319. J. Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian legend*, p. 333. Loytcoyt may be Litchfield, H. Bradley, *Academy*, 1889, p. 305. Scholars assume (very hazardously) that by these enigmatical Glastenic were meant Glastings of Glastonbury.

attracted by the retirement of the locality, is said to have here taken up his residence, together with his daughters.¹

A question arises in regard to the orthography of the name of the island. Giraldus, having occasion to paraphrase this very passage, writes *Insula Avallonia*.² I think it likely that such is the spelling Giraldus found in his copy of *De Antiquitate*, and that the genitive form is due to the carelessness of a scribe.³

Similarly, where we now read *Avalloc*, Giraldus seems to have found *Avallo* (or *Avallon*). Such would be the natural form of the eponym, which is perhaps independently attested. Here also I incline to assume scribal alteration.⁴

Considering that Welsh literature furnishes no mention of this eponymous personage,⁵ I am not inclined to take seri-

¹ "Haec itaque insula primo Yniswitrin, a Britonibus dicta, demum ab Anglis, terram sibi subjugantibus, interpretato priore vocabulo, dicta est sua lingua Glastinbiry [read Glastingebury]; vel de Glasteing, de quo praemisimus. Etiam insula Avalloniae celebriter nominatur, cujus vocabuli haec fuit origo. Supradictum est, quod Glasteing scrofam suam sub arbore pomifera juxta vetustam ecclesiam invenit, ubi quia primum adveniens poma in partibus illis rarissima reperit, insulam Avalloniae sua lingua, id est, insulam pomorum, nominavit. Avalla enim Britonice poma interpretatur Latine; vel cognominatur de quodam Avalloc, qui ibidem cum suis filiabus, propter loci secretum, fertur inhabitasse."—*D. A.*, p. 17.

² Giraldus writes: "Avallonia vero dicta est, vel ab *aval* Britonice, qui locus illius pomis et pomeriis abundare, vel a Vallone quodam (read ab Avallone quodam), territorii illius quondam dominatore, iv, 49.—Quae nunc autem Glastonia dicitur, antiquitus Avallonia dicebatur. Est enim quasi insula tota paludibus obsita; unde dicta est Inis Avallon, id est, insula pomifera. Pomis enim, quod *aval* Britannica linguae dicuntur, locus ille quodam abundabat."—viii, 128.

³ The carelessness of our text is shown, for instance, in the spelling "Yneswitherim" (for Yniswitrin), *D. A.*, p. 97. So "Glastinbiry" (note 1) is for Glastingebury; Giraldus writes: "postea Saxones locum illum Glastingeburi vocitabant," and again gives evidence of possessing a better codex.

⁴ The use of single or double *l* in Avalon, Avalonia, is quite immaterial and accidental.

⁵ The Latin metrical translator of *Historia Regum Britanniae* makes Arthur resort "ad aulam regis Avallonis," *Gesta Reg. Brit.*, ed. F. Michel, in publications of Cambrian Archæological Association, 1862, l. 4231.

ously the mystery-loving and daughter-endowed Avalloc or Avallo.¹

William had stated that to the English St. Mary's was celebrated under the name of the Old Church;² the interpolator imitated his language in such manner as to make affirmation that the island was famous as *Insula Avallonia* (or *Avalloniae*).³

IV. CONCERNING THE SANCTITY OF ST. MARY'S, *Gesta Regum*.—The edifice, by Englishmen called *Ealdechirche*, although in appearance plain, and originally constructed of boughs, nevertheless has from the first possessed a sanctity which has caused it to become a resort of pilgrims, and a chosen residence of men of letters and religion. The antiquity of this renown is shown by the fact that Gildas, to whom Britons owe their credit with foreigners, was attracted by the holiness of the place, where he remained many years.

De Antiquitate.—The matter corresponds, except that a

Here Avallo seems to be a personal name; while in Myvyrian archaiology, triad No. 84, II, 70, where "Ynys Afallen" (printed Afalleu) is mentioned as one of the three British monasteries, and said to be in "Caer Wydrin" (i. e., Iniswitrin), the appellation may be one of locality; but as the triad is dependent on the passage of *De Antiquitate*, now under consideration, the Welsh title makes against the supposition that the island was known as the isle of Avaloc, and, negatively at least, goes to favor the reading Avallo, which Giraldus seems to have found.

¹ Rhys, *Studies*, p. 326, thought that Avaloc might have been a Celtic deity who had given his name to the isle. So Lot, *loc. cit.* He remarks that other genealogies exhibit a Welsh name Aballac; but there is no reason for connecting this with the present case. As a mere scribal error, the introduction of Avalloc for Avallo is sufficiently explained by the Welsh translation of Geoffrey, which puts "Ynys Avallach" as a rendering of *Insula Avalonis*; a Glastonbury monk might well have been familiar with such a form, and so been guided to a spelling Avalloc; but, in truth, no rule can be applied to the deviations of the careless transcriber, and no explanation is necessary.

² Compare the phrase of *D. A.*, "*insula Avalloniae celebriter nominata*," with William's "*ecclesia . . . celebriter ab Anglis Ealdechirche nuncupatur*."

³ See p. 479, note 1.

sentence is added, affirming that Gildas had died at Glastonbury, and been interred in the Old Church.¹

The addition of the *Antiquity* is plainly an interpolation; William made Gildas only a transient resident; the reviser turned him into a Glastonbury saint.

At this point *De Antiquitate* introduces notices of other great local saints, namely Patrick, Indraht and Bridget, Benignus, Columba, and David. Except in the case of Columba, these mentions appear in the extract at a later point; that the order of *Gesta Regum* is original, and that of the *Antiquity* a rearrangement, is shown by the awkward manner in which the latter introduces the intercalation, by means of a reversion in time, not at all in accordance with the style of William, but of which the extant text furnishes several examples.²

As to Columba, *Gesta Regum* makes no mention; *De Antiquitate* affirms that this saint in the year 504 came to Glastonbury, where, as some affirm, he passed the remainder of his life. The name Columbkilla, assigned to the saint, indicates the hand of an Irish interpolator.

After these insertions, *De Antiquitate* proceeds to complete the chapter on the sanctity.

Gesta Regum.—In view of the circumstance above noted (namely the residence of Gildas) the church must be pronounced the oldest in England. It contains the mortal remains of holy men, of whom several will hereafter receive notice in their proper chronological place. The pavement and altar are encrusted with stones, of which each conceals

¹“Ecclesia de qua loquimur, quae pro antiquitate sui celebriter ab Anglis Ealdechirche, id est Vetusta Ecclesia, nuncupatur, primo virgea, nescio quid divinae sanctitatis jam inde a principio redoluit. Nam, sicut a majoribus accepimus, Gildas . . . multum annorum ibi exegit loci sanctitudine captus (ibique anno domini DXII de medio factus, in vetusta ecclesia ante altare est sepultus).”—*G. R.*, p. 24; *D. A.*, pp. 17, 18.

²*D. A.* introduces its notice of Patrick with the words: “Quo fere tempore, antea quidem,” p. 18. Compare p. 467, note 1; “Sed de his postea,” etc.

some sacred mystery (*i. e.*, holy relics). The awfulness of the spot is attested by its effect on persons who venture to sleep or spit in the edifice, by the instability of surrounding buildings, by employment in ordeals, oaths, etc. Inasmuch as the truth of his thesis (namely, that the church is the most ancient in England) is not universally conceded, the author proposes to give illustrations, introduced in the order of time.

De Antiquitate.—The matter agrees, except that the re-worker sees fit to omit William's pledge of chronological arrangement, for the reason, doubtless, that he has already violated such sequence. On the other hand, he incorporates two sentences which appear in a subsequent passage of *Gesta Regum*, obviously in their proper places.¹

At this point *De Antiquitate* again introduces fresh matter. The first item is a notice of Paulinus, which in the extract occupies a later position, in accordance with the date of that saint. The following notices, which treat of saints translated to Glastonbury, have no equivalents in the first extract of *Gesta Regum*.

(1) *Indraht.*—He is said to have been translated by Ini.

¹"Est ergo ecclesia illa (Glastoniensis ecclesia) omnium quas quidem noverim in Anglia antiquissima, et inde cognomen sortita. In ea (praeter beatum Patricium, et alios, de quibus superius dixi) multorum sanctorum corporales servantur exuviae, nec a beatorum cineribus vacat ullius fani ambitus. (Merito ergo dicitur coeleste in terris sanctuarium tot sanctorum reconditorium.) (Quam felices, Deus bone! habitatores quos ipsa loci reverentia ad morum compositionem invitat! Nullum de his crediderim deperire coelo, quos corporibus egressos tantorum patronorum excipit laus vel excusatio.) Ubi autem notare licet in pavimento lapides . . . sub quibus quiddam arcani sacri contineri si credo, injuriam religioni non facio. Labantem veritatem dictorum quae proposuimus in libro quem de antiquitate ejusdem ecclesiae scripsimus, pro successu annorum testimoniis fulciemus (fulcium testimonio)."

Evidently, the words "in libro," ec., were added by William himself, in making his third recension. He had promised to compose a work in which he should defend his position by examples, and now declares that he has fulfilled his pledge. As to the promise of chronological sequence, compare above, p. 466, note 1. For the passages "Merito ergo coeleste" and "Quam felices," see below.

The passage occurs in the second extract from the *Antiquity*, made in *Gesta Regum*; here it precedes Ini's charter. The chronological order shows that *Gesta* gives the account in the proper place, and that its position in the existing text is dependent on the activity of a reworker.¹

(2) *Aidan, Hilda, and other Northumbrian saints*.—These, according to *De Antiquitate*, were brought from the north, in 754, by abbot Tica, who came from that region when it was devastated by pirates. Among relics at this time acquired are mentioned those of Beda.

The translation to Glastonbury of Northumbrian saints is repeatedly noticed by William. In *Gesta Pontificum*, he represents such removal as effected in the reign of Eadmund, after the Danish wars of that king (A. D. 940).² In the first book of the *Life of Dunstan*, he promises to elucidate the time and agent of such translation, in his book then in contemplation, in defence of the antiquity of Glastonbury.³ That he kept his word is shown by an allusion introduced into the third recension of *Gesta Regum*; speaking of St. Hilda, founder of Whitby, he affirms that her bones, and those of other saints, were lost to that monastery in the time of the Danish devastation, as he has explained in his recent work on the *Antiquity of Glastonbury*.⁴

¹ "Martiris Indracti et sociorum ejus corpora de loco martyrii translata, jussit inferri. Ipsi quidem in lapidea pyramide ad sinistrum altarus, cum quo posterorum diligentia beatam Hildam locavit, ceterorum in pavimento, prout vel casus tulit, vel industria locavit."—*G. R.*, pp. 35, 36. The passage in *D. A.*, p. 28, is nearly the same, but omits mention of Hilda.

² *G. P.*, p. 198.

³ See above, p. 460, note 4.

⁴ "Illud coenobium [Whitby] . . . tempore Danicæ vastationis, quam dicemus inferius, deletum, multa sanctorum corpora perdidit; nam et beati Aidani episcopi, et Cheolfridi abbatis, et sanctissimæ viraginis Hildæ, et aliorum plurimorum ossa, sicut in libro quem de antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiæ nuper edidi locutus sum, tunc Glastoniam translata, et aliorum sanctorum alias nonnulla."—*G. R.*, p. 56 (reign of Oswy). The word "alias" may have suggested to the reworker the division of Northumbrian relics into two classes, translated at different times.

The reworker, to whose hand we owe the present text of *De Antiquitate*, has deliberately contradicted his original, by referring the translation to a period two centuries earlier. Unsatisfied with a single falsification, into the chapter in which William had treated of Tica he inserted a statement that it was from this abbot that the monastery obtained relics already noted (*i. e.*, of the Northumbrians); William's account of Dunstan he so altered as to make it appear that the relics bestowed by Eadmund belonged not to Aidan and Hilda (as stated in *Gesta Pontificum*), but to other Northern saints;¹ finally, in a summary of saints which follows, and which proceeds entirely from the second hand, the gifts of Eadmund are again differentiated: the reviser's forgery was therefore fourfold.²

(3) *A summary of saints.*—The long roll, which begins with the disciples of Philip, includes the twelve followers of Phaganus, Patrick, Gildas, and numerous others. The unguineness of the passage results from previous comment, and is made clear by a mention of Dunstan implying a date after 1186.³

(4) *Dunstan.*—A history is offered of the manner in which the remains of this saint had been brought from Canterbury, were concealed for fear of their reclamation, were brought to light after the fire of 1184, and enshrined (in the new church of St. Mary, dedicated in 1186). The account is an undis-

¹“De hoc [*i. e.*, Tica] qui et sex annis Glastoniae praefuit, superius praeoccupavi dicere, quas scilicet reliquias ecclesiae attulerit.”—*D. A.*, p. 63.

²“Idem etiam rex [Edmundus], quo dictum locum donis insigniret majoribus, multas reliquias, quas per terram Northanibrorum, aut etiam in partibus marinis, perquisierat, Glastoniae pia contulit liberalitate, quas in veteribus libris annotatas reperies.”—*D. A.*, p. 73.

³Baist, overlooking the notice of Dunstan, assumes the genuineness of this list, allowing the interpolation of only two names (those of Ursula and Daria, on the authority of a passage of Johannes Glastoniensis, who states that the relics of these saints had been presented by Henry of Blois). The narrative concerning Dunstan is the only considerable addition admitted by Baist.

guised interpolation, and may probably proceed from a hand other than that of the inventor of the initial chapter.

The account of Glastonian saints being completed, *De Antiquitate* proceeds to specify certain treasures belonging to the monastery.

(1) A cross which had spoken, and sentenced to death an irreverent monk who had ventured to pass by without making the customary obeisance.

William, in the second book of his *Life of Dunstan*, mentions a speaking cross, but gives no story so savage as this.¹

(2) A cross, which by knocking the crown from the head of King Eadgar, induced that prince to refrain from an act prejudicial to the monastery.

The incident, being unmentioned in William's *Life of Dunstan*, is evidently contributed by a later hand.

(3) A cross which bled when wounded by an arrow, under circumstances hereafter to be recounted.

This is the cross, which, in *Gesta Pontificum*, William notes as having been pierced by the arrows of soldiers employed by the first Norman abbot of Glastonbury. The promise to relate the circumstances is fulfilled in a subsequent section of the *Antiquity*, which, as will appear, did not proceed from the pen of William.² The present mention is contributed by the reworker.

(4) An image of the Virgin, which had escaped injury in a conflagration, and which exhibits veins resembling those of a living person.

The fire may probably have been that of 1184.

(5) The altar called *Saphirus*, which had been brought by angels to St. David, and by him conferred on Glastonbury, where it remained unnoticed until the time of Henry of Blois, who had adorned it with gems, and deposited it in the Church of St. Mary, where it may still be seen.

The reference to abbot Henry shows that the paragraph

¹ *Memorials*, p. 308.

² See below, p. 501.

was written after 1171; the church in question was the new edifice, dedicated in 1186.¹

The altar is noticed by David's biographer, Ricemarch, who describes it as a present from the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Ricemarch affirms that after the saint's death the altar was covered in such manner as never again to be seen by human eyes. It is this alleged concealment which has furnished a hint for the invention of the interpolator.²

It appears, therefore, that every paragraph of the additional matter bears token of a later hand. The chapter on the Sanctity of St. Mary's, included in the extract of *Gesta Regum*, represents the original text of William, which a reworker who wrote after 1186 expanded to many times its compass; for the means of such enlargement the reviser depended, in part on transference of matter which in William's genuine composition had occupied a later place, in part on insertion of material quite foreign to the intent of the author, who had aimed at extreme conciseness and brevity.

V. MEMORIAL CROSSES AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE CEMETERY, (a) *Gesta Regum*.—Pending the promised illustrations, enough has been said to prove the sanctity attaching to the resting-place of so many saints. That early secular princes, also, considered the church a suitable place for interment might be shown by numerous examples, which, in order to avoid tedium, William proposes to omit. He would, however, if he could, expound the significance of the two pyramids (*i. e.*, crosses) which stand at the entrance of the cemetery. The larger exhibits nearly obliterated names which presumably belong to persons whose mortal relics are there deposited; on the smaller may still be deciphered those of Centwine, Bregored, and Beorwald. The author will now proceed to an enumeration of abbots, and of donations made to each.

¹ So Baist, p. 329.

² W. J. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British saints*, Llandovery, 1853, p. 136.

(b) *De Antiquitate*.—The introductory sentence is omitted, having been transferred to the chapter on the Sanctity. The remainder agrees, but with additions; the writer appends an enumeration of the very names which William declared his intention to leave out. Arthur, the famous king of the Britons, is said to lie in the cemetery of the monks between two crosses; a cross is also assigned to Kentwin. The bones of Eadgar are stated to have been removed to the shrine containing relics of Vincentius, according to mention in another place. Several bishops and dukes are named.¹

The crosses in question stood on either side of the approach to the cemetery, where they remained visible to succeeding generations. This burying-ground had been extended and walled by Dunstan.²

Among the deviations of *De Antiquitate*, two deserve especial attention. (1) Kentwin is now allowed a separate cross within the cemetery; his name is therefore omitted from the small cross at the entrance, where William had supposed the king to lie. (2) The bones of Eadgar are said to have

¹The texts compare as follows (words peculiar to *Gesta Regum* italicized, those peculiar to *De Antiquitate* in parentheses):

"*Interim palam factus est merito dici coeleste in terris sanctuarium tot sanctorum reconditorium. Quantum vero is locus (Glastoniae ecclesia) fuerit etiam primatibus patriae venerabilis (et ad sepulturam desiderabilis), ut ibi potissimum sub protectione Dei genitricis operirentur diem resurrectionis, plura sunt documenta (multa sunt indicio) quibus pro cautela fastidii, abstineo. (Praetermitto de Arturo, inclito rege Britonum, in cimiterio monachorum inter duas pyramides cum sua conjuge tumulato, de multis etiam Britonum principibus. Praetermitto etiam de Kentwino, in una pyramide locato. Insuper tumulos regum. . . . Edgari prius in capitulo ante introitum ecclesiae, modo in scrinio, quod etiam de martire superbit Vincentio, de quibus, si se locus dederit, non me ista frustra suscepisse causabitur posteritas. . . .) illud, quod pene clam omnibus est, libenter praedicarem, si veritatem exculpere possem, quid illae pyramides sibi velint, quae, aliquantis pedibus ab ecclesia illa positae, cimiterium monachorum praetexunt. Jam enim abbatum seriem, et quid cuique, et a quo rege, monasterio (ad usum monasterii) delegatum sit, sermo explicare contendet.*"—*G. R.*, pp. 25, 26; *D. A.*, pp. 42–44.

²These crosses were standing in 1777.—Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

been transferred, as in another work the author had explained. The allusion is to *Gesta Regum*, which recites the opening of the king's tomb; but in the reference words are introduced which William himself could never have thus used, and which in fact are borrowed from William's *Life of Dunstan*, where they stand in their natural place.¹ These two examples of forgery make plain (what is otherwise sufficiently clear) that the additions (including the Arthurian mention) come from a second hand.

William's treatise, as represented by the extract, proceeded to deal with the series of abbots, of whom the first known to history is Patrick. The second abbot is Benignus. In *De Antiquitate*, as already observed, these notices have been made to take an earlier place; but as the order of the extract is evidently original, its arrangement may be followed, and accounts of *De Antiquitate* be taken up in the way of comparison.

(1) PATRICK, (a) *Gesta Regum*.—Related is the mission of the saint to Ireland, his return in old age to Britain, and arrival at Glastonbury, where he became monk and abbot. As confirmation, is given the vision of a monk. He is said to lie in the Old Church, within a cross on the right of the altar.

(b) *De Antiquitate*.—At Glastonbury Patrick found twelve hermits, whom he introduced into coenobitic life, himself becoming first abbot. He bestowed on the monastery a charter, which is cited at length. The saint affirms that in the year 430 he arrived at the Isle of Iniswitrin, where he found twelve brethren (whose names are given), successors of Phaganus and Deruvianus, living as anchorites. These

¹ "Non me ista frustra suscepisse," etc. Compare p. 460, note 4.

William, *G. R.*, pp. 180, 181 relates, that the last Saxon abbot of Glastonbury, intending honor to Eadgar, undertook to remove the body of the saint, which was found supernaturally fresh; by careless treatment the remains were made to bleed, and were therefore transferred to a shrine containing relics of Vincentius. The account is copied in *D. A.*, p. 90.

showed writings of the aforesaid holy persons, according to which it appeared that the church had been built by twelve disciples of Philip the Apostle, to each of whom had been assigned a portion of land; the edifice, so constructed, had been dedicated by God himself, in honor of his mother. For visitors to this sanctuary Phaganus and his companion had obtained an indulgence of ten years, to which twelve more had been added by Pope Coelestinus, at the petition of Patrick. Some time after his advent, Patrick, accompanied by Wellias, one of the twelve hermits, had penetrated the forest, and ascended the hill above the island (the Tor). Here were found the remains of an ancient church, and an ancient volume, containing acts of Phaganus and his mate, which recited that the two had erected on the height a church, where they had resided for nine years, in memory of St. Michael Archangel, and had secured an indulgence of thirty years for all pilgrims. On this eminence Patrick and Wellias abode for three months, instant in prayer, and beset by demons. After this time, a vision, and the sign of a withered hand, directed Patrick to inform the brethren. In regard to the future of St. Michael's, Patrick ordains that two brothers are to reside in perpetuity; he states that the charter has been entrusted to the charge of Arnulfus and Ogmarr, who have followed him from Ireland (and who are to be the first two monks of the foundation); he has taken the precaution to deposit a copy of the charter in St. Mary's. The document closes with an offer of indulgence for thirty days to any person who will assist in felling the forest, to the end that the church may be rendered more accessible. The genuineness of the charter is said to be proven by the antiquity of the handwriting, as well as by evidence of ancient authors. Patrick, first abbot in *Insula Avalloniae*, paid the debt of nature, and was buried in the old church at the right of the altar, in a spot indicated by monastic vision, and by the eruption from the ground of a flame of fire. Here his

relics remained for seven hundred and ten years, up to the time of the burning of the old church.¹

The passage, it will be observed, is confessedly composed after the fire of 1184.

In direct contradiction to the statement of William, as presented in the extract of *Gesta Regum*, Patrick is made founder of the monastery.²

In this chapter, as it stands in the existing text, statements of the initial sections are repeated with additional decorations; given are the names of the twelve hermits chosen by Phaganus; as it was formerly stated that autobiographical accounts of the envoys of Eleutherius were discovered at St. Mary's, so similar works are now reported as found at St. Michael's; as the missionaries spent nine years in the former church, they are made to pass a like time in the latter. A superior dignity seems to be claimed for the little church on the Tor, which is privileged with thirty years of indulgence, as against ten bestowed on its famous original. Evidently the writer had at heart the glorification of the oratory on the mount; it seems likely that he was one of the two monks attached to St. Michael's, and an Irishman.³

The question arises, whether the composition of the charter is to be credited to the same reworker who contributed the introductory chapter of the existing text. It is quite possible

¹ "Ac primum de beato Patricio, a quo monimentorum nostrorum series elucescere coepit, pauca libabimus. Saxonibus enim (Anglis) Britannorum infestantibus pacem. . . . Ita Glastoniam veniens, ibique monachus et abbas factus, post aliquot annos naturae cessit. (Inde Glastoniam veniens, XII. fratres, anachoritice viventes, ibidem reperiens, congregavit, abbatisque suscipiens officium, eosdem agere vitam docuit coenobialem, sicut sequens scriptum, quod idem tempore suo conscripsit, manifestius declarat. [Follows the charter.] . . . Requiescit in dextro latere altaris vetustae ecclesiae. (Requievit autem in vetusta ecclesia, a dextro latere altaris, per multorum annorum curricula, videlicet DCC et decem annos, usque ad combustionem ejusdem ecclesiae.)"

² See also William's express statement in his *Life of Dunstan*, that Glastonbury had become a foundation long before Patrick's day.

³ Thus Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

that the change from William's original was not effected at one time. A monk of St. Mary's may have produced a first revision, which a monk of St. Michael's afterwards expanded. If so, the latter inserted in the first section of the work an anticipatory notice on the charter of Patrick; in a later chapter (that containing a summary of the early history) he incorporated a reference to the same document; he was therefore no mere interpolator, but an editor. We must further suppose that the *Antiquity*, thus doubly recast, became subject to additional minor emendations at the hands of later scribes.

Guesses of this sort, however, are fallible; for the purposes of the present discussion it matters not how many hands may have coöperated in the production of the extant text. It is enough to perceive that the treatise, as it stands, is no composition of William's, but a recast, greatly expanded and altered.

The introduction of a hermit named Wellias, as a comrade of Patrick, is an impudent attempt to represent Wells as an offshoot of Glastonbury.

That a suitable place for interment may be pointed out by the emergence of a flame, is one of the elements of the narration which may depend on the data of Irish literature.¹

(2) INDRAHT AND BRIDGET, (a) *Gesta Regum*.—The fame of Patrick brings to Glastonbury many Irish pilgrims, who, according to their unsavory national custom, throng to kiss the remains of their favorite saint. Among these visitors the earliest were Indraht and Bridget; of the latter are exhibited a necklace and other relics; whether she returned to Ireland, or ended her life in Glastonbury, is uncertain. The martyrdom and translation of Indraht will be noted in proper chronological order.

(b) *De Antiquitate*.—Additional relics of Bridget are mentioned. As place of her residence is given Beckery. No suggestion is made regarding her possible death in Glas-

¹ Thurneysen, *op. cit.*, p. 318, note 5.

tonbury. The promise of chronological arrangement is modified.¹

It has already been shown that William did carry out his plan by introducing under Ini's reign a notice of Indraht's translation, and that the transference of this account to an earlier point in the treatise is due to the activity of a reviser.²

(3) BENIGNUS, (a) *Gesta Regum*.—This saint succeeded Patrick as abbot, and served an unknown number of years. His epitaph at Meare is cited. His sanctity was attested by miracles performed both before and after translation to Glastonbury.

(b) *De Antiquitate*.—The paragraph is altered and expanded. Benignus is said to have been the third bishop of Ireland. At the command of an angel, he made pilgrimage to Glastonbury, where he found Patrick. At Meare he caused a fountain to spring forth, and a tree to arise from his dry staff. The date of translation is given as 901.³

Again we see traces of an Irish hand.

Of the two parishes of Glastonbury, one still bears the name of Benignus.

(4) DAVID, (a) *Gesta Regum*.—William declares his purpose to omit mention of this well-known saint. He relates that David, while on his way to dedicate the Church of Glastonbury, was visited by the Lord Jesus, who informed him that the edifice had already been divinely dedicated to Mary; as penalty for presumption, Jesus, with his finger, pierced David's face, thereby causing an ulcer. The saint desisted,

¹"*Liquebit per narrationis consequentiam.* (Sic ut alias stilus noster non tacuit.)"—*G. R.*, p. 27; *D. A.*, p. 24.

²See above, pp. 481, 482.

³"*Successit Patricio in abbatis regimine Benignus, sed quot annis incertum.* Quis autem fuerit, et quomodo patria lingua dictus, non infacete versus expriment. . . . (Hic discipulus sancti Patricii, et successor in episcopatu ejus tertius in Hibernia fuit, quemadmodum eorum gesta testantur.)"—*G. R.*, p. 27; *D. A.*, p. 24. For the epitaph, transferred to a summary of the early history, see *D. A.*, p. 46.

built and endowed another church.¹ It is uncertain whether David lies in his own city (St. David's), or in Glastonbury, where worthy men aver that he is interred with Patrick; Welshmen say that bishop Bernard, after repeated search, had failed to discover the remains (*i. e.*, at St. David's).

(b) *De Antiquitate*.—Bernard, bishop of Rosina Vallis, is said to have sought the relics in that place; an account is given of the manner in which, during the reign of Eadgar, they were translated from Rosina to Glastonbury.²

Bernard, a contemporary of William, was the first Norman bishop of Menevia or St. David's. Rosina Vallis was the locality, whence, according to Ricemarch, David had enjoyed a supernatural view of Ireland.³ The reviser, at sea as to William's meaning, has converted Rosina into an episcopal town, where, as he imagines, David was buried.⁴

The question arises, how could William represent David as undertaking to dedicate an edifice which had for four hundred years been used for religious purposes? The answer is that, according to Ricemarch, the saint was himself the founder of Glastonbury and builder of the church.⁵ On the other hand, the *Life of Dunstan* by B., used by William, supposes St. Mary's to have been built and dedicated by God. An attempt at concording these inconsistent statements has

¹ "Sed ne nihil videretur egisse, aliam ecclesiam citato fecit et dedicavit opere."—*G. R.*, p. 28.

² The extract and *Antiquity* compare as follows (as usual, words peculiar to William italicized, those only in *De Antiquitate* in parentheses): "*De hoc sane egregio et incomparabili viro, utrum ibi obierit, an in sede propria vitam finierit, incertum habeo. Nam viri religiosi recordatione digni eum cum beato Patricio esse affirmant. (Quidam sane affirmant, reliquias de hoc sancto et incomparabili viro cum beato Patricio in vetusta ecclesia fuisse collocatas.)*" Observe the change to the past tense, which shows that the revision was accomplished after the burning of St. Mary's in 1184.—*G. R.*, p. 28; *D. A.*, p. 26.

³ Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 124. Rosina (said to be commonly called Hodnant) remains unidentified.

⁴ He calls Bernard "episcopum Rosinae vallis."

⁵ Rees, p. 123.

caused William to describe David as seeking to dedicate, not his own building, but one of the apostolic age. In this account William probably followed some monk of Glastonbury, to whom the concordance and legend were due.

(5) PAULINUS, (a) *Gesta Regum*.—Tradition affirms that after 596 Paulinus timbered the old church, which had hitherto been of wattle.

(b) *De Antiquitate*.—It is added that Paulinus covered the church with lead.

The fame of Paulinus as an architect depends on the mention of Beda, who makes him builder of churches at Campodunum and Lincoln.

William, having finished his brief notices of early saints, now arrives at a point in which he finds in the archives of Glastonbury charters, which he cites.

(1) INISWITRIN, (a) *Gesta Regum*.—In the year 601, a king of Devon, at the petition of abbot Worgret, conceded to the old church in that place the land called Iniswitrin, five *casati*. In consequence of the age of the document, the name of this sovereign can no longer be made out; he was presumably a Briton, since he uses the old British name of the locality. Through a picture in the larger church, are preserved the names of two other British abbots, Lademund and Bregored. William adds a pious reflection on the privileges enjoyed by residents of so holy a sanctuary.¹

(b) *De Antiquitate*.—The matter is the same, except that the pious ejaculation is omitted, having been transferred to the chapter on the sanctity.

William found at Glastonbury a charter (of course fraudulent, but) having the appearance of antiquity, in which,

¹ "Quid iste rex fuerit schedulae vetustas negat scire. Verumtamen quod Britannus fuerit hinc non ambigitur quod Glastoniam sua lingua Ineswitrin appellavit; sic enim eam Britannice vocari apud eos constat."—*G. R.*, p. 29; *D. A.*, p. 48.

instead of the usual Glastingeie, the isle was called Iniswitrin. The name, in Cymric speech, signifies the isle of Glass; in view of the Glaestingabyrig of the Saxon Chronicle, it can not be doubted that the British name is in reality a translation (perhaps artificial and literary rather than popular) of the Saxon appellation. In all time, ecclesiastical antiquity has been deemed honorable; Saxon monks, no matter what their prejudice against individual Britons, were quite ready to support the pretensions of their monastery by alleging an origin in ancient British time. As to the age of the handwriting, we have already seen, in the case of the Charter of Patrick, that the ability to produce archaic handwriting was even in the twelfth century part of a forger's outfit.

(2) MEARE, (a) *Gesta Regum*.—In 670, Kenwalch gave to abbot Bertwald Ferramere, two hides. This is the Bertwald who, contrary to the pleasure of the king and the archbishop, exchanged the rule of Glastonbury for that of Reculver.

(b) *De Antiquitate*.—Bertwald is said to have made a renunciation, the nature of which will be explained.¹

Having now arrived at the time of Kenwalch, in connection with whom (as marking the beginning of historic time) William had introduced the extract from the *Antiquity*, he now ends the citation, remarking that it has extended to sufficient length.²

Comparison with the extant text of the *Antiquity* has shown, as seems to me with clearness, that the extract supplies a continuous text, being the entire introductory portion of William's original treatise, and that the document we possess,

¹ "Hic idem Bertwaldus, renitente rege, et diocesis episcopo, Glastoniae renuntians, ad regimen monasterii Raculf secessit. (Quod autem Glastoniae regimini, renitente rege et illius diocesis episcopo, renuntiaverit, in sequentibus palam erit.)"—*G. R.*, p. 29; *D. A.*, p. 49. See p. 495, note 3.

Ferramere or Feringemere is the water about Meare: Adam, p. 421. Kemble says Farmer(?).

² "Haec de Glastoniensis antiquitate ecclesiae me dixisse sufficiat."—*G. R.*, p. 29.

and which goes by the name of *De Antiquitate*, is in reality a recast, so much extended and altered as in no way to represent William.

From this point the extract ceases to guide us, and we have no second text; but a comparison with existing charters will furnish, in some cases, means for determining the extent of the additions made by the reworker.

VIII. CARTULARY, CONTINUED, *De Antiquitate*.—(1) *Monkton*.—In 678, Kentwin confirmed the gift of Glastingeie, conceding freedom from all services; at the petition of the monks, he established abbot Hemgisl, providing that the brethren should always enjoy election after the rule of St. Benedict. He also gave Monkton, twenty-three hides, with lands in Carig, and Crucan. He is said to lie in a richly sculptured cross within the cemetery.

An extant charter bestows on Glastonbury West Monkton, together with the other places mentioned.¹ In this document no mention is made of any confirmation with respect to the isle of Glastonbury; it is therefore plain that the earlier part of the section proceeds from a second hand, by which has also been added the allusion to the cross; whereas William, as we have seen, made Kentwin rest, not within the burying-ground, but at its entrance.

(2) *Pennard and Montagu*.—These lands are said to have been given by a king named Baldred, with consent of Kentwin, to the church of Mary and Patrick.

A charter corresponds, and may have been William's source, so that the designation applied to St. Mary's, as the Church of Mary and Patrick, may be older than William's day.²

(3) *Leigh*.—In the same year, Lantocal (Leigh in Mendip) is said to have been given by bishop Hedde, with the consent of Kentwin and Baldred, and a confirmation on the part of the pagan Caedwalla.

¹ Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 62.

² Birch, No. 61.

A charter exists in which Edde is said to have given Lantocal. By the same instrument are donated two hides in Meare.¹

The treatise proceeds to enumerate the many benefactions of Ini. That a list of this sort was included in William's cartulary is shown by a reference in *Gesta Regum*;² and there seems to be no reason why we need doubt that his account is substantially preserved in the extant text.

(4) *Brent*.—In 680 Ini gave to abbot Hemgisl Brent, ten hides. This territory had before belonged to Glastonbury, but had been abandoned by abbot Bertwald.³

There is in existence a charter in which Brent, ten hides, is bestowed on Glastonbury,⁴ and this may have been the source of William's notice; but that the mention of its surrender by Bertwald is interpolated, is plain; the reworker, who had inserted a notice of this abbot's treachery, and a promise to describe in what it consisted, now fulfils his pledge.

At the time of Domesday, the hundred of Sud-Brent (South Brent) included three manors, namely: Brentamerse (Brent-Marsh), from Saxon time belonging to the abbot of Glastonbury; Langdefortda (Langford), by escheat fallen to the king; and Attigetta (Havyatt), to the Bishop of Cou-

¹ Birch, No. 47. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and ecclesiastical documents*, III, 164, incline to accept this charter as genuine, and indicating the Saxon re-endowment of an older British foundation. But the number of hides assigned to Meare is two; whereas Domesday allows only one hide and one virgate; the increase in assessment, to my mind, is against the genuineness of the document.

² *G. R.*, p. 35, note 1.

³ "Anno ab incarnatione DCXC, Ina dedit Hemgislo abbati Brente x hidas; quam terram Berthwald abbas sponte propria deseruit, et sine nostra violentia, et sine expulsiōe, locum proprii coenobii dimisit, et contra interdictum et voluntatem pontificis nostri, discessit."—*D. A.*, p. 51. See p. 493, note 1.

⁴ Birch, No. 121. This charter Haddan and Stubbs, 111, 307, are disposed to accept, in spite of a false date. Yet in view of the fraudulent character of all other Glastonbury documents dealing with Brent, its genuineness seems to me unlikely. In this case, of early Glastonbury charters not one could be allowed as genuine.

tances. Brent-Marsh included an extensive territory between the rivers Axe and Parret, and Bristol Channel; the area is estimated at more than 8,000 statute acres. The temporalities of South Brent continued in possession of the monastery; as to the church, a controversy arose, which will be shown to have had an effect on the text of the *Antiquity*.

It is now necessary to revert, and consider the gift of Brent by Arthur, as related in the existing text of *De Antiquitate*.

In the *gesta* of the most illustrious king Arthur, is recounted that on a Christmas he had knighted a noble youth, Ider, son of Nuth; in order to test his valor, the king took Ider as companion on an expedition against three giants inhabiting Mons Ranarum, now called Brentecol; the young knight, secretly proceeding in advance, slew the giants, but was severely wounded, and remained in a swoon, as if dead. Arthur, ascribing Ider's loss to his own tardiness, and filled with remorse, ordered the body to be carried in a car, and himself rode to Glastonbury, where he instituted twenty-four monks to pray for the soul of the deceased, and gave lands for their support.¹

The manner in which the reviser has falsified the statement of William concerning Bertwald sufficiently explains

¹ Legitur in gestis illustrissimi regis Arturi, quod cum, in quadam festivitate natalis Domini, apud Karlium strenuissimum adolescentem, filium scilicet regis Nuth, dictum Ider, insignii militaribus decorasset, et eundem, experiendi causa, in montem Ranarum nunc dictum Brentecol, ubi tres gigantes malefactis famosissimos esse didicerat, contra eosdem dimicaturum duxisset; idem tiro, Arturum et suos comites ignorantes praecedens, dictos gigantes fortiter aggressus, mira caede trucidavit. Quobus peremptis, Arturus adveniens, dictum Ider nimio labore deficientem, et sui omnino impotem in extasi collapsum, inveniens, eundem quasi defunctum cum suis lamentabatur. Rediens ergo ad sua cum ineffabili tristitia, corpus, quod exanime existimabat, ibidem reliquit, donec vehiculum ad illud reportandum illuc destinasset. Sese etiam necis ejus causam reputans, quia tardius ad auxilium ejus venerat, cum demum Glastoniam adveniret, ibidem quater viginti monachos pro anima ejusdem instituit, possessiones et territoria ad eorum sustentationem, aurum atque argentum, calices, et alia ornamenta ecclesiastica largiens abundanter."—*D. A.*, p. 47.

the history of the Arthurian donation. William, following a charter, ascribed the gift of Brent to Ini. At a later time, after the name of Arthur had become associated with Glastonbury, an interpolator thought that the hold of the monastery on Brent could be strengthened, if it could be made to appear that the territory had been presented by the famous Briton, for the soul of a knight of the Round Table, who had redeemed the land from the oppression of monsters. But how, if the property already belonged to Glastonbury, could Ini have been able to cede the estate a second time? The natural refuge was to describe the grant as a restitution. It so happened that William had mentioned Bertwald, an abbot preceding Ini's reign, as a seceder from the rule; Bertwald, accordingly, was a convenient person to whom the surrender might be attributed; in order to accomplish this result, the reworker interpolated an anticipatory notice, and altered the mention of William in such manner as to make it appear that the renunciation of Bertwald did not consist simply in deserting Glastonbury for Reculver, but constituted a piece of treachery which would be explained in its proper place.

How much of the legend concerning Ider and the giants did the reviser invent? All that can be said is, that writing probably at the end of the twelfth century, his object was to select some hero who figured in the courtly, that is to say the Anglo-Norman, romance of that period; such a personage was Ider, son of Nut. It may have been that at the time existed a romance in which Ider destroyed giants; but the scenery, dependent as it is on the manner in which Glastonbury was connected with Brent, and introduced for a purpose, must be considered as decoration supplied solely by his fancy. The account itself exhibits evidence of such invention; that the donation should be made by error, and for the soul of a man not really dead, adds a touch of comic absurdity, of which no Arthurian poem could have been guilty.¹

¹The ultimate source of the narration is the account given by Geoffrey, *His. Reg. Brit.*, x, of Arthur's encounter with the giant of Mont St. Michel.

(5) *Territory unnamed*.—In 704, Ini bestowed an unspecified territory upon monks serving under abbot Hemgisl, in the church of Mary, Mother of God, and St. Patrick, to the end that they may be free to exercise monastic discipline and enjoy their rights of suffrage.¹

(6) Benefactions are enumerated made by Ini to abbots Berwald, Albert and Echfrid.

A series of notices are now introduced, having relation to Ini:—

(1) This king is said to have founded the Church of the Apostles; verses are cited composed for the occasion.

(2) A curious passage is intercalated, in which the writer undertakes to name the several churches formerly belonging to Glastonbury; four are mentioned: namely, beside St. Mary's and that of Peter and Paul, one built by St. David, and one by the twelve descendants of Cuneda; these are said to have been situated east of the old church.²

The Church of the Apostles adjoined St. Mary's on its eastern side, so that there could have been no room for the edifices mentioned, and the passage must be a late addition.³

(3) Account is given of the furniture belonging to a silver chapel of Ini.

Such inventories seem not to have been included in William's scheme, and the section is a later contribution.

In that narration the king himself proceeds in advance, and slays the giant. I am inclined to think that the story in *De Antiquitate* is a free invention on this model.

¹ The gift is found in an extant charter, Birch, No. 109, where the *lacuna* is supplied, so that it appears at first sight as if the charter were the source of the notice in *De Antiquitate*; however, further examination shows that in this case a scribe has simply written in a paragraph copied from Ini's charter to the churches of Wessex, Birch, No. 108; the document is therefore only a copy from the *Antiquity*.

² The writer who supposed Rosina to be the seat of St. David, (see above, p. 491, notes 3, 4) only speaks of the saint as building another church (not in Glastonbury). The present passage, *D. A.*, p. 54, is by a third hand.

³ See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

(4) The so-called Great Charter of Ini. This singular document, which forms the second extract in *Gesta Regum*, will hereafter be the theme of comment.

(5) A notice of the king's journey to Rome, and of his saintly death. The language resembles that of the first recension of *Gesta Regum*.

After an item showing a donation of Aethelheard, the treatise recites the charter of Cuthred, which is introduced as the third extract of *Gesta Regum*.

Up to this point the means for comparison, furnished by *Gesta Regum* and by charters, have been sufficient, as I think, to determine with sufficient precision what sections of *De Antiquitate* represent the original work of William, and in what manner these were altered and expanded by revisers. About half the document is thus explained. In the remaining portion of the cartulary (making about a quarter of the whole work) such facilities do not serve. The extracts in the later recensions of *Gesta Regum*, including three charters and a papal bull, are not adequate for the purpose. It is likely that the additions do not form anywhere near as large a part of the matter; yet it has appeared that in passages relating to the Northumbrian relics, the recaster proceeded with a very free hand. For the objects of the present discussion, however, this part of the *Antiquity* is of secondary interest, as not containing allusions bearing on the Arthurian problem.

William, ambitious of brevity, seems to have limited his cartulary to Saxon abbots; by an interpolation, a second hand opened a door for extension of the history into Norman time.¹

To the body of the treatise William seems to have appended two other chapters.

¹ "Et quia jam ad tempora Normannorum venimus, et abbatum post illud tempus nota sunt et facta et nomina, his (paulisper) omissis, ponam illorum vocabula, qui episcopi et archiepiscopi fuerant alias electi de illa ecclesia."—*D. A.*, p. 91. The word "paulisper," which makes nonsense of the passage, may safely be set down as an interpolation.

(1) A list of Glastonbury monks who had received episcopal promotion; the genuineness of the section is guaranteed by a mention in *Gesta Regum*;¹ the roll, however, has undergone interpolation at the hands of the reviser.²

(2) A summary of donations made to the several abbots. That the account emanates from William is made likely by the style; here also, however, interpolation has been busy. In the original draft, the first item must have been the donation of the isle of Glastonbury, by that unnamed king of Devon, with whose benefaction William had begun his cartulary; a redactor has prefixed mention of the Arthurian present; the addition apparently was made by a third hand.³

William ended with an epilogue, retained in the existing text.⁴

The treatise of William has been concluded; but other hands have added an appendix, containing a series of documents:—

- (1) A LIST OF ABBOTS.—The roll is brought down to 1234.⁵
- (2) LIMITS AND PRINCIPAL LOCALITIES OF THE TWELVE

¹*G. R.*, p. 224.

² An enumeration of robes, etc., said to have sent by abbot Brithwold, is incongruous with the style and purpose of William's work, and doubtless comes from a reviser.—*D. A.*, pp. 94, 95.

³ (Imprimis, rex Arturus, tempore Britonum, dedit Brentemareys, Poweldone, cum multis aliis terris in confinio sitis, pro anima Ider, ut supra tactum est, quas terras, per Anglos tunc paganos supervenientes ablatas, iterum, post eorum conversionem ad fidem, restituerunt, cum pluribus aliis, unde) rex Domnoniæ dedit terram appellatam Yneswitherim [*read Ineswitrin*], v hidas.—*D. A.*, p. 96.

The addition in parentheses is evidently interpolated. The loss of the territory is here ascribed to the rapacity of heathen Saxons, whereas the previous account (p. 495) had attributed it to the treachery of abbot Bertwald.

⁴ The epilogue, dealing in praises of Henry of Blois, seems to bear marks of William's style.

⁵ The date, to my mind, makes it very likely that the appended documents, added by other hands, were affixed in the middle of the thirteenth century. So thought Holtzmann.

HIDES.—This name, used as an equivalent for the isle of Glastonbury, was found in the opening section; but it now receives an extension of meaning, being taken as the designation of an extensive territory. The reason for such expansion is frankly given; to the Twelve Hides, we are told, belong certain peculiar privileges.

The composition of a terrier was foreign to William's scheme; here again we have the work of a third hand.

(3) **ACCOUNTS OF NORMAN ABBOTS.**—(a) *Thurstan.*—Respecting the dispute of this abbot with the bishop of Wells is given a story, hereafter to be made subject of comment. Another chapter recites his controversy with Saxon monks, who objected to innovations. The abbot called in his soldiers, who pursued the monks to the church, and shot them down even at the altar. One of the brothers employed as his shield a crucifix; an arrow wounded the cheek of the image, whence gushed a river of blood, which cascaded down the steps;¹ the injurer took flight, but dashed out his brains on the stones of the entrance.

William relates this occurrence in *Gesta Pontificum*,² but in a different and more sober manner; we hear nothing of the stream of blood or death of the culprit; the account is certainly from a different hand.

(b) *Herlewin.*—The second Norman abbot is excused from the accusation of parsimony, on the ground that his wealth was employed in order to redeem alienated possessions of the monastery.

(3) **PRIVILEGES.**—An account is given of the privileges of monks, in the way of food and clothing.

(4) **PAPAL BULL.**—In connection with a mention of the

¹ "Sagitta, imaginem dominicam in cruce defixam subtus genua vulnerans, sanguinis rivulum ex eadem produxit."—*D. A.*, p. 115.

² "Nam et furor insanentium, dum eminus monachos impetit, crucifixum sagittis inhorre fecerat."—*G. P.*, p. 197.

This is the crucifix already noted as an especially holy relic of St. Mary's. See above, p. 483.

last abbot, is inserted a bull (ungenuine) by Calixtus II, in favor of Glastonbury, as an especial charge of the Holy See.

EPILOGUE.—An epilogue recites the praises of Henry of Blois. This has every appearance of having proceeded from the pen of William.

The examination now ended may justify an opinion as to the relation between William's apology and the existing treatise. While at Glastonbury, William prepared a *libellus* of modest dimensions, such as might be thrown off in the interim between the two books of his *Life of Dunstan*. The body of his work consisted of notices respecting early saints, and a cartulary, exhibiting donations arranged according to the series of abbots. Prefixed were a prologue and three introductory chapters, and appended a list of promotions and summary of estates. A brief epilogue concluded the document.

This simple treatise was completely recast, and underwent expansion sufficient to at least treble its volume. In this work were occupied several hands. The Arthurian passages, as will appear, were probably introduced in 1191; but the work of revision continued well into the thirteenth century.

The reworkers labored to exalt the dignity of Glastonbury, after the destruction of its edifices had cast a shadow on the foundation. In some measure the work was made to form a guide-book to the new Church of St. Mary. Instead of a *Defence of the Antiquity of Glastonbury*, the book was turned into a treatise on its *Antiquities* (as it has frequently been designated by modern scholars).¹

Certain chapters were interpolated with a special aim, inasmuch as they were intended to bear on the controversy of Glastonbury with Wells; and this quarrel must now receive consideration.

The claim of exemption from episcopal supervision, made for all possessions of the monastery in Somerset, could not

¹ Even by Stubbs, in his preface to *Gesta Regum*, pp. xxvii-xxx.

but bring it into conflict with the bishop of Wells. In *De Antiquitate* we read that in the reign of William I the bishop of Wells, at a council, attacked the abbots of Muchelney and Athelnéy, and that the former declared his right to plead only in the court of Glastonbury; in defence of this contention abbot Thurstan made a statement, in which he adduced charters of Kentwin and Ini, proving that no person save the abbot of Glastonbury was entitled to exercise jurisdiction over the churches named; this position was sustained by the king and the archbishop; the bishop of Wells complied, and did plead in Glastonbury, but lost his suit.¹

This absurd account, as already shown, was supplied by a later hand; that the monasteries named were ever under the control of Glastonbury was one of the impudent forgeries abundant in the literature of the monastery, of a class kindred with earlier pretensions, which had been familiar to William himself.

In the charter of Ini, cited in the *Antiquity*, and included by William in the third recension of *Gesta Regum*, the bishop of Wells is forbidden to set up his chair in Glastonbury itself, or in any of its seven dependent churches, namely, Brent, Moorlinch, Sowy, Shapwick, Street, Butleigh, Pilton, their chapels and islands; the bishop is to possess houses in Pilton and Poholt, but only with right of sojourn for one night; if inflated by pride he transgress the prohibition, he is to lose the mansions.²

Of the churches in dispute, two, we know not why, seem to have stood on a footing different from the rest. These were Brent and Pilton. In a papal letter of John XV, included in the fifth extract of *Gesta Regum*, they are named first, and the other five enumerated separately.³ In a fic-

¹ *D. A.*, 111 f.

² *G. R.*, pp. 36-39.

³ The papal letter is given in *Gesta Regum*, p. 172. William knew it only as interpreted in the interests of Glastonbury; by comparing a better text, we have an example of the manner in which Glastonbury editors proceeded. "In ecclesia sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae quae nuncupatur Glestingaburgh (quae totius Britanniae prima, et ab antiquis

titious charter of Henry II, given by Adam of Domerham, the place of Brent is taken by Ditchet, while Pilton is still named as one of the seven churches.¹ The title of Glastonbury to Brent must have seemed imperfect.

The dispute over Brent and Pilton lasted until 1173, when it was settled by a compromise, the principle of which was, that the revenues of the disputed churches, in the form of prebends, were to be held by the abbot of Glastonbury acting in the quality of canon of Wells. The abbot (Robert) did enter the chapter of Wells, but found his dignity subject to intolerable humiliations; he retired, and in so doing forfeited the churches, which passed out of the possession of Glastonbury.²

The defeat was bitterly resented; Adam of Domerham, writing a century later, cannot conceal a blush of shame. It was a principle at Glastonbury that no such surrender was to be accepted as final; under the succeeding abbot, Henry of Soilli, attempts were made to reopen the case.³

primoribus ad proprietatem et tutelam Romani pontificis pertinere dinoscitur) et praedia et villas (sed et ecclesiis de Brente, de Piltune, quas Ina rege dante operam, cum aliis ecclesiis quas juste et canonicè possidet, scilicet Soweie, Stret, Merline, Budecale, Sapewice . . .) ab ejus jure tua avida cupiditate diripuisse." See D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 257.

Evidently the interpolator (who may have not long antedated William) had never heard of Arthur as donator of Brent, which he regarded as a gift of Ini.

¹Adam de Domerham, p. 337. The king confirms gifts of predecessors, Eadgar, Eadmund, Kentwin, Cuthred, etc., including Arthur, who receives the epithet "inclitus" (that of the inscription of 1191). The extravagant pretensions of Glastonbury as fount of all English religion, Mother of Saints, etc., are copied from the charter of Ini. A charter of Henry II, Adam, p. 479, does indeed make that king say that he had inspected a document of his predecessor; but this charter also is evidently a forgery. Baist is therefore wrong in citing the ungentine instrument as proof that in the reign of Henry II the legend of Arthur was naturalized at Glastonbury.

²Adam, pp. 259, 351.

³Adam, pp. 232 ff., gives documents from Wells, purporting to be confirmations by abbot Henry of the cession made by his predecessor Robert. Equally fictitious are papers in which Reginald, bishop of Wells, is made to surrender authority over the seven churches of the archidiaconate (among which Brent and Pilton do not appear).—Adam, p. 345.

The controversy gave birth to a crop of fictitious charters; such production by no means ceased with the generation of William of Malmesbury. Adam of Domerham begins his work with a *libellus* ascribed to Henry of Blois, in which that abbot is made to recount numerous cases in which he was able to recover properties abandoned without consent of the monks. One of these examples relates to Brent Marsh. Abbot Herlewin had been induced to deed away an estate, on the ground of its uselessness. While making his perambulation, arriving at the mouth of the Axe, he perceived a well-dyked field, waving (as the writer poetically says) with golden ears sweetly murmuring to the gentle breeze; the abbot, inquiring the title of the estate, was told that it was named *Useless*; he saw the fraud, and reclaimed the property.¹

Among inventions dictated by hankering for lost power belongs the Arthurian donation. At a time when the church of South Brent had passed out of the control of Glastonbury, it occurred to the abbot, or a monk, that the case of the foundation could be strengthened, if it could be made to appear that the district had been bestowed by the famous Arthur. This representation was made possible by the connection of Glastonbury with the British king, arising from the exhumation of his remains made by abbot Henry in 1191.

Of the disinterment exist two accounts, nearly contemporary, and in general accordant.²

Chronica Majora recites that the bones of the king were found in an oaken coffin, near which was discovered a leaden cross, bearing the inscription: *Hic jacet inclitus rex Arturus, in insula Avallonia sepultus.*³

¹ "Nullius proficui."—Adam, p. 308.

² Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 338, makes three extant accounts, namely, those of Adam of Domerham (about 1300), *Annals of Margan* (Fourteenth century), and Giraldus. But the *Annals of Margan* copy from *Chronica Majora* (year 1191), while Adam paraphrases from Giraldus, with some attention to the statement of *Chronica Majora*.

³ "Eodem anno [1191] inventa sunt apud Glastoniam ossa famosissimi regis Britanniae Arthuri, in quodam vetustissima recondito sarcophago,

More interesting is the story of Giraldus Cambrensis, who has left two separate notices of the occurrence,¹ respecting which he writes as an eye-witness, having taken the pains to visit Glastonbury in the year of the discovery;² he was personally conducted by abbot Henry, who acted as cicerone.³

Giraldus informs us that the wooden coffin was found sixteen feet below the surface; at a distance of seven feet was a stone, in which, on the lower part, had been set a leaden cross, provided with an inscription turned toward the stone, so as not to be externally visible;⁴ the motive for such precaution was fear lest the Saxons might insult the remains of their great adversary. The gigantic bones of Arthur occupied two-thirds of the space, the remainder being taken up with those of his wife. In the course of the excavation appeared the golden hair of a lady; a lewd monk, who snatched at the hair, slipped and fell backward into the pit. The inscription on the cross ran: *Hic jacet inclitus rex Arthur, cum Wennevereia uxore sua secunda in insula Avalonia.*⁵ The abbot removed the bones, which he placed in a marble tomb within the church of St. Mary.

circa quod duae antiquissimae piramides stabant erectae, in quibus literae exaratae, sed ob nimium barbariem et deformitatem legi minime potuerunt.”

¹ *De principis instructione*, I, and *Speculum ecclesiae*, II, 8-10. The former was written in 1217, the latter (the last work of Giraldus) some years later.

² Abbot Henry (appointed in 1189) died in 1193. During the same year Giraldus, who had previously been resident in Wales, went to Paris, and remained abroad for six years; so that he could have been shown the grave by Henry only in the year 1191.

³ “Crucem hanc extractam a lapide, dicto abbate Henrico ostendente, prospeximus, et literas has legimus.”—IV, 50.

⁴ “Unde et crux plumbea lapide supposito, non superius ut nostris solet diebus, sed inferiori potius ex parte infixæ, namque tractavimus literas has insculptas et non eminentes et exstantes, sed magis interiori ad lapidem versas, continebat. . . .” *De princ. instruct.*, VIII, 127.—*Spec. eccles.* makes it clear that the lettered part of the cross was turned toward the stone.

⁵ In *Spec. eccles.* the phrases are transposed: “Hic jacet sepultus inclitus rex Arthurius, in insula Avallonia cum Wennevereia uxore sua secunda.”—IV, 49.

By both authorities the discovery is described as a surprise. The Chronicles affirm that the grave was revealed by accident, in digging the grave of a monk who, during his lifetime, had expressed a desire for that particular place of sepulture.¹ Giraldus states that the find came as result of a long search on part of the abbot, who was directed by historical documents in his possession, by semi-legible letters on the Arthurian pyramids, and by visions of monks.²

Giraldus makes an additional statement, of the sort that inspires scepticism in all human testimony. He tells us that the inquiry was undertaken at the advice of Henry II, who assured the abbot that Arthur was interred between the pyramids (crosses), as he had himself learned from an old British bard; he further affirms that the same king ordered the removal of the relics to the church of St. Mary, which

¹“*Inventa autem sunt hac occasione. Dum enim ibidem effoderunt, ut monachum quendam sepelirent qui hunc locum sepulturæ vehementi desiderio in vita sua praeoptaverat, quoddam reperiunt sarcophagum, cui crux plumbea superposita fuerat, in qua exaratum erat: “Hic jacet inclitus Britonum rex Arthurus, in insula Avalonis sepultus. Locus autem ille paludibus undique inclusus, olim insula Avalonis, id est pomorum insula, vocatus.”* Compare the monastic visions which, at a later time, preceded the discovery of the body of Joseph of Arimathea.

In 1277 Edward I caused the bones to be taken up, and reinterred; among other things was found a silver image of Arthur's queen, with the right ear cut off, and other signs of strife.—Adam, pp. 587 ff.

²“*Cum autem aliqua indicia corporis ibi inveniendi ex scripturis suis, aliqua ex litteris pyramidibus impressis, quamquam nimia plurimum antiquitate deletis, aliqua quoque per visiones et revelationes bonis viris et religiosis factas, maxime et evidentissime rex Angliæ Henricus secundus, sicut ab historico cantore Britone audierat antiquo, totum monachis indicavit, quod profunde, scilicet in terra per XVI pedes ad minus, corpus inveniret, et non in lapideo tumulo, sed in quercu cavata.—VIII, 127. Dixerat enim ei pluries, sicut ex gestis Britonum et eorum cantoribus historiis rex audierat, quod inter pyramides duas quæ postmodum erectæ fuerant in sacro coemeterio, sepultus fuit Arthurus.*”—IV, 49.

We perceive that after the exhumation was invented a British bard who was said to have predicted it, just as in the later case of Joseph of Arimathea and Melkinus.

Arthur had especially loved and endowed.¹ But Henry died before the appointment of the abbot, who came from another foundation; so that the account of the historian cannot be correct, and we must suppose that after the lapse of a quarter of a century his memory was defective.² The mention of the ancient bard is evidence only of the tendency to seek confirmation of Arthurian fables in imaginary Cymric literature.

Giraldus was especially interested in the discovery, because in his opinion it supplied an explanation of the fantastic stories familiar in Arthurian romances, in which the Briton was said to have been carried by fairies to Avalon.³ Plainly no idea of the king's connection with Glastonbury had occurred to the mind of the writer; had there been in Wales any such notion, prior to 1191, Giraldus was in a position to be familiar with it; his surprise, therefore, gives good ground for the

¹ "Dictus autem abbas corpore reperto, monitus quoque dicto regis Henrici, marmoreum in sepulchrum fieri fecit egregium, tanquam patrono loci illius praecepit, qui scilicet ecclesiam illam prae caeteris regni cunctis plus dilexerat.—IV, 51. Mariae Glastoniensem ecclesiam plus dilexit et prae caeteris longe majori devotione promovit."—VIII, 126.

The notice of Arthur's endowment of St. Mary's has reference to the donation of Brent; this present, therefore, as well as the addition concerning the king's interment in the cemetery, was found in the text of *De Antiquitate* used by Giraldus.

² It is, however, possible that abbot Henry may have pretended to Giraldus that he had received his suggestion from the king, at a time when the abbot was still prior of Bermondsey.

³ "Itaque Arthuro ibi mortaliter vulnerato corpus ejusdem in insulam Avalloniam, quae nunc Glastonia dicitur, a nobili matrona quadam ejusque cognata et Morgani vocata est delatum, quod postea defunctum in dicto coemeterio sacro eadem procuranti sepultum fuit. Propter hoc enim fabulosi Britones et eorum cantores fingere solebant, quod dea quaedam phantastica, scilicet et Morganis dicta, corpus Arthuri in insulam detulit Avalloniam ad ejus vulnera sananda.—IV, 49. Hujus autem corpus, quod quasi phantasticum in fine, et longum per spiritus ad longinqua translatum, neque morti obnoxium fabulae confinxerant, his nostris diebus apud Glastoniam inter lapideas pyramides duas in coemeterio sacro quondam erectas, profundius in terra quercu concava reconditur, et signatum miris indicii et quasi miraculosis, est inventum et in ecclesiam cum honore translatum marmoreoque decenter tumulo commendatum."—VIII, 127.

belief that the story was unknown, until, at a time when advertisement was desirable, it pleased Glastonbury to exploit the fame of Arthur, just as it had already appropriated the renown of Dunstan, David, and Gildas.¹

Alleged traditions of modern record, professing to connect Glastonbury with Arthur and Joseph of Arimathea, are too artificial and tenuous to deserve consideration.²

In conformity with this conclusion is the character of twelfth century Arthurian romance, to which Avalon is known only as a fairy isle. On the other hand, the prose romance identifies Avalon with Glastonbury; the change, which may be dated as early as the first years of the thirteenth century, must be attributed to the influence of the new edition of *De Antiquitate*.

It is not possible with certainty to determine in what year the recast was completed and published. Earlier than 1191 it could not have been, inasmuch as the reviser was acquainted with the precise spot in which it had pleased abbot Henry to exhume the bones of Arthur. Nor is it very likely that the work was accomplished at a period much later. In and after

¹ It is not necessary to suppose that the abbot invented the grave itself as well as its connection with Arthur. Perhaps, as Baist suggests, and as the mention of *Chronica Majora* gives some reason to believe, in course of digging may have been found bones of unusual size; an enthusiastic monk may have had a revelation that these remains were Arthurian; the abbot, considering that in the needy circumstances of Glastonbury such opportunity was providential, may have then "salted" his mine after the manner of a modern prospector; in so doing, as Baist suggests, he may have done no more than an average twelfth century abbot would deem right and expedient. Adam of Domesday adds the significant notice, which he may have taken from monastic tradition, that the abbot enclosed the ground with curtains during process of exploration.

² Hearne, *History of Antiquities*, pp. 3 ff. Joseph and his company arrive in Avalon, and rest on Weary-all Hill; Joseph plants his staff, which grows into a thorn-three budding every Christmas.

It has already appeared that Joseph did not become a Glastonbury saint before the fourteenth century.

Of a staff budding into a tree, we have had another example in that of Bénégnus.

1192 the minds of the monks were fully occupied with their desperate situation, and protest against the bishop of Wells. It seems to me likely that the edition was accomplished in the year of the disinterment, under direction of the abbot, and formed part of the plans of that functionary for utilizing the fame of Arthur; it would have helped to silence sceptics, if William of Malmesbury could be cited as authority for Arthur's interment at Glastonbury. The official sanction under which the document was introduced would have been sufficient to secure its immediate acceptance.

The text of the recension was not identical with that which we possess; it seems likely that in the thirteenth century the book underwent a second reconstruction, while, for minor additions, several other hands are here and there visible.

Another great branch of Arthurian romance may exhibit the influence of the revised edition. Before the end of the twelfth century, an author who calls himself Robert of Boron composed a poem, in which the principal part is played by Joseph of Arimathea, who is the head of a company destined to arrive at Avalon, described, no longer as a distant isle, but as a low-lying and desolate district in the West;¹ such representation can apply only to Glastonbury. The companions of Joseph include twelve nephews; these may answer to the twelve disciples of Philip, who, according to *De Antiquitate*, founded St. Mary's. The composition, apparently, was intended to make the first part of a long romance, which was never completed; so far as can now be discovered, Robert wrote no more;² but the fragment received the atten-

¹ The extant text has "Vaus d'Avaron," where the name seems to be merely a scribal error for Avalon. See my *Legend of the Holy Grail and the Perceval of Crestien of Troyes*, C. W. Sever & Co., Cambridge, Mass., 1902, p. 94.

² The *Merlin*, in my opinion, is no work of Robert. See my *Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 32, 34.

tion of continuators, and was made the basis for the romances which deal with the Holy Grail.¹

That forgeries, in themselves of no value, may nevertheless produce important literary consequences, and become the impulse to works possessing a high order of merit, is quite natural; we have an example, on a larger scale, in the effect

¹ Robert makes Joseph to be the head of a company, of which the principal members are his twelve nephews, headed by Alain. In the course of his wanderings, Joseph carries the sacred vessel called *Graal*, which he has received from Christ; this he is charged to deliver to his nephew Alain, who in turn must transmit it to his own son, at the time of the story yet unborn, but to be the fruit of a marriage hereafter to be contracted. Joseph himself does not proceed to the West, while Alain, after receiving the vessel, departs in that direction, accompanied by his brothers. A disciple named Petrus takes the same direction, but journeys separately; this personage, we are told, is one day to indoctrinate the unnamed son of Alain (evidently before the latter has met his father, and become aware of his destiny as possessor of the *Graal*). As Robert never wrote the sequel, the purport of which is thus indicated, his idea can only be guessed by these hints. It now seems to me likely that he may have formed the plan of a romance to proceed somewhat as follows. Alain, after arrival in the West, is to marry and have a son, but embrace religion (perhaps under the influence of the Apostle Philip), and desert his wife, in order to live as a hermit in Glastonbury, and become the founder of St. Mary's. The son is to grow up, set out in quest of his lost father (as Crestien makes Perceval abandon his mother), and on the road fall in with Petrus, from whom he is to obtain instruction (as Perceval from his knightly preceptor). The youth, arriving at Glastonbury, is to find his father Alain, look upon the holy vessel, and ask a question (after the analogy of Perceval), in virtue of which he becomes himself an owner of the *Graal*. He, however, is to have a son (again after the suggestion of the Perceval), who will continue the line; in this manner arises a race of Fisher Kings, to which, after ten generations, Perceval belongs. If these conjectures are correct, Robert intended to write, not a romance intended to rival Crestien's, but an introduction to the latter's poem, giving the origin of Perceval's line; the history, as belonging to the apostolic age, would naturally take an apocryphal and pietistic tinge, instead of the chivalric spirit belonging to Crestien's composition. A series of continuators, by concurring the incomplete works of Crestien and Robert, produced the so-called *Legend of the Grail*; this legend, therefore, must be considered as included in Glastonbury literature, being dependent for its impulse on the revised edition of *De Antiquitate*.

produced at an earlier time by the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

At all events, it may safely be concluded that William of Malmesbury, in his apology for Glastonbury, did not reverse opinions enunciated in his history, nor utilize the British fables there condemned; that he has been made responsible for such inconsistency, results exclusively from the activity of reworkers who have altogether altered the character of his simple *libellus*.

WILLIAM WELLS NEWELL.

XIX.—THE RELATION OF HAUFF'S *LICHTENSTEIN* TO SCOTT'S *WAVERLEY*.

In a paper read before the Modern Language Association of America in 1899 (*Americana Germanica*, vol. III, pp. 386-392), Dr. C. W. Eastman presented evidence that seemed to him to warrant the conclusion that Hauff modeled his historical romance *Lichtenstein* upon Scott's *Ivanhoe*. His contention is well supported and does not lack plausibility. But inasmuch as I had been accustomed for several years to set my students in the Criticism of the Novel the practice-task of hunting for the similarities in *Lichtenstein* and *Waverley*, which seem to me quite obvious, I was not disposed to let the claim of Dr. Eastman pass without closer examination.

It may, indeed, be asked, What difference does it make? Yet I think there are sound reasons for pursuing such an investigation. The chief of these are not, however, to convict a certain author of deliberate plagiarism, or to demonstrate the keenness of the investigator, although these ends may at times have their justification. The prime value of such an investigation is the establishment of the principles by which literary kinship and dependence are to be recognized, for these principles are of the utmost importance in studying the relationship of schools and movements and periods in literature. A secondary and somewhat allied value is found in the necessary preliminary study and analysis of the literary form concerned.

In the case of the novel, we have to deal with such elements as the plot, the leading personages, and the *motifs*,—whatever constitutes the dynamic part of the work,—and with the background, the secondary personages, the situations, the devices, the method, the proportion of elements, the style, and many other features which may all be comprised under the head of the statics of the novel. Even a hasty considera-

tion of these elements will satisfy a careful student that certain of them are more nearly universal and therefore more common property than are certain others. Some one has said that there are but six plots in the world when all are reduced to their lowest terms. Certain combinations of personages are practically inevitable. A prince must have his lieutenant and his valet; a lover must love a lady, while the lady must have a *confidante* and a maid. Certain elements of life are a matter of course: a knight must do valorous deeds for his lady; the course of true love must run crooked; adventurers must resort to disguises and freebooters to ambushes. Certain *motifs* must continue to prompt to the interesting actions of the world: love, jealousy, ambition, pride, revenge, greed, valor, appetite. To find several of these *motifs* and these juxtapositions of personages in two novels need not rouse suspicion of direct kinship. It is rather the order and proportion and the specific value of these elements that furnish evidence of relationship. More especially is mutual dependence evinced by the presence of identical details in connection with the same persons and situations. Finally, and of course most indubitable, stand close resemblance of style, which may indeed be unconsciously imitated, and bodily borrowing, which is deliberate plagiarism.

As Dr. Eastman has pointed out, Hauff is very frank in avowing his admiration of Scott and his intention to attempt in *Lichtenstein* to do for Suabia what the "Great Unknown" had done for Scotland. This emphasis of Sir Walter's service to Scotland might indeed hint at *Waverley* rather than at *Ivanhoe*. But in the sketches entitled *Die Bücher und die Lesewelt* Hauff had before this commented on the extraordinary popularity of Scott's novels in Germany and declared his own purpose to write a novel in Scott's manner. In these sketches he mentions only two of the novels by name: *Quentin Durward* and *Ivanhoe*, expressing especial admiration for the latter. These are the only outward clues I can discover to

guide us in our search for a specific original of *Lichtenstein*. Hence we are left to internal evidence.

I beg leave to put in evidence (as the lawyers say) the scope, the historical background, the plot, the list of personages, the leading situations, of the three novels under consideration.

SCOPE OF *LICHTENSTEIN*.

Lichtenstein is a tale of military adventure and love, being the fortunes of a young knight errant resulting from renouncing the cause of a strong government to espouse that of an exiled prince attempting to regain his heritage, the failure of the cause of the prince with the pardon and marriage of the hero.

The above will serve without alteration as the scope of *Waverley*.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF *WAVERLEY* AND *LICHTENSTEIN*.

The historical background of each novel consists in the attempt of a dispossessed princely family to regain its throne, involving an invasion of the country, supported by a portion of loyal subjects, some successful military operations, transient occupation of the capital, and final failure and expulsion (so far as the action of the novel extends).

In each the prince and certain military officers, subordinate characters in the plot, are historical by name and actions.

In each the capture and occupation of the capital, and one or two military actions are historical, in *Lichtenstein* the battle of Kannstatt or Untertürkheim, in *Waverley* the battle of Preston and that of Clifton.

The minor military and political operations and situations are fairly historical.

SCOPE OF *IVANHOE*.

Ivanhoe is a tale of extraordinary knight-errantry mingled with a very subordinate element of love, being the restoration to his rights and station of a disinherited son, secured by valorous deeds and the interposition of his prince.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF *IVANHOE*.

No part of the action is historical. Of personages, the prince and certain of the nobles are historical as to name and general attitude.

The tournament at Ashby, the ill-repute of Sherwood Forest, and the degeneracy of the Templars—in a word the *milieu* is fairly true to history.

PLOT OF *LICHTENSTEIN* AND
WAVERLEY.

The plot, common to both novels, is as follows: A young soldier of fortune begins his career by entering the army of the power opposed to the exiled royal family, but is won over to the cause of the prince by offended honor, by the love and appeals of a woman whose guardian is the chief lieutenant of the prince, and by the personal fascination of the prince himself. He incurs many adventures in transferring his allegiance and in support of the prince's attempt at restoration, distinguishes himself in action, saves the life of a prominent supporter of the government he is opposing, and, when the attempt of the prince finally fails, falls into the hands of the government. He is pardoned through the intercession of a military friend of his father and partly on the plea of his having himself spared the life aforesaid, is paroled, marries the woman he loves, and inherits the castle and estates of his father-in-law, to which he retires.

PLOT OF *IVANHOE*.

The son of a Saxon noble in the time of Richard Lionheart, disinherited by his father because of Norman predilections, returns from the Crusades and visits in disguise his father's hall, where he sees his foster-sister, whom he loves; he attends a grand tourney, where he defeats all rivals and awards the prize of beauty to his lady, but is himself carried wounded from the field, where he had been aided by his Prince, Richard, also in disguise. He is cared for by a rich Jew and his daughter, whom he has befriended; while being conducted through Sherwood Forest, he is assailed and captured along with the Jew and daughter, and at the same time with his father, his lady, and another Saxon noble (suitor for her hand), by the rival barons whom he had defeated at the tourney; and he is held in the castle of one of them. The castle is besieged by friendly freebooters led by Richard; it is taken and burned, and all the prisoners are freed, except the Jewess, who is carried by her captor to the Preceptory of the Templars. Rejecting his suit, she is accused of witchcraft by his brethren in order to save the reputation of the order, she is condemned, but appeals to the "Judgment of God" in battle. Being informed of her need by the Jewess's father, on the day set the hero appears as her champion, and her innocence is demonstrated by the death of her oppressor. On the intercession of Richard the hero is received to favor by his father, and is promised the lady to wife, while Richard, having revealed his iden-

PLOT OF *IVANHOE*.

tity, prepares to resume his throne which his brother John had vainly plotted to usurp.

LICHTENSTEIN AND WAVERLEY:
SITUATIONS.

The novels have in common the following situations: A reception-ball, at which the hero meets both the leading ladies of the story; a banquet at which the hero is insulted and makes an enemy; a garden scene in which the hero and heroine reach an understanding; a military review, at which the hero is a spectator; a hearing before a military tribunal, at which the hero is charged with disloyalty; a prison scene, in which a friend on the other side appears to the hero, shows a kindly interest in him and tries to dissuade him from embracing the cause of the pretender; a disguised messenger to the hero from the heroine warning him to care for his honor; a horseback trip through the mountains with a solitary guide; an assault upon the hero by partisans of the government who suspect in him the prince; the hero's illness in a peasant's cottage; a duel between the hero and a warrior of his own side, due to jealousy, interrupted by friends; a night in a cave; a visit at a baronial castle, home of the heroine's father (in *Waverley* the visit divided into two); the prince's intervention on behalf of the hero's suit; the occupation of the capital, with attendant festivities; a wedding (very brief in *Waverley*); the march and a night preceding a battle; a battle in considerable detail; a "clearing-up," at which the hero's future occupation of the old baron's castle is announced.

IVANHOE: SITUATIONS.

A swineherd and a fool met by certain travelers whom they attempt to misguide; hospitality to strangers at a baronial castle; the lodging-place given a Jew, showing the standing of his race; a grand tourney in detail; the Jew at home, with his miserliness; merry freebooters hold up a servant; a bout in quarter-staff; a contest in archery; a prince's banquet with toasts and challenges; a drinking-bout in the cell of a robber-monk; an assault by robber barons; the siege of a castle in great detail; a maiden in a besieged castle reporting to a wounded knight near her the fortunes of the besiegers, their friends; a freebooters' court; trial of a Jewess on charge of witchcraft before a Templars' court; ambushed assault upon a prince; a freebooters' banquet in the forest; a funeral; Judgment of God by battle.

LICHTENSTEIN AND WAVERLEY:
PERSONAGES.

Each novel has personages in common with the other, as follows: A fascinating and impetuous exiled prince; a somewhat impetuous and vacillating young soldier of fortune, the hero; a charming sole daughter of a baron devoted to the prince's cause, the heroine (though the secondary heroine divides honors with her in *Waverley*); a secondary lady (in *Waverley* almost outshining the heroine), a friend of the heroine, who assists in straightening out the relations of hero and heroine; an old baron, father of the heroine, and most devoted supporter of the cause of the prince, who is also pardoned and paroled at the close (in *Waverley* there is a secondary baron rather more devoted to the prince than the first one); a warrior on the government side who proves a sort of guardian angel to the hero; a shrewd and daring peasant guide and spy (in *Waverley* three such) devoted to the cause of the prince; a peasant girl, daughter of the foregoing, brought into contact with both hero and heroine; the hostess of an inn; carousing nobles; a body of irregular, clannish soldiery.

IVANHOE: PERSONAGES.

An imperious and irresistible prince returned in disguise to his own country; the hero a fearless and almost invincible warrior, the unfaltering supporter of the prince; the heroine, a Jewess, beautiful and devoted to her old father, loving hopelessly the hero; a secondary lady, a dummy, foster daughter of the hero's father, loved and won by the hero; a baron, the hero's father, suspicious of the prince and almost hostile to him; a dummy baron whom the preceding holds to be the rightful claimant to the throne, but who himself makes no claim; a bad prince, regent in his absent brother's stead, who is urged to rebel but has neither the nerve nor the head; several great barons who hate the hero and his prince because the former defeated them in tourney; an unscrupulous and dissolute Templar; a rich and typical fiction-Jew; a corrupt prelate; a prince of freebooters and of archers; an uproarious robber-monk; a noble swineherd-serf and personal attendant of the hero; a noble and valiant fool; a fanatic Grand Master of Templars; freebooters and Templars.

SITUATIONS COMPARED: *WAVERLEY AND LICHTENSTEIN.*

(The references here are to Hauff's *Werke*, vol. 3, in Cottas *Bibliothek der Weltliteratur*, and to the *Waverley* in the Holley Library printed by the Mershon Co.)

A banquet with much humor, ending in a quarrel that involves the hero.

Waverley, ch. XI (another, ch. XX).

Lichtenstein, ch. III (another, ch. XVII).

A cave visited by the hero under the guidance of a canny peasant, where he spends the night.

Waverley, ch. XVII (cp. also LXV).

Lichtenstein, ch. XVIII-XIX.

A scene before a military tribunal, ending in a defiance of the presiding officer by the hero, leading to his defection from his former cause.

Waverley, ch. XXXI (pp. 194 ff.).

Lichtenstein, ch. IX (pp. 78-79).

An improvised prison, in which the hero, under arrest, is visited secretly by a friend on the other side to win him back or at least comfort him. Details: The hero's easy falling asleep, *Waverley*, p. 201, *Lichtenstein*, p. 88; his bad dreams, *Waverley*, p. 208, *Lichtenstein*, p. 88, at bottom; suspected from being with peasant, *Waverley*, p. 210, *Lichtenstein*, p. 92, at top.)

Waverley, ch. XXXIII.

Lichtenstein, ch. XI.

A ball, at which the hero meets the heroine and her friend the second lady.

Waverley, ch. XLIII (pp. 260 ff.).

Lichtenstein, ch. VI (p. 64 ff.).

An assault upon the hero, under the impression that he is the prince or a spy.

Waverley, ch. XXX and XXXVI.

Lichtenstein, ch. XIV (p. 112).

A peasant's hut, where the hero is nursed through his convalescence from injuries thus received.

Waverley, ch. XXXVII.

Lichtenstein, ch. XV, XVI, XVII.

A military review, at which the hero is a spectator.

Waverley, ch. XLIV (p. 268).

Lichtenstein, ch. VIII.

A bivouac where the leaders sleep while a peasant guard sings.

Waverley, ch. XLVI (p. 283).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXV (p. 318).

Prayer before battle.

Waverley, ch. XXXVI (p. 286).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIV (p. 310).

A garden scene, in which the hero and heroine (second in *Waverley*) come to an understanding.

Waverley, ch. XXVII.

Lichtenstein, ch. VII (last half).

To the foregoing, in which details of the situations are similar, may be added the following, which are common to the two novels, but with fewer common details :

A horseback trip by the hero through the mountains, attended by a solitary guide.

Waverley, ch. XXXIX.

Lichtenstein, ch. XII and XIII.

A duel between the hero and a warrior of his own side, due to jealousy, interrupted by friends.

Waverley, ch. LVIII (pp. 342 ff.).

Lichtenstein, ch. XIX (pp. 153 ff.).

A visit by the hero to the castle of a baron, his future father-in-law.

Waverley, ch. VIII to XVI.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXI to XXVI (pp. 178 ff.).

The occupation of the capital, with attendant festivities.

Waverley, ch. XL to XLIII, and LI-LIV.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXVIII, XXXI, XXXII.

A wedding.

Waverley, ch. LXX.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXI.

A march.

Waverley, ch. XLIV.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIII.

A battle, in much detail.

Waverley, ch. XLVII (Preston).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIV.

DEVICES AND INCIDENTS.

The prince confers upon the hero, in order to attach him to his cause, an especial mark of favor.

Waverley, ch. XL (p. 247—sword).

Lichtenstein, ch. XX (pp. 170-1—ring).

The peddler disguise used by a friend of the hero.

Waverley, ch. XXXVI.

Lichtenstein, ch. XVII (p. 135), XXV (p. 210).

The hero wakened, on the morning of the battle, by the sound of the drum (pibroch).

Waverley, ch. XL (p. 267).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIV (p. 267).

Concern of the baron for his daughter before the battle.

Waverley, ch. XL, VI (p. 282).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIII (pp. 302-3).

The prince urged not to risk his life in battle, but (in *Lichtenstein*) to no purpose.

Waverley, ch. XLVII (p. 285).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIV (pp. 309-10).

Sunday recognized by ringing of bells, the hero having lost his reckoning.

Waverley, XXIX (p. 180).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXI (p. 175).

The hero's renunciation of his first allegiance.

Waverley, XXV (p. 157).

Lichtenstein, ch. IX (p. 80).

Letter conveyed from the heroine to the hero by a disguised messenger, in which she shows concern for his honor.

Waverley, ch. XXVIII (p. 175, quite long).

Lichtenstein, ch. VIII (p. 69, very brief, but with pointed allusion to the length of such epistles in modern times).

Cowardly clerk forced to ride into battle.

Waverley, ch. XLIX (p. 295).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXLV (pp. 307-8).

An officer of the enemy rescued from death by the hero.

Waverley, ch. XLVII.

Lichtenstein, ch. XXIX (a civil officer).

Condemned traitors forced to throw dice for their lives (in both novels a sub-narration).

Waverley, ch. LI (p. 309).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXV (p. 321).

Intercession of the prince for the hero in his love-suit.

Waverley, ch. XLIII (p. 262).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXIV (pp. 204-5).

Hero advised to spare himself for the sake of the heroine.

Waverley, ch. LIX (p. 349).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXIII (p. 302).

Hostile officer bails hero.

Waverley, ch. LXVI (p. 397).

Lichtenstein, ch. XXXVI (p. 335).

DETAILS OF PERSONAGES.

The hero is a scholar, an orphan, supported by an uncle, is inexperienced in war as he comes upon the stage of action, is unstable in character (this fact being hinted at in his name), has taken service, though without conviction or enthusiasm, with the party opposed to the dispossessed prince, is won over

to the side of the prince by love for a very loyal lady, by the harshness of officers on the side of his first allegiance, and by the fascination of the prince himself, and at the close of a similar career (as indicated in the plot) comes into possession of the estate of his father-in-law. He is personally a very "pratty man" (*Waverley*, ch. XLII, p. 254) with light brown hair and graceful figure.

He is reproached for his instability (*Waverley*, ch. L, p. 300; *Lichtenstein*, ch. XX, p. 188).

The heroine of *Waverley* is really secondary in character, and is much like the secondary lady of *Lichtenstein* (Bertha), while the secondary lady of *Waverley* (Flora), who is the true heroine, corresponds in character to the first lady and heroine of *Lichtenstein* (Marie). The relation of these two ladies in the two novels has some resemblance.

Bradwardine and MacIvor together in *Waverley* are combined in the character and functions of the baron of *Lichtenstein*. In age and in relation to the heroine, the latter represents Bradwardine; in character and influence upon the hero he is more like MacIvor.

PREFACES.

There is a very evident similarity between the Preface of *Lichtenstein* and the General Preface of *Waverley*, in the resolution to arouse interest in local history and to exploit the deeds as well as the manners and customs of the country involved. But the most notable feature of the similarity lies in the fact that Scott confesses himself in the attitude of disciple to Miss Edgeworth in the very same way that Hauff professes his intention of following Scott. Yet, curiously enough, as though to warn us against relying too confidently on resemblances, the General Preface of Scott, so far as the evidence of attached dates goes, was written, or published, in 1829, two years after Hauff's death. Unless Scott somewhere printed his resolution to emulate Miss Edgeworth

before 1827, we must be careful not to charge Hauff with imitating an example that was not set until two years after his own death.

It may well be maintained that many similarities between *Lichtenstein* and *Waverley* became inevitable as soon as the subject was selected, and that the similarity in subject may have been fortuitous. For instance: given the situation of the whole—a dispossessed prince trying to regain his country—and disguises, spies, ambushes, marches, bivouacs, battles, sieges, become a matter of course. It would be interesting to analyze the whole *Waverley* series and discover how many such elements are common to them all.

Nevertheless, I fancy that no one can survey the array and the relation of the similarities I have cited without admitting that the number and detail of them is too great to have been a matter of chance. It will be observed, on reference to Dr. Eastman's paper, that all of the resemblances noted by him except point two in his second summary (that the assault upon the knight is made at the instigation of a knight high in authority among the enemies of the monarch), are found to exist between *Lichtenstein* and *Waverley*, while the points are in several cases more precisely adapted to *Waverley* than to *Ivanhoe*. For instance, point one in the first summary: Richard is scarcely a fugitive in his own country. He is in disguise rather from whim, and has but to declare himself in order to resume his throne. Similarly with point five in the second summary: It scarcely describes the situation in *Ivanhoe*, since there has been no struggle between Richard and his enemies for possession of the country. But beyond these, the great number of further details connecting *Lichtenstein* and *Waverley*, occurring often in identical sequence, together with the great similarity in plot and historical background, which are lacking in the case of *Ivanhoe*, leave scarcely any room for doubt that Hauff deliberately helped himself to the mechanism and skeleton of *Waverley*.

Of similarity in style I find nothing noteworthy, and no direct borrowings. *Lichtenstein* follows the method of *Ivanhoe* in introducing the chapters with quotations from the poets, while all three novels have inlaid poems.

The borrowings which I have noted do not seem to me to concern the deepest elements of originality. Where Hauff deviates from the method or the structure of his master and his model, he seems to me, for the most part, to have held his own or to have improved upon them. In the latter line I reckon the omission of the long and pedantic opening chapters and in general the less gossipy manner of narrating.

In the case of the lansquenets, and of Hans, the peasant spy, and his daughter Bärbele, which parallel in some measure the freebooters of Sherwood Forest, and Evan Dhu-Bean Lean and the daughter of the latter, Hauff's materials are if anything more attractive than those of Scott, and, as they were indigenous, he was forced to treat them in his own manner. And here, as I said, he at least does not suffer by comparison with his master.

In what we shall have to call, for want of a suitable English expression, the "kulturgeschichtlicher Inhalt" of his work, Hauff is distinctly poorer than Scott. For instance, although *Lichtenstein* is laid in the year 1519 and in south-west Germany, one would be wholly unaware of the religious conflicts of the time, save for two brief and rather perfunctory references to "the monk of Wittenberg."

I cannot sympathize with the patronizing and sometimes contemptuous tone in which most German critics speak of Hauff's masterpiece. While it partakes of the general characteristics of the novel in its then stage of development, among its contemporaries I consider it as the best, and scarcely regard as a reproach the indebtedness to Scott which I have pointed out, and which was in general so frankly confessed by Hauff himself.

W. H. CARRUTH.

XX.—THE TEXTS MOST USED IN THE TEACHING OF OLD FRENCH.

An inquiry into the texts most in use for the teaching of Old French in the best universities cannot help having a certain pedagogical interest. The value of such an inquiry would be greater, if we possessed a similar investigation made fifteen or twenty years ago. Although no such investigation is recorded, it is nonetheless fitting and important to set down here the results of a recent inquiry into this question.

For seventy-five years, our knowledge of the language and literature of Old French have been, on the whole, steadily increasing. A larger and larger number of the elect in all civilized countries have found here an admirable field for philological research or a new world of poetic beauty, or both. The labors of three generations of scholars have endowed human thought and feeling with a new literature, whose fulness of development may well excite surprise, and whose monuments, so long neglected, furnish us by far the most comprehensive and truthful record of the society of the feudal age in Europe. The number of Old French texts already published is large, and includes virtually all the varieties of literary form: the epic, history, poems of court life, fables, lyrics of many kinds, satires, imitations of antiquity, translations from the Greek and the Latin, sermons, mysteries, farces, folk-tales, romances of adventure, scientific treatises, etc. Surely, in this vast mass of texts, any one can find what he seeks, be his quest literary or philological. Students of history, customs, folk-lore, religion, archæology, find in these records some of the most unstudied and significant utterances of the human mind. Among those of us whose interests are mainly linguistic and literary, there should be discernable by this time a consensus of opinion as to what texts are best for our purpose. It goes without

saying that, in the supposed best universities of the world, the interest which dominates all others in the study of Old French is philological rather than literary. This condition seems likely to endure for at least another generation. A reversal of present interests can only come through a more widespread and accurate pursuit of comparative literature, call it by what name you will. That this reversal will, in large degree at least, take place, cannot be doubted. Many of the linguistic phenomena of the language have already received careful and adequate treatment, whereas the hundred and one interesting and vital questions to be elucidated by a correct application of comparative literature in connection with Old French, have many of them to be discussed for the first time. It is unfortunate that in gathering the data here presented, it was not possible to distinguish the texts used for philological purposes from those used for literary purposes.

To obtain a fair idea of what texts were being actually used for instruction in Old French, questions were sent to the professors concerned in a large number of the supposed best universities in the world. It was found necessary to leave out some of the greatest institutions because the subject was not taught. An undue proportion of the universities consulted were American. This was by reason of the close interest which we of course feel in the institutions of higher learning in this country. No reliance whatever was placed on catalogue announcements, since they are subject to such frequent change, but the professors addressed were asked to state what texts they had actually used during the year 1900-1, the year 1901-2, and what texts they intended to use during the current year,—1902-3. The data gathered represents, then, the texts actually employed during the first three years of the century. Nearly all of the replies, be it said, went minutely into the matter, giving not only the texts used, but the chrestomathies¹ and grammars as well. Of the

¹ Although the scope of this inquiry did not include chrestomathies, it may be interesting to observe that those most in use are, in order: Paris-Langlois, Förster-Koschwitz, Bartsch, and Constans.

fifty-seven universities from which answers were received, six are in France, two in Switzerland, nineteen in Germany, seven in Austria-Hungary, one each in Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and Sweden, and nineteen in the United States. The names of these universities are not here given, for evident reasons. The results gain, rather than lose by this omission. To sum up, the statistics here given present the names of the texts actually used for the teaching of Old French in fifty-seven of the supposed best universities of the world during the years 1900-1903.

The texts most employed are, in order: *La Chanson de Roland*, used sixty times in the three years; Chrétien de Troies, forty-six times; *Aucassin et Nicolette*, thirty-six times; Marie de France, eighteen times; *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, fourteen times. After this first group of prime favorites, come: *La Vie de St. Alexis*, read six times; *Aliscans*, four times; *Robin et Marion*, four times; *Ajol*, *Le Jeu d'Adam*, and *Raoul de Cambrai*, three times each.¹

It will be observed that the texts most read are in verse, save *Aucassin et Nicolette*, which alternates prose and verse. One might have foreseen that the *Roland* would be the most frequently read, and we are all glad that this proves to be the case. The *Roland* has been used thirty-three times in some one of the complete editions, twenty-seven in the partial edition of G. Paris, which contains 815 lines. As for Chrétien de Troies, this poet may well feel flattered that his works, after so many centuries, stand next to the *Roland* in the brilliant galaxy of one of the richest and most varied of literatures. Something like the present conditions of popularity between the two first favorites may have existed before, at some forgotten moment in their long rivalry. Chrétien has been read forty-six times. His most read poem seems to

¹ It is needless to observe that the price of the various texts has a great deal to do with the frequency of their use. This is seen clearly in the fact that two thirds of the texts reported as having been read during the three years cost five francs or less.

be the *Yvain*, used nineteen times, as against thirteen for the *Cligès*, ten for *Erec et Enide*, and two for the *Charette*. The third favorite, *Aucassin et Nicolette* can never have enjoyed its present relative vogue at any previous age. Charming as it is, the work of the *viel caitif* bears many marks which indicate that it can never have been immensely popular. It seems to have been written in a nook, far removed from the great highways of contemporary thought and action, and transmits to our own day the distinctly personal note of its gentle author. Some suppose the present vogue of *Aucassin et Nicolette* to be a fad, but such is not the case. Its popularity is, for the most part, a pure literary enthusiasm, based upon the existence in the chantefable of a delicate and bewitching beauty, a sweet and melancholy charm, which, once felt, can never be forgotten. The future will show for many generations an increasing number of devoted readers of this exquisite masterpiece. The fourth favorite is Marie de France, whose *lais* have been used sixteen times, the fables twice. Next comes the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, used fourteen times. There is nothing surprising in the popularity of this poem. From the literary standpoint, it possesses a flavor quite its own, and is probably the oldest example extant of the peculiar genius of Paris. On the other hand, the work is of great philological interest, in spite of the disappearance of the unique manuscript in which it was preserved.

These five works form a group apart, and are followed only at a long interval by the second group. The *Vie de St. Alexis* has been read six times. Few poems offer more interesting problems to the critic than this, which enjoys the additional advantage of being accessible in the superb edition of G. Paris.¹ It is at first surprising to note that *Aiscans*, generally classed second to the *Roland*, has been

¹ One of the last evidences of the activity of the great Master is: *La Vie de St. Alexis, nouvelle éd., Emile Bouillon, 1903, 63 pp.*

read but four times.¹ This is because of the difficulty of procuring copies of the poem. The editions of Jonckbloet and of Guessard have long been exhausted, and that of Rolin does not offer a satisfactory text. All of this is the more regrettable, because the epic not only possesses genuine power, but offers a series of absorbing problems, whose solution bids fair to attract the attention of scholars for years to come. *Ajol*, the most charming perhaps of the romans d'aventure, has been used only three times. It would have enjoyed a greater popularity, if, like the majority of its rivals, it had been preserved in several manuscripts. Under the circumstances, it is inferior to many poems for philological research. The same remark may be made of *Raoul de Cambrai*, which exists in but one manuscript. This great epic, remarkable among other things for the psychological development of its plot, has been read only three times, and even this slight degree of popularity is to be curtailed, for the edition of the Société des Anciens Textes is now exhausted.

Examining the two groups of texts most read, we find only three genuine epics in the list,—the *Roland*, *Aliscans*, and *Raoul de Cambrai*. As it happens, each of the three gestes into which the Old French epic is generally divided is represented by one poem. The number of separate works in these two groups, counting the four poems of Chrétien, each once, and allowing two units for the works read of Marie, is fifteen. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of three monuments which date from the eleventh century, the great majority of the works named in these two groups are of the twelfth century.

A complete list of all other texts used during the three years would be of little value. Some of the most significant are here mentioned: *Aspremont*, *Amis et Amiles*, *Auberi le Bourguignon*, *Berte aus grans Piés*, *Beuve de Hanstone*,

¹ See the statement of G. Paris, *Romania*, v, p. 110: "*Aliscans*, que plusieurs critiques n'hésitent pas à mettre à côté du *Roland*."

A new edition of this epic is being prepared by three of Suchier's pupils.

Charroi de Nismes, Covenant Vivien, Isembart et Gormond, Jeu de Nicolas, Philip de Thaün: Bestiaire, Cumpoz, Quatre Livres des Rois, Roman de Troies, Brut, Vie de St. Louis.

The following additional comments may be of interest. Comparatively few of the texts mentioned seem to have been read entire. Especially is this true, as might be expected, in centres where philology, not literature, is the main pursuit. In a number of cases, relatively obscure texts have been used, because the professors concerned happened to be working on them with a view to editing. To study even an obscure text in this way, is of the greatest value at times, since it permits of an object lesson in criticism. Several things of interest are to be noted in the matter of national preferences as indicated by the data gathered. For instance, Marie de France was read only in the United States during the three years under examination. Her poems were read eighteen times. A partial explanation of this surprising fact is found in the careful study given Marie for a number of years in one university which has furnished a bountiful proportion of those now teaching Romance philology in the United States.¹ Again, *Adam de la Halle* has been read only in Austria and Germany. The choice of texts used in France would of course be of the highest interest. The texts read in nearly all French universities are determined by the needs of candidates for the license and the agrégation, and are taken from the fragments published in the *Chrestomathie* of Paris and Langlois. It follows from this that few works of any length are read entire in French schools, unless at the University of Paris, where the number of courses is large. By reason of these facts, it was deemed wise to leave French universities out of consideration in the present inquiry, save only the University of Paris. It is interesting to note, however, the choice of fragments most read in French universities in the volume of Paris and

¹ With four exceptions, all the teachers using the works of Marie studied at the university in question.

Langlois. They are: the *Roland*, the *Couronnement Louis*, the *Pèlerinage*, the *Chevalier au Lyon*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, the *Raoul*. The situation of France is indeed unique in having such a choice of patriotic poems as this for her youth to read.

To return to the matter of national preferences as indicated in the texts most used, what country reads the largest proportion of epic literature in Old French? It goes without saying that the answer to this question would be France, were it possible to eliminate the above-mentioned conditions which make it difficult if not impossible to draw a true comparison between France and the other countries under examination. Leaving France out, then, we find that the largest per cent. of purely epic poems is read in Germany, where 45 per cent. of all the texts used belong to this category.¹ The per cent. for the United States is 37, for Austria-Hungary, 20. Again, the relative amounts read of the *poésie courtoise* is interesting and suggestive. Austria reads the largest proportion of this style of literature, 57 per cent. of the total. The United States comes next with 33 per cent., and Germany last with only 20 per cent. That Germany uses the largest proportion of purely epic texts and the smallest proportion of poems drawn from the *poésie courtoise*, will come as a surprise to many. Germany is the fatherland of philology, and the epic texts, one might suppose, would not thrive in such an atmosphere. Indeed, it is much easier to keep the attention of students upon the dry facts of philology in reading one of the court poems than in reading the *Roland* or the *Raoul*, where the imagination is constantly fired by magnificent or terrible scenes. It is likely that the proportion of epic literature read in Germany has been increasing of recent years. It is likely, too, that the character of the literature now being read in the American universities

¹The selections read in chrestomathies are of course not taken into account. It may be observed in passing that relatively few epic selections in the chrestomathies seem to be read in Germany.

represents that read ten or fifteen years ago in Germany. Our relation to Germany in the study of Old French has, in the past, been distinctly that of a province. How many professors in this country are still reading with their students the same texts that they read long ago in Germany, or, if not the same, texts of the very same general character! One who was fed in his infancy on Chrétien de Troies and Marie de France will continue to demand similar nourishment as long as he graces a professor's chair. In view of the nature of the texts that seem to be most used at present in Germany, and in view of the fact that American students in Romance are going more and more to France for preparation, the general character of the texts that will be most employed in America a generation hence will undoubtedly show a considerable change.

Of the other European nations examined, Holland shows a decided preference for the poésie courtoise, while Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland show a preference for the epic poems.

It is foreign to the purpose of this brief inquiry to moralize upon the evidence disclosed. Nonetheless, one may be pardoned for expressing regret that any student of Old French should be allowed to leave the subject without ever having read, either in class or out of class, at least one epic poem. To neglect this is to leave on the student's mind a regrettable impression. He will have known only some one of the more arid or artificial productions of the language, and the chances are many to one that he will never learn to appreciate at their true value the grand and significant monuments of the epic literature. The world has long been accused, and with justice, of taking from French literature, if not the worst, at least not the best. One who reads only the *Renart*, or Chrétien de Troies, delightful as these productions are in many ways, will have derived genuine knowledge and profit, but he will unfortunately not have become acquainted with French character in some of its most essential qualities. He will perhaps be inclined unconsciously to deny to France

many grand and lovable qualities which are written on a thousand pages of her old epics, and without which she could not have continued to exist. Be this as it may, it stands to reason that the true scholar will know intimately all phases of the literature he expounds. If he can know only one phase, it should be the greatest and the best. We may well rejoice that one-third of the texts in Old French now being read in the universities are epic poems.

RAYMOND WEEKS.

XXI.—THE OLD FRENCH VERSIFIED APOCALYPSE
OF THE KERR MANUSCRIPT.

The subject of the mediæval French versions of the *Apocalypse* or *Revelation of Saint John the Divine*, which closes the canon of Sacred Scripture, has recently been brought prominently to the attention of scholars by two important publications of the Société des Anciens Textes Français, both appearing in the year 1901. The first of these is entitled *L'Apocalypse en français au XIII^e siècle*, published by Léopold Delisle and Paul Meyer. The portion contributed by M. Delisle consists of an extensive study of the manuscript and tapestry illustrations to the Apocalypse which were produced with such elaborateness in the Middle Ages, and of a disquisition upon the various mediæval commentaries on the Apocalypse; while the portion due to Professor Meyer is devoted to a treatise on the French prose versions of the Apocalypse, together with an edition of the prose translation contained in the ms. of the National Library in Paris quoted as fr. 403 (the best ms. of the prose version), accompanied by the Latin version in parallel columns, and by a detailed commentary in Old French.

The second of the two works referred to above, also brought out by Professor Meyer, is the phototype reproduction, in a beautiful folio album, of the magnificently illuminated illustrations of the same manuscript.

It is no part of the purpose of the present paper to discuss the elaborate and curious illustrations of this portfolio, but I cannot forego the pleasure of calling attention here to the celebrated Apocalyptic tapestry of the Cathedral of Angers, four panels of which were sent to Paris and exhibited at the *Exposition rétrospective* in the year 1900. The original production of this immense work was entrusted by Louis, duc d'Anjou, not later than 1377, to a Paris artist named Nicholas Bataille, and the designs for it were probably taken from one

or more of the illuminated MSS. here studied by M. Delisle. Folio reproductions of this tapestry were brought out by Léon de Joannis, as long ago as 1864; and new phototype reproductions of the tapestry are advertised shortly to appear in volume III of a monograph on the Cathedral of Angers by M. L. de Farcy.

Thus far mention has been made only of the prose translations of the Apocalypse. To complete, virtually, the bibliography of what may be called the prose branch of the subject, it would only be necessary to cite *La Bible française au moyen âge* by the late Samuel Berger, who devoted so large a portion of his life to the study of the mediæval versions of the Bible, including those in several of the Romance languages.

Turning to the *versified* French translations of the Scriptures, we have, as a matter of form, to record *Les traductions de la Bible en vers français du moyen âge*, by J. Bonnard, which gives only a meagre and insufficient mention of the Old French metrical versions of the *Apocalypse*. Not until 1896 did the Old French versified Apocalypse receive adequate attention. In that year Paul Meyer published in the *Romania* an article of eighty-four pages, entitled *Version anglo-normande en vers de l'Apocalypse*, in which an admirable account is given of all the MSS. known to M. Meyer, together with a provisional edition of the poem produced by printing in parallel columns the juxtaposed texts of the two best MSS., accompanied by a brief characterization of their chief linguistic and metrical peculiarities. At the outset of this study, M. Meyer remarks :

The rimed version of the Apocalypse which is published for the first time in the following pages, may be regarded as almost unknown. This, moreover, is its chief merit. Composed in England in the second half of the 13th century, this version is written in a corrupted form of language and in bad style. The text is often misunderstood and almost always poorly rendered. The versification is very incorrect, even if we lay to the account of the scribes a notable proportion of the faults presented by the MSS. In this instance is once more verified a fact that we often have occasion to notice in mediæval literature, namely, that the success of books was wont to depend far less on their value than on the subject treated.

In speaking of the peculiarities of the text more in detail, M. Meyer further remarks (p. 253):

The translator of the Apocalypse has no idea of measure. It is probable that he took for his model the eight-syllable religious poems rimed in verse pairs, but he is never concerned to count his syllables. It might be said of him as was said by Gaston Paris of William of Waddington, only with still more reason, that 'the author has a very vague idea of metre. He intends to make verses of eight syllables, but he allows them to vary between six and ten.'

M. Meyer continues:

There are poems in which, on the condition of suppressing more or less regularly the atonic final syllables which had become silent rather early in England, we may tolerably succeed in re-establishing the measure. Here this expedient would not suffice. In many places the agreement of the MSS. compels us to admit verses of variable measure, or, what amounts to the same thing, verses devoid of measure. Thus we have to recognize that it is the author himself, and not the scribe, who is answerable for verses like the following:

Johan a set eglises
 Que sunt en Asie asises
 Grace e pais a vus enveit
 Qui est, qui ert e avant esteit
 E de set espiriz que devant
 La throne Deu sunt en estant. (vv. 11-16.)

So much recent work expended on the French versions of the Apocalypse naturally enhanced greatly the interest in the discovery of a unique versified translation which, upon examination, proved to have no relation whatever, so far as can be detected, with the rimed version above mentioned.¹ And in view of the lamentable incorrectness and ineptness of the Anglo-Norman version, it is all the more interesting to find that the version of the Kerr MS. is greatly superior to the other in every respect—not only in the accuracy of the text, but also in the skill and correctness of the versification and in the general excellence of the style.

¹The rimed version is preserved in seven MSS., those of Corpus Christi, Cambridge; Magdalene College, Cambridge; Copenhagen; the British Museum Roy. 2 D. XIII.; British Museum, Add. 18633; the Municipal Library of Toulouse; and the private library of Mr. MacLean, of Tunbridge Wells, England, and, as above stated, was published in provisional form by Paul Meyer in the *Romania* in 1896.

The MS. which I designate as the Kerr MS. was purchased of Quaritch in London early in the present year, by Mr. John Edward Kerr, Jr., of New York. This MS. was formerly in the collection of Lord Ashburnham, in whose early catalogue, printed about 1860, it appeared as No. 170. The first and principal portion of the MS. is occupied by an Old French religious poem entitled *Li Romans dou Lis*, which is at present being transcribed and studied, by way of preparation for a doctor's dissertation, by Mr. F. C. Ostrander, formerly Instructor at the Middletown-Wesleyan University, now fellow in Romance Languages at Columbia University.¹

The MS. is of the size of an average octavo volume, written with care on a fine quality of vellum, with illuminated capitals, but containing only a single miniature, which stands at the head of the first page of the MS. Curiously, the MS. has never been paginated. The *Apocalypse* fills twenty-five folios of the last third of the MS., which dates probably from the early part of the 14th century, though its contents are evidently considerably older, dating perhaps from the first half of the 13th century.

It is probably a mere coincidence that the *Romania* version and the Kerr version are very similar in length, the former, as pieced out by Professor Meyer from the two best MSS., numbering 1,431 verses, while the latter, including four missing verses, which seem to be all that are wanting, comprises 1,346.²

The most characteristic divergence in the two redactions is to be found in the fact that the *Romania* version is composed in the simple *rime plate* (the continuous riming couplet), while the Kerr version is composed throughout in strophic form—the form of the strophe, as regards number of verses in the strophe and number of syllables in the verse, as well as in

¹ To Mr. Ostrander I leave the technical description of the MS.

² Since the text of the poem was in type I have discovered the lack of a rime to verse 456, which, from this point, vitiates by a unit the verse-numbering of the poem.

the disposition of the rimes, varying from time to time to suit the author's caprice, without reference, apparently, to any natural divisions of the poem.

Thus, the poem begins with a strophe of six 8-syllable verses, riming *a a b c c b*,—

Jehans, cil sains evangelitres,
Devant que il fait ses apitres
Ne son glorieus evangile,
Par l'empereour ancien
Que l'on nummoit Domicien
Fut exiliez en Pathmes l'ile.

This structure continues through twenty-six strophes, when it is suddenly broken off, not by changing the number of verses nor the disposition of the rimes in the strophe, but by simply reducing the number of syllables in the verse from eight to seven. But of this innovation the author soon tires, abandoning it at the close of eleven strophes.

The effect of the 7-syllable verse is as follows :

L'ainge de Phylardephie
Ainsi summer t'estudie :
Ce dit li sains, li verrais,
Qui de David la cler ha
Quant il clot nus n'overra
Quant il ouvre nus ne clot mais. vv. 176-180.

Next follows, for a considerable portion of the poem, a simple strophe of four 8-syllable verses riming *a b b a* (v. 224 ff.)

Lors un ainge fort et delivre
En haut praichant prist a enquerre,
S'en ciel n'en terre ne soz terre
Fut nus dignes d'ouvrir le livre. vv. 264-267.

From this the author passes to a duplication of the *a b b a* strophe, the new strophe, of eight verses, riming *a b a b b a b a*. Of the two remaining variations occurring in the poem, one runs *a b a b c c b* in seven syllables, and the other shows the same rime disposition in eight syllables.

Of the rimes, the most important peculiarities are the following : Lat. AN + cons. and EN + cons. are kept distinct, as strikingly appears, e. g., in a strophe riming *a b a b b a b a*

(vv. 654-661): *reprent, grant, serpent, grant, engrant, depent, agrant, appent*; while Lat. MANE gives *mein* riming with *serein*, SERENUS (v. 1328-29). French *au* has the value of *a*: *hate* (= haute): *translate* (vv. 1211-12), with which rimes also the resultant of Lat. *ę* checked = (NITIDA, *nette*) *nate*.—*Ciel* (CAELU), spelt *cier*, rimes with *renuncier* (vv. 1144-46). As *clef* (CLAVE) is also spelt with final *r* (*cler*), though the word could hardly have been so pronounced, it is probable that the rime *cier*:*renuncier* was pronounced *cié*:*renuncié*. (But cf. the rime a few lines above, *cler ha*:*overra*.)

For the general constitution of the text, in the absence of a second manuscript, the chief reliance must be on the Latin and French prose translations of the *Apocalypse*, but in not a few passages even this resource fails, and the text has had to be left in a condition far from satisfactory. It remains to say a word as to the general value of this version. As being a mere rimed paraphrase, much abridged, of a familiar text, its original literary value is of course of the slightest; all that can be said is that it is a painstaking composition of respectable mediocrity, and of value to us, beyond the incidental interest of its linguistic phenomena, chiefly as showing the care bestowed in attempting to lend an extraneous charm to a work on which the commentators in all ages have encountered the greatest difficulty in shedding light. In any case, it is not necessary for us to say of this version, now for the first time brought to the attention of scholars, what Paul Meyer says of the version published by him in *Romania*, that "it would certainly be difficult to find in all Anglo-Norman literature, so rich in *méchants écrits*, a poem to rival the *Apocalypse* for its incorrectness of language and versification." However this may be, we are after all not called upon to substitute our appreciation of the work for that of its author's contemporaries. Productions which we may consider mediocre deserve nevertheless the attention of the historian of literature, when they have been known to command, in their own day and generation, wide respect and favor.

H. A. TODD.

CI COMMENCE L' APOCALIPSE.

Jehans, cil sains evangelitres,
 Devant que il fait ses apitres
 Ne son glorieus evangile,
 Par l'empereour ancien
 5 Que l'on nummoit Domicien
 Fut exiliez en Pathmes l'ile.

Lay por sa relevatium,

 Que nous disons Apocalipse,
 10 Ou de l'eglise et de son cours
 Est mostré que pour ses labours
 Ne s'aferra ja nule eglise.

A moy, dit il, par .i. dimainge,
 Furent moustrees par .i. ainge
 15 .vii. busines en plusors guises;
 Une voiz öy que disoit
 Que tot ce que me divisoit
 L'escrivisse a(s) .vij. eglises.

En Aise les öy eslire:
 20 C'est Ephese et Thiatire,
 Et après Sardis et Pergame;
 A quint leu fut Smirne nuncie,
 A sixeme Philadelphie,
 Et Laodice a septame.

25 Regarder pris ainqui entour,
 Se vis .vij. chandelabres d'our,
 Et le fil d'ome en mileu;
 Son vestement a(s) piez tachoit,
 Et corroie d'our le cignoit;
 30 Ses euz comme flamme de feu.

Le chief avoit blanc com la noy
 Et les cheveux de cele loy,
 La face com solet luisant.
 La voiz s'avoit come grant aive,

2 quil.
 31 com] o.

11 mostré] n're.
 32 loy] lis.

18 a(s)] :a

20 chiatire.

35 De sa bouche partoit un glaive,
Et ses piez comme archat cuisant,

Si com la fornaise suet'estre.
Aprés il avoit en sa destre
.vij. estoiles luisant a conte ;
40 Quant ceste mervoille vehi,
A ses piez si com mort chehi,
Se me dit, Point ne t'epaonte.

Je suis devant touz le premier,
Et suis après touz le derrier ;
45 Mort fui, mais je vis maintenant,
Je porte les cle[r]s de la mort,
Et d'enfer, cele prisum fort ;
Devant moy n'a porte tenant.

Escri donques l'avisium
50 Dont tout yert l'executium,
Dont je le mistere t'ansaigne :
Sept estoiles sunt .vij. avecques,
Et a .vij. chandeliers avecques,
De .vij. eglises ont l'ensaigne.

55 Escri donc a l'ainge d'Ephese,
L'aveque de tel dyocese,
Et li escri en tele guise :
Ce dit cil qui ha .vij. estoiles,
Et qui va entre .vij. chandoiles,
60 (Ou chandeliers, se bien avise) :

Je say bien tun labour et t'ouvre
Cui grant pacience exprouve
Quar pour mon num hes moult soffert ;
Faux apostres as reprouvé,
65 Et mençongiers les as trouvé ;
Nicholaïtes as desert.

Mais j'ai contre toy tel complainte,
De ta charite qu'est estainte,
Qui en toy de premier ovra.
70 Fai donques tes premieres euvres,
Quar se charité ne recoevres,
Tes chandeliers tot se movra.

- Qui avra oreilles, si oie
 Le dit que l'esperit envoie
 75 As eglises dittes jadis.
 A mainjant je donrai dou fruit
 De l'arbre de vie qu'ont tuit,
 De part mon Dieu en paradis.
- Aprés escri a secont ainge
 80 L'avesque de Smirne estrainge :
 Ce dit icil qui tout devance
 Et s'est derrier, et qui fu mort,
 Et qui de vie tient le port,
 Que de toy hay tel cognoissance :
- 85 Des faux juïx n'es point amés
 Ains es laidengiés et blamés,
 Et suffres persecution ;
 L'enemi vous vuet attenter
 Et vous devra prendre et tempter
 90 Et metre a exe[*cu*]tium.

- Mes ne doutés point ses aveaux,
 Soiés tanqu'a la mort leaux
 Et je te donrai la corone.
 As eglises dit l'esperit,
 95 De secunde mort ne perit
 Cil qui a vaintre s'abandonne.

- Aprés a l'ainge de Pargame
 Par escrit chante en tel game :
 Cil dit qu'a l'espee trenchant,
 100 Je sai en quel lue tu abites,
 Ma foy tiens contre les herites
 Ou Sathenas se va couchant.

- Lai por moy est mort Antipas
 Mas de mon voloir n'est il pas,
 105 Que sueffres la doctrine expandre
 De Nichole et Balaam,
 Qu'a l'entree de Chanaam
 As fi(z) d'Israel fit escandre.

74 li. 80 e'rainge. 82 si est. 88 vous] daux. 89 devra] devev.
 104 voloir] valoin.

- De** ce te repen et retrai
 110 **Ou** contre lour me combatrai
 Parmi le glaive de ma bouche;
 Oie donques qui ha oreille
 Que l'esperit dit a consoille
 As eglises tant con lour touche.
 115 **Qui** vaintra, il avra la manne
 Qui recondue fut en la canne
 Et le charboucle qui blainchoie;
 Le charboucle mon num aprent,
 Cui nul ne set si ne le prent
 120 **Combien** que l'escripture voie.

- Et** a l'ainge de Thiatire,
 A cel avesques dois escrire:
 Ainsi dit le fil Deu a toy,
 Qui hes les heuz con le fue chat
 125 **Et** les piez semblant a l'achat,
 Bien sai tes evres et ta foy,

- Ta** charité, ta pacience,
 Qui toutes tes evres avance;
 Mas j'a(i) contre toy une chose
 130 **Dont** saches, qui ne vuet j'abés,
 Que cele femme Jesabés,
 Toy suffrant, rien enseignier ose.

- Mes** sers trahit par ses paroles,
 Et fait honorer les ydoles,
 135 **Et** point repentir ne se vuet,
 Mais je l'envoierai a lit
 Et les enfans de son delit,
 Soffrir tant comme un [souffrir].

- Ainsi** sarunt trestuit certains
 140 **Que** je cerche et cuer et rains
 Et chacun donne selonc les faiz.
 A vos de Thiatire di,
 Face doctrine vos dedi
 Et nule autre charge n'avrés.

- 145 **Ce** que de bien avez, tenez,
 Et tout (a) vaincre voz penez,

115 vaintre. 137 enfant de son de son. 139 serunt. 141 chacun] cum
 cuer. 144 n'avrés] naires.

Et je vos donrai signorie
 Sus toute genz ainsi con j'ai.
 Et l'estoile dou mein dourai :
 150 Oye cil qui avra l'oïe.

Et a cel ainge de Sardis
 D'escire ne soiés tardis.
 Ce dit qui ha .vij. esperiz
 Et les .vij. estoiles a nombre :
 155 Tu n'as de vie mas que l'umbre
 Et le num, et de mort periz.

Voille donques et conferme
 Ce que par la mort prent terme,
 Et saches dont t'es cheüz ;
 160 Et saches se tu ne veilles
 A toi venra(i) quant sommeilles
 Con lerres qui n'est vehuz.

Et cil qui sardes demeurent
 Qui leur vestement honorent
 165 Toz blans ou moy vuis ge
 Qui vaincra se covrera
 S'abbes ne par moy sera
 Mais effaciés de mon livre.

Et lui par devant mon pere
 170 Et ses ainges comm'un frere
 Confesserai clerement.
 Qui ha oreilles escoute
 Que dit a l'eglise toute
 L'esperit communement.

L'ainge de Phylardephie
 Ainsi summer t'estudie.
 Ce dit li sains, le verrais,
 Qui de David la cle[r] ha
 Quant il clout nus n'overra,
 180 Quant il ovre nus ne clot mais.

Tes oevres sunt en apert
 Et je sai un uis ouvert
 Ou ne poois a tenir,

150 Oyrue loy. 157-220 *The verse changes from eight syllables to seven syllables.*

185 Quar ces qui Jiis se dient,
Mentent et de toy mesdient,
Feraï a tes piés venir.

190 Si savrunt combien je t'aime
Et te garde de mesaime ;
Nuz n'ait donques ta corone.
190 Qui vaincra [ser] iert en exemple
Que j'establirai ou temple
De Dieu come une colone.

195 Et le nom mon pere escript
Sus li iert et de sum Crit
Et Jherusalem novele.
Qui d'oreilles vuet joïr,
Del esperit doit oïr
Ce c'as eglises revele.

200 A l'ainge de Laodice,
Cel avesque escri ce :
Dit li tesmoinz qui dit voir,
Je te sai ne froit ne chaut,
Ciege cui de rien ne chaut.
Miaz fust, chaut ou froit avoir.

205 Quar chaust ne froit ne te coche,
Toy jetrai je de ma bouche ;
Et quar tu dis que t'es riches,
Je dis qu'es chetif et pevres
Bornes, nuz de bonnes euvres
210 Et miserables et chiches.

Achate or esprouvé
Et en albes soiz trouvé,
Si que toy nu nul ne voie ;
De collire oint ta vehue.
215 Toz ces cui j'aime j'argue.
.

J'esté et fiers a la porte
Qui m'overra cel dum porte

190 exemple] excripse. 192 colone] colapne. 198 c'as] car.
202 froit. 204 fust chaut] fut chaust. 206 verrai] jetrai je.
214 cossire. 215 Tot. 216 lacuna. 218 mourra.

- Dont nos cenerons ensemble.
 220 Qui vaincra yert en mon siege
 Et se en mon pere liege.
 L'eglise oye, se li semble.

LA SECUNDE VISIUM.

- La secunde visium compe
 225 Et met a son encomancier
 Que saint Jans vit .i. uis oncier
 Et la voiz oït d'une trumpe.

- Et cele voiz se dit a moy
 Il te convient çai sus venir,
 230 Car . . . ut doit avenir
 Moustrerai leament a toy.

- Tantost l'esperit m'enlumine
 Se vis .i. grant siege laissus,
 Et cil qui seioit pardessus
 235 Resembloit jasje ou sardine.

- L'arc dou ciel fut le siege entour,
 Comme esmerade verdeoit
 Et sieges .xxiiij. avoit
 Et sus villars coronez d'our,
 240 Et abbés estient en tel nombre.
 Foudre en partoît et tonoirre,
 Et la mer con cristal et voirre
 Et .vij. lampes chaçoient l'umbre.

- S'autour le siege et ou meitent
 245 .iiij. bestes poiz percevant,
 Pleines d'eus derrier (et) devant
 Et six anses chascune extent.

- La premiere comme lius,
 La seconde comme .i. veaus,
 250 L'autre con l'aille cil oisiaus,
 Et la tierce comme un hons.

219 cenerons] semerons—côpe.	230 lacuna.	234 seroit.
235 jasje] laspe.	237 verseoit] u'de.	238 sieget.
240 Et] Eti. en] et.	246 d'eus] duis.	248 lius] liuas.
251 un] hu.		

- Cil chantoient et jour et nuit,
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, qui es
 Et qui fus et seras adés.
 255 Et lors li .xxiiii. tuit,
- Chascuns sa corone posee,
 Donnoient gloire nuit et jour
 A seant ou troine majour,
 Pour toute chose qu'a creee.
- 260 Après a dextre dou seant
 Ou troine .i. tel livre vis,
 Escript enz et fuer, ce m'est vis,
 Et si clouz que d'ouvrir neant.
- Lors un ainge fort et delivre
 265 En haut praichant prist a enquerre
 S'en ciel n'en terre ne soz terre
 Fut nus dignes d'ouvrir le livre.
- A plorer mon duel se voida
 Et .i. veillard de(s) diz desure
 270 Me dit, garde que tu ne plure,
 Quar li lions nez de Juda,
- L'aingnel qu'a .vij. auz d'esperit
 Et .vij. cornes, il est bien dignes
 D'ouvrir le livre de .vij. signes,
 275 Qu'estoit clouz ou temps preterit.
- Quant l'ot ouvert, li .xxiiij.
 Chehurent atout lour citholes
 En li dorant et lour fioles
 Devant l'aingnel et li .iiij. atre.
- 280 Et de lour venoit tes cantiques :
 Sire, digne d'ouvrir le livre
 Par tum sanc summes nous delivres
 Et roys nous as faiz attentiques.
- Et a nombre de mil milliers
 285 Entour le troine oy d'ainges
 Qui disient gloire et loenges
 A l'angnel occi et en ciers.

253 Sains sains sains. 266 sot t're. 271 li] si.
 277 cutholes. 286 disient] devient. 287 occi] .occi.

274 Ouvrir.

Ne en terre n'ot creature
 Qui ne loat, et li veillard
 290 Et li .iiij. atre d'atrepart
 De ce confermer avient cure.

Aprés a dit de lius de quatre
 Je regardai que li aigneaux
 Ouvrit l'un de ces .vij. seax ;
 295 Lors .i. cheval blanc a la latre

Ot de sus li une personne
 Qui avoit .i. arc en sa mein
 Qui pour vaincre issit a plein,
 Donnee a lui une coronne.

300 Quant le secont seal ouvrit,
 Lors me dit la secunde beste :
 Vien, voy ce que te manifeste
 Et .i. cheval se decouvrit,

et qui sus li venoit

305 Pooit la pais oster de terre
 Et touz abandonner a guerre ;
 Et .i. glaive a ce tenoit.

Quant dou tier seal vis l'evrance
 La tierce beste dit, vien voir ;
 Se vis desus .i. cheval noir
 310 Un qui tenoit une balance.

Lors une voiz a .i. denier
 Mises .ij. livres de froment
 Et .iiij. d'orge li dit comment
 Ne vin ne uile dut blecier.

315 Et quant dou quart vis l'ouverture
 La quarte beste dit, vien çai ;
 Lors .i. cheval palle guerdai,
 Enfer après et Mort desure.

A lui fut donné pooir plain
 320 Sus les quatre pars de la terre,

288 Ne] Ce.
 314 vin] un.

294 l'un] luiz.
 320 quatre] quarte.

297 arc] air.

304 lacuna.

Tout tuer a glaive de guerre,
A mort a bestes et a fain.

Quant le quint seal fut ouvert
Je vis sos un ater les ames
325 De mors pour Dieu a glaives d'armes,
Qui le tesmoignent en apert.

Cil a haute voiz s'escrivoient :
Pour quoy, sire sains et verais,
Ne vainges no sanc des mauvais,
330 De ces qui en terre maistroient ?

Lors blans hebis lour vis offrir
Et les fit l'en poser en l'umbre,
Jusqu'a complissement du nombre
De ces qui devient mort souffrir.

335 A l'ouvrir du seal sexame
Terre se mut et le solet
Fu ners qui aire estre solet,
Et la lune de sanc ot l'aime.

Les estelles dou ciel cheïrent
340 Si com les figues dou figuier,
Et le ciel dut son lieu changier
Et les yles lour lieu guerpirent.

Tout puissant et qui orgueil moine,
Roys et princes, et frans et sers,
345 S'an vont as lames des desers
Pour fuïr le seant ou troïne.

Et prirent a grant paour dire :
Montaignes, de vos nos covrés ;
Cavernes, a nos vos ovrés
350 Pour eschiver l'aïgnel et sire.

Après .iiij. ainges regardai
Sus .iiij. angles dou monde estant,
Et les .iiij. venz arestant
Qui ne soufflassent çai ne lai.

355 Adonc vis .i. ainge tot atre
Montant devant solet levant

Portant le signe Dieu vivant,
Qui escria haut a ces quatre :

360 Gardés qu'a terre ne nuisiez
N'a mer, n'a arbres, n'a nul liu,
Jusqu'a tant que li serjant Diu
Soient par nos a frons seigniez.

365 Summe de seigniez hai oÿe
.C. (et) .xl. et .iiij. mile
Pa(r) .xii. dozene astile
D'Israel et de sa lignie.

370 Aprés une grant turbe vis
De gens et de langues sans conte
Cui pueples le nombre seurmonte ;
Vers le troine tourne le vis

Devant l'aïgnel vestiz d'estoles
Blanches, et avient en lour mains
Chascuns d'aux de palmes les rains,
Et crioient haut tes paroles :

375 La salut soit a Dieu le nostre
Qui siet ou troine, et (a) l'aïgnel,
Et tuit li aïnges en rundel
Dou troine faucoient lour moustre.

380 Et d'avirum les .xxiiij.
Et les .iiij. bestes sus dites
Disoient a Dieu lour debites,
Se les savoy en françois metre.

385 Amen, ditrent, clinant lour faces,
Beneïcon soit et honour
Et clarté a nostre seignour
Et sagece et voiz de graces.

390 Lors l'un des villars dit a moy :
Et qui sunt cil de blanc vestu
Et dont il vient, le ses tu ?
Sire, ne sai ; ce tient a toy.

Cil dist que cil vestu de blanc
 Pour l'aingel tribulatum
 Orent en emulatum
 Lour habiz blanchiz en son sanc.

395 Se li serviront nuit et jour
 Ne mais n'avrunt ne froit ne chaut
 Ne soy ne fein ne nul defaut,
 Ne lermes, signe de doulour.

A septime seal après
 400 Fut faite ou ciel tel silance,
 Sanz riens muer de la santance,
 Demie hore ou einqui pres.

Lors vis .vij. ainges devant Dieu
 A ques .vij. trumpes sunt livrees,
 405 Par chascons d'aux destribuees,
 Et un autre ainge vis en ce lieu,

Qui .i. thurible d'or tenoit
 Dou fue de l'ater alumé
 Et de mout d'ancens anfumé,
 410 Qui des preces des sains venoit.

Lors prit de ce fue dou thurible
 Et le va envoyer en terre,
 Et firent foudre et tonnerre
 Et mouvement de terre horrible.

415 Et li .vij. ainges a lour trompes
 Se prirent a apareillier
 Et de lour trumpes esveillier
 Pour les mas venant dont n'est compes.

Quant l'ainge premier ot ulé
 420 Et fue et sanc et noy et combele.
 En terre et albres fit mele
 Et le tier de tout fut brulé.

Et quant l'ainge secont chanta
 Un mont ardant en la mer chut

391 Cil] Se. 407 thuribie, 408 acer. 413 fondre.
 418 n'est compes] net 9pes. 420 end of line has been tampered with in ms.
 423 chanta] cheut. 424 mont] moult.

425 Qui fait sanc a cier dechut,
 Quar nes et poissuns crevanta.

Li tiers ainges trumpa si fort
 Que une estoile chut a fontaines
 Amere comme uns alaines,

430 Et le tier de genz choût mort.

Et quant prist a trumper le quart
 Le tier du solet fut passi,
 Lune et estoiles assi,
 Et jour et nuit la tierce part.

435 Lors cria une aille volant
 Pour les .iiij. ainges qui demeurent
 A ces qui en terre labourent :
 Las, que ferez, chetif dolant ?

Le quint ainge fist sa crie,
 440 Lors vient une estoile dou cier
 Le poiz d'abime debochier
 Dont il issit si grant fume,

Qu'a solet et a l'air fist ombre
 Et de la fume dou poiz
 445 Comme scorpions cele foiz
 Issirent satereax sanz nombre.

Cil reçurent comandement
 Qu'a nule chose verdeant
 N'as arbres nussissent neant
 450 Mas a ces home(s) solement

Ou le signe Dieu a front n'iert.
 Mas ças tormenteront .v. moys
 Et li torment si mal corpois
 Iert com le scoriun fiert

455 Qui tout jours fiert en blandissant.
 Lor li homes la mort ne verrunt

 Quar la mort sera fuer issant.

Et semblerunt li satereax
 Les hommes quant a leur figure,

444 comme. 454 fiert] fiant.

- 460 Et femmes quant a cheveleure
Et chevax a tornoy igneax ;
- Si con or les doit coronner
Et denz avrunt comme liuns
Et l'abert avrunt con li hons
- 465 Et lour voiz con chars suet sonner.
- Sus lour estoit le Roy d'abime
Qui en hebré l'a Abaddon ;
En grec est dit Appolium,
Et en latin, qui excermine.
- 470 Quant le sexeme (ainge) ot soné
La secunde doulour fut prate,
Quar dou fluive c'on dit Efrate
Quatre ainges sunt abandonné,
- Pour le tier de gens a mort matre ;
- 475 Et fut li out .xx. foiz mil foiz
Dizem millier comme une voiz
Le nombre me dit, a la latre.
- Et vis chevax en visium,
Et qui sus estoient d'abers
- 480 De sofre ardent furent couvers ;
Li chevax dou chief de liun
- Avoient la samblance propre
De cui roches .iij. plaies firent
Qui le tier des hommes mort mitrent,
- 485 C'est feu et fumeé et souffre.
- Car lour pooir est en lour bouche
Et en la coe de ces bestes
Samblant a serpent qui ont testes,
Et morir covient qui les touche.
- 490 Assi des homes qui n'ont fait
Penitence de lour ydoles
Et lour pechiés et lour mours foles
Et enchantement et forfait.
- Aprés vis .i. ainge puissant
- 495 Venant dou ciel sus une nue

Ou l'arc dou ciel ot sa tendue,
A face dou solet luisant

Ses piés com columpne qui art ;
Et mist sus la mer son pié dextre,
500 Et sus la terre le senestre
Et en sa mein .i. livre overt.

Comme .i. liuns prist a crier
Et .vij. tonneirres [et] lour voiz dire
Lequelx je sui vehez escrire,
505 Mas seignier contre l'oblier.

Lors prist par Dieu vivant jurer
Qui fit le ciel, la mer, la terre,
Et quanqu 'en il puet voir ne querre,
Que le temps ne puet plus durer.

510 Mas a cri de l'ainge septime
Le mistere yert consummé
Dont Deux par ses sers l'a summé
Par lour evangile mëime.

La voiz dou ciel me dit après,
515 Va a l'ainge qui tient le livre
Et li di que je te delivre ;
S'i alai, et quant li fui prez,

Le livre me fit amaichier,
Si fut douz con miez en ma boche
520 Et en ventre amer con fuche ;
Et dit, en cour te faut prechier.

Une canne me fut donnee
Et dit, va mesurer le temple
Et l'ater et quanqu'il contemple,
525 Mas dou temple met fuer l'entree,

Sanz mesurer, quar li otrois
Est faiz as genz, et la cité
Sainte metrunt a grant vi(1)té
En fatrant .xl. et .ij. mois.

530 **E**t donrai a mes .ij. tesmoins,
 Vestuz de sas par tout lour cours,
 Prophter mil et .cc. jours
 Et .xl. et pres et loinz.

Ce sunt candelabres luisant
 535 Devant Deu et dues olives
 En terre estant comme vives;
 Et se nus vuet estre nuisant,

Ou que nus contraire lour mueve,
 A lour fue vaincre les porrunt;
 540 Et tant com prophter vorunt,
 Le ciel clorrunt si qu'il ne pleuve.

E l'eve en sanc porrunt chaingier
 Et de plaies faire moleste;
 Mas d'abime venra la beste
 545 Qui se battra de lour vengier.

Et serunt lour cors en la place
 De la cité c'um dit Soudome
 Ou Dieu mort souffrit quant a l'omme,
 Et ce verrunt tuit en lour face.

550 **J**oie ferunt lour anemi;
 Quar de peines les ont lassez;
 Mas il revivrunt, trespassez
 .iii. jours san plus, et un demi.

Et puis dou ciel sunt apelé
 555 Dont l'enemi ne furent aise
 Ne la cité point ne s'apaise
 Le cui dune fut chantelé.

Des hommes sunt mort .vij. milliers,
 Et qui de ce orent memoire
 560 Rendirent a Dieu lous et gloire;
 .ij. resunt passés, vient li tiers.

Aprés prit le septimes ainges
 A trumper et voiz sunt oyes

530 dourai] derrain.

540 prophter] apht'.

552 reuiurnt.

532 .mil. et .ij. cc.

542 l'eve] leal.

555 aisie.

537 Et] Ci ci.

545 battra] parorra.

Ou ciel et cleres melodies
565 A Dieu et son fil, et loanges.

Et li .xxiiij. veillart
 Cheïrent en lour prostratium
 En facant protestatium
 De son regné en toute part.

570 **E**t portant que il reguerdonne
 Selonc iocites manifestes
 A mavais et a ces prophetes
 A chacon ce que reson donne.

Le temple de Dieu fut overt
575 Après ce lai ou firmament
 Et vehue a descobert
 En li l'arche dou testament.
 Lors sonarent si hautement
 Et voiz et foudres en apert,
580 Et la terre grant mouvement
 Et grale grande ha souffert.

Et apparut grant signe ou cier
 D'une si tres reverent dame
 Cui mon cuer devoit essaucier
585 Se point avoit d'ardement m'ame.
 Quar le solet covroit la fame
 Et sus la lune s'ot trecier
 Et a chief l'onnoir de reame,
 .xii. estoiles seulent drecier.

590 **P**our ce saint Jehans l'a vanté
 Que en clarté est souveraine
 Car en cor li pres ha planté
 Estoiles, solet, lune plaine,
 Ainsi est de clarté fontaine
595 Pour Jhesu qui donne santé;
 Mas pour ses membres est en paine
 Tant que dou tot hait enfanté.

Lors fut vehuz .i. autre signe
 Qui ou ciel fut manifesté,
600 D'un dragum ros de regart digne

Qu'en ses .vij. chiés ot asseté
 .vij. dyademes de honesté,
 Et .x. cornes qu'on li assigne
 Qu'a le tier d'estoiles geté
 605 En terre quant a ciel resigne.

Envers la feme se vot traire
 Qui estoit preste de gesir,
 Pour son enfant a denz detraire
 S'il eüst pooir ne lesir,
 610 Car a ce estroit son desir.
 Lors .i. enfant malle va faire ;
 Et quant son reigne dut tresir
 A croire Dieu ot son repaire.

La fame recehu son fruit
 615 A troine de Dieu cui il plait ;
 Tantost vers le desert s'en fuit
 Ou Dex .mil. ij. jours la pait
 Et .xl. par conte fait ;
 Et lai la save et conduit
 620 Contre la fraude et l'aguait
 Dou dragum que rien ne li nuit.

Et fut ou ciel .i. grant tornoy,
 Michiel et les siens combatant
 Ou li dragum a grant desroy,
 625 Tout asront s'ala embatant
 Et sui ainges cant et atant
 Qui estient alliez a soy ;
 Mas Michiel son droit debatant
 Vaint le dragum de pute foy.

630 Lors en terre fut trabuchiés
 Cil Sathanas et cil Dyables
 Et il et tuit sui alliés,
 Quar en voir ne fut point estables.
 Et lour cas si sunt pardurables
 635 Dont le ciel est joians et liés
 Car a(s) freres estoit noisables
 Et par l'aingnel l'ont mis sus piez.

Quant a terre se vit demis
 Et sus ou ciel nen ot mais riens,
 640 Correciez fut li henemis

Pour soy, et assi por les siens,
 Car privés furent de tout liens.
 A vaingier ha sa nuise mis
 Car a li succeder deviens

645 Et pou ha temps se n'est remis.

La femme parsuegre se prent
 Qui avoit l'enfant l'enemi ;
 Ele la fue entreprent
 A .ij. aules et li ai mi

650 Ou .i. temps et deulz et demi
 La pait cil qui füir la prent ;
 Ele li chante par remi
 Et cil lai son mire repret.

De lui nuire ne se repret,
 Ainz li gete une eaul grant
 Pour li noyer cil viez serpent,
 Car en sa ire est flagrant,
 Mas la terre qui est engrant
 De li aidier l'eaul depent ;

660 Lors a ses enfans son agrant
 De nuire l'enemi appent.

Aprés vis que une tel beste
 De la mer montoit merveilleuse,
 En sept multiplioit sa teste,
 665 De dyademes .x. orgoullouse
 Qui par blasfemes parler ose,
 Et par .x. cornes fait sa feste
 Dont l'entendement dit la glose
 Et le fait tot se manifeste.

670 Son cors samblant a par(d) estoit,
 Et les piés avoit com li hours,
 La boche de liunz portoit
 Et a dragum avoit recours.

S'a vertu de faire ses cours
 675 Et mort l'un des chiés mentoit,
 Car lui revivre a .iiij. jours
 As euz des vehans se vantoit.

En merveillant prit honorer
 La vertu de l'un et de l'atre

657 flagrant] flu grant. 679 lautre.

680 Toute la terre et adorer
 Disant de la beste et (de) l'atre
 Qui se porra a li combatre
 Et de lour pooir restorer ;
 Lors se prit a blafemer matre
 685 Et le lous Dieu decolorer.

Quarante deulx moys doit durer
 Cil grant pooir et ce miracle ;
 Contre les sains va conjurer,
 Contre Dieu et son tabernacle
 690 N'espernera feme ne macle ;
 Mas qui porra bien endurer
 De ses mas verra le piacle ;
 Qui ce entent n'en doit curer.

Aprés vis de terre monter
 695 Une beste de tel puissance,
 .ij. cornes li sent l'en conter
 Qui de l'aiguel avient samblance,
 Et a ceci mit sa beauté
 Que cele autre put sormonter ;
 700 Et de touz haut la biauté
 Ou qui peüst touz honter.

A ceci signes a outraige[s]
 Fera et fue dou ciel descendre.
 Et de lui le signe et l'ymaige
 705 Fera a meins et a front prendre,
 Ou ne porrunt changier ne vendre
 Soit riches petiz ou d'aaigne ;
 Le nombre de beste entendre
 Puet cil qui de conter est saige.

710 Per letres de nombre descrit
 Est le nun de l'omme, et conclux
 De la beste de l'Antecrist,
 .D. C. lx. vj. san plus,
 Que l'en dit en latin dilux,
 715 Par theitan en grec escript,
 Et ainsi covert et reclus
 En li nombres de sus prescrit.

681 lautre.

707 Soit] Sevit.

711 et] 'et.

- Aprés je vis de sus le mont
 De lyon l'aïgnel en estant
 720 Et des esluz de tout le mont
 Avecques lui tant et atant
 Et est quant as milliers getant,
 C. xliij. le mont,
 Le nun de son pere metant
 725 Et le sien aferant tout amont.

- Lors menestriers d'autres escoles
 Oÿs devers le ciel venant,
 Qui servoient de lour citholes
 Devant l'aïgnel joie menant,
 730 Et chantoient par avenant
 Novel chant, ne sai les paroles,
 Qu'a atres n'estoit couvenant,
 Mas qu'a vestiz de blanches stoles.

- Ce sunt cil qui onques ne purent
 735 Par femes estre encliné,
 Car verges sunt qui a Dieu furent
 Et a l'aïgnel déterminé,
 De verité enluminé,
 Si que mentir onques (ne) surent
 740 De toche et nez et affiné,
 Si qu'a throine Dieu se recovrent.

- Aprés ce lai vis un autre ainge
 Volant par mi le ciel en haut
 Qui avoit trait de sa mainge
 745 L'evangile qui point ne faut,
 Et crioit, donnés sanz defaut
 Reverance Dieu et loaingé
 Qui a fait quanque a monde vaut
 Et pour jugier vint son achainge.

- Une autre ainge cria après,
 Or est Babiloine chetie
 Dont toute gent et loint et pres
 Fornication ont behue ;
 Et une autre fit deffendue
 755 Que nul n'ait le signe exprés
 Ne le merc la beste conute
 Dont mentium (faimés) horprés.

Lors ôys dou ciel une voiz
 Qui me commanda ce escrire :
 760 Li mort en Dieu si sunt benoiz
 Qui orent la foy notre sire ;
 L'esperit doiz or lour vuet dire,
 Que d'ouvrer mais se tienent coiz,
 Quar un chascuns après soy tire
 765 Et ses oeuvres et ses exploiz.

Plus sus une blanche nue vis
 Seant une tele personne,
 Dou fil l'omme alloit le vis,
 La fauz en mein, a chief coronne ;
 770 Et une autre ainge li sonne
 Dou temple et faint ce devis :
 Gete la fauz et si meissonne,
 Car li hore est, ce m'est avis.

Quant ot geté sa fauz aguë
 775 Pour coillir la seiche maissum
 Cil qui seoit de sus la nue,
 Car venue estoit la saisum,
 Une autre ainge par tel raisum
 Sus la vigne ha extendue
 780 La sue fauz a l'ochaisum
 D'un ainge qui a ce l'arguë.

D'un ater se partit cel ainge
 Qui fit ces raisins recoper
 Car mahure est la vandainge
 785 Et li temps estoit de soper.
 Ou lac dou vin (vis) galoper
 Chevaux jusqu'au frein et la frainge ;
 Mil et six cent, per et nunper,
 Estages dure cele fainge.

790 Après ce vis une mer
 Samblant a voirre et a feu,
 Et tout ces qui reclamer
 Cele beste comme Deu
 Refuserent comme saige,
 795 Et qui vainquirent s'ymage
 En estant sus le dit leu.

769 chiez. 773 met vis. 784 est] en—vaindage.

- Et lai atout lour citholes
 Chantient la chançon Moÿse,
 Et l'aïgnel par tes paroles :
- 800 Sire, tres grant a devise,
 Merveillouses sunt tes evres
 Ainsi com parfait decuevres ;
 Qui ne criendra ta joutise ?
- Adonc .vij. aïnges contemple^r
- 805 Dont chascuns avoit sa plaïe,
 Qui tuit issoient dou temple
 A' tel grief qui toz esmaïe.
 Le premier met sa fiôle
 Sus la terre que l'en fole,
- 810 Se crierent haïe, haïe.
- L'autre en mer espant la sue,
 Et sus le tier de fonteïnes
 Chascuns d'aus seaus en sanc mue
 Si que les eaux ne sunt seïnes ;
- 815 Li poissons sunt mort en mer,
 Boire les eaux est amer ;
 .ij. aïnges loent ces peïnes.
- Li quart aïnges a solet
 Sa fiôle respandit
- 820 Chat fut plus que ne solet
 Et sa chalour extandit
 Sus les hommes et sus femes ;
 Se crierent lour blasfemes,
 Que chacons les entendit.
- 825 Sus le siege de la beste
 Et ces qui l'ont celebré
 Li quint sa fiôle gete
 Et sunt tuit con tenebré,
 Leur langues prirent mengier
- 830 Des mas, et Dieu laidengier
 En grec, latin et hebré.
- L'autre sa fiôle espant
 Sus ce grant fluive Eufrotan
 Et l'eaul seche et depant

835 Pour faire la voie prate
 As Roys devers Orient.
 Lors de la bouche friant
 Et de la gorge manate

Dou dragum et de la beste
 840 Je vis departir tout hors,
 Et assi du faux prophete,
 Troiz esperiz lais et ors ;
 Et cil lai raines sambloient,
 Qui signes puissant façoient,
 845 En tes formes et tes cors.

Cil qu'ainsi se font sambler
 A juge dou tout puissant
 Ferunt les assambler
 Quant il venra cler luisant
 850 Bien avra eür qui voille,
 Qui sa robe n'en despoille,
 Que voir ne li soit nuisant.

Nus ne puet (a)parcivoir
 Car il vient con cil qui amble
 855 Et cil qui vuet decivoir,
 Qui ces dites formes samble,
 En .i. haut mont celebré,
 Hermagedon en hebré,
 Ces roys et lour gent assamble.

860 Puis la septime fiole
 Li derriers en l'air ha mis,
 Tele voiz dou temple vole,
 Fait est quanqu' estoit promis.
 Lors fut foudre et tonnerre
 865 Et grant mouvement de terre,
 Qu'a les estaiges demis.

La grant cité se depart,
 Faite en treis grans parties ;
 Et cités par toute[s] part
 870 Des gens furent abaissies ;
 Babilon vient en memoire
 Dou calice d'ire boire,
 Monz et illes sunt fuies.

850 avra eür] avres en. 863 treis] ces.

- Lors une grele pesant
 875 Sus les hommes prit descendre,
 Si grosse comme .i. besa(nt),
 Si c'on ne la pout attendre,
 Si prirent Dieu diffamer
 Et por la grele blamer,
 880 Car grant estoit pour tout fendre.

- Adont dit a moy .i. ainge
 Des .vij. dont fis mentium :
 Vien vehoir comment Dieu vain(ge)
 Par juste dampnatium
 885 Les faiz de la fame fole,
 Qui livre a touz en s'escole
 Vin de prostitutum.

- Puis en un desert me trait
 Et vis la feme seant
 890 Sus la beste qu'ai retrait
 Portant habit rogeant,
 La feme enviroonee
 D'or et de porpre ornee,
 Et margarites seant.

- 895 L'anap d'or ot en sa mein,
 D'une pocium amere
 De fornicatium plein [d'aboicium],
 A front le num de mistere,
 Por lire com en la table,
 900 Babilon l'abominable,
 De fornicatium mere.

- Adont me pris aperaitre
 Quant la feme oï vehu
 Que dou sanc des sains fut ivre,
 905 Et des martirs qu'ot vehu.
 Quant ce m'i vint merveillier,
 L'ainge me prit conseillier
 De li ce que n'ois sehu :

- La feme dont as merveille
 910 Qui sus meintes aigues siet,
 La beste qui n'a pareille
 Qu'en chiez et cornes desiet,

Ele fut bien pres, ja n'et,
De das meut et font anet,
915 Morra quant vivre cuidiet.

Sept chiés .vij. roys signifient,
L'un vit, l'un vient, cinc passés,
Qui a la feme s'affient ;
.X. cornes .x. roys après
920 Qui doivent entour venir
Et la beste convenir,
Por donner pooir assés.

Cil combatrunt a l'aiguel,
Mas l'aiguel avra victoire,
925 Et qui de foy ont l'anel
Par quoy en li vuelent croire.
Sus touz roys ha reaté
Et sus touz seigneurs até,
Car sus tous s'estent sa gloire.

930 Les aigues ou siet la feme
Si com est escript jadix,
Publes sunt qui l'ont a dame
Et les cornes toutes dix.

.
935 Une maingie brulee,
Et ainsi sera tout dix.

Quar Dieu lour ha mis ou cuer
Por movoir contre li guerre,
Sans esprouver a nul fuer,
940 Si que la beste conquerre
Sus lour puisse son reame,
Car dame est cele fame
Sus trestouz les roys de terre.

Quant a ce aloie entendant,
945 Un ainge vis de grant puissance,
Qui dou ciel estoit descendant
En itele magnifiance,
Que de sa gloire enluminee

914? 917 cinc] tuit. 919 après] taxet. 920 venit.
921 convetur. 927 Sus] Sut. 930 aigues] argues.

Fut la terre, lieu attendant,
 950 Et fit une tel escriee :

Choïte, choïte e(s)t Babiloine
 Et faite habitatium
 Qu'est d'esperit et d'oiseaux pleine
 Et in d'abominatium
 955 Car son vin ha roys abbechi
 Et les gens mis en son domaine,
 Qua de son avoir en rechi.

Une autre voiz cria dou cier :
 Me publes, de li vos fuez
 960 A li ne vos vuieliez lacier,
 Ne a ses jues plus ne jués ;
 Rendés li selonc ses malices
 Et li doubles pour vos vaingier,
 Selonc le fuer de ces delices.

965 Quar ele dit en son cuer gay,
 Veuve ne suis mais seis reÿne
 Et cause de plour ne verray,
 Mas sui juges qui tout encline.
 De ses plaies tot en .i. jour
 970 La condempnerai sans delay
 De fem, de feu, de mort, de plour.

Lors se plaindrunt et porrunt dire
 Li rois qui ont a lis pechié
 Quant sus li verrunt si grant ire
 975 Et fumee et tel mechié :
 Las ! las ! las ! comment en pou de hore
 Cele grant cité l'en detire,
 Qui soloit rire et or ploure.

Lors se pleindront li marcheant,
 980 Qui ne vendrunt mais lour richeces,
 Quant de li n'avrunt marcheant
 Ne or n'argent, ne ce ne ces,
 Ne pome n'avra de desir,
 Ne mais ne trouverunt neant,
 985 Cil qui l'ont amé a leisir.

- Loint se tenrunt de la cité
 Quant il verrunt son grant torment,
 Quant cele verrunt en vi(1)té
 Qui estoit haucie forment.
- 990 Enor porpre et marguerites
 Et qui la mer ont habité
 En porrai comme trites.
- Por tant, li ciers, menés grant feste,
 Et vos qui as ciers vos logiés,
 995 Tuit li saint et tuit li prophete,
 Quar de cele estes vaingiés.
 Lors .i. ainge mit en la mer
 Une pierre et dit : qui ceste
 Ainsi sera sans reclamer.
- 1000 Adont cesserunt ses citholes
 Et ses chansons et ses musiques
 Et se(s) trumpes et ses violes
 Et ses ouvriers et mechaniques
 Et muelles pour faire daintiers
- 1005 Et noces pour faire queroles,
 Quar ele ont mavais sentiers.
- Aprés j'ois dou ciel soner
 Melodies et plusors trompes
 Et alleluyes resonner,
- 1010 Et lous et gloires dont n'et compes,
 A Dieu qui la feme ha jugee
 Qui se soloit abandoner,
 Et le sanc de sains ha vaingié.
- Et (les) .xxiiij. veillart
- 1015 Assi les bestes toutes quatre,
 Au throine getent lour regart,
 Et a terre se vont tuit matre,
 En disant : amen, alleluye.
 Et une voiz dit d'autre part :
- 1020 De loer Dieu ne vos ennuie.
- Et une autre trumpe cria :
 Or regnera Dieu tout puissant
 Si en dirons alleluya,

Et soiens tuit obeissant ;
 1025 Les noces l'aïgnel sunt venues,
 Et l'espouse son luc y ha
 A ses robes vaires vestues.

Et li est donné par congier
 Que se veste de boquerant
 1030 Si blanc qui n'i ait que purgier
 Qui soit poli en li ferant,
 Ou li justificatiuns
 De sains puet l'en a voir jugier,
 Blanchiz as persecutiuns.

1035 Adont il me fut revelé
 Que tuit cil bien ahuré sunt
 Qui a(s) noces sunt apelé
 De l'aïgnel dont les signes ont,
 Lors l'aïnge voil si adorer,
 1040 Mais de ce fait fui rapelé,
 Et me veha lui honorer.

Garde, dit il, que ce ne faces,
 Quar sers de Dieu suis comme tu ;
 A toy suis samblant et a ces
 1045 Qui dou num Jhesu sunt vestu ;
 Adore Dieu cui sunt tesmoint
 Prophetes a diverses faces,
 Et li esperit qui les oint.

Aprés ce vis le ciel overt,
 1050 Et .i. cheval blanc gardai lay ;
 Et celui cui le cheval sert
 Est nummés Feal et Veray.
 En justice juge tout jours ;
 A euz ardant con feu qui pert,
 1055 A chief dyademes plusors.

Cil qu'estoit sus le cheval blanc
 As euz com flamme de cherbum,
 A robe arosee de sanc ;
 Il estoit apelez Verbum.
 1060 L'ost dou ciel tot blanc le segoit,
 De sa bouche issoit le branc
 Qui sa joustice allegoit.

1024 osmissant. 1039 voil] vois. 1054 feu] fui. 1058 arosee] ase.
 1060 Lot. 1061 brane] biauc.

- Par** sus toute gent ha son vuil,
 Car, asprement gouverner vuet,
 1065 Ce cil qui hafole a truil
 Declame Dieu qui tout puet.
 Escript est en son vestement
 Et en sa cuisse contre orguil :
 Roys des Roys, et Sire aximent.
- 1070 **Aprés** ce regardai j. ainge,
 Et cil lay estoit ou solet,
 Qui escria a grant evainge
 A tout oysel qu'en l'air volet :
 En la cene vos amassez
- 1075 De l'aiguel ou un chescons mainge
 Les chars de ces qui hont assez.
- Les** chars de Roys et fors et fiers,
 Et qui des autres sunt pechours,
 Et chevaux et lour chevaliers,
 1080 Et les petiz et les greignours,
 Et les sers et ces qui sunt franc,
 De ces sera votre mengiers
 A la cene de l'aiguel blanc.
- Lors** vis la beste et son oht
 1085 Contre celi prest a tornoy
 Qui le cheval blanc a soir ot,
 Et contre les siens avet foy ;
 Mas en l'estanc cheüt la beste
 De fue et sopra qui put tout.
- 1090 Prest a siens et a faux prophete.
- Li** autre sunt mis a neant
 A glaive qui sat de la bouche
 Desus le blanc cheval seant
 Qui occit quanqu'il fiert et touche ;
 095 Et lors li oisiaux de rogier
 Lors chers ne sunt point recreant,
 Qui a cies se seulent logier.
- Aprés** vis une ainge venant
 Dou ciel atout la cler d'abime
 1100 Une grant cheïne tenant

Pour le dragum qui envenime,
 Le serpent viez et le dyable,
 Lier par mil ans tenant,
 De ce lieu fort et estable.

- 1105 Et en abime l'a enclous
 Et sus [li] saalé et seignié,
 Qu'il ne rachachoit mais le clous
 De gens qu'il avoit enforgié,
 Tant que mil ans soient passé;
 1110 Et puis sera un pou declous,
 Un brief temps autre part cassé.

- Puis vis les sieges disposer
 Por soir a grant jugement,
 Et armes lour grief exposer
 1115 De ces qui outrajousement
 Les ont ocit por Jhesucrit,
 Et qui ont osé opposer
 A l'yimage de l'Antecrit.

- Avec Jhesucrit regnerunt
 1120 Mil ans, ce temps determiné;
 L'autre mort ne releverunt
 Jusque mil ans soient finé;
 C'est resurrectium premiere
 Par cui bien haheuré serunt,
 1125 Et quites de la mort derriere.

- Il regnerunt et serunt pretes
 A Dieu et Crist, cui sunt rendu,
 Mil ans, et ce temps n'et moletes
 S'il est sagement entendu.
 1130 Lors Sathanas iert deliez
 Pour decivoir gent de grant getes,
 Gog et Magog ses alliez.

- De lour n'et nombres que d'areine
 Et la terre ont occupé
 1135 Des sains, la cité souveraine,
 Et chatiaux ont preoccupé;
 Dou feu dou ciel sunt devorés;

1101 envenime] enver ime. 1103 Lies. 1104 fert. 1110 declo's.
 1132 Magos. 1133 que inserted by later hand. 1136 proccupe.

Sathan et li siens en la paine
De l'estanc dit sunt demorés.

- 1140 Après vis un throine massis,
Tout blanc et de grant quantité,
Et qui sus li estoit assis
Estoit de tel auctorité
Qu'a son regart et terre et cier
1145 Fuient com de paour passis,
Et vont a lour leus renuncier.

- Lors (vis) grans et petis revivre
Qu'estoient a throine summés,
Livres sont ouvert et li livre
1150 Qu'est Livre de Vie nummés
Selonc le quel sunt tuit jugiés,
Et lour evre si les delivre
Par laquel sunt tuit allegiés.

- La mer ha ses mors fuer geté
1155 Et l'enfer et la mort les siens,
Et jugement fut porgeté.
Lors selonc les mas et les biens
La mort et enfer vont a feu ;
Et qua livre est areté
La mort secunde a son leu.

- Puis vis le ciel renouvelé
Et terre de lonc et de le,
Ne mais ne sont com a premier,
Ne cele terre ne le cier
1165 Ne la mer que il ont delé.

- Lors vis Jherusalem la bele
Dou ciel venant sainte et nouvele,
Si patee de ses joiaux
Come vuet ses espous leaux
1170 Quant il decoste lui l'apele.

Une tel voiz öy alors,
Qui dou troine Dieu issi hors :

1139 Destans dit. 1145 com de] comme. 1150 nummee. 1151 se.
1154 ses mors] se moys. 1155 l'enfer] Briser. 1166 ihr l'm.
1171 alors] lors.

Or ha Dieu mis son tabernacle
 As hommes et son habitacle,
 1175 Et avec lour est ses depors.

Pour Dieu con son puple l'avront
 N'autre seignor fuer li n'avrunt ;
 Et Dieu terdra de(s) sains les larmes
 Et de lour cors et de lour armes,
 1180 Ne plorer jamés ne savrunt.

De la mort ne douterunt mais,
 Ne cri ne douleur n'autre faiz ;
 Alee s'en est toute poine.
 Lors dit cil qui seoit ou troine :
 1185 Toute chose novele fais.

Puis tot me commanda escrire,
 Por tel cause que doit souffire,
 Quar paroles sunt de grant foy
 Et verraies ; puis dit a moy :
 1190 Por fait tien quanqu'as öy dire.

Alpha et ω suis proprement,
 Fin de tout et commencement,
 Qui de boire avra envie
 Je li donrai de l'eau de vie
 1195 Et se li donrai fraichement.

Qui vaincra, la possessium
 Don(c) avra sanz dereptium.
 Et a tout jours son Dieu serai,
 Et mon fil le reputerai,
 1200 Et par leaul adoptium.

Mas tuit cil qui en la foy doutent,
 Et cil qui de charmes se votent,
 Et ydolatres et vuiltriens,
 Fornicatours et mençongiers,
 1205 Tuit en l'estan de fue se boutent.

L'un de(s) sept ainges a moy vient
 De ces qui sept plaies avient,

1178 tendra. 1191 ω] or. 1194 l'eau] leaul. 1197 Dou . . .
 drectium. 1205 en] cum. 1207 plaies repeated.

Vien, dit il, veoir lieu novel
De l'espouse et de l'aiguel,
1210 Comment la coyle bien avient.

En esperit lors me translate
En une montaigne mout hate,
Lai me moustra en contenant
Jherusalem dou ciel venant,
1215 La sainte, la clere, la nate.

Sa clarté jasje verdeant
Sambloit, et cretal blancheant,
Un mur avoit a .xij. entrees
Par .xij. ainges administrees,
1220 Et .xij. nons en lour seant,

Les nons de ces .xij. ligniees
Que d'Israel furent longniees;
Et les portes ont lour regart
Selonc le principal depart
1225 Dou monde, et ainsi ligniees.

Trois portes sun a Oriant,
Et trois avant contrariant;
Trois a aquilun le senestre,
Ses tro(i)s autres sunt avenz dextre,
1230 Qui de flours fait les pres riant.

Douze fondemens ha le murs
De la cité par les nuns surs
Des apostres et de l'aiguel.
Lors prist li ainges .j. rosel
1235 Por mesurer, et c'est or purs.

Quant la cité ot mesuree,
Si la trouva par tot querree
.xii. mile estadis tient
Le mur a cent .xl. vient;
1240 D'ainge et d'ome est la contee.

En tel forme est limité
Li haut dou mur de la cité,

1218 Un] Uiz. 1222 d'Israel] de iherl'm . . . longnies. 1233 Des] Del.
1239 *The prose version has also 140 instead of 144 o the original.*

Le mur est de jasje construit,
 La cité d'our et veirre luit,
 1245 Et les fundement sunt ités :

Jasje, saphirs et calcedoines.
 Smaragde, sardex et sardoines,
 Et berilles et crisolites
 Topaz, jacintes, ametites,
 1250 Crisopasses, dorez a voines.

Et les .xij. portes ja dites
 Se font de .xij. marguerites,
 Les places sunt si deduisant
 Comme l'our et veirre luisant,
 1255 Mas de temple fut li leus quites.

Lai n'est mestier solet ne lune,
 Quar temple (et) clarté commune
 Est l'aiguel en cele cité,
 Et la clere divinité
 1260 Qui toute gloire met a une.

Et les portes mais ne clourrunt,
 Nes les nuiz ainsi ne corrunt,
 Et lai n'entrera felonie
 Mas cil seul qui ou livre de vie
 1265 De l'aiguel estre escript porrunt.

Puis me moustra .i. grant ruisel
 Sortant dou siege de l'aiguel ;
 Luisant estoit comme cretal,
 Et avoit d'amont et d'aval
 1270 Sus li planté .i. arbrussel.

Mas a dextre et a senestre
 Dou fluive un arbre devoit estre
 Et li arbre felonesses loys
 .xij. fruiz rent par chesque mois
 1275 Et des filles salut suet netre.

[F'lül] me dit, mais n'i raignera,
 Li sieges Dieu lai pesera,

1249 Copaz. 1251 Et] Ist. 1255 leus] lais. 1256 n'est] nai.
 1272 fluive un] fu nel. 1276 n'i] ne.

Et sui serjant li servirunt,
 Et de sum douz regart rirunt
 1280 Et en lour front son num sera.

Toutes choses ici digestes
 Jhesus qui est Dieu des prophetes
 Qui dit, je vien igneusement,
 Par le sien ainge clerement
 1285 A ses sers a fait manifestes.

Bien haürés est qui n'oblie
 Les nons de ceste prophecie,
 Que je, Jehans, oys et vis.
 Lors d'ahorer me fut avis
 1290 L'ainge, sa parole complie.

Mas l'aorer me va deffendre
 Et ceste cause me va rendre :
 Sers suis con ti frere et toy,
 Qui ce gardent en bone foy.
 1295 A Dieu adorer dois entendre.

Lors commandement voiz recivre
 Que ne seignasse point le livre
 De la profecie present,
 Car approuchier le terme sent,
 1300 Et le temps briement se delivre.

Qui autrui nuit, encour nuira ;
 Et qui [se] honit, plus [se] honira ;
 Et li justes soit juste encour ;
 Et li sains hait sainté greignour,
 1305 Tant con Dieu les cuers frainchira.

Dit cil qui rent juste loier :
 Je viens tantost sans demorer ;
 Alpha et o suis, c'est grezoiz,
 Premier et derrier, c'est françois,
 1310 Qui tot en moy puis aloier.

Bien aheurés sunt qui netoient
 Lour robes si qu'il demandoient
 En l'arbre de vie lour part,

Et en la cité sanz depart
 1315 Droit par mi les portes entroient.

Hors serunt chiens et enchantours
 Li omicide[s] et erecours
 Et cil qui servent as ydoles,
 Et qui forgent fasses paroles
 1320 Et de teles sunt amateurs.

Je suis Jhesus qui ce envoie
 Par mon ainge por metre en voie
 Les eglises de ceci croire ;
 Je suis de David chief et gloire,
 1325 Et l'estoile qui porte joie.

Racine suis qui David porte,
 De son lignaige suis la porte,
 Je suis li estoile dou mein
 Qui respandit a temps serein,
 1330 Et qui la vehue conforte.

Je suis qui presente le mien ;
 L'espous et l'espouse dit, vien,
 Qui ce out, les autres semongne ;
 Qui ha soy, l'eaul de vie preigne
 1335 Frainchement et sanz donner rien.

A livre de la prophesie
 N'ajotoit nul ne n'ostoit mie,
 Sus paine de toute la plaie
 Dont ce livre de sus esmaie,
 1340 Et d'oster dou livre de vie.

Dit Jhesucrist qui ce conferme,
 De mon advent vient tost le terme.
 Jehans as eglises escrit,
 Sa grace vous doint Jhesucrist.
 1345 Amen. C'est la verité ferme.

Explicit.

APPENDIX I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTIETH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, HELD AT
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
BALTIMORE, MD., DECEMBER
29, 30, 31, 1902.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

The twentieth annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., December 29, 30, 31, in accordance with the following invitation :

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, *Baltimore, Md., Dec. 18, 1901.*

The President and Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University hereby invite the Modern Language Association of America to meet at the Johns Hopkins University during the Christmas recess of the year 1902.

IRA REMSEN, *President of the Johns Hopkins University.*

All the sessions of the meeting, except the last, were held in McCoy Hall. The last session was held at the Woman's College of Baltimore, in Goucher Hall. Professor James W. Bright, President of the Association, presided at all.

FIRST SESSION, MONDAY, DECEMBER 29.

The Association met at 3.20 p. m. The session was opened by an address of welcome from Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor C. H. Grandgent, submitted as his report the published *Proceedings* of the last annual meeting and the complete volume of the *Publications* of the Association for 1902. He announced also that the Association has on hand a large number of copies of the Report of the Committee of Twelve, which would probably be put on sale at a small price. He reported, furthermore, that the Association, by a vote of the Executive Council, had

joined the American Philological Association in sending the following petition to the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution :

On behalf of the scientific students of language as represented by the American Philological Association and the Modern Language Association, and at the direction of these organizations, we beg the earnest attention of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institution to the desirableness of fostering such opportunities for endowing research, investigation, and enlargement of accurate knowledge of Language as may from time to time be brought before them. In comparison with the wide range of application for furthering the welfare of the experimental sciences, the students of philology will have relatively infrequent occasion to solicit the support of the Carnegie Institution. But the character of the work of our two organizations alone, represented by over one thousand members, may well deserve the consideration of the Trustees of that body; and we trust that the term 'science' will be freely extended to those studies which deal with the problems of human speech.

The report was approved.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann, submitted the following report :

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, December 26, 1901	\$1,814 02
Annual dues from members and receipts from Subscribing Libraries:—	
For the year 1894, \$	3 00
“ “ “ 1895,	3 00
“ “ “ 1896,	3 00
“ “ “ 1897,	3 00
“ “ “ 1898,	12 00
“ “ “ 1899,	35 40
“ “ “ 1900,	61 20
“ “ “ 1901,	189 60
“ “ “ 1902,	1,756 79
“ “ “ 1903,	66 20
	—————\$2,133 19
Sale of <i>Publications</i> , 1886–1902,	135 75
Interest on deposits,	52 87
Reprints,	4 00
Advertisements,	180 00
	—————\$2,505 81
	—————\$4,319 83
	—————

EXPENDITURES.

Publication of Vol. XVII, No. 1, and Reprints,	\$258 67
“ “ “ “ “ 2, “ “	336 76
“ “ “ “ “ 3, “ “	296 20
“ “ “ “ “ 4, “ “	440 17
	\$1,331 80
The Secretary,	200 00
Postage,	114 91
Expressage,	6 75
Telegrams,	2 30
Freight,	16 04
Packing Cases,	6 50
Labor, handling <i>Publications</i> , etc.,	11 30
Clerical Assistance,	9 50
Stationery and Job Printing,	96 70
Typewriting,	8 40
Central Division,	43 00
Copy of Charter,	75
Bank Discount,	6 00
	\$1,853 95
Balance on hand, December 29, 1902,	2,465 88
	\$4,319 83

The President of the Association, Professor James W. Bright, appointed the following committees:

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's report: Professor O. F. Emerson and Dr. K. McKenzie.
- (2) To recommend a place for the next annual meeting: Professors F. N. Scott, J. V. Denney, J. P. Kinard, L. F. Mott, and Dr. F. I. Carpenter.
- (3) To nominate officers: Professors H. E. Greene, H. C. G. Brandt, F. Tupper, H. A. Rennert, and A. Gudeman.

The Secretary having called attention to the inadequacy of the present constitution of the Association, it was voted that the Executive Council be requested to report at the next meeting a plan for the revision of the constitution.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Recent Translations of Old English Poetry." By Dr. James M. Garnett, of Baltimore, Md. [See *Publications*, XVIII, 3.]

[A brief consideration of the translations of *Beowulf* by Lesslie Hall (1892), Earle (1892), Morris and Wyatt (1895 and 1898), Clark Hall (1901), and Tinker (1902); and of translations of other Old English Poems by Brooks (1892 and 1898), Gollancz (1892 and 1895), Root (1899), Whitman (1900), Lesslie Hall (1902), and Cook and Tinker (1902). Various media of translation.—*A fifteen-minute abstract.*]

2. "The Gerund in Old English." By Dr. Thomas J. Farrar, of the Agnes Scott Institute, Decatur, Ga.

[The results of an examination of the gerund as found in the published monuments of Old English prose and poetry; a definition based on origin, form, and characteristics; a statement of its uses for original expression and as a means of translation.—*A fifteen-minute summary.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor J. W. Bright.

3. "Stylistic Survivals in Grimm's *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*." By Professor B. J. Vos, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[General stylistic character of the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*; points of agreement with older usage in respect to diction, style, and syntax; pronouns of address; correspondence not a conscious repristination but genuine survivals.—*Twenty minutes.*]

4. "A Remote Analogue to the Miracle Play." By Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University. In the absence of the author, the paper was read by Dr. R. K. Root. [See *Publications*, XVIII, 3.]

[The dialogue between Joseph and Mary in Cynewulf's *Christ* is paralleled in the sermons of certain of the Fathers. These dramatic developments of a homiletical theme may be regarded as in some sense the precursors of the miracle play.—*A ten-minute summary.*]

5. "Notes on the *Poema del Cid* in further proof of its Spanish Nationality." By Dr. W. W. Comfort, of Haverford College. [To appear in *Modern Philology*, I, 2.]

[Taking the conclusions of Milá y Fontanals (*De la poesía heroico-popular castellana*, pp. 463 ff.) as a starting-point, a study of the language of the *Poema del Cid* (Ed. Menéndez-Pidal) affords additional proof to the critic's theory of essential independence of the Spanish Epic from French models.—Brief mention of the traits the poem presents in common with the *chansons de geste*. Explanation of this resemblance, which is outweighed by more profound difference in the spirit of the poem, in historical references, in aims of the characters, and in local color.—Additional proof: the epic epithets, the popular expressions, the *chevilles*, the *joglar's* catch-words.—*A ten-minute summary.*]

6. "Michael Drayton, Dramatist." By Mr. L. Whitaker, of the Northeast Manual Training School, Philadelphia. [See *Publications*, XVIII, 3.]

[Although Drayton's poetry is well known, his career as a dramatist is obscure and largely conjectural. Thirty-three plays have been attributed to his authorship, in whole or in part. Of these but nine are extant. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the positive data in order to test the theories and conjectures of such students as Mr. F. S. Fleay and Mr. Oliver Elton and to reconstruct, as far as possible, the career of Drayton as a dramatic author. By a study of the original sources contained in Henslowe's diary and in the dates and dedications of Drayton's numerous works, a new light is thrown upon the patronage extended by the Bedfords and the Gooderes, upon our author's relation to Philip Henslowe, and upon the interesting parallel between Shakspeare and Drayton in the neglect by each of his dramatic work. Two reasons are assigned for this neglect in the case of Drayton: (1) When his play was accepted by Henslowe's Company, it ceased to be the author's property; (2) Drayton, like his master, Spenser, recognized his true power to be epic and not dramatic.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor H. E. Shepherd.

At the close of the session, the members of the Association were received by Mr. and Mrs. Murray P. Brush.

In the evening the members of the Association were entertained at the University Club. Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, of the Johns Hopkins University, gave a smoke talk on "A Projected Clearing-House for Ancient and Modern Languages."

SECOND SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The session began at 9.50 a. m.

Professor W. E. Mead, of Wesleyan University, Secretary of the Pedagogical Section, presented the report of the Pedagogical Section, on "Conflicting Ideals in the Teaching of English."

CONFLICTING IDEALS IN THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH.

It requires but slight investigation in educational matters to discover that there is great difference of opinion on many questions of fundamental importance. With a view to determine in some measure how widely teachers of English composition are at variance in their theory and practice, two expressions of opinion, apparently as divergent as they could well be, were sent out by the Pedagogical Section in a recent circular of inquiry. The two quotations, with the appended questions, are as follows :

"English composition is already taught in the schools, but it connotes the art of writing clearly and correctly about ordinary matters and with such limitations as you expect in a good business letter ; whereas, this book (Cornford's *English Composition*) is a manual of the art of writing as Stevenson understood it. Inspired by Continental practice, particularly the French, Mr. Cornford sets out to teach schoolboys to think literary thoughts and write them down with literary force and grace ; . . . is it well to teach the literary art to English schoolboys ? We do not think it is well ; . . . it is alien to the genius of the nation."—*London Academy*, 24 Nov., 1900, p. 496.

"I have always regarded rhetoric as dealing, in all its parts and stages, with real literature in the making, and composition, however humble its tasks, as veritable authorship. . . . To put the student frankly on the basis of authorship, . . . is to impart immensely greater reality to his study of rhetoric."—Professor J. F. GENUNG.

Two distinct ideals of teaching composition seem to be suggested in the preceding extracts : (a) the art of writing clearly and correctly about ordinary matters ; (b) the production of literature.

1. Which of these lights do you think the teacher of composition should chiefly follow ?

2. Should there be any difference in the ideals of the teacher of composition (1) in the elementary school, (2) in the secondary school, (3) in the college? (In the college would you distinguish between (a) beginning classes, (b) advanced classes?)

3. In your opinion is it in any sense "alien to the genius" of this nation to teach schoolboys (as a class—the rank and file) to "think literary thoughts and write them down with literary force and grace," or to lead them to suppose that in their themes they are undertaking "veritable authorship"?

At the outset it should be emphasized that the Pedagogical Section as such has advocated neither side of the main question, and has not ventured to indicate whether there is necessarily any conflict in ideals or methods. In a purely objective way the attempt has been made to learn what are the actual opinions current on the fundamental questions of aim and method. We may regret as much as we please that other people do not think as we do; so much the worse for them. But surely the first step toward conversion is to discover how much we hold in common and how widely at certain points our opinions diverge.

The views about to be presented are taken from a mass of material that has poured in from a variety of sources, from college and secondary school teachers of English, from educational psychologists, from editors, and from professional men of letters. All, or nearly all, the great universities are represented, as well as many smaller institutions from Massachusetts to California. As was to be expected, there is considerable diversity of opinion, though some of the diversity is largely verbal. At all events, the investigation, imperfect and tentative as it is, seems to prove the desirability of coming to something like agreement on this fundamental part of our educational system. Until we do, we shall leave the problem chiefly to the publishers of educational novelties, or to the blundering ineptitude of teachers who drift along without aims or methods, and who, as in one case I recall, may be set to teaching English composition because they will probably do less harm there than elsewhere.

But I must not longer delay the presentation of the material which constitutes the real value of this report. In analyzing the opinions as to which of the two ideals the teacher of composition

should chiefly follow, I find that they can be divided into three tolerably well defined groups, the first two decidedly favoring one view or the other, and the third aiming at a harmony of the two views expressed in the quotations.

I first turn to those who practically agree with the writer in the *Academy*. The reasons given are not in all cases identical, but they emphasize in general the fundamental necessity of clear thinking and habits of accurate expression as "the absolutely essential preparation" for success in literary efforts. I need cite but two or three typical opinions.

"My experience," says one, "has taught me that students are in the end best prepared to produce literature when their preliminary writing has been upon ordinary matters with the purpose of teaching clearness and correctness."

Of the same tenor are the two following :

"The boy is not to make literature in his theme, but his theme is to be judged by literary canons. Only one ideal can appear, therefore, and 'clearness and correctness' is a rung in the ladder to it."

"The majority of schoolboys are quite incapable of understanding literary ideas. Professor Genung's view may be well enough for exceptionally gifted students, not for the majority. The desideratum is the ability to write plain, straightforward English. Furthermore, I see no need of making composition, which, after all, is, for most people, a matter of plain common sense, the rather repellant but often fascinating thing which the terms 'real literature' and 'veritable authorship' imply."

A College teacher of long experience writes :

"My conclusion is so decided that I am tempted to be impatient with anybody on the other side. All that the school and the college can require or seriously attempt is 'writing clearly and correctly about ordinary matters.' We may be devoutly thankful if we succeed in getting that much. To attempt more is to me hallucination."

These positions are unmistakable. The advocates of a training which aims from the outset at "real literature in the making," are for the most part less emphatic, though some would lay the principal stress on that side, and, if they had to make a choice, would prefer to take their chances in attempts at producing real literature. But most of those whose leanings are towards an essentially literary training recognize the importance of the formal drill, if one is to be saved from slovenly habits of expression and

from the flabbiness of languid æstheticism. In actual practice "an intelligent teacher will be governed somewhat by the nature and ability of his students." The majority, therefore, of those who advocate in a measure the development of the beginner into a real author frankly recognize the importance of both sides of the work.

Here as elsewhere I can present only typical opinions:

(a) "No man can draw the line between plain composition and literary art. Every advance in the former is an approach to the latter. Keep the emphasis on the former."

(b) "There is not so much difference between these 'ideals' as might appear from the rather unfortunate terms in which they are stated. If I am to agree with either, I agree with Genung; for I certainly would not restrict the student to such subject and manner as would be appropriate to a *business* letter. But then, on the other hand, 'ordinary matters' are the stuff out of which the best literature is made, though it never can be made by rhetorical rules. When Stevenson wrote letters on 'ordinary matters' he made literature out of them every time; if the boy is a Stevenson he will make literature. If he isn't, you can't teach him to make literature by 'putting him on the basis of authorship,' whatever that may mean. Teach the boy to express his own thoughts as best he can; never mind the literature."

(c) "I cannot see that the two methods are mutually exclusive, but if more weight must be given to one, I should say that the first should be emphasized in all earlier work, and that 'literary' writing should begin with the formal study of English literature."

(d) "The teacher of composition should keep both ideals clearly in mind. His first duty is perhaps to teach writing as a matter of business, but it is equally his duty to develop in every pupil such literary graces as he can, and where he finds special capacity to exist, to suggest its further development. Everybody can learn to write and speak in a practical, logical way, while only the few can become artists, and then only after long practice; but while the interests of the many demand the greater part of the teacher's time, the interests of the few must have their share of attention. I cannot believe that it is right to neglect either ideal for the other."

(e) "To write 'clearly and correctly' is in some measure to write in a 'literary' style. Mechanical, dead-level writing is never, in any worthy sense, correct. Let the student, then, by all means be taught to produce literature, if by literature we mean that work which possesses grace, power, and effectiveness."

(f) "To teach the art of literary expression, as a thing to be acquired apart from general culture and to be practiced apart from the writer's genuine personality, appears to me a vicious proceeding. Instead of a race

of sincere and virile thinkers, this method tends to produce a class of superficial stylists, with whom a few rhetorical tricks count for more than solidity of thought."

(g) "The only thing the teacher of composition can do—that is, the only thing susceptible of being imparted by teaching—is what may be called the mechanics of literature, what is included for the most part in writing clearly, correctly, and perhaps strongly. Beyond these qualities the pupil must work out his own salvation, according to the mind he has. If he has a dry, contracted mind he will write baldly; if he has the touch of imagination it will show itself in the turn of his sentences. As to writing about ordinary matters,—well, it is out of ordinary matters that literature is produced, as well as out of extraordinary. I do not think the matter should be discriminated on the ground of ordinary and extraordinary; the teacher should try to *find* his pupil in the subjects he prescribes, and the pupil should be encouraged, as far as systematic discipline will allow, in working out his own bent, in subject as in style."

(h) "It seems to me that the first ideal stated, that of 'writing clearly and correctly about ordinary matters,' is fundamental, that it must come first in the order of time, and must for a time be the sole ideal. As soon as practicable, however, some glimpse of the higher ideal of Cornford and Genung should be set before the pupils. There should be a steady change in the point of view, as the students rise on the stepping stones of clearness and correctness to higher things."

(i) "Expression, oral and written, is the chief means for carrying on the process of education. That it should conform *gradation* to present fashion is an important but secondary consideration. The 'ideal of teaching composition' can, therefore, be neither 'the art of writing clearly and correctly about ordinary matters,' nor 'the production of literature.' Neither the professional artist nor the correct philistine constitutes the goal of teaching. The highest degree of varied self-expression in forms best suited to individual aptitudes and stages of growth—this seems to me to be the only ideal worth having or attainable."

The next extract is especially important as representing the aim and practice of the entire department of English composition at Harvard.

(j) "It is our practice in the composition classes at Harvard College to help the great body of students, so far as we can, in saying simply and directly what they have to say; thus a large part of our work lies in showing young men how to remove obstacles to the effective expression of their thought. It is our further practice to encourage, so far as we can, any sign of literary power, and to encourage it without tempting its possessor to feel past learning anything.

"From what I have written, you will see that we try to adapt our teaching to individual needs. Sometimes we succeed, and sometimes we

fail; but we believe in the effort. Incidentally, every teacher here, so far as I know, connects English composition with English literature, wherever he can. I do not mean that he constantly asks students to write about books; I mean that he uses books as illustrations, not merely of bad qualities, but of good ones, and that he works hard to help students toward an appreciation of what is best."

(k) "The art of writing clearly and correctly about ordinary matters that would not be discussed in ordinary conversation, does not seem to me to lead to power, or even in any proportionate degree to correctness and clearness. If by 'ordinary matters' we are to understand glimpses of character, or minor manifestations of manliness or womanliness, such as fall within the range of the schoolboy's experiences, I should wish to count these as of the other and higher category of materials postulated under the division *b*. I consider such things wholly literary, in kind, and often, as experience proves, not less than literary in degree. Putting pupils at the task of 'visualizing' any attractive or interesting object, or of developing the character of some person who has inspired such treatment, is literary work *to them*. It is found, in our five years' practice of it here, to be not only successful in itself, but very valuable in enabling the correctness and clearness that we have tried to secure without it. Writing, done with inspiration, begets momentum in expression, and this momentum brings with it better and more correct form than can be produced by dogged working at meaning that is uninspired and hence more or less inorganic."

(l) "The teacher (of elementary classes: 'in the schools') should first aim at 'writing clearly and correctly.' The reasons for this are easily understood by the beginner. But the teacher should also have in mind the ultimate cultivation of 'taste,' and therefore should aim to introduce the more advanced 'beginner' to notions of selection and preference in modes of expression and arrangement of sentences, etc. In this way 'the production of literature,' or 'veritable authorship' may, in some measure, come to be understood at an early age."

(m) "My tendency is, on the whole, to agree with Prof. Genung rather than with the London Academy. Yet I hardly know how to make practical use of so sharp a distinction as you draw under your (a) and (b). What do you oppose to 'ordinary matters'? You leave me uncertain what you mean by 'literature.' I am half inclined to oppose to your (a) such a (b) as this: the art of writing astonishingly and profusely, the subject being of no consequence. We are having a fad, a mania, for cleverness. The literary self-consciousness needs to be explored, that we may know exactly what the literary ambition is, before I can give my adhesion unreservedly to your (b), to which, on the whole, I do give it. It is absurd to set up as a goal of attainment, in school or college, the production of copy. Yet this perversity is perhaps inevitable, the market for copy is so active. Draining one's wits for copy is poor business. The legitimate business of the school is primarily storing the mind with forms

of knowledge and imagination, and then, as the stimulus of occasion comes, the re-assembling and combining of these forms into original matter worth expressing with all care for correctness, and, so far as possible, with the elements of charm and grace.

"A literary ambition outrunning the mental supply is the cause of many of the weakest compositions. Hence the teacher has to be chary of solicitation for fine effects. If a pupil is not, and has not long been, a reader and an attentive listener, his mind remains sterile, and his composition must be set and formal; *his* best is to obey the rules of grammar and rhetoric. As I cannot segregate an original, inventing class from the plodders and docile performers of tasks, I cannot take my stand squarely on your (*b*); but must hover freely, with the privilege of alighting on either side of your line, almost as if it were not there."

(*n*) "Either extreme seems bad. I may be missing the point of the question, but I fail to see any justification for the existence of the two ideals as distinct. Few things, on the one hand, tend to become so dry, mechanical, and perfunctory as writing 'clearly and correctly about ordinary matters.' If the matter to be written about isn't to some appreciable extent a little out of the ordinary, a little out of the common run, a little worthy of attention because of some new phase to be noted, what difference does it make whether anything clear or correct be written about it or not? On the other hand, few things tend to become so dreary and remote, so trivial and sentimental, so empty of all reality, as 'the production of literature,' distinct from the ordinary matters of life, especially that 'production of literature' which is identified with the pumping up, or conjuring up, of 'literary thoughts' and the writing of them down 'with literary force and grace.'"

As to the question whether there should be any difference in the ideals of the teacher of composition in the elementary school, the secondary school, and the college, there is also divergence of opinion.

"Emphatically, no," says one. "The difference is one of degree, degree of maturity and degree of mastery of technique."

"The ideal should vary," says another; but the next opinion is: "Though the method may vary, the ideal is constant." This latter view is shared by a half-dozen others.

(*a*) "I draw no distinction between school and college. College students ought, of course, to write better than boys and girls in school. But the kind of writing to be asked of them is the same."

(*b*) "I should say that there should be difference only in degree between elementary, and secondary, and first-year college work. In college, I should devote the first or freshman year, two hours a week, to topic studies in 'visualization,' 'characterization,' 'treatment of moods,'—or what is

attempted ordinarily under the heads of description and narration. The second year, I should devote the same amount of time to work in exposition, but in the form of practice in developing impressions, judgments, and potential or unexpressed ideas of every kind, the student going nowhere for his meanings, but making himself acquainted with what he really thinks, or means himself, in his own mind. The third year, I should set the student at studying classic models of English prose, and give the task, in many component topics, of clarifying and universalizing his own style. The fourth year, his work should be the expression of individual taste in both form and matter, using much comparison with the great masters (like Ruskin, Hawthorne, Stevenson, and even Hewlett and Hubbard, and Taine and De Amicis and others outside) of the personal or individual manner. The work should have, in each of the last two years, at least two class periods a week.

"The plan thus roughly outlined is the one, I may say, that we have followed here (at the University of Nebraska) for several years, and is one that seems to the seven teachers of college composition, in our department, very satisfactory. Argumentation is taught almost entirely in a department by itself."

But the reservation is made by some that "there isn't much difference between the '*ideals*' of the elementary school and the college; but there may well be considerable difference in *method*, simply because the college man has come to have a different kind of thought to express from that which he had when in the primary school. The method ought to be progressive, to match the expanding thought of the boy and man."

This view is variously presented, but the two following opinions are typical:

(a) "One doesn't teach a skater the grapevine twist in the first lesson; but the ideal of the beginner and the trained athlete is the same."

(b) "There should be no essential difference in the ideals of teaching composition at any stage of the student's course. The aim should be to teach him to use his mother-tongue clearly, correctly, and forcibly in treating subjects which he understands. With the student's advancement in knowledge and intellectual power, the subjects will, of course, assume a wider range. But at every stage simplicity and sincerity of utterance are worth far more, in my judgment, than all the literary or rhetorical tricks the student can be taught."

In the judgment of a decided majority there should, however, be a distinction drawn between the college and the preparatory school both in aims and in methods. Some, on the other hand,

would not change the ideals or the methods except for the most advanced college classes, and some would make no concessions except to an advanced college class "made up of a very select list of picked men."

A mere summary can hardly do justice to the views expressed on this matter, and I therefore present as before a selection of the most characteristic opinions as phrased by those who hold them. We may note that emphasis is in general laid upon the importance of the early mastery of the mechanics of writing (even in such matters as the making up of manuscript), and the formation of habits of correct and clear expression. The last stage is then naturally the development and perfecting of technique so that the expression may be a spontaneous and accurate transcript of the thought. Writing produced at this stage may in favorable instances possess both force and grace and display genuine literary quality.

(a) "When a boy develops literary talents, they should be encouraged. This will ordinarily happen only at the later stages of a boy's educational career, and therefore the teacher will not need to alter his 'ideals' much except with advanced classes. I advocate a 'difference in ideals' not because some pupils are more 'advanced' in age, but because they are different in intellectual calibre."

(b) "My personal experience is that until a pupil reaches college he must work mainly for clearness and correctness; and scarcely more than one Freshman in fifty passes beyond this stage. Of course, as the boy advances from the elementary school, he can do each year a little more in the way of adding interest to his writing. Literary ideals may properly be considered in an advanced elective course."

(c) "Decidedly, yes. Consider the preposterous assumption — that teachers in elementary schools or teachers generally *could* teach the art of writing with literary force and grace in any considerable degree. They will probably go as far in that direction as their natural capacity leads them, and I should tremble for the result of a conscious attempt at anything more.

"We distinguish *between the advanced* classes in college, setting one apart for confessedly literary work and putting it into the hands of one who is competent in literary judgment."

(d) "The literary ideal must be in the background always until perhaps in the later of the latest stages of a pupil's training; but always present, and coming more and more to the front as the pupil goes on. I should not care to emphasize the literary aspects of composition till after the Freshman year in college, nor indeed to have a student think of his work as the

production of literature till after that time; before that I should reckon it enough if the expression were always regarded and studied as the most appropriate expression of the thought. That is I should wish the 'literary' ideal to be in the mind of the teacher, not that of the pupil; if the pupil's work does come to show literary promise, there will be plenty of time to inform him. In college classes after the Freshman year, the student may come to discover that the fit expression of worthy thought is literature, and may study it as literature, beginning with what is called the literature of thought, and ending with what is called the literature of feeling; always provided that he is not misled into thinking that as the result of his college training he will be a certified literary artist, that he is never allowed to forget that whatever taste and skill he may possess must be refined and perfected by years of effort."

(e) "The distinctions in the teaching of composition in the different stages of education rest finally on the ability of students to grasp greater masses of fact and to perceive more clearly and intimately the relations between them. Doubtless, from a technical point of view, correctness in grammatical rules and ordinary rhetorical precepts should have a comparatively large place in the early stages than the later; in these more general principles of composition and style may receive chief emphasis."

(f) "In the elementary school the teacher must surely have to aim chiefly at mere clearness and correctness; in the secondary school, some more conscious and definite aim at the cultivation of 'taste' in composition (as well as in speech) should constitute a modification of the method of the elementary school; in the college the aim should be to set forth the whole truth of the matter, that the employment of language is an art. The practical and the artistic uses of the art may then be fully defined. No teacher will allow the fundamental principles of clearness and correctness to be neglected when striving to secure something in the way of 'force and grace.' The ultimate aim of the entire course should be the cultivation of *good taste*."

(g) "In the primary school the aim of the teacher should be *exclusively* to train the pupil to express his thoughts clearly and correctly. It will not often be the case that pupils of this grade will 'think literary thoughts' of any higher grade than the juvenile type, but such thoughts should be well expressed, if expressed at all; quite as much as 'ordinary' ones.

"When the pupil has reached the high-school grade he will in most cases begin to have 'literary thoughts'; generally not his own, but borrowed from his reading. It is important that he should be trained to express these thoughts *clearly* and *correctly*, if he uses them in his theme writing; as for the higher literary qualities of *force*, *harmony*, etc., I can see no reason why they should not have proper attention, but not at the expense of time needed for the other purpose.

"In the college I would have only literary composition. It seems to me supremely absurd to refuse to admit a pupil to college who commits errors

in translation and grammar in his Latin or French and yet admit him without the ability to *read, write, and speak* the English language with clearness and correctness. The college should not be required to teach theme writing, with attention to such matters as punctuation, capitals, grammar, etc., any more than it should maintain a required elementary course in mathematics in order to assure itself that all the newcomers have mastered the multiplication table."

(h) "To all the subdivisions of this question I should be inclined to answer, yes. Premising that my inexperience with elementary and secondary schools may lead me to pronounce on the matter as I should perhaps not hold by in actual teaching therein, I would say: In the elementary school the pupil's interest, observing power, imagination, should be roused, and the subjects and exercises should have this in view, grammatical and minutely verbal matters being so incidental as not to check the observing and recording current of the pupil's mind. In secondary schools grammatical drill, choice of words, sentences, phrasing, and the like, should be the predominant matter, not on the score that these are best liked there, but because there is no other place and time so suitable to acquire them. We cannot always consult a pupil's mere likes and dislikes. In college I *have* to distinguish between beginning and advanced classes, partly because, to begin with, I have to bring considerable work left over from secondary schools up to date, and partly because it is inexpedient to enter upon the higher matters of rhetoric without making sure of the practical matters on which these are founded. For beginning classes I go over the elements of style—words, phrasing, figures, sentences, paragraphs, but in a way which the ordinary secondary school does not do, namely, as elements in literary work, and with the higher qualities of these recognized along with the practical. For advanced classes the more distinctively literary qualities come more to the front, and the finishing processes of the whole composition and of the literary types."

(i) "The too early attempt to produce literature stands directly in the way of clear and correct writing about ordinary matters. If the imagination of the elementary or secondary schoolboy is subjected to the forcing process, the results obtained are at the expense of observation, memory, and common sense. I should require of the pupil of the lower grades accurate relation of what he has seen, heard, read, or thought. If he be given to imaginative thinking and expression, I should not discourage him, in case he knew the difference between fact and fiction. If he be not so given, I should not encourage him to be a poet. The sooner we learn two things, the better for our much 'be-doctored' teaching of English: *First*, that we are paid by authorities of state and town to make not poets but citizens out of our pupils; *Second*, that all the poets the country may need will be furnished by Nature, cheaper and better without our artificial culture than with it.

"As to the distinction between classes in the university, it is based on a false assumption which also underlies the question of difference between

elementary and secondary scholars. Since composition is the expression of individuality, the discrimination should be made not between beginning and advanced classes, but between practical and poetic individuals."

(j) "I would make the distinction, in a practical way. The beginning and required course in composition should afford the opportunity of testing the writing ability of members of the entering, or Freshman, class. Students who acquitted themselves creditably should not be further harassed. But no pains should be spared in developing, studying, and helping the pathological cases, wherever such cases were not absolutely hopeless. A beginning course extending over the entire four years of the college course might, in some instances, be deemed advisable. Advanced classes should, in my opinion, be elective.

"I would not advocate any invidious parting of the sheep from the goats. I would only raise this question: Is it not true that students who really need a good deal of special training in composition, and who often present cases interesting to study, are in too many instances allowed to escape uncured; whereas students who have run the gauntlet of the College Entrance Requirements in English with distinction, and in whom some zest for literature and composition has survived, are in too many instances kept on a diet of elementary husks, as if their previous training were something to be discredited?"

The third question is in a measure answered by the discussion of the two preceding questions. But a few words further may not be out of place. As regards the vague and somewhat pretentious phrase, "alien to the genius of the nation," the Pedagogical Section is unwilling to claim "veritable authorship." But the phrase, vague as it is, does suggest the practical question whether, in view of the sort of pupils to be found in the ordinary school, it is wise to emphasize the literary side of expression with a conscious aim at literary effect, and to organize the classes in composition into what may by courtesy be called associations of young American authors.

Having thus in a measure cleared the skirts of the Pedagogical Section, I may again give place to those whose opinions have been really asked for.

(a) "I think the last sentence in the quotation from the *Academy* is a good illustration of the inability of the writer to think clearly, and (in consequence) to express his thought clearly. In literary matters various nations have various *habits*, but I am at a loss to know what can be meant by the '*genius* of the nation,' expressed in its literature, any more than in its dress or its food and drink. *Genius*, if my notion of the meaning of the word is right, belongs to the *individual*, and if he gets from his school

training the power to express his thoughts clearly and correctly, his literary genius will probably be able to get along. But not one pupil in twenty will ever produce anything that can be called literature, while the mastery of a clear and correct expression of one's thoughts is of the highest value to all.

"Let me add that what I have said is not meant for the teacher of English Composition alone. In every recitation of the pupil, especially in translation, the teacher should use every means to train him in the clear and forcible use of his mother-tongue."

(b) "The writer in the *Academy* has not had in mind the fundamental facts, that language is a conventional institution, and its use an art. It never was contrary to the genius of any nation to use its language with 'literary' effect."

(c) "Taking literally the two statements quoted in the circular, I should agree with the former and disagree with the latter; that is, my answer to question three would be in the affirmative. But regarding the spirit of each statement, my answer would be, as I have indicated above, in the negative. Nothing is 'alien to the genius of this nation,' I believe, that seeks to develop in any individual, even in a schoolboy, some sense of the meaning and value of the ordinary matters of life, a sense which probably reaches its highest and most delicate development in the perception and appreciation of those values which we call literary values."

(d) "If to think clearly, to experience the appeal of beauty, to respond to high ideals, is 'alien to the genius of this nation,' why should we attempt to teach anything?"

"The boy that, unaided, constructs a wheelbarrow is a 'maker,' a poet. The boy that, unaided, joins two sentences together is an author in embryo."

(e) "I do not see how the thing you mention is 'alien to the genius of this nation.' In fact, where can we draw the line, in anything above a business letter or agricultural report, in such way as to include the grammatical qualities and exclude 'force and grace'? If students do not come to see, in our schools and colleges, that literary force and grace are *practical*, serve a matter-of-fact purpose, as applied to their proper subjects, where can they come to see it? A college course is a culture course; if it isn't, then our country has none."

To some of these opinions are opposed the emphatic negatives of more than one of the best-known teachers of English in the country, and, significantly enough, of those men also who hold a recognized place among American men of letters. I cite first the view of the editor of one of the foremost American dailies that can point to a past with literary traditions:

"To teach the schoolboy to think literary thoughts is a sheer impossibility, and to tell him that he is undertaking veritable authorship is to lie

to him unblushingly. I speak with feeling, because a considerable part of my life is given up to people who have far more ability than the average schoolboy, and who are laboring under the delusion that they are competent to undertake veritable authorship."

Says one of our leading men of letters: "Schoolboys can't think literary thoughts." To try to teach them to do so "is simply impossible. To pretend that they can, leads to sham." To lead them to suppose that in their themes they are undertaking veritable authorship, therefore, "seems very dangerous, because misleading."

More than one college teacher thinks that the attitude of veritable authorship is unwise because, as one puts the matter, "it is alien to the genius of the schoolboy, and to the principles of common sense. In this answer I accept the phrase 'literary force and grace,' at its intended value. I think boys can be taught to write with force and grace, but I think it is useless to try to teach them to write 'literary' prose or poetry."

Another briefly remarks: "It stands to reason that it is alien to the common sense of any nation to begin with *Chartreuse* instead of *soup*."

Equally emphatic are the two following:

(a) "It is not 'alien to the genius' of this nation, in *particular*, 'to think literary thoughts and write them down with literary force and grace'; it is akin to the genius of every nation. The *folk* will never have literary thoughts or literary expression.

"Our education is for large bodies of persons. The educated classes need some gift of expression, some training in the devices for securing clearness, force, and a moderate amount of use; above all, for securing order and method in what they write.

"How many of our college students, do you guess, have even this humble gift? Not one in ten, I should say. Why? Because school and college fail to convey the lesson that writing is part of the *business* of life, the genuine expression of what the writer really thinks and feels. Teachers and professors suffer their students to drift into the notion that writing is merely something that must be done for a 'pass'; get *through* and you are all right.

"But writing 'business' papers, whether in science, or in history, or in literature even, is not 'veritable authorship.' My conception of authorship is something far higher, something of an altogether different order. I am unable to define it, but I know it when it comes across my path.

"To teach 'authorship' to the ordinary mortal is mere waste of time

upon the impossible. Going farther, I would say that we can't teach 'authorship,' even to the gifted mortal. We can teach him and his less favored brother how to outline his subject, how to frame respectable sentences and paragraphs. *There we must stop.* To attempt more is to do more harm than good. When one has learned from his teacher the ordinary routine of expression, one can only turn to the world at large, learn its wants, and try his hand at meeting them. Success in that is 'authorship,' whether in literature, in history, in philosophy, in science. Nothing else can be authorship."

(b) "The purpose of the schools, it seems to me, should be to prepare boys and girls, or young men and young women, for life; and life in this country is, in the main, eminently practical. It is true that it may be argued that the ability to 'think literary thoughts and to write them down with literary force and grace,' may not be unpractical, but the large majority of those whom we teach in the schools will not be called upon to do these things, and if they were, would not find that they have the ability to do them. Our chief purpose as teachers, then, I believe, should be to prepare students to meet the actual conditions which will confront them after they are out of college, and these are mainly practical.

"I may say in addition to the rather brief replies which I have given to the three questions, that my attitude toward this subject has almost completely changed in the ten or twelve years during which I have been engaged in teaching English composition. At first I felt strongly that it was the business of the teacher of composition to lead the young, or the older, to 'think literary thoughts and to write them down with literary force and grace,' and I expended all my energies to accomplish this end. My efforts were very satisfactory to me until I discovered that the people whom I had taught to write so easily and gracefully, and as it seemed to me effectively, were quite unable to express the ordinary ideas of life, either with clearness or force. I have gradually grown to believe that as they express their thoughts upon ordinary matters which every day concern them, as they work primarily for correctness and clearness, they are better prepared in time for real authorship, and it is because of this experience that I believe as I do."

After this presentation of representative opinions on the question suggested by the two quotations, there can be little doubt that conflicting ideals, both in aims and methods, are firmly held by many of the leading teachers of English throughout the country. More than one passage, however, in the contributions to this discussion would seem to show that in some cases the differences are not irreconcilable, for there is general agreement that the less attractive, formal side of the art must be thoroughly taught, as well as matters that are delightful and stimulating.

It is probable, too, that all would urge the importance of sincere and natural expression from the beginning, and the avoidance of anything like posing, or whatever is characteristic of the literary prig. But, in the interests of educational theory and practice, it is to be hoped that the questions here raised will not be dropped, either here or elsewhere, until they have been discussed with the thoroughness that their importance demands.

The report was discussed by Professors H. E. Shepherd, E. E. Hale, F. N. Scott, E. H. Magill, and J. W. Bright.

Under the auspices of the Pedagogical Section, "A Description of the Preparation of a Modern Language Teacher in a French Lycée" was presented by Mr. A. François Monod, of Columbia University.

The Committee on International Correspondence submitted the following report :

Since the Report made one year ago by your Committee on International Correspondence, by keeping the matter before the people through the Public Press, and by an extensive correspondence on both sides of the ocean, the general interest in this modern supplement to the instruction in modern Languages has been considerably increased. One of the important agencies to this end has been the establishment of an Annual, appearing at Easter of every year, printed, at first, in the three most important of the modern languages, English, French, and German. In the last number Italian and Spanish have been added. The Journal is called, in English, "Comrades All." This Annual is published at a very low rate, through the liberality of its English Editor, W. T. Stead, of the *Review of Reviews*, and we have lately offered to furnish a copy of it free to each new subscriber to the International correspondence, as being useful in class, and as increasing the interest of students in their work.

The number of correspondents in French has continued about the same as last year; and through the aid of different teachers in France (the most active and efficient of whom has been Prof. Gaston Mouchet), the applications for French have been easily and promptly supplied. The number of applications for Italian and Spanish has continued very small; for Italian, Signor E. Moneta, of the Committee for International Peace in Milan, has found correspondents for all who want them; in Spain we cannot be said, as yet, to have an established bureau, but for our few Spanish applicants we have been most indebted to Señor E. Gayrand, "directeur du Lycée Polyglotte" in Valencia.

We come finally to speak of the German correspondence, which, for various reasons, has encountered more obstacles than that in the other languages. In the German Bureau alone has a charge been made for supplying correspondents. This has necessitated a greater charge on the part of this bureau than is made for the other languages, and the sum of twenty-five cents for each name has been tried. As the "Comrades All," promised to each applicant for a correspondent costs more than half of this sum, this charge does not seem unreasonable. But even this sum would be a very small obstacle, if it had been possible to make sure of correspondents in German. We may say that the greater part of those for whom application has been made in the last two years, have failed to receive the correspondent. This has so discouraged applicants for German that the number of these has been small the present year, and we have finally concluded not to make any charge for German correspondents until the correspondent has been actually received. And, furthermore, we have stopped sending names and addresses to the German Bureau, but simply order from there the *number* of students called for by the correspondents in America, and assign them to the proper parties ourselves, after these names are sent to the American Bureau. It may be best to pursue this course with the other languages. There would seem to be no reason why the bureaus of the different countries should not be all placed on the same basis, each applying only to the foreign bureau, and not to the schools and colleges direct, and each bureau making the needed small charge to the students of its own nation only.

In view of the various difficulties and complications attending this important work, we would recommend to the Association the release of the present unnecessarily large Committee, and the appointment of a Committee of five, naming a Chairman, a Deputy Chairman for French and a Deputy Chairman for German, and two other members to be appointed by the outgoing President.

The necessary expenses for postage, stationery, type-writing, printing, etc., have, the present year, considerably exceeded the receipts for the year, for reasons that this report must make obvious, but for these the means have been provided without making any charge to the Association. It would seem that it would facilitate the work of the Chairman and his two Deputies to be near each other and in easy communication and sympathy with each other, and that the full report should be made to the Association each year, made up by the Chairman from his own labors, and from the reports received by him from his two Deputies.

With the changes proposed in this report, it is hoped that a much more successful result and a much better financial showing may be made at the end of another year.

EDWARD H. MAGILL, *Chairman.*

The report was approved. On motion of Professor C. Thomas, it was voted that the present Committee be relieved

and that a Committee of five (consisting of a Chairman, a Deputy Chairman for French, a Deputy Chairman for German, and two other members) be appointed by the President. The President then appointed: Professor E. H. Magill, Chairman; Professor Isabelle Bronk, Deputy Chairman for French; Professor B. F. Battin, Deputy Chairman for German; Mr. W. B. Snow; Professor J. S. Nollen.

Professor H. E. Greene, having asked permission to bring before the Association a matter that had been intrusted to him, proposed the appointment of a committee to study the problems of English spelling and consider suggestions for its improvement. On motion of Professor Greene, it was voted, after discussion by Professors E. H. Magill, J. W. Bright, C. Thomas, W. E. Mead, and Dr. A. B. Lyman, that the President of the Association appoint a Committee on English Spelling. The President appointed: Professors O. F. Emerson, H. C. G. Brandt, C. G. Child, H. E. Greene, G. Hempl, W. E. Mead, E. S. Sheldon, C. Thomas, H. A. Todd.

The reading of papers was resumed.

7. "Chaucer's Lines on the Monk (*Canterbury Tales*, 177-178)." by Professor O. F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University. [Printed in *Modern Philology*, I, 1.]

[The lines in question are:

He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen.

That seith that hunters been nat holy men.

They have not been so fully expounded as to bar another word. In particular, the "text" itself has not been found, although Professor Skeat refers us with some assurance to the legend of Nimrod. It is the purpose of this paper to show that an important commentary upon this passage may be found in Walton's *Angler* and that the text itself has been determined with reasonable certainty. Further, it may be shown that this text and the mediæval conceptions on which it is based explain a number of other passages, especially in Old and Middle English translations of the Bible.—*Ten minutes.*]

8. "The Old French Versified *Apocalypse* of the Kerr

Manuscript." By Professor H. A. Todd, of Columbia University.

[The version of the *Apocalypse* contained in the ms. recently acquired by John Edward Kerr, Jr., Esq., of New York, has apparently not heretofore been studied. The present paper gives an account of its characteristics, and will be accompanied by a complete edition of the text.—*Twenty minutes.*]

9. "The *Dichter* in the *Vorspiel auf dem Theater* in Goethe's *Faust*." By Professor Henry Wood, of Johns Hopkins University. [See the author's edition of the First Part of *Faust*, to appear during 1903-04.]

[The dialogue on youth and age between *Dichter* and *Lustige Person* is discussed from the point of view of autobiography and literary reminiscence, with particular reference to a *spruch* of Hans Sachs.]

This paper was discussed by Professor C. Thomas.

10. "A Pioneer in the Study of Anglo-Saxon." By Mr. A. A. Kern, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[Edward Droomgoole Sims (1805-1845), A. B., 1824, A. M., 1827, University of North Carolina. He was first Professor in La Grange College, Ala., then in Randolph-Macon College (1832-35); he next studied at Halle (1835-38), and returned to Randolph-Macon College as Professor of English Literature (1838-42). He closed his life as Professor of English Literature in the University of Alabama (1842-1845). He is the author of an Anglo-Saxon Grammar (in ms.) which preceded that of Klipstein. An account of this grammar will be given. *Twenty minutes.*]

11. "Recent Researches in Experimental Phonetics." By Professor E. W. Scripture, of Yale University.

[Exhibit of voice curves of the typical sounds of American English, of a speech by Chauncey Depew, of a recitation of *Der Fichtenbaum*; description of a new machine for tracing off records of the French "phonographe Lioret," with exhibit of curves; exhibit of a self-registering artificial palate; description of a vowel machine.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

[The annual meeting of the American Dialect Society was held in McCoy Hall at 2.30 p. m.]

THIRD SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

The session began at 3.30 p. m.

12. "Gottfried's *Tristan* from the Standpoint of Morality." By Professor Daniel B. Shumway, of the University of Pennsylvania. [To appear in *Modern Philology*, I, 3.]

[The purpose of the paper is to prove that the charge of immorality, so frequently made, is undeserved. The morality of a piece of literature is to be judged by the underlying motive. The ideals of the Middle Ages differed in many respects from those of to-day (conception of *être*, love, truthfulness, etc.). Gottfried is a child of his time, and must be judged from his own standpoint, not from ours. His intention is to depict an overpowering passion and the misery it wrought. He observes the utmost delicacy and tact in dealing with delicate situations.—*Twenty minutes.*]

13. "America in the Popular and Student Poetry of Germany." By Mr. Emil A. C. Keppler, of Columbia University.

[A discussion of the reason why there is no early mention of America in the popular and didactic poetry of Germany: Goethe, Herder, Schubart, Schiller, etc. Indian, Slave, Revolutionary, and didactic songs and poems of the 18th and 19th centuries. Freiligrath was the starting point for folk songs, Mathias Claudius for student songs and poems of the day. "Wandersongs" and Student songs.]

The difference between the attitude of Germany, in the 16th and 17th centuries, towards our country and its discovery, and that of other Continental countries and England is due to the internal dissensions in Germany and also to the fact that Germany was not a sea-power.

In the middle of the 18th century, and even after, interest was exceedingly keen, owing to the greater political importance of Germany and of America, and owing, also to the liberty-loving and idealistic character of the Germans, who recognized a kinship in aim between America and themselves. No poet of Germany of any account since the days of Goethe and Schiller has failed to say something about America.

Through the medium of the great poets "America" entered into the ken of the people; and by the constant stream of emigrants, who retained their home ties by constant correspondence with the fatherland, the popular mind was thoroughly but very vaguely filled with notions of America.

This gave rise to songs still current and, apparently, still coming into being about the German wanderers to America. These are true folk songs.

The names will sufficiently indicate their character; "Die Auswanderer" (1896), "Lied der Elsässer Auswanderer" (1845-1850), "In Philadelphia"; "Meister Uriases Reise" is almost a popular song.

The student songs are decreasing, as can be seen by comparing the *Kommersbücher* for the years 1870 and 1901. But a few can be mentioned: "Der Pfarrherr Carl Pistorius aus Freiburg," "Franz Drake," "Bruder Straubinger," and "Eine Pfeife Tubac."

The tendency of the student songs is the reverse of the popular song; these latter glorify America as a refuge from oppression, while the student songs make it out to be a place for the scum of the earth.—*Ten minutes.*]

14. "The Contribution of Symbolism to the Evolution of Literature in the Nineteenth Century." By Dr. A. Schinz, of Bryn Mawr College. [See *Publications*, XVIII, 2.]

[Symbolism is the most representative protest against Naturalism, *i. e.*, the tendency to reduce art to the mere observation of scientific laws, which are only means of rough classification of phenomena for the convenience of scholars, and by no means adequate to the real complexity of nature. Hence Symbolism stands for: (1) the inclination to odd and eccentric creations that baffle any attempt at scientific treatment; (2) the use of the indirect symbolic language in order to avoid accurate and minute description; (3) the theory of the "*vers libre*," according to which there are as many good forms of poetry as there are individual poetic feelings.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper gave rise to an animated discussion between Professor A. Cohn, Dr. A. Schinz, Professor E. E. Hale, and Dr. F. H. Sykes.

15. "The Fable Referred to in *Aliscans*." By Professor E. S. Sheldon, of Harvard University. [See *Publications*, XVIII, 2.]

[The old reading of the line concerned is: "Est ce la fable du tor et del mouton?" Paris would change the last word to *nuiton*, understanding that the allusion is to a lost fable. He thinks *nuiton* the original word because scribes would not have changed *mouton* to *nuiton*, while the change of *nuiton* to *mouton* was easy, for *nuiton* was a rare word which embarrassed copyists. Objections to this are (1) that *nuiton* probably was not a rare word, and (2) that the *nuiton*, not being a fable animal, cannot well have been in the fable originally. Manuscript evidence alone is in this case indecisive.—Another way of attacking the problem. Consider the situation. The king seems to be about to break his promise to help Guillaume.

Then the fable was probably one the point of which is the shameless breaking of a promise. It must have been well known, to be referred to as it is by the poet, therefore it is not likely to have been lost. Is there a known mediæval fable which fits this situation, and in which the names of the animals are not too far away from the manuscript readings in this passage? A further requirement may even be that one of the animals is the *mouton*. There is such a fable; it is that of the Wolf and the Ram, found in different versions in Marie de France (No. 50, in Warnke's edition) and elsewhere. The wolf has taken a vow to fast. He meets the ram, and evades his vow by calling the ram a salmon and eating him as such.—*Ten minutes.*]

This paper was discussed at some length by Dr. G. C. Keidel and Professor F. M. Warren.

16. "*Holme Riddles of Harleian ms. 1960 (Brit. Mus.)*" By Professor Frederick Tupper, Jr., of the University of Vermont. [See *Publications*, xviii, 2.]

[I. Manuscript: (1) Text, (2) Date and Scribe, (3) The Four Randle Holmes of Chester. II. Matter and style. III. The Riddles. IV. History: (1) Relation to English Riddle Collections, (2) Native and Continental Analogies, (3) Place in Riddle Literature.—*A ten-minute summary.*]

17. "The Gender of English Loan-Nouns in Norse Dialects in America: a Contribution to the Study of the Development of Grammatical Gender." By Professor George T. Flom, of the State University of Iowa. This paper was presented under the auspices of the American Dialect Society. In the absence of the author, it was read by Professor O. F. Emerson. [Printed in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, v, 1.]

[A consideration of the three theories of the nature and origin of grammatical gender, according to Humboldt-Grimm, Brugmann-Michels, and Wheeler-Paul. A discussion of the influences that have determined the gender of English loan-nouns in Norse. Under the general head of (group) associations, the subject will be taken up under the subdivisions of formal and functional groups. As far as the results obtained from the study of a particular dialect—Norse—can be applied to the question of the origin of gender, it will be in support of Wheeler's theory.—*Twenty minutes.*]

The Association met at 8 p. m., in McCoy Hall, to hear an

address by Professor James W. Bright, President of the Association, "Concerning the Unwritten History of this Association." [See p. xli.]

After the address, the members of the Association were received by Mr. Theodore Marburg and by Mrs. Gaston Manly.

FOURTH SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31.

The session began at 10.10 a. m.

18. "Cynewulf and Alcuin." By Mr. Carleton F. Brown, of Harvard University. [See *Publications*, xviii, 2.]

[A re-examination of the evidence for the dependence of Cynewulf in his Judgment Day description in the *Elene* (vv. 1277-1320) upon a similar description in Alcuin's *De Fide Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis* (Lib. III, Cap. 21).—A twenty-minute abstract.]

This paper was discussed by Dr. J. M. Garnett and Professor J. W. Bright.

The Auditing Committee reported that the 'Treasurer's report was found correct, and recommended its acceptance. The recommendation was adopted.

The Committee on Place of Meeting recommended the acceptance of the invitation of the University of Michigan to meet a year hence in Ann Arbor.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,

ANN ARBOR, December 23, 1902.

In behalf of the authorities of this University, I beg to invite the Modern Language Association to hold their meeting a year hence at this place. We shall be most happy to furnish all facilities for the Society, and to give you a most cordial greeting.

JAMES B. ANGELL, *President*.

The recommendation was adopted, and it was voted "that

the Central Division be cordially invited to meet with us in Ann Arbor."

The Nominating Committee reported the following nominations :

President : George Hempl, University of Michigan.
 Secretary : C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University.
 Treasurer : H. C. G. von Jagemann, Harvard University.

Executive Council.

F. M. Warren, Yale University.
 H. C. G. Brandt, Hamilton College,
 Francis B. Gummere, Haverford College.
 John B. Henneman, University of the South.
 John M. Manly, University of Chicago.
 W. H. Carruth, University of Kansas.
 Walter D. Toy, University of North Carolina.
 Raymond Weeks, University of Missouri.
 Alcée Fortier, Tulane University of Louisiana.

Pedagogical Section.

President : F. N. Scott, University of Michigan.
 Secretary : W. E. Mead, Wesleyan University.

Editorial Committee.

C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University.
 Raymond Weeks, University of Missouri.
 Calvin Thomas, Columbia University.
 James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University.

The candidates nominated were elected officers of the Association for 1903.

[The Executive Council subsequently elected the following

Vice-Presidents, to serve as members of the Executive Committee :

John M. Manly, First Vice-President,
W. H. Carruth, Second Vice-President,
F. M. Warren, Third Vice-President.]

On motion of the Secretary, it was voted :

That the next volume of the *Publications* of the Association be dedicated to James W. Bright, as a token of gratitude for his great services.

On motion of Professor F. N. Scott, it was voted, after discussion by Professors W. E. Mead, H. Collitz, H. A. Todd, O. F. Emerson, and A. M. Elliott :

(1) That the Committee on Bibliography be instructed to prepare a list of American contributions to Modern Language Philology for the years 1901 and 1902, or, at the discretion of the Committee, for either one of these years.

(2) That this list, when it is prepared, be printed in the *Publications*.

(3) That the sum of \$250 be appropriated from the treasury of the Association to meet the expense of preparation.

(4) That the Committee be authorized to add to its members such other persons as may be needed to carry on this work.

On motion of Professor F. M. Warren, it was voted :

That the Modern Language Association of America authorize its Secretary to draw on the Treasurer of the Association, for clerical or other assistance during the fiscal year 1903, the sum of \$200, or such part thereof as the Secretary may find expedient.

The reading of papers was resumed :

19. "The Structure of Dante's *Vita Nuova*." By Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, of Yale University. [See *Publications*, xviii, 3.]

[The symmetrical arrangement of the lyrics in the *Vita Nuova*, pointed out by Prof. C. E. Norton in 1859, appears from a recently published letter to have been first noticed by Gabriele Rossetti about 1836. A discussion of the attempt made by Sig. M. Scherillo to overthrow the theory of symmetrical arrangement, and an examination of the bearing of this theory on other problems connected with the *Vita Nuova*.—*A ten-minute summary*.]

20. "The Authorship of the *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*." By Professor Adolphe Cohn, of Columbia University.

[This paper is an examination and a critique of the arguments by which Ernest Dupuy tries to prove that the *Paradoxe* in its present form was written, not by Diderot, but by his editor, Naigeon, and of the arguments in rebuttal of Dupuy's contention.—*Twenty minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Dr. A. Schinz and Professor F. M. Warren.

21. "The Source of the Cædmonian *Exodus*." By Professor James W. Bright, of the Johns Hopkins University.

[Junius entailed a misleading title to the Cædmonian poems, *Paraphrasis Poetica*. The inheritance is still safe in the hands of ten Brink, who describes "the paraphrases of the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel." These poems represent selection and poetic treatment of typical scripture. They presuppose collective interpretation of scripture in relation to the central truth of each. It was for purposes of "service" that scripture was first thus significantly selected; and it is in this liturgical procedure therefore that we may reasonably expect to find the poet's themes.—*A ten-minute summary*.]

22. "Classical Mythology in Shakespeare." By Dr. Robert K. Root, of Yale University. [See *Yale Studies in English*, XIX.]

[I. The Classical Mythology in Shakespeare is overwhelmingly Ovidian. Virgil is but slightly represented; Greek authors not at all. II. Shakespeare gradually came to feel the insincerity of this mythology, first laughing at it, then excluding it, later readmitting it in a more elevated form. III. From these facts we gain a new sort of evidence in questions of authenticity and chronology.—*Twenty minutes*.]

This paper was discussed by Professors H. E. Shepherd, H. E. Greene, E. E. Hale, H. Wood, and Dr. M. W. Croll.

23. "A Tentative Generalization in English Syntax." By Professor C. Alphonso Smith, of the University of North Carolina.

[English syntax is essentially a syntax of short circuits. The laws of concord, if they operate at all, must operate at close quarters. Ours is syntactically an ear language. Syntactical relations do not span wide spaces. It is otherwise in Latin and Greek. Illustrations.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professors E. C. Armstrong, J. W. Bright, and E. E. Hale.

At the close of the session, the members of the Association were hospitably entertained at the Woman's College of Baltimore.

FIFTH SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31.

The Association began its fifth and last session at 3.20 p. m.

24. "The Ceremonies incident to *Fiançailles* and *Épousailles* in the French *Romans d'Aventures*." By Mr. F. L. Critchlow, of Princeton University.

[I. A résumé of the conditions, ecclesiastical and political, of the times in which the *Romans d'Aventures* were written, with reference to nuptial ceremonial. II. Tutelage and the rites connected with engagement. III. Weddings; the function of the Church in their celebration, and the festivities after the Church ceremonies. IV. The Ceremonies conducted by the priest at the bed-side and the *donum matutinale*.—*A twenty minute abstract.*]

25. "Theatrical Conditions affecting Shakespeare's Technique." By Professor Edward E. Hale, Jr., of Union College. [Printed in *Modern Philology*, I, 1.]

[The paper exhibits the usage of Shakespeare in regard to the following theatrical conditions of the Elizabethan Stage and their influence upon his art:—1. Material conditions. The Double Stage; the Balcony; the Trap-door; the lack of Curtain; the lack of Scenery; the Character of Stage Costume; Special Properties (Hobby-horse, &c.)—2. Dramatic conditions. The Prologue, Chorus, Epilogue; the Boy Actors in Female Parts; the Dumb Show; Extempore Speeches and Comic Horse-play; Sword and Buckler play; Flourishes of Trumpets.—In general the paper endeavors

to separate out those parts of Shakespeare's plays, and those usages, which were temporal in character, and also to show how he turned to his own purpose the conditions which he found about him.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discussed by Professor H. E. Shepherd, Dr. J. W. Cunliffe, Dr. F. H. Sykes, and Professor F. M. Warren.

26. "A Defense and Interpretation of the Ninth Book of Wolfram's *Parzival*." By Professor A. B. Faust, of Wesleyan University. [To appear in *Modern Philology*, I, 2.]

[The attempt will be made to answer the objections of Bötticher, in *Das Hohelied vom Rittertum*, Excurs, pp. 81-86, and *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Bd. 45 (1901), pp. 149-152, with regard to faulty composition, incoherence of thought, etc., and then to give an interpretation of the author's meaning, emphasizing the distinct merits of the book as a literary masterpiece.—*Twenty minutes.*]

27. "Browning's *Book*." By Professor Charles W. Hodell, of the Woman's College of Baltimore.

[A description of the "Book" from which Browning derived the story and the characters of *The Ring and the Book*. The "Book" is and always has been a unique copy. The transcript used is the first one that has come to America.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

On motion of Professor E. E. Hale, it was

Resolved, That this Association expresses its great pleasure in revisiting the City of Baltimore, and thanks most heartily the authorities of the Johns Hopkins University for the invitation extended. Sincere thanks are due also to the Woman's College of Baltimore, which opened its doors to us. We are glad to acknowledge the characteristic hospitality of Baltimore as exhibited in the cordial welcome offered by Mr. and Mrs. Brush, by Mr. Marburg, and by Mrs. Manly, by the Arundell Club, the Johns Hopkins Club, and the University Club. We desire particularly to record our appreciation of the genial kindness of Professor Gildersleeve. And for their efforts, which enabled the Association to enjoy all these and many other pleasant opportunities, we are most grateful to the Chairman and the other members of the Local Committee.

On motion of Dr. J. M. Garnett, it was

Resolved, That the Association conveys to its President, James W. Bright, its thanks for the courtesy and efficiency with which he has discharged the duties of his office.

The Association adjourned at five o'clock.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE.

The following papers, presented to the Association, were read by title only :

1. "The Breaking before *h* and Palatal Umlaut." By Professor C. G. Child, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[In this paper, the possibility is discussed that, contrary to received opinion, the breaking before *h* + consonant was not general throughout Anglo-Saxon. The current view that this breaking took place in Anglian and was monophthongized by palatal umlaut is a conclusion based merely upon the prevalence of palatal umlaut. Examination of the vowel *æ*, assumed to be due to palatal umlaut of *ea* (*æa*), shows this assumption to be incorrect, and affords evidence that it represents the original vowel unbroken. Palatal umlaut in general is considered, and incidentally (in connection with the mistaken view proposed by Chadwick and others that long vowels are susceptible to breaking) the whole subject of contraction.]

2. "A Study of the Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooks." By Dr. Morris W. Croll, of Philadelphia, Pa. [Published as a monograph, 1903.]

[I. The Sonnet-Cycle *Cælica*: a discussion of the relation of the first half to Sidney, and of the style and date of the poems in the second half, with reference to their significance in the history of the Elizabethan sonnet-cycle. II. The Dramas: the lost play; the relation of the extant dramas to the second group of English Senecan plays, and their indirect influence on the heroic drama of the Restoration. III. The Treaties: their literary history and their relations with other works by different writers. IV. The Prose Works: an analysis of their style; a discussion of the *Letter to an Honorable Lady*.]

3. "Another View Concerning the Origin of Primitive Germanic Decorative Art." By Professor George T. Files, of Bowdoin College.

[1. Statement of the prevailing view among authorities on Art that the Irish developed a particular and peculiar style of decorative art, known as The Irish School. Known largely from the illuminations of early Saxon manuscripts.—2. Origin of this view.—3. Refutation: this peculiarly beautiful though barbarous style is probably not Irish, but rather Primitive Germanic. It is a product of the limitations of tools used in carving wood and stone, combined with mythological material for a basis. It was prevalent among all early Germanic nations and reached its highest development in England and on the Scandinavian Peninsula.]

4. "The Account of the Death of King Arthur in the *Chronicon Monasterii de Hales* (Brit. Mus. ms. Colton Cleop. D. III)." By Professor Robert H. Fletcher, of Washington University. [See *Publications*, xviii, 1.]

[Inserted in the very summary early portion of the chronicle is a full account of the last hours of King Arthur, remotely related in some detail to the version in the *Morte Arthur* of the Thornton ms. It represents Arthur, while reposing after the battle with Modred, as being stabbed with a poisoned spear, and describes his funeral in Venedocia, during the course of which his body disappears].

5. "Five Unpublished Letters of J. W. Schlegel." By Dr. Albert Haas, of Bryn Mawr College.

[The letters were found in the Library of Geneva. They were written in 1767-1768 from Copenhagen to one Reverdil, a friend of Schlegel, and treat of the writer's domestic affairs and his history of Denmark.]

6. "The Melody of Verse." By Professor Martha Anstice Harris, of Elmira College.

[Time, accent, and pitch are sources of our pleasure in verse. The two former have been elaborately investigated, the latter has not. Scientific investigation concerning speech sounds, now slowly accumulating, represents possibilities in regard to the accurate determination of pitch, which throw light upon its function in the melody of verse.]

7. "A French Canadian Dialect." By Professor E. C. Hills, of Colorado College. [See *Publications*, xviii, 3.]

[The result of a recent study of a spoken dialect: a brief presentation of the more important facts of pronunciation, inflection, and syntax.]

8. "Rhetorical Ideas of the Sixteenth Century." By Professor Edward E. Hale, Jr., of Union College. [See *Publications*, xviii, 3.]

[The present study deals only with diction; sentence structure and figure are reserved for later treatment. The paper gives a view of the thoughts and speculation (in England) on rhetorical topics. The main points are: Traces of rhetorical ideas in the 15th century; Elyot's theory of borrowed words pursued through four or five of his works; Cheke's theory of the use of the native element, as exhibited in his translation of Matthew; Wilson's and Puttenham's rhetorical ideas on diction; Tyndale's practice in the use of the vernacular as opposed to ecclesiastical terms; the usage of the Prayer Book as to native and foreign element; Nash's ideas on the use of coined words. The whole illustrated by some comparison with current theory in Italy and France.]

9. "The Tragic Problem in Grillparzer's *Sappho*." By Dr. O. E. Les-

sing, of Smith College. [Published, under the title "Sappho-Probleme," in *Euphorion*, x, 3.]

[Sappho does not come into conflict with superior powers, nor is there a tragic crisis within her own self. She does not perish by asserting her individuality as an artist, but puts an end to her life because of an accidental disappointment. "Künstlertragödie" and "Liebestragödie" go side by side without being woven into an organic unit.]

10. "On the Wulfilanic Alphabet." By Professor E. H. Mensel, of Smith College. [To appear in *Modern Philology*, I, 2 or 3.]

[An attempt to refute Wimmer's theory that the Gothic alphabet is derived from the Greek, and to support, in agreement with the position of Zacher, a view of the late Professor Hench that Wulfila was influenced in the formation of his alphabet primarily by considerations for the Futhark, as shown by his sound analysis, his selection of Latin letters, and his vowel notation.]

11. "A Co-operative Bibliography of English Philology." By Dr. Clark S. Northup, of Cornell University.

[Present bibliographical facilities for the study of the English language and literature are inadequate. A bibliography (complete for the language and for Old and M. E. literature, and very full for Mn. E. literature) prepared under the supervision of Professor Hart of Cornell, is approaching completion. This should be supplemented by an annual co-operative bibliography prepared by members of the Association.]

12. "Chaucer and Trivet." By Miss Kate O. Petersen, of Brooklyn, N. Y. [See *Publications*, xviii, 2.]

[This paper is a brief discussion of the relation of Chaucer's *Boethius* to its French and Latin sources.]

13. "The Influence of Spanish Literature in the Dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher." By Mr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[An attempt has been made for the first time to determine the nature and the extent of Spanish influence upon Beaumont and Fletcher. Each play has been considered separately and a direct comparison made with its Spanish original; a glossary has also been prepared of all Castilian words used in the plays. Ten dramas were influenced by Cervantes,—five by *Don Quixote*, four by the *Novelas Exemplares* and one by *Persiles y Sigismunda*. Two were taken from Cespedes y Meneses' *Gerardo*; one (of a *picaro* type) from Guzman de Alfarache; one each from De Flores' *Aurelio y Isabella*, Lope de Vega's *El Peligrino en su Patria*, one from a successor to Lope de Rueda, and Argensola's *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*. Fifty-two plays are

usually attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher, and of these the sources of eighteen have not been determined; of the thirty-four whose sources are known seventeen have been accredited to Spanish originals. Consequently one-third of the entire number of their plays was indebted to the Literature of the Peninsula, or one-half of the number of those whose sources have been determined. In this paper a comparison has been made between the "Golden Age" of the Spanish Drama and the corresponding period in the English drama; an attempt has also been made to discover the possible influence of Lope de Vega and the *comedias de capa y espada* on the English comedy of manners.]

14. "Christian Gottfried Böckh's *Altd deutsches Glossarium*." By Professor F. G. G. Schmidt, of the University of Oregon.

[This unpublished manuscript by Böckh, who died in 1792, was purchased a few months ago. The *Glossarium* is based upon the vocabulary of forty-two Old German books, which are mentioned on the first two pages of the ms. It contains about 318 words, most of which are very uncommon and not found even in Grimm's *Wörterbuch* and other large German dictionaries. Almost every word is explained and accompanied by quotations from the works mentioned at the beginning of the *Glossarium*.]

15. "The Prose Style of Richard Rolle of Hampole." By Mr. J. Philip Schneider, of the Johns Hopkins University. [To appear during 1903-04 as a Johns Hopkins dissertation.]

[Anticipatory Euphuism. Fourteenth century prose, notably that of Richard Rolle, abounds in artificialities, in resemblances to Euphuism. Prose Style as a test of authorship applied to the works of Richard Rolle.]

16. "The Authorship of the Schlegel Fragment, *Die Amazonen*." By Professor G. L. Swiggett, of the University of Missouri. [To appear in *Modern Philology*, 1, 3.]

[The fragment is first mentioned in a letter by F. Schlegel, Paris, Jan. 15, 1803; it is neither discussed in A. W. Schlegel's Berlin-Vienna lectures, *Europa* essay (Bd. I, St. 2), nor included in his *Spanisches Theater* (1803-1809). From internal evidence, as well as from Schlegel's treatment of Calderon's plays, the fragment cannot be assigned to Calderon, as has been done since the appearance of the Böking edition (1846), in which it is contained.

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THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON THE THIRTIETH OF DECEMBER, 1902, AT THE
TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION,
HELD AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.
BY JAMES WILSON BRIGHT.

CONCERNING THE UNWRITTEN HISTORY OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

This is the twentieth annual meeting of our Association, and it has been thought of as a suitable event for marking off a first period of our history. A score of years is a sufficiently conventional unit of measure to assure the form and the significance of a celebration of that character, and the nearness to the hyphen of the centuries would also lend appropriateness to our first comprehensive retrospection. But these thoughts have not been 'submitted' regularly to the Association; they have, on the contrary, not spread much beyond the few individual minds of their spontaneous and coincident birth, and therefore no authorized historic sketch has been prepared, no tablet has been inscribed, no bronze is to be unveiled.

These special circumstances of this meeting, however, it must be acknowledged, have been regarded as indications of a subject suitable for the present address. At least the word 'history' in the title would thus be accounted for; and whatever hope of protection may be fixed in the apologetic 'concerning,' it is by an acquired instinct that we feel it to be *locum tenens* in our professional literature, a titular lieutenant that could not be spared lest our mental processes might become dissociated for one fatal moment from the German *über*. But it is especially necessary to issue a warning against a possible misapprehension of 'history' as here qualified. By 'unwritten history' shall be meant the direct and complete contrast to mere history. This should be kept in mind.

It follows, therefore, that whereas history in the usual sense is an orderly composition, with complexity of details brought under the law of unity of design, a trustworthy account of all events in chronological sequence, interpreted by an impartial judgment and by unbiassed feeling, 'unwritten history' is acquitted of any adherence whatsoever to this canon of virtues.

For what is here meant an approximate definition would be given in the Greek *ἀνέκδοτα*, 'unpublished things'; but somewhat more specifically the aim of reference is levelled at such experiences as those which the historian often misunderstands or overlooks altogether.

But whose experiences? As there can be no common experience which is not made up of individual experiences, there will be no misunderstanding if it be replied, The experiences of the Association. And as the following rambling recital of some of these experiences proceeds, it is, consequently, the privilege of each one enrolled on the list of members,—not excluding any one whose name, in the wisdom of the treasurer has, early or late, been cancelled from that list,—to make direct appropriation of as many of the more congenial experiences as he may feel constrained to assume, and to refer the more grievous ones to the comprehensive and impersonal personality of the Association. We shall thus be aided in flattering all and in offending none.

There can be no arraignment of organization, cries the public orator, and the people respond, Let there be organization in politics, in finance, in industries, in trade, in science, in education, in religion, in charity. The orator rejoins, There are countless activities of mind and muscle, and all-pervading feelings and impulses of the human heart, but greater than these is organization. In the circumstances there was nothing to do but to organize; and at the risk, therefore, of incurring the charge of trespassing upon the privileges of the normal historian, by beginning at the beginning, we shall find in the conditions that led to the formation of this Association concerns and by-concernments of our 'unwritten history.'

In retrospect it may now begin to excite surprise in some minds to be told that certain conditions that might have been conjectured as necessary incitements to our first corporate acts were never experienced. All prophecy of our beginnings would surely have contained a certain element of error, for the veracious historian will have to record no *Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes*.

Two hundred years ago (1704), the master satirist of the most satirical period of our literature published *An Account of a Battle between the Ancient and Modern Books in St. James's Library*. The misanthropic Dean was intensely convinced of human folly and always wrote with a cynical determination to bring about, as he expressed it, "the universal improvement of mankind." This was his avowed purpose in taking up that Gallic War which his great patron had transferred to England.

That was a remarkable war. It originated in the purpose of an encomium on the reign of the Grand Monarch; and the panegyric genius of a Claudian might have convinced that age of talent without genius, that age of practical education without profound learning, that age of organization, that the spontaneous play of the clear and bubbling Helicon and the secret windings of the sweet waters of Arethusa were surpassed by the *Grandes Eaux* of the spigots and stop-cocks of Versailles. That was a remarkable war in which, while sharply defining party-names were borne by the opposing forces, the Commander-in-chief of the 'ancients' fought and won his battle in the ranks of the 'moderns.' That was a remarkable war, that war 'about the higher summit of Parnassus,' in which hot disputes over subordinate details delayed the acknowledgment that upon the main question at issue there could be no ground for differences or hostility of belief.

The end achieved by the *Battle of the Books* was never formally defined. We have grown wiser now and are always ready with our philosophical mutterings. For the resolution of antagonism between Science and Religion, we recommend

more science on the one side, and on the other more religion ; we urge upon Science to become more scientific, and upon Religion to become more religious. If perchance the aim be higher, we say, Let Science become fittingly religious, and let Religion become honestly scientific, and there's the end of the matter. And so we summarize with the 'ancients' and the 'moderns,' asking the 'ancients' to project themselves into the modern world by the logic of inevitable sequence, and the 'moderns,' in reversed order, to be equally sound in historic knowledge, and obedient to historic truth. The 'ancients' we demand, must be modernized into life, and the 'moderns' must be seasoned and disciplined into the dignities of tradition.

But we must revert to that quarrel of the 'ancients' and the 'moderns' to observe that it was remarkable above all for its untimeliness. It was before its time ; and when its time had come, generations later, the solution of the problem was effected by the noiseless and inevitable operation of the great law of progress. When the quarrel was still premature, the minds of men were fascinated by the paradox *antiquitas saeculi iuventus mundi*, according to which, modern times, in strictness of chronology, constitute antiquity, the 'moderns' being the real 'ancients' ; but when, in the fulness of time, the great and beneficent law of the wider vision began to set in, the paradox of the myopic partisan was gradually understood to be the plainest statement of a profound truth. Notions of the successions of times now took the place of notions of the oppositions of times. The minds of men were now fascinated by the observation of the continuity of history and culture. Succession, transmission, growth, evolution, these were the notions that set at naught the folly of that untimely and forever unnecessary quarrel.

The initiative conditions of our organization were therefore conditions not of warfare but of peace, of peace, however, as strenuous as war itself,—but what device of expression has not too often been pressed into the service of describing the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century ! Those were days not of educational warfare, but rather of educational awakening and

questioning and experimentation,—a time of facility in readjustments, in changes of attitude, in revisions of creed. Nor were these chiefly superficial disturbances of the social equanimity; they were the manifestation of a fruition of the times. There were indeed experiences akin to those of a thorough-going reformation, but the main current of events moved on peaceably, noiselessly, and irresistibly.

But there was some noise, it may be objected, and there was strife to overcome stubborn resistance. At this point where the historian might be misled, the truth of the 'unwritten history' must be asserted.

The Phi Beta Kappa orator at Harvard University who had forgotten his Greek alphabet, and the President of Yale University whose knowledge of his vernacular led him to group Anglo-Saxon with Quaternions and to assign to both a place in the hot-house of intellectual exotics, these and all such antagonists were wholly unfitted to make an appeal in behalf of the vital question at issue. Certain educational ideas of greatest importance had indeed gained virility in the saddle of the cavalry officer, and others had become freighted with a commercial value that had accumulated in the office of the Railway Commissioner, and these ideas in their strength and value are still potent, though they have lost their revolutionary demeanor. Other educational ideas of the greatest importance had been kept alive in academic seclusion, and these too have strength and value and will have to the end of time. But let it be repeated that the purposes to be served in the founding of this Association were not involved in an assault upon the classical traditions of the college, in an indictment of a fetish-worship of the Greek language; nor were those purposes either helped or hindered by the comparative tests applied to the 'modernist'-education of the *Realschule* and the 'classicist'-education of the *Gymnasium*.

To understand the purposes of this Association we must dismiss from our minds all notions of a direct relationship with that variety of controversy that has just now been

recalled, though it must be perceived that there is here an indirect relationship that may be easily misunderstood to be direct. It may perhaps have been unwise even thus by elimination to bring suggestions of controversy within the range of our present reflections upon the aims of this Association.

We are now in direct contact with our subject, for it is the countless individual modes of apprehending and of misapprehending the aims of this Association that constitute that 'unwritten history' with which we have to do. But why such diversity in interpretations and misinterpretations? The reply is paradoxical, Because the subject is simple. It is characteristic of educational principles to be simple, and it is equally characteristic of the educational theorist to pervert the effectively simple into aimless and unprofitable complexity.

The third section of the Constitution states the complete purpose for which this Association was organized: "The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and Literatures." That is brief and to the point, if you please; or, if you prefer, it is comprehensive and points everywhere,—St. Augustine himself could not have wished it more capable of all possible interpretations. A possible division emerges here between the 'point' and the 'points,' and the constructionists might accordingly be grouped, with some show of fitness, into the point-party and the points-party, with a residuum left for the pointless party.

A moment's reflection upon this constitution of less than twenty words,—for the article cited is of course in essence the entire constitution,—a moment's reflection, then, upon this written constitution is sufficient to show that the Association has been guided almost entirely by an unwritten constitution. Our present subject would thus seem to require restatement in ampler form; we seem to be committed to consider things relating to the 'unwritten history' of an organization with an unwritten constitution. This extension of our subject, as has already been shown by an anticipatory inference, has more

than the mere appearance of homogeneity ; for the facts of 'unwritten history,' in our special sense, must in many instances be directly referred to conditions made possible by the interpretations of an unwritten constitution.

Among the constructionists—rather the misconstructionists—who saw possibilities of activity in the early conventions of this Association were the foreign fencing-master and dancing-master with the superadded 'arts' of the 'tongues,'—the 'tongues' as accomplishments to be classed with fencing and dancing,—the curling-tongs, as Sir Toby Belch would have it, to 'mend,' to curl our locks which like those of Sir Andrew Aguecheek, we were told, hung "like flax on a distaff." It is gratifying to know that this Association did not yield to the allurements of becoming a Gild of Barbers. It seemed necessary, it was necessary, to assume an indifference to the uses of the curling-tongs.

Other attendants of those early meetings when the Association, now grown so large in all its dimensions, was then yet like Falstaff in his early years "not an eagle's talon in the waist,"—it "could have crept into any alderman's thumb-ring,"—other participants in those early, tentative deliberations were concerned in founding or in finding here a Teachers' Agency. It was remembered, seemingly, that among the Bibles of typographical rarity there was to be found the 'Place-Makers Bible,' in which the beatitude of Matthew v, 9 reads, "Blessed are the place-makers ;" but notwithstanding this extraordinary testimony and endorsement, the Association, we rejoice to say, has not yet become a Teachers' Agency.

And there were present in those early days a known class of advocates of 'methods of teachings.' Now there must be methods for imparting knowledge ; but these over-zealous teachers seemed to expostulate thus, Notice the divisions of the subject, method and knowledge ; two things ; both important ; but, if one can't have both, one should have at least method. History and experience, they seemed to add, attest the value of methods of teaching. Observe Seneca for example ; does he

not impose an inference? the philosopher of morals, was he not the teacher of Nero? a teacher lacking in method? It was however not believed to be the business of the Association to give serious attention to this cause; on the contrary, the temperament of these systematicians was felt to be essentially incompatible with that of the scholar, and this conviction, in view of the cherished purpose of the organization, was happily sufficient to assure their gentle but unflinching suppression.

A knowledge of the modern languages is a help in the pursuit of the natural sciences. Not long ago there was something novel and surprising in the sensation excited by this statement, and it was natural that observers of a certain temperament should see in this Association an adjunct to the Scientific School, to the Polytechnic Institute. That was a substantial gain. It was real progress to pass from the girls' finishing school into the laboratories of the University; and that was sound reasoning that made manifest such a requirement in the equipment of the student of nature for the widest and best citizenship in the world of science. Indeed it must be admitted that all departments of knowledge profited by the idea of world-citizenship, which, in the mediating form of a 'practical' measure, as presented by the science-party, won so much of general approval as to make it available for other applications. And the Association stood in need of just this service when it was striving to make its own idea prevail. If the man of science, whose work in the general opinions and feelings is related to 'practical education,' if the 'practical man' could effect a persuasion that after all we must "trouble ourselves about foreign thought," for we can't "invent the whole thing for ourselves as we go along," then surely the way was in preparation for some acknowledgment of the true basis of sound progress in knowledge and culture, and for something of that "free play of the mind" on all subjects in accordance with the nature of each subject, upon which Matthew Arnold bases the structure of true criticism.

The times, therefore, abounded in helps and hindrances to the achievement of the best. The air was charged with a spirit of alertness; activity was stimulated, and there was insistent looking to results. The lets and hindrances were also principally such as are incident to overstimulation of activity, and to close-ranging valuation of results; for the achievement of the best is usually involved in unostentatious growth, and is, therefore, not "heedless of far gain" nor "greedy for quick returns of profit." And it was for the achievement of the best, let it be iterated, that the Association was striving and has hitherto been striving.

It were easy to find concise and technically adequate expression for the description of this best; but these technicalities are not easily resolved into terms that may be at once plain and adequate. For the general comprehension, let us say for the general reader, for example, it would be difficult to select such a 'course of reading on the subject' (the phrase has a familiar sound) as might suggest preparation of a paper for a literary club, or an examination in a 'University by Correspondence.' From those depressing annual lists of publications on education, from those books, journals, Records, Reports, Proceedings, monographs, addresses, articles (re-printed and misprinted), even the technical reader would be puzzled to collect much that might be available in setting forth in a clear manner the simple yet lofty purpose of this Association.

That purpose was philological, and a concise and technically adequate modification of that third section of the Constitution just cited would therefore be 'the advancement of the philological study of modern life and culture,' or this, 'the advancement of philology in the departments of the modern languages.' That word philological is, of course, at the bottom of all the trouble. But this is not the time to define philology; to do that one should be engaged in history of the most comprehensive and philosophical character, because comprehensively and philosophically philology embraces

history as a department of itself,—a relationship, it may be observed in passing, which has unhappily not affected experience to such a degree as to preclude the advent of the unphilological historian, with whom should be classed the unhistorical student of language and literature, the unhistorical philologist.

It has of course become necessary to divide the science of philology into at least two large departments, philology and history; and to comprehend the meaning and scope of philology under this division, has constituted the unrecorded struggle of many a member of this Association. For is it so very strange to be told that a scholar may not be alive to the complete significance of the science to which he may be devoting his life? He is truly a master that feels the deepest import and measures the widest reaches of his science; and we accordingly find the masters framing definitions in those outlines which their followers may endeavor to fill, each according to the measure of his capabilities, with the content of significant feeling and experience.

Although it would not be to our present purpose to turn directly to the great definitions of philology, yet we may be allowed to avail ourselves of analogy—that never-failing expedient—and turn to masters of modern history for an inferential characterization of modern philology, and possibly for an indirect explanation of some of our less exultant experiences in endeavoring to comprehend the character and range of our science, ‘to see it steadily and to see it whole.’

The *Introductory Lectures on Modern History* delivered sixty years ago (1841–42) in the University of Oxford by Dr. Thomas Arnold show clearly that modern history as well as modern philology has stood in need of sound definition. And that the time for definitions does not rapidly pass away, may be learned by comparing with the lectures of Arnold those of Stubbs delivered on the same foundation in the years 1867–1884. Both lecturers discuss the question, What constitutes modern history? and thus furnish help for

the consideration of the parallel and closely related inquiry, What constitutes modern philology?

The question in Dr. Arnold's words is "whether ancient and modern history in the popular sense of the words differ only in this, that one relates to events which took place before a certain period, and the other to events which have happened since that period; or whether there is a real distinction between them, grounded upon an essential difference in their nature. If they differ only chronologically, it is manifest that the line which separates them is purely arbitrary: and we might equally well fix the limit of ancient history at the fall of the Babylonian monarchy and embrace the whole fortunes of Greece and Rome within what we choose to call modern; or, on the other hand, we might carry on ancient history to the close of the fifteenth century, and place the beginning of modern history at that memorable period which witnessed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the discovery of America, and, only a few years later, the Reformation."

"It seems, however, that there is a real difference between ancient and modern history, which justifies the limit usually assigned to them; the fall, namely, of the western empire; that is to say, the fall of the western empire separates the subsequent period from that which preceded it by a broader line, so far as we are concerned, than can be found at any other point either earlier or later. For the state of things now in existence, dates its origin from the fall of the western empire; so far we can trace up the fortunes of nations which are still flourishing; history so far is the biography of the living; beyond, it is the biography of the dead."

Dr. Arnold's meaning is plain. The modern nations as such have their peculiar historical beginnings. There is a unity in English history, whether it is held to begin with the Angles and Saxons on the island (according to Dr. Arnold) or on the continent (according to Professor Freeman). In like manner an essential principle in historic doctrine is made manifest when Dr. Arnold says: "France and Frenchmen

came into being when the Franks established themselves west of the Rhine. Not that before that period the fathers of the majority of the actual French people were living on the Elbe or the Saal; for the Franks were numerically few, and throughout the south of France the population is predominantly, and much more than predominantly, of Gallo-Roman origin. But Clovis and his Germans struck root so deeply, and their institutions wrought such changes, that the identity of France cannot be carried back beyond their invasion: the older elements no doubt have helped greatly to characterize the existing nation; but they cannot be said by themselves to be that nation."

Dr. Arnold supplies a formula for the distinction between ancient and modern history. The history of a modern nation begins when its principal national elements of race, language, institutions, and religion first meet under conditions for organic combination. Individually and in other combinations these elements may have an antique history; but the new composition into which the old elements may enter marks the beginning of a new history. The subject of modern history thus becomes wide, and complex, and rich in content. In Dr. Arnold's words, "Modern history exhibits a fuller development of the human race, a richer combination of its most remarkable elements." We are not intent upon the enthusiastic comparatives here employed,—the grammarian is familiar with a weakening effect of the comparative,—but we are intent upon the plain truth that dignifies modern history into a profoundly great and worthy science.

The philologist has his corresponding formula for the distinction of the modern periods. Latin grammar and Romance grammar are separated not chronologically merely but significantly by a difference which requires the hypothesis of a new beginning. Primitive Germanic grammar must be theoretically reconstructed in accordance with Indo-European linguistic antiquity on the one side, and on the other in accordance with the new life of the historic Germanic tongues.

The galaxy of 'starred forms' shoots terror into the dismayed breast of the incipient grammarian, but he that survives with the spirit to conjecture, predict, and verify phenomena, to photograph invisible clusters with motions in obedience to Verner's Law, he has begun to apprehend the priesthood of science.

In every department of literature the formula of modernity mediates between the medieval and modern periods and that of antiquity. Mere chronology fails as surely to carry us from Vergil to Dante as it fails to carry us from Plutarch to Montaigne, from Martial to Herrick, from Lucian to Landor, or from Theocritus to Tennyson. The modern drama has its formula of a distinctly new beginning, and a history that is unrivalled in human interest. What is the formula of the *Völuspa*, of the *Muspilli*, and of the *Beowulf*? The "Western hypothesis" challenges the profoundest knowledge of classical antiquity and the exercise of the scientific imagination in the reconstruction of the processes by which cosmographical, mythological, and ethical elements may be transmitted and transformed into new systems. What expression have we for the relation between the Orient and the Occident in fable and story? How do we pass from the *Panchatantra* to the *Decameron*? from Æsop, who has himself become a myth, to Marie de France, who has almost become one? The formula of modernity must also comprise literary art, and the systems of criticism; and it must be enlarged to include the systems of philosophical thought. In its most comprehensive reaches the formula of modernity for both history and philology must represent the blending of the great systems of civilization; the Germanic, the Slavonic, the Celtic, the Greek, the Semitic, and the Latin, these systems in different combinations constitute the fundamental elements of the great European nationalities. From the point of view that might be gained from the just consideration of the formula of modernity, is not modern philology also a profoundly great and worthy science?

Modern philology is therefore significantly marked off from classical philology ; each has its peculiar historic domain, and each has its peculiar set of phenomena, in the manner, however, of departments of one comprehensive science. The schoolmaster in the *Heart of Midlothian* would of course contemptuously refuse to coördinate in dignities the philology of the 'learned languages' and that of the 'modern Babylonian jargons;' and some of his descendants have hardly been dissuaded from adherence to a theory of dimorphism in philology, according to which the 'classical' conditions of crystallization produce diamonds, while the pressure and temperature of the modern periods bring the same substance merely to the state of coal or of graphite.

The 'coördination in dignities' of these departments of philology,—does that phrase suggest chapter upon chapter of our 'unwritten history?' Aubrey De Vere once described the Tories as persons who would "uninvent printing and undiscover America." Have we had experiences, individually and as a society, with academic Toryism that would fain have undiscovered Sanskrit, and uninvented the Indo-European Parent Speech? The disappearance of that Toryism—for it has disappeared—marks a universal change in the academic attitude of mind toward philology in all its departments. The modern philologist has had a struggle, and he has won; the classical philologist has also won, for the cause has been a common cause,—an appeal to the disinterested valuation of the study of life and culture. Philological Congresses now celebrate an achievement which not long ago seemed far in the future,—the advent of an era of academic toleration in matters philological. All departments of philology are now viewed educationally and 'officially' through the same colorless medium, and allowed to group themselves in accordance with the law of their affinities. Nothing could be more satisfactory; and in the circumstances we can have no bitter quarrel with the past. Some suggested recollections of experiences

may, however, help one to realize past problems, and reveal principles for future guidance.

The science of Indo-European philology in establishing the sisterhood of the languages and systems of culture established at once both its inherent unity as a comprehensive science and its inherent division into a sisterhood of philologies. It was the birth of new sciences and the rebirth of old sciences, and a discovery of their interrelations. The traditions of the schools had accordingly to undergo readjustments and to admit innovations.

The schools were affected, even the secondary schools, by such readjustments. For example, the youth of the land was allured by a revision of the Latin and Greek paradigms 'incorporating the latest results in Comparative Grammar so far as they may be of use to the beginner,' so the declaration ran, 'and so far as they may lead to more scientific academic training.' These phrases were most in vogue before America could be said to have contributed much to this high-sounding Comparative Grammar. But a judicious ostentation of scanty knowledge may at times be impressive and even stimulating; and Englishmen and Americans cannot be said to find the art of it especially hard to acquire.

And what was to be done for English? Here one could not, so directly, at least, introduce the 'latest results of Comparative Grammar,' and yet complacency in the old manner was not possible in that newly invigorated atmosphere. Let us teach English as Greek and Latin are taught, imitating the manner as closely as possible, was the conclusion of such as resolve difficulties by cutting the knot. The study of English must be made 'hard' and 'disciplinary' they declared. And so it was made "hard" by the employment of the most foolish methods that ever brought ridicule upon any study.

The wisest observers saw in such revisions and experiments the natural consequences of conditions that were transitional. Indeed 'tentative' and 'transitional' became even generally

familiar as passwords that stopped all further challenge, however vigilant and stern the sentinel. Or, to change the figure, if it be allowed, a habitual frame of mind seemed to be superinduced—like that of the medieval anchorite—by the contemplation of the ‘transitory state’ and the vision of better things to come. Better things were to come, and they have come. The philologies we are having in mind particularly have survived in the most admirable manner a period of fundamental changes and of thoroughgoing tests.

The written history of these sciences during the last three or four decades will be ‘full of interest,’—as the parlance of the profession has it; but its most fascinating chapters will be occupied not so much with the independent career of each as with an interplay of influences between these philologies, an interchange of favors, and a readjustment of the ‘balance of power’ between them. The truest philological insight will be required to compose those chapters that may adequately make manifest what classical philology bequeathed to modern philology, and what modern philology gave in return. There will be a record of inheriting from the classical side the technicalities of systematization and the product of the wisdom of generations in grammar, rhetoric, palæography, archæology, the arts, and criticism. Modern philology will be rewarded for verification of technicalities and traditions by observation of vernacular phenomena. The science of phonetics and the study of living dialects will be described as bringing sheaves to the richly stored old garners. The hegemony of literary centers rising and falling in the midst of dialectal rivalry will be illustrated for Greek by modern European parallels; and the modern literatures will be acknowledged to give additional breath to the view that perceives that the canon of literary art-forms is not closed, that it probably never can be closed. But we shall not pursue further the list of necessary chapter-heads in that history. When one is concerned with ‘unwritten history’ every temptation to become coherent must be resisted.

But let us keep the note of rejoicing sounding upon our ears. Better things have come to pass, and they have come quickly. They have cost the price of founding new departments, and of reinvigorating old departments of ideal pursuits in a practical world where "alle thinges obeyen to moneye;" but we may rejoice that there has been an abundant and a willing expenditure of the required coinage of devotion of heart and personal sacrifice.

This Association has had such a goodly share in the experiences of founding new learning that it may be appropriate to illustrate the point. A short passage from Bishop Stubbs's "Inaugural Lecture" of that series already mentioned will serve the purpose. Referring to the Oxford of "sixteen years ago," he says:

"At that time the professorship of Church History had been founded, and was filled by one [Robert Hussey] who was undoubtedly the founder of the modern study of that subject in Oxford. I mean the study of the history of the Church as a whole, not from points of controversy to supply weapons for the discomfiture of opposing theologians, but as the life of the Christian Church itself. . . . But the theological exigencies of the time had so far narrowed the field of inquiry that it was practically restricted to the first three centuries, or at the outside to the period embraced under the topics of the general councils." And here are some of the hindrances: "The attempt which he made to extend the range by introducing the study of the Venerable Bede as a text-book was, as you are aware, foiled by the impossibility of getting together a lecture on a matter that was neither connected with the controversies of the day, nor required to be known by candidates for holy orders."¹

Parallels to this procedure could be pointed out in many departments of philology. The fetters of traditions that may

¹ *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History and Kindred Subjects.* Oxford, 1886, p. 7 f.

bind a science hand and foot, and the outcry of utility and 'practical wisdom' against disinterested scholarship, experience has made these things altogether familiar. But let the concrete example be kept in mind for a moment longer. The difficulty was to establish the true study of the Christian Church, the Christian Church itself and for its own sake, in the place of the study of controversy for the sake of controversy. And the practical objection was that one could not require of the candidates for holy orders, and consequently of the priests of the English Church, a knowledge of the 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People.'

But better things have come to pass also in Oxford. 'The Merton Professorship of English Language and Literature' elicited a discussion that led to the acknowledgment of the extensive and varied character of the principal departments of English philology; in due time the Modern Language Tripos was set up; and, curiously, to return to our illustration, Bede's 'Ecclesiastical History of the English People' came to be studied in class "with a view to the Theological Final School."

The better things in which we rejoice to-day have, naturally, the marks of their time upon them. Professor Oertel states an important fact in the following admirable fashion: "The growth of a science is reflected in the chief tendencies of its important investigations; and these variations will, on closer inspection, never appear capricious. For, though it might seem that sciences of all intellectual manifestations are freest and most independent in their development, closer scrutiny will reveal the law that the new ideas which advance and transform them do not arise spontaneously or stand isolated; on the contrary, they will be found closely correlated to the general intellectual drift and philosophical attitude of a given period of history."¹

We are permitted, it is even enjoined upon us, therefore, to look as deeply as into the very depths of the principles by

¹Hanns Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language*, New York, 1901, p. 4.

which civilization progresses, for the true vision of the coming of the *junggrammatiker*; and it would be folly, obviously, to deny what has been accomplished in that campaign of phonetic law and analogy against anomaly. It also has belonged strictly to the "scientific tendencies" of the time, to equip the laboratories of science with the materials required for direct observation and inductive study. It has been a time for the founding of Text Societies and of departmental Journals; it has been the most flourishing period of the scientific monograph known to history. A period of such strong characteristics will, of course, be followed by certain reactions; new balances will be restored, and new exaggerations will swing far away from the old extremes. But the transition from one period to another is never abrupt. We are still somewhat under the dominion of Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, whatever we may say; the volumes of the *Romania* will continue to be numbered consecutively; and *Anglia*, *Englische Studien* and the *Archiv* may continue even into a future when they will be read, because of his interest in things "sacred to philology," by the contributor to the *Saturday Review*.¹ Synchronization and attunement, in the terms of wireless telegraphy, will secure the silent communication of decade with decade in the career of a vital science.

It has been a period of specialization in scholarship; there will be more specialization, much more, in the future. Professor Shaler² observes that organic life is possible at only one-half of the temperatures due to the earth's climatal conditions, and that the quantity of matter "at any one time in the vitalized state" is proportionately "insignificant," for "all the living forms of to-day," he says, "if brought down upon the surface of the earth . . . would form "a mere film" on the sphere—"an infinitesimal part of that mass which can never feel the vital impulse." The highest forms of

¹ Cf. *Saturday Review*, 23 Nov. 1901, p. 653.

² Nathaniel S. Shaler, *The Individual: a Study of Life and Death*. New York, 1901, p. 101.

knowledge will, we know, never be fostered within the whole domain of human interests ; true specialization will probably never represent more than a proportionately small part of the entire educational activity of human society at any one time. But the future of philology, just as the future of the highest forms all other sciences and departments of learning, will be in the hands of the specialist, who would not get much inspiration from President Hadley's decision that "the scientific specialist, so long as he remains a specialist, is something less than a whole man."¹

The context, as would be conjectured, mitigates the abruptness of this decision. President Hadley warmly and eloquently enough extols the specialist's pursuit of truth for its "own sake," and sees in this pursuit one of the noblest purposes of the University ; but he would have us remember that we are first and last American citizens, and that, therefore, the most important thing is not specialization in knowledge, not scientific devotion to the promotion of truth for its own sake, not the inspired insistence on "non-commercial values," not the laying of the foundations of virtue in wisdom, in the accumulated wisdom of mankind, "but," he says, "the most profoundly important work which falls to the lot of the American citizen is his work of guiding the destinies of the country." Therefore, he adds, "important as it is to endow the research of those who are serving the public in non-remunerative lines, we cannot regard the scientific specialist as the consummate flower of American education." To this one may reply confidently, that to exalt an ephebic dilution of knowledges to the supreme position is not profound patriotism, and it is not sound philosophy.

'The dice of Deity are always loaded' (*ἀεὶ γὰρ εὖ πίπτουσιν οἱ Διὸς κύβοι*) said the Greek, and he was right. No mere chance determines the success of true science ; it never throws ambs-ace. Surely knowledge, and culture, and conduct will

¹ *The Education of the American Citizen*, New York, 1902, p. 167.

more and more be established, and more and more generally acknowledged and felt to be established, upon the work of the exact scholar, the specialist, who silences all narrow questioning by the wide-reaching paradox of the poet's query :

How fail

To find, or, better, lose your question, in this quick
Reply which nature yields, ample and catholic ?

The scientific specialist will contribute for conduct a code of honesty, modesty, caution, and tolerance ; on the other hand, the new manner will more and more require that the culture-subjects be brought under the law of accuracy : literature, æsthetics, the arts, criticism, and religion, will more and more become scientific. And thereby the duties and the joys of life will be made deeper and broader, and they will be filled with truer significance ; citizenship, too, will then be no less a profound duty, and it will surely be a profounder joy.

In thus alluding in one way and another to experiences by which we have been brought to our present state of scientific and academic citizenship, our phrases have passed gradually from the department of retrospection to that of prophecy. Much has been accomplished in the brief history of this Association, but that much is the merest symbol of what remains to be done and surely will be done. At no time has the philological future promised such rich rewards as it now holds in its generous hands. In modern philology the recent past has had its enthusiasms, and many of the keen delights and prompt rewards of pioneering ; these experiences, not unaccompanied by hardships and beset by hindrances, have necessarily preceded the fuller life of more complete cultivation. We are upon the eve of that fuller life. Ampler provision for the future of modern philology could hardly have been made in so brief a period. No more inviting conditions for the profound study of problems in the history of the human mind could easily be imagined than those which are now provided and which unite and interlock the different philologies.

National progress, too, requires the profound study of these problems ; for the philological sanity and strength of a nation is the measure of its intellectual and spiritual vitality. Here is high service for state and nation. No statesmanship is higher than that to which the philologist may attain. He legislates for the activities and behavior of mind and spirit ; he must therefore share in the " work of guiding the destinies of the country."

The " precipices " of philology " show untrodden green ; " the heights will never be overpeopled. " The consummate flower of American education " may not often be found in the library of the philologist ; but let President Hadley be called to testify that the preëminent specialist in Sanskrit, the scientific specialist in grammar, the great and gentle Whitney, conferred a glory,—if not the glory of the " consummate flower,"—upon the dignity and honor of American citizenship.

Finally,—for your patience has been taxed too much,—let this be made an occasion for the renewal of our faith. Alexander J. Ellis¹ observed that the Welsh word for ' twenty,' *ugain*, has been curiously Anglicized by the Yorkshire shepherd, who, in counting his sheep, score by score, guided by the etymologizing instinct, has confused the foreign *ugain* with his native *again* ; and, to make it altogether intelligible, he has prefixed *gin*, meaning ' begin,' and so for ' twenty' has obtained the expression *gin again* (*gin ugeeïn ; ghïn a gaen*). His score thus ends, as he understands it, " with an injunction to *begin again*." This Association in its counting has arrived at just twenty. Surely it is willing to adopt the simple shepherd's score-name, *gin again*, in the sense of a solemn injunction laid upon it to enrich its second score wisely by the profitable experiences of its first, and devoutly by a renewed and an increasingly disinterested dedication of its work and influence to the cause of truth.

¹"The Anglo-Cymric Score." *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London), 1877-8-9, p. 316 f.

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 the Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.

2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

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- Babbitt, Irving, Assistant Professor of French, Harvard University, Cam-
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- Bargy, Henry, Tutor in the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
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- Bartlett, George Alonzo, Cambridge, Mass. [41 Beck Hall.]
- Bassett, Ralph Emerson, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Batchelder, John D., Assistant Professor of Romanics, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [Hotel Vendome.]
- Batt, Max, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, North Dakota Agricultural College, Fargo, N. D.
- Battin, Benj. F., Professor of German, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Beatley, James A., Master (German and French), English High School, Boston, Mass. [11 Wabon St., Roxbury, Mass.]
- Becker, Ernest Julius, Instructor in English and German, Baltimore City College, Baltimore, Md.
- Belden, Henry Marvin, Assistant Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Bell, Alexander Melville, Washington, D. C. [1525 35th St.]
- Bernkopf, Anna, Instructor in German, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Bernkopf, Margarete, Instructor in the German Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [77 Round Hill.]
- Béthune, Baron de, Louvain, Belgium. [57 rue de la Station.]
- Bevier, Louis, Jr., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.
- Bierwirth, Heinrich Conrad, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [15 Avon St.]
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- Bloombergh, A. A., Professor of Modern Languages and Lecturer on History, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
- Boisen, Anton T., Instructor in Romance Languages, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Boll, Helene H., Instructor in German, Hillhouse High School, New Haven, Conn.
- Bonnotte, Ferdinand A., Professor of Modern Languages, Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.
- Borgerhoff, J. L., Instructor in Romance Languages, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [3020 Euclid Ave.]
- Both-Hendriksen, Louise, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [150 Lefferts Place.]
- Bothne, Gisle C. J., Professor of Greek and Scandinavian, Norwegian Luther College, Decorah, Ia.
- Boucke, Ewald A., Instructor in German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [808 S. State St.]
- Bourland, Benjamin Parsons, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [2662 Euclid Ave.]
- Bowen, Benjamin Lester, Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Bowen, Edwin W., Professor of Latin, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
- Bowen, James Vance, Oxford, Miss.
- Bradshaw, S. E., Russellville, Ky.
- Brandon, Edgar Ewing, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Brandt, Hermann Carl Georg, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Brédé, Charles F., Philadelphia, Pa. [3931 Baltimore Ave.]
- Briggs, T. H., Jr., Instructor in English, Eastern Illinois Normal School, Charleston, Ill.
- Briggs, William Dinsmore, Instructor in English, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [18 Adelbert Hall, Adelbert College.]
- Bright, James Wilson, Professor of English Philology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Bristol, Edward N., Henry Holt & Co., New York, N. Y. [29 West 23d St.]
- Bronk, Isabelle, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Bronson, Thomas Bertrand, Professor of Modern Languages, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
- Bronson, Walter C., Professor of English Literature, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Brooks, Neil C., Assistant Professor of German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

- Brown, Arthur C. L., Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [629 Frances St.]
- Brown, Calvin S., Acting Professor of Modern Languages, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
- Brown, Carleton F., Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [39 Ellery St.]
- Brown, Edward Miles, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. [The Auburn Hotel.]
- Brown, F. C., Adjunct Professor of English, Emory College, Oxford, Ga.
- Brown, G. D., University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
- Brownell, George Griffin, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Alabama, University, Ala.
- Bruce, James Douglas, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
- Bruère, Robert Walker, Associate in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Brumbaugh, M. G., Professor of Pedagogy, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [3324 Walnut St.]
- Brun, Alphonse, Instructor in French, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [39 Ellery St.]
- Bruner, James Dowden, Associate Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Brush, Murray Peabody, Instructor in Romance Languages, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Brusie, Charles Frederick, Principal, Mt. Pleasant Academy, Ossining, N. Y.
- Bryan, Henry Francis, Lieutenant, U. S. Navy, South Bethlehem, Pa. [Wyandotte Hotel.]
- Buck, Gertrude, Associate Professor of English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Buehler, Huber Gray, Master in English, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn.
- Burnet, Percy Bentley, Professor of Modern Languages, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. [1020 East St.]
- Burnett, Arthur W., Henry Holt & Co., New York, N. Y. [29 West 23d St.]
- Bush, Stephen H., Instructor in French, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Butler, Frank Roscoe, Salem, Mass. [164 Lafayette St.]
- Butler, Pierce, Instructor in English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [1104 Guadalupe St.]
- Cabeen, Charles William, Professor of Romance Languages, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
- Callaway, Morgan, Jr., Professor of English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [1104 Guadalupe St.]

- Cameron, Arnold Guyot, Professor of French, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Campbell, Killis, Instructor in English, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [312 W. 10th St.]
- Campion, John L., New York, N. Y. [370 West 116th St.]
- Canby, Henry Seidel, Assistant Instructor in English, Sheffield Scientific School, New Haven, Conn. [Graduate Club.]
- Canfield, Arthur Graves, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [909 E. University Ave.]
- Carnahan, David Hobart, Assistant Professor of Romanic Languages, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
- Carpenter, Frederic Ives, Instructor in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5533 Woodlawn Ave.]
- Carpenter, George Rice, Professor of Rhetoric and English Composition, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Carpenter, William Henry, Professor of Germanic Philology, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Carr, Joseph William, Professor of English and Modern Languages, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark. [405 Duglas St.]
- Carrington, Herbert D., Professor of German, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- Carruth, W. H., Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Carson, Lucy Hamilton, Professor of English, Montana State Normal School, Dillon, Mont.
- Carson, Luella Clay, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.
- Carteaux, Gustave A., Professor of the French Language, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Chamberlin, Willis Arden, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Denison University, Granville, O.
- Chandler, Frank Wadleigh, Professor of Literature and History, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. [22 Orange St.]
- Chapman, Henry Leland, Professor of English Literature, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Chase, Frank H., Professor of English, Central University of Kentucky, Danville, Ky.
- Chase, George C., President and Professor of Psychology and Logic, Bates College, Lewiston, Me.
- Cheek, Samuel Robertson, Professor of Latin, Central University of Kentucky, Danville, Ky.
- Cheever, Louisa S., Instructor in English, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [21 Prospect St.]
- Child, Clarence Griffin, Assistant Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [4237 Sansom St.]
- Chiles, James A., Fayette, Mo.

- Chollet, Charles, Professor of Romance Languages, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.
- Churchill, George Bosworth, Associate Professor of English and Public Speaking, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Clark, J. Scott, Professor of the English Language, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- Clark, Thatcher, Instructor in Spanish and French, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md. [Maryland Hotel.]
- Clark, Thomas Arkle, Professor of Rhetoric, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Clary, S. Willard, D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, Mass. [110 Boylston St.]
- Cloran, Timothy, Adjunct Professor of Romanic Languages, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1006 Lamar St.]
- Coar, John F., Professor of German, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [393A Lafayette Ave.]
- Cohn, Adolphe, Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Colin, Thérèse F., Head of the French Department, Miss Baldwin's Preparatory School, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Collins, George Stuart, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Collitz, Hermann, Professor of Comparative Philology and German, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Colville, William T., Carbondale, Pa.
- Colvin, Mrs. Mary Noyes, Principal and Teacher of Romance Languages, Delafield-Colvin School, Boston, Mass. [25 Chestnut St.]
- Comfort, William Wistar, Instructor in Romance Languages, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- Compton, Alfred D., Tutor in English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [40 W. 126th St.]
- Conklin, Clara, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Constant, Stanislas Colomban, Assistant Professor of French, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Cook, Albert S., Professor of the English Language and Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [219 Bishop St.]
- Cook, Mabel Priscilla, Lexington, Mass.
- Cooper, Lane, Instructor in English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [120 Oak Ave.]
- Cooper, William Alpha, Assistant Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Corwin, Robert Nelson, Professor of German, Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [247 St. Ronan St.]
- Crane, Thomas Frederick, Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

- Crawshaw, William Henry, Professor of English Literature, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
- Critchlow, Frank Linley, Instructor in Romance Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [156 Nassau St.]
- Croll, Morris W., Assistant Editor of the New Worcester Dictionary, 3733 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Crow, Charles Langley, Adjunct Professor of Modern Languages, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
- Crowell, Asa Clinton, Associate Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [345 Hope St.]
- Crowne, J. Vincent, Tutor in Latin, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Cunliffe, John William, Lecturer in English, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Curdy, Albert Eugene, Instructor in French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Curme, George Oliver, Professor of Germanic Philology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [2237 Sherman Ave.]
- Currell, W. S., Professor of English, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.
- Cutting, Starr Willard, Professor of German Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5336 Ellis Ave.]
- Damon, Lindsay Todd, Associate Professor of English, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Danton, George Henry, Austin Teaching Fellow in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [61 Gorham St.]
- Darnall, Henry Johnston, Adjunct Professor of Modern Languages, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
- Davidson, Charles, English Inspector, University of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y. [1 Sprague Place.]
- Davies, Hadjie Booker, Adjunct Professor of Modern Languages, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
- Davies, William Walter, Professor of the German Language, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.
- Davis, Edwin Bell, Associate Professor of Modern Languages, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.
- Dawson, Edgar, Professor of the English Language and Literature, and of Political Science, Delaware College, Newark, Del.
- Deering, Robert Waller, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literature, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [76 Bellflower Ave.]
- De Haan, Fonger De, Associate Professor of Spanish, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Deiler, J. Hanno, Professor of German, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. [2229 Bienville Ave.]

- Deister, John Louis, Professor of French and German, Christian Brothers College, St. Louis, Mo.
- De Lagneau, Lea Rachel, Instructor in Romance Languages, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
- Denney, Joseph Villiers, Professor of Rhetoric and English Language, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Diekhoff, Tobias J. C., Assistant Professor of German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [940 Greenwood Ave.]
- Dike, Francis Harold, Instructor in Modern Languages, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.
- Dippold, George Theodore, Professor of Modern Languages, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.
- Dodge, Daniel Kilham, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
- Dodge, Robert Elkin Neil, Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [609 Lake St.]
- Douay, Gaston, Assistant Professor of French, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Dow, Louis H., Professor of French, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Downer, Charles A., Assistant Professor of the French Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Drake, Benjamin M., Instructor in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- Dunlap, Charles Graham, Professor of English Literature, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Eastman, Clarence Willis, Assistant Professor of German, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Easton, Morton William, Professor of English and Comparative Philology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Eaton, Mrs. Abbie Fiske, Instructor in German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Edgar, Pelham, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
- Effinger, Jr., John Robert, Assistant Professor of French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Einstein, Lewis, Third Secretary of the American Embassy, Paris, France.
- Elliott, A. Marshall, Professor of Romance Languages, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [935 N. Calvert St.]
- Emerson, Oliver Farrar, Professor of Rhetoric and English Philology, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [50 Wilbur St.]
- Epes, John D., Professor of English, State Normal School, Warrensburg, Mo.
- Fabregou, Casimir, Professor of the French Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.

- Fairchild, J. R., American Book Co., New York, N. Y. [Washington Square.]
- Farley, Frank Edgar, Professor of English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [727 S. Crouse Ave.]
- Farnsworth, William Oliver, Instructor in French, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Farrand, Wilson, Head Master, Newark Academy, Newark, N. J.
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- Faurot, Albert Alfred, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [6030 Ellis Ave.]
- Faust, Albert Bernhardt, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
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- Files, George Taylor, Professor of German, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Fitz-Gerald, John Driscoll, II, Assistant in the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Fitz-Hugh, Thomas, Professor of Latin, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- Fletcher, Jefferson Butler, Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [Channing Place.]
- Fletcher, Robert Huntington, Assistant Professor of English, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Flom, George T., Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Florer, Warren Washburn, Instructor in German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1108 Prospect St.]
- Ford, J. D. M., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [4 Buckingham Place.]
- Fortier, Alcée, Professor of Romance Languages, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. [1241 Esplanade Ave.]
- Fossler, Lawrence, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Foster, Irving Lysander, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.

- Foulet, Lucien, Associate Professor of French, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Francke, Kuno, Professor of German Literature and Curator of the Germanic Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [2 Berkeley Place.]
- Fraser, M. Emma N., Professor of Romance Languages, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y.
- Froelicher, Hans, Professor of German, Woman's College of Baltimore, Baltimore, Md.
- Fruit, John Phelps, Professor of the English Language and Literature, William Jewell College, Liberty, Mo.
- Fuller, Harold DeW., Hope & Co., Bankers, Amsterdam, Holland.
- Fuller, Paul, New York, N. Y. [P. O. Box 2559.]
- Fulton, Edward, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [512 W. High St.]
- Furst, Clyde, Secretary of Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Galloo, Eugénie, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Gardiner, John Hays, Assistant Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [18 Grays Hall.]
- Garnett, James M., Baltimore, Md. [1316 Bolton St.]
- Garrett, Alfred Cope, Philadelphia, Pa. [Logan Station.]
- Gaw, Mrs. Ralph H., Topeka, Kas. [1321 Fillmore St.]
- Gay, Lucy M., Assistant Professor of French, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [216 N. Pinckney St.]
- Gayley, Charles Mills, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2403 Piedmont Ave.]
- Geddes, James, Jr., Professor of Romance Languages, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
- Gerber, Adolph, Professor of German and French, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
- Gerig, John L., Instructor in Linguistic Science and Sanskrit and in Romance Languages, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [700 N. 16th St.]
- Gerould, Gordon Hall, Associate in English, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Gillett, William Kendall, Professor of French and Spanish, New York University, New York, N. Y.
- Glen, Irving M., Professor of the English Language and Early English Literature, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. [254 E. 9th St.]
- Goebel, Julius, Professor of Germanic Philology and Literature, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Gorrell, Joseph Hendren, Professor of Modern Languages, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C.

- Gould, William Elford, Fellow by Courtesy, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Grandgent, Charles Hall, Professor of Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [107 Walker St.]
- Greene, Herbert Eveleth, Collegiate Professor of English, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [1019 St. Paul St.]
- Gregor, Leigh R., Lecturer on Modern Languages, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. [139 Baile St.]
- Griffin, James O., Professor of German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Griffin, Nathaniel Edward, Professor of English, Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Grimm, Karl Josef, Professor of Modern Languages, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.
- Grossman, Edward A., New York, N. Y. [148 E. 36th St.]
- Gruener, Gustav, Professor of German, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Box 276, Yale Station.]
- Grumbine, Harvey Carson, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Wooster, Wooster, O.
- Grumann, Paul H., Associate Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Gudeman, A., Acting Assistant Professor of Latin, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [224 Eddy St.]
- Guitéras, Calixto, Professor of Spanish, Girard College and Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Gummere, Francis B., Professor of English, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- Gutknecht, Louise L., Teacher of German, South Chicago High School, Chicago, Ill. [7700 Bond Ave.]
- Gwinn, Mary Mackall, Professor of English, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Haas, Albert, Associate in German Literature, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [Box 2.]
- Hale, Edward E., Jr., Professor of Rhetoric and Logic, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
- Hall, John Lesslie, Professor of the English Language and Literature and of General History, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.
- Ham, Roscoe James, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Hamilton, George L., Instructor in French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Hamilton, Theodore E., Instructor in French, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [705 W. Green St.]
- Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, Docent in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

- Haney, John Louis, Instructor in English and History, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Hanner, J. P., Jr., Professor of Modern Languages, Emory College, Oxford, Ga.
- Hanscom, Elizabeth Deering, Associate Professor of English Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [17 Henshaw Ave.]
- Hardy, Ashley Kingsley, Assistant Professor of German and Instructor in Old English, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Hargrove, Henry Lee, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. [1305 S. 8th St.]
- Harper, George McLean, Professor of English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Harris, Charles, Professor of German, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Harris, Launcelot M., Professor of English, College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.
- Harris, Martha Anstice, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y.
- Harrison, James Albert, Professor of Teutonic Languages, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- Harrison, Thomas Perrin, Professor of English, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C.
- Hart, Charles Edward, Professor of Ethics, Evidences of Christianity, and Literary Study of the English Bible, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. [33 Livingston Ave.]
- Hart, James Morgan, Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Hatfield, James Taft, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- Hathaway, Charles Montgomery, Jr., Assistant Professor of English, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [340 Lafayette Ave.]
- Hauhart, William Frederic, Fellow in German, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Hausche, Maude Bingham, Teacher of German, Commercial High School for Girls, Broad and Green Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Hausknecht, Emil, Direktor, Realschule, Kiel, Germany.
- Heller, Otto, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Hempl, George, Professor of English Philology and General Linguistics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1027 E. University Ave.]
- Henneman, John Bell, Professor of English, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
- Herford, C. H., Professor in Owens College, Manchester, England.
- Hervey, Wm. Addison, Instructor in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

- Heuser, Frederick W. J., Assistant in the Germanic Languages, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [154 Hewes St., Brooklyn, N. Y.]
- Hewett, Waterman T., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Higgins, Alice, Head Teacher of French, Girls' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Hills, E. C., Associate Professor of Modern Languages, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.
- Hinsdale, Ellen C., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
- Hobigand, Jules Adolphe, Ballou and Hobigand Preparatory School, Boston, Mass. [1022 Boylston St.]
- Hochdörfer, Karl Friedrich Richard, Professor of Modern Languages, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. [62 E. Ward St.]
- Hodell, Charles Wesley, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Woman's College of Baltimore, Baltimore, Md.
- Hohlfeld, A. R., Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [145 W. Gilman St.]
- Horning, L. E., Professor of German and Old English, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.
- Hospes, Mrs. Cecilia Lizzette, Teacher of German and Science, Webster Groves High School, St. Louis, Mo. [3001 Lafayette Ave.]
- Howard, Albert A., Professor of Latin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [12 Walker St.]
- Howard, William Guild, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [20 Holworthy Hall.]
- Howe, George M., Instructor in German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [57 Cascadilla Place.]
- Howe, Malvina A., Teacher of English Literature, Miss Porter's School, Farmington, Conn.
- Howe, Thomas Carr, Professor of German, Butler College, University of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, Ind. [48 Audubon Road, Irvington.]
- Howe, Will David, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Butler College, University of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, Ind. [377 Audubon Road, Irvington.]
- Hoyt, Prentiss C., Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- Hubbard, Rev. Chas. Francis, Buffalo, N. Y. [922 Niagara St.]
- Hubbard, Frank G., Professor of the English Language, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Hudnall, Richard Henry, Professor of English, History, and Spanish, Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College, Blacksburg, Va.
- Hulme, William Henry, Professor of English, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [48 Mayfield St.]
- Hume, Thomas, Professor of English Literature, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

- Hunt, Theodore Whitefield, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Hurlbut, Byron Satterlee, Assistant Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [7 Hollis Hall.]
- Hyde, James H., Vice-President of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, New York, N. Y. [120 Broadway.]
- Ilgen, Ernest, Assistant Professor of German, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Ingraham, Andrew, New Bedford, Mass.
- Jack, Albert E., Professor of English, Lake Forest University, Lake Forest, Ill.
- von Jagemann, H. C. G., Professor of Germanic Philology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [113 Walker St.]
- James, Arthur W., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Jayne, Violet D., Associate Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1017 W. Oregon St.]
- Jenkins, T. Atkinson, Associate Professor of French Philology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [488 E. 54th Place.]
- Jessen, Karl D., N. Cambridge, Mass. [59 Frost St.]
- Jodocius, Albert, Delancey School, Philadelphia, Pa. [1420 Pine St.]
- Johnson, Henry, Professor of Modern Languages, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
- Johnston, Oliver M., Associate Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Jonas, J. B. E., Assistant Professor of German, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Jones, Everett Starr, Instructor in Modern Languages, Jacob Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md.
- Jones, Jessie Louise, Instructor in German, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
- Jordan, Daniel, Tutor in the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Jordan, Mary Augusta, Professor of English, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [Hatfield House.]
- Josselyn, Freeman M., Professor of Romance Languages, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
- Joynes, Edward S., Professor of Modern Languages, South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C.
- Kagan, Josiah M., Instructor in German, Roxbury High School, Roxbury, Mass. [19 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass.]
- Karsten, Gustaf E., Instructor in German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [217 Mitchell St.]

- Keidel, George Charles, Associate in Romance Languages, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Kent, Charles W., Professor of English Literature, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- Keppeler, Emil A. C., Assistant in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Kern, Paul Oskar, Assistant Professor of Germanic Philology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Kinard, James Pinckney, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Winthrop College, Rock Hill, S. C.
- Kind, John Lewis, Fellow in the Germanic Languages, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [419 W. 118th St.]
- King, Robert Augustus, Professor of French and German, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind.
- Kip, Herbert Z., Adjunct Professor of German, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [120 Farrell Ave.]
- Kirchner, Elida C., Instructor in German, High School, St. Louis, Mo. [1211 N. Grand Ave.]
- Kittredge, George Lyman, Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [8 Hilliard St.]
- Klaeber, Frederick, Professor of English Philology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- von Klenze, Camillo, Associate Professor of German Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Knoepfler, J. B., Professor of German, Iowa State Normal School, Cedar Falls, Ia.
- Krapp, George Philip, Instructor in English, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Kroeh, Charles F., Professor of Languages, Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J.
- Krowl, Harry C., Instructor in English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Krug, Joseph, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Central High School and Normal School, Cleveland, O. [51 Fourth Ave.]
- Kuersteiner, Albert Frederick, Professor of Romance Languages, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Kuhn, Alice, Instructor in French, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Kuhns, Oscar, Professor of Romance Languages, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Kullmer, Charles Julius, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [7 Weld Hall.]
- Kurrelmeyer, William, Instructor in German, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

- Lamaze, Edouard, Principal of the School of French, International Correspondence Schools, Scranton, Pa.
- Lambert, Marcus Bachman, Teacher of German, Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. [252 Madison St.]
- La Meslée, Alphonse Marin, New York, N. Y. [113 W. 48th St.]
- Lang, Henry R., Professor of Romance Philology, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [58 Trumbull St.]
- Lange, Alexis Frederick, Professor of English and Scandinavian Philology, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2629 Haste St.]
- Langley, Ernest F., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Lawrence, William W., Associate Professor of English, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Learned, Marion Dexter, Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Le Compte, Irville Charles, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa.
- Le Duc, Alma, Chicago, Ill. [3995 Drexel Boulevard.]
- Leonard, Arthur Newton, Professor of German, Bates College, Lewiston, Me.
- Leonard, Jonathan, Sub-Master (French), English High School, Somerville, Mass. [Sandwich, Mass.]
- Lessing, Otto Eduard, Instructor in German, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [Alexanderstrasse 17p, Stuttgart, Germany.]
- Lewis, Charlton M., Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [158 Whitney Ave.]
- Lewis, Edwin Herbert, Professor of English, Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill.
- Lewis, Edwin Seelye, Professor of Romance Languages, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Lewis, Mary Elizabeth, 233 N. Fountain Ave., Springfield, O.
- Lewis, Orlando Faulkland, Professor of Modern Languages, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Liberma, Marco F., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.
- Lincoln, George, Assistant Professor of French, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Lipscomb, Dabney, Professor of the English Language and Literature and Belles-lettres, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
- Logeman, Henry, Professor of English Philology, University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium. [153 Bagattenstraat.]
- Loiseaux, Louis Auguste, Instructor in the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Lombard, Mary Joy, Instructor in French, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. [130 College Place.]
- Longden, Henry B., Professor of the German Language and Literature, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.

- Lovewell, Bertha E., Instructor in English, Hartford Public High School, Hartford, Conn. [43 Farmington Ave.]
- Lutz, Frederick, Professor of Modern Languages and Acting Professor of Latin, Albion College, Albion, Mich.
- Lyman, Albert Benedict, M. D., Baltimore, Md. [504 Sharp St.]
- Macarthur, John R., Professor of English, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Mesilla Park, New Mex.
- McBryde, John McLaren, Jr., Blacksburg, Va.
- MacClintock, William D., Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5629 Lexington Ave.]
- McClumpha, Charles Flint, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- MacDuffie, John, MacDuffie School for Girls, Springfield, Mass. [182 Central St.]
- McIlwaine, Henry Read, Professor of English and History, Hampden-Sidney College, Hampden-Sidney, Va.
- Macine, John, Professor of French and Spanish, University of North Dakota, University, N. D.
- McKenzie, Kenneth, Instructor in Romance Languages, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- McKibben, George F., Professor of Romance Languages, Denison University, Granville, O.
- McKnight, George Harley, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and the English Language, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [303 W. Seventh Ave.]
- MacLean, George Edwin, President, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- McLouth, Lawrence A., Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y.
- MacMechan, Archibald, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Dalhousie College, Halifax, N. S.
- Magee, Charles Moore, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [Conshohocken, Pa.]
- Magill, Edward Hicks, Professor Emeritus and Lecturer on French Literature, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. [The Gardner, 128 W. 43d St., New York, N. Y.]
- Manly, John Matthews, Professor and Head of the Department of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Manning, E. W., Delaware College, Newark, Del.
- March, Francis Andrew, Professor of the English Language and of Comparative Philology, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
- March, Francis A., Jr., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
- Marcou, Philippe Belknap, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [42 Garden St.]

- Marden, Charles Carroll, Associate Professor of Spanish, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Marsh, Arthur Richmond, President of the Planter's Compress Co., Cambridge, Mass. [53 Garden St.]
- Marsh, George L., Associate in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Marvin, Arthur, Principal, Schenectady High School, Schenectady, N. Y. [6 Nott Terrace.]
- Mather, Frank Jewett, Jr., *New York Evening Post*, New York, N. Y.
- Matthews, Brander, Professor of Dramatic Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [681 West End Ave.]
- Matzke, John E., Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Maynadier, Gustavus H., Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [49 Hawthorn St.]
- Mead, William Edward, Professor of the English Language, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Meisnest, F. W., Instructor in German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Mensel, Ernst Heinrich, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Mesloh, Charles Walter, Associate Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1627 N. High St.]
- Meyer, Edward Stockton, Associate Professor of German, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Meyer, George Henry, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [912 California Ave.]
- Miles, Louis Wardlaw, Fellow by Courtesy, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Milhau, Marie-Louise, Lecturer in Modern Languages, Royal Victoria College, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Miller, Daniel Thomas, Professor of Languages, Brigham Young College, Logan, Utah.
- Moore, Alfred Austin, Instructor in Romance Languages, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Moore, Hamilton Byron, Head of the Department of English, Manual Training High School, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Moore, Robert Webber, Professor of German, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
- Morris, Edgar Coit, Professor of English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. [309 University Place.]
- Morris, John, Professor of the English Language and Teutonic Philology, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga.
- Morton, Asa Henry, Professor of Romance Languages, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Morton, Edward P., Assistant Professor of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

- Mott, Lewis F., Professor of the English Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Muenter, Erich, Instructor in German, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas.
- Mulfinger, George A., Teacher of German, South Division High School, Chicago, Ill. [112 Seeley Ave.]
- Nash, Bennett H., Boston, Mass. [252 Beacon St.]
- Neff, Theodore Lee, Instructor in French, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Neilson, William Allan, Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [4 Quincy Hall.]
- Nelson, Clara Albertine, Professor of French, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.
- Newcomer, Alphonso Gerald, Associate Professor of English Literature, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Newcomer, Charles Berry, Professor of Greek and Instructor in French, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. [1221 Washington Ave.]
- Newell, William Wells, Editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*, 54 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass.
- Newton, Walter Russell, Instructor in German, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.
- Nichols, Edwin Bryant, Professor of Romance Languages, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
- Nitze, William Albert, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Noble, Charles, Professor of the English Language and Rhetoric, Iowa, College, Grinnell, Ia. [1110 West St.]
- von Noé, Adolf Carl, Assistant in German, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Nollen, John S., Professor of German, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Northup, Clark S., Assistant Professor of the English Language and Literature, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [107 College Place.]
- Ogden, Philip, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Oleire, E. d', Trübner's Buchhandlung, Münsterplatz 9, Strassburg i. E., Germany.
- Oliver, Thomas Edward, Professor of Romanic Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [412 W. Elm St.]
- Olmsted, Everett Ward, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [730 University Ave.]
- Olson, Julius E., Professor in University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Opdycke, Leonard Eckstein, New York, N. Y. [41 W. 21st St.]
- Osgood, Jr., Charles Grosvenor, Instructor in English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [2 University Place.]

- Osthaus, Carl W. F., Associate Professor of German, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Ott, John Henry, Professor of the English Language and Literature, College of the Northwestern University, Watertown, Wis.
- Owen, Edward T., Professor of the French Language and Literature, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- Padelford, Frederick Morgan, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. [University Station.]
- Page, Curtis Hidden, Lecturer in the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Palmer, Arthur Hubbell, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [251 Lawrence St.]
- Pancoast, Henry Spackman, Lecturer on English Literature, Germantown, Pa. [267 E. Johnson St.]
- Paton, Lucy Allen, Cambridge, Mass. [16 Riedesel Ave.]
- Pearce, J. W., Senior Teacher of English, Boys' High School, New Orleans, La. [1429 Nashville Ave.]
- Pearson, Calvin Wasson, Harwood Professor of the German Language and Literature, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.
- Peck, Mary Gray, Instructor in English, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [2008 Second Ave., South.]
- Pellissier, Adeline, Instructor in French, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [32 Crescent St.]
- Penn, Henry C., Assistant Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Penniman, Josiah Harmar, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Perrin, Ernest Noël, Instructor in English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Perrin, Marshall Livingston, Professor of Germanic Languages, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
- Petersen, Kate O., Brooklyn, N. Y. [91 Eighth Ave.]
- Phelps, William Lyon, Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Yale Station.]
- de Pierpont, Arthur, Professor of French, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y.
- Pietsch, Karl, Associate Professor of Romance Philology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Plimpton, George A., Ginn & Co., New York, N. Y. [70 Fifth Ave.]
- Poll, Max, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. [230 McCormick Place, Mt. Auburn, Cincinnati.]
- Potter, Albert K., Associate Professor of the English Language, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [220 Waterman St.]

- Potter, Murray A., Instructor in Romance Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [191 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.]
- Prettyman, Cornelius William, Professor of German, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
- Primer, Sylvester, Professor of Teutonic Languages, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [2709 Rio Grande St.]
- Prince, John Dyneley, Professor of Semitic Languages, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [15 Lexington Ave.]
- Prokosch, Edward, Instructor in German, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Pugh, Annie L., Wells College, Aurora, N. Y.
- Putnam, Edward Kirby, Instructor in English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
- Putzker, Albin, Professor of German Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
- Quinn, Arthur Hobson, Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [College Hall.]
- Rambeau, A., Professor of Modern Languages, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [57 Walnut Park, Roxbury, Mass.]
- Ramsey, Marathon Montrose, Baltimore, Md. [Johns Hopkins University.]
- Ransmeier, John C., Professor of German, Trinity College, Durham, N. C.
- Read, William Alexander, Professor of English, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La.
- Reed, Edward Bliss, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [351 White Hall.]
- Reeves, Charles Francis, Professor of German, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. [University Station.]
- Reeves, William Peters, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
- Reinecke, Charlotte, Instructor in German, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Remy, Arthur Frank Joseph, Tutor in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Bennert, Hugo Albert, Professor of Romanic Languages and Literatures, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [4232 Chestnut St.]
- Reynolds, Minna Davis, Instructor in English, Miss Russell's School, 1205 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md.
- Rhoades, Lewis A., Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Rice, Howard M., Principal, University School, Providence, R. I.

- Richardson, Henry B., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Rierner, Guido Carl Leo, Professor of Modern Languages, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
- Ringer, Severin, Professor of Modern Languages and Literatures, and of Contemporary History, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.
- Robertson, Luanna, Instructor in German, Academy of the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [Kelly Hall, University of Chicago.]
- Robinson, Fred Norris, Assistant Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [Longfellow Park.]
- Roedder, Edwin Carl, Instructor in German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [308 Murray St.]
- Root, Robert Kilburn, Tutor in English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Rosenbach, Abraham S. W., Honorary Fellow in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1409 N. 18th St.]
- Roy, Rev. James, Niagara Falls, N. Y. [Station A.]
- Rumsey, Olive, Instructor in English, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [53 Crescent St.]
- Runtz-Rees, Caroline, Principal, Rosemary Hall, Greenwich, Conn.
- Sampson, Martin Wright, Professor of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [403 S. College Ave.]
- Saunders, Mrs. Mary J. T., Professor of Modern Languages, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va.
- Saunderson, George W., Principal of the Saunderson School of Expression and Seattle School of Oratory, Seattle, Wash. [Holyoke Block.]
- Scharff, Paul Adrian, Teacher of French and German, Columbia Institute, New York, N. Y. [122 W. 72d St.]
- Scharff, Violette Eugénie, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [63 Cambridge Place.]
- Schelling, Felix E., Professor of History and English Literature, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Schilling, Hugo Karl, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [2331 Le Conte Ave.]
- Schinz, Albert, Associate in French Literature, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Schlenker, Carl, Assistant Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [312 Union St., S. E.]
- Schmidt, Friedrich Georg Gottlob, Professor of Modern Languages, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.
- Schmidt, Gertrud Charlotte, Teacher of German, Miss Wright's School, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Schmidt-Wartenberg, Hans, Assistant Professor of Germanic Philology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Schneider, John Philip, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

- Schofield, William Henry, Assistant Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [23 Claverly Hall.]
- Schütze, Martin, Associate Instructor in German, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Schwill, Rudolph, Instructor in Spanish, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Yale Station.]
- Scott, Charles Payson Gurley, Radnor, Penn. [620 Bourse, Philadelphia.]
- Scott, Fred Newton, Professor of Rhetoric, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1351 Washtenaw Ave.]
- Scott, Mary Augusta, Professor of English, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
- Scripture, Edward Wheeler, Director of the Psychological Laboratory, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [Mandl-Strasse 1c, Munich, Germany.]
- Sechrist, Frank Kleinfelter, Professor of the English Language and Literature, State Normal School, Stevens Point, Wis. [934 Clark St.]
- Segall, Jacob Bernard, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
- Simple, Lewis B., Teacher of English, Commercial High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. [825 Marcy Ave.]
- Severy, Ernest E., Modern Language Master, Bowen School, Nashville, Tenn.
- Seward, Ora Philander, Mattawan, Mich.
- Sharp, Robert, Professor of English, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.
- Shaw, James Eustace, Associate in Italian, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Shannon, Edgar Finley, Associate Professor of English and Modern Languages, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
- Shearin, Hubert Gibson, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Ripon College, Ripon, Wis.
- Sheldon, Edward Stevens, Professor of Romance Philology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [11 Francis Ave.]
- Shepard, William Pierce, Professor of Romance Languages, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Sherman, Lucius A., Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
- Sherzer, Jane, Professor of English Philology, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.
- Shipley, George, Editor of *The Baltimore American*, Baltimore, Md. [University Club.]
- Shumway, Daniel Bussier, Assistant Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Simonds, William Edward, Professor of the English Literature, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.

- Simonton, James S., Professor Emeritus of the French Language and Literature, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa.
- Simpson, Marcus, Instructor in German, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1714 Chicago Ave.]
- Skinner, Macy Millmore, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [7 Holyoke House.]
- Skinner, Prescott O., Instructor in Romance Languages, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Sloane, Thomas O'Connor, Consulting Engineer and Chemist, New York, N. Y. [49 Wall St.]
- Smith, C. Alphonso, Professor of the English Language, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
- Smith, Herbert A., Lake Waccabuc, N. Y.
- Smith, Homer, Acting Professor of English Literature, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
- Smith, Hugh Allison, Associate Professor of Modern Languages, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.
- Smith, Kirby Flower, Associate Professor of Latin, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Smith, Lucy Elizabeth, Professor of the Romance Languages and Literatures, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia.
- Snow, W. B., Instructor in French, English High School, Boston, Mass.
- Snyder, Henry Nelson, President and Professor of English Literature, Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.
- Spanhoofd, Arnold Werner, Director of German Instruction in the High Schools, Washington, D. C. [1636 16th St., N. W.]
- Spanhoofd, Edward, Master of Modern Languages, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.
- Spenser, Armand, Tutor in French and German, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [132 Nassau St.]
- Speranza, Carlo Leonardo, Professor of Italian, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1185 Lexington Ave.]
- Spieker, Edward Henry, Associate Professor of Greek and Latin, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [915 Edmondson Ave.]
- Spingarn, Joel Elias, Tutor in Comparative Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Stearns, Clara M., Instructor in German, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O.
- van Steenderen, Frederic C. L., Professor of the French Language and Literature, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. [309 Church St.]
- Steffens, Rev. Dietrich, Pastor Martini Evangelical Lutheran Church, Baltimore, Md. [807 S. Sharp St.]
- Stempel, Guido Hermann, Assistant Professor of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [400 E. 2nd St.]
- Sterling, Susan Adelaide, Assistant Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [811 State St.]

- Stoddard, Francis Hovey, Professor of the English Language and Literature, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. [22 West 68th St.]
- Strauss, Louis A., Instructor in English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [900 Lincoln Ave.]
- Swiggett, Glen Levin, Professor of Modern Languages, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
- Sykes, Frederick Henry, Director of the Extension Department of Columbia University, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Symington, W. Stuart, Jr., Flushing, Long Island, N. Y. [66 Parsons Ave.]
- Syms, L. C., Instructor in French, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. [104 E. 73rd St.]
- Taylor, George Coffin, Instructor in the English Language, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.
- Taylor, Lucien Edward, Boston, Mass. [200 Dartmouth St.]
- Taylor, Robert Longley, Assistant Professor of French, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Thayer, Harvey W., Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Thieme, Hugo Paul, Instructor in French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1209 E. University Ave.]
- Thomas, Calvin, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Thomas, May, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, O.
- Thorndike, Ashley Horace, Professor of English Literature, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- Thurber, Charles H., Ginn & Co., Boston, Mass. [29 Beacon St.]
- Thurber, Edward Allen, Instructor in English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Tibbals, Kate Watkins, Fellow in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [4108 Spruce St.]
- Tilden, Frank Calvin, Professor of the English Language and Literature, DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind. [201 Water St.]
- Tisdell, F. M., Professor of English, Armour Institute of Technology, Chicago, Ill.
- Todd, Henry Alfred, Professor of Romance Philology, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Tolman, Albert Harris, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5750 Woodlawn Ave.]
- Tombo, Jr., Rudolf, Tutor in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [619 W. 138th St.]
- Toy, Walter Dallam, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

- Trent, William Peterfield, Professor of English Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [279 W. 71st St.]
- Triggs, Oscar Lovell, Instructor in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Truscott, Frederick W., Professor of Germanic Languages, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.
- Tufts, James Arthur, Professor of English, Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H.
- Tupper, Frederick, Jr., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
- Tupper, James Waddell, Instructor in English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [43 Grays Hall.]
- Turk, Milton Haight, Professor of Rhetoric and the English Language and Literature, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. [678 Main St.]
- Turrell, Charles Alfred, Professor of Modern Languages, Shorter College, Rome, Ga.
- Tuttle, E. H., New Haven, Conn. [217 Mansfield St.]
- Tweedie, William Morley, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Mount Allison College, Sackville, N. B.
- Vance, Hiram Albert, Professor of English, University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn. [19 Maple St.]
- Viles, George B., Instructor in German, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [120 Oak Ave.]
- Vogel, Frank, Associate Professor of Modern Languages, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [95 Robinwood Ave., Jamaica Plain, Mass.]
- Vos, Bert John, Associate Professor of German, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Voss, Ernst Karl Johann Heinrich, Professor of German Philology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [21 E. Johnson St.]
- Wager, C. H. A., Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
- Wahl, George Moritz, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- Wallace, Malcolm William, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. [617 Harrison Ave.]
- Walz, John Albrecht, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1657 Cambridge St.]
- Warren, Frederick Morris, Professor of Modern Languages, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Wauchope, George Armstrong, Professor of English, South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C. [1005 Bull St.]
- Weber, William Lander, Professor of English, Emory College, Oxford, Ga.

- Weeks, Raymond, Professor of Romance Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Wendell, Barrett, Professor of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [18 Grays Hall.]
- Werner, Adolph, Professor of the German Language and Literature, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [339 W. 29th St.]
- Wernicke, P., State College, Lexington, Ky.
- Wesselhoft, Edward Carl, Instructor in German, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- West, Henry Skinner, Principal and Professor of English, Western High School, Baltimore, Md.
- West, Henry T., Professor of Modern Languages, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
- Weygandt, Cornelius, Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Wharey, James Blanton, Professor of English, Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tenn.
- Whitaker, L., Professor of the English Language and Literature, Northeast Manual Training School, Philadelphia, Pa. [4269 Viola St.]
- White, Alain C., New York, N. Y. [560 Fifth Ave.]
- White, Caroline Louisa, Professor of the English Language and Literature, French-American College, Springfield, Mass.
- White, Horatio Stevens, Professor of German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [29 Reservoir St.]
- Whiteford, Robert N., Head Instructor in English Literature, High School, Peoria, Ill.
- Whitelock, George, Counsellor at Law, Baltimore, Md. [701 Guardian Trust Building.]
- Whiteside, Donald G., Tutor in English, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [251 W. 133rd St.]
- Whitney, Marian P., Teacher of Modern Languages, Hillhouse High School, New Haven, Conn. [227 Church St.]
- Wiener, Leo, Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [8 Avon St.]
- Wightman, John Roaf, Professor of Romance Languages, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
- Wilkens, Frederick H., Adjunct Professor of Modern Languages, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
- Wilkin, Mrs. Matilda J. C., Assistant Professor of German, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [618 Fifteenth Ave., S. E.]
- Williams, Charles Allyn, Fellow in the Germanic Languages, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- Williams, Grace Sara, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

- Wilson, Charles Bundy, Professor of the German Language and Literature, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
- Wilson, Richard H., Professor of Romance Languages, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
- Winchester, Caleb Thomas, Professor of English Literature, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- Winkler, Max, Professor of the German Language and Literature, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Wood, Francis Asbury, Instructor in Germanic Philology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Wood, Henry, Professor of German, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Woodward, B. D., Adjunct Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Barnard College, New York, N. Y. [University Club.]
- Wright, Arthur S., Professor of Modern Languages, Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, O. [74 Cornell St.]
- Wright, Charles Baker, Professor of English Literature and Rhetoric, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.
- Wright, Charles Henry Conrad, Assistant Professor of French, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [7 Buckingham St.]
- Wylie, Laura Johnson, Professor of English, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
- Young, Alice, Assistant Professor of English, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. [111 N. Clinton St.]
- Young, Mary V., Professor of Romance Languages, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

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SOPHUS BUGGE, University of Christiania.
KONRAD BURDACH, University of Berlin.
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HENRY SWEET, Oxford, England.
ADOLF TOBLER, University of Berlin.
RICHARD PAUL WÜLKER, University of Leipsic.

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- J. T. AKERS, Central College, Richmond, Ky.
 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, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass.
 [1899.]
 EDWARD GRAHAM DAVES, Baltimore, Md. [1894.]
 W. DEUTSCH, St. Louis, Mo. [1898.]
 ERNST AUGUST EGGERS, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1903.]
 FRANCIS R. FAVA, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. [1896.]
 L. HABEL, Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont. [1886.]
 RUDOLF HAYM, University of Halle. [1901.]
 GEORGE A. HENCH, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1899.]
 RUDOLPH HILDEBRAND, Leipsic, Germany. [1894.]
 JULIAN HUGUENIN, University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La. [1901.]
 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.
 AUGUST LODEMAN, Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich.
 [1902.]
 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.]
 LOUIS EMIL MENGER, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1903.]

- SAMUEL P. MOLENAER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1900.]
- JAMES O. MURRAY, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [1901.]
- C. K. NELSON, Brookville, Md. [1890.]
- W. M. NEVIN, Lancaster, Pa. [1892.]
- CONRAD H. NORDBY, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [1900.]
- C. P. OTIS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1888.]
- GASTON PARIS, Collège de France, Paris, France. [1903.]
- W. H. PERKINSON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
- SAMUEL PORTER, Gallaudet College, Kendall Green, Washington, D. C. [1901.]
- RENÉ DE POYEN-BELLISLE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1900.]
- THOMAS R. PRICE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1903.]
- 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 University, New York, N. Y.
- H. TALLICHET, Austin, Texas. [1894.]
- E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898.]
- KARL WEINHOLD, University of Berlin. [1901.]
- MISS CARLA WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1902.]
- 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.]
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APPENDIX II.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
HELD IN CHICAGO, JANUARY
1, 2, AND 3, 1903.

THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSO- CIATION OF AMERICA.

The eighth annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held in Chicago, January 1-3, under the auspices of the modern language departments of the University of Chicago. The attendance was the largest in the history of the Division, the papers read were of real merit, and the interest and enthusiasm felt were significant and full of promise. The major part of the success of the meeting was certainly due to the wise and hospitable arrangements of our hosts. All felt the advantage of meeting in a large city. If it were possible to arrange equitably the expense of entertainment, nearly all who attended this meeting would vote to meet for the future only in large centres.

The first session was called to order in Haskell Assembly Hall, on Thursday evening, January 1. Dean Judson delivered the address of welcome, after which Professor Starr Willard Cutting, of the University of Chicago, gave the President's address, in which he discussed some very general defects in our methods of teaching modern foreign languages. President Cutting's address was a plea for imparting more effectually to our students the essential spirit of the foreign language.

At the conclusion of the session, there was a social gathering at the Quadrangle Club.

At the beginning of the second session, the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were read. In his report, the Secre-

tary gave the statistics concerning the membership of the Association, and spoke of the cordial relations existing between the Division and the parent Society. He gave notice of a motion to make several minor changes in the Constitution of the Division. In response to an inquiry of the Secretary, it was moved and carried that the publication of the summaries in the Programme was a desirable thing. The report of the Treasurer was as follows :

Report of the Treasurer of the Central Division for the year ending December 31, 1902

RECEIPTS.

Received from the Treasurer of the Modern Language Association, Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann, . .	\$43 00	
	————	\$43 00

EXPENDITURES.

Programme and envelopes therefor,	\$11 00	
Stamps for Programme,	6 80	
Stamps for correspondence,	1 07	
Envelopes and paper,	1 50	
Clerk hire,	1 00	
Filing Index for correspondence,	21 63	
Total,	————	\$43 00

Respectfully submitted,

RAYMOND WEEKS,
Treasurer.

It was moved and carried that the reading of each paper be restricted to twenty minutes.

The President appointed the following committees :

Committee on Nominations: Professors Hatfield, Carpenter, James, Cloran, Morton, Roedder.

Committee on Time and Place of Meeting: Professors Karsten, Jenkins, Brooks, Galloo, Hubbard, Jack.

Committee to Audit the Treasurer's Report: Professors Curme, Almstedt, Fossler.

The reading of papers was then begun. For the report of these papers, the Secretary is under great obligation to Professor John S. Nollen, who kindly offered him the use of notes prepared for another purpose.

Professor D. K. Dodge, of the University of Illinois, read a paper on "Literary References in the Writings of Abraham Lincoln," in which he stated the amount and distribution, in Lincoln's works and letters, of proverbs and of passages from the Bible, from Shakespeare, and from other authors, with the relation of these quotations to Lincoln's reading.—Professor W. H. Carruth, of the University of Kansas, followed with a paper on "Scott's *Waverley* and Hauff's *Lichtenstein*." [See *Publications*, xviii, 4.] The reader argued from internal evidence that, while *Ivanhoe* and other novels may have suggested some elements in *Lichtenstein*, *Waverley* was essentially the model imitated by Hauff. The argument was based upon similarities in historical background, plot, character, situations, method of narration, and style.—Professor Karl Pietsch, of the University of Chicago, presented a paper, "On the Imperfect II III in Berceo," in which he supported the theory of Hansen as to the accentuation *ié* 2/6, and showed that Berceo uses *ia* 3 by the side of *ié*, the former occurring only in rhyme and at the caesura (tonic position), the latter only within the hemistich (atonic position).—Dr. A. C. L. Brown, of the University of Wisconsin, discussed "Welsh Traditions in Layamon's *Brut*." [Printed in *Modern Philology*, I, 1.] Many additions that Layamon made to the history of Wace show their source, immediate or remote, in Welsh tradition. If Layamon's additions to Wace, including those that deal with Arthur and the round table, come from Welsh tradition, the theories of Foerster and Zimmer respecting the development of the Arthurian legend are impaired.—The last paper of the morning was that of Professor G. L. Swiggett, of the University of Missouri, on "The Sources of Kleist's *Penthesilea*." [To appear in the *University of Mis-*

souri Studies.] The reader seeks the sources mentioned in A. W. Schlegel's translation of *El Mayor Encanto Amor*, and *Las Amazonas*, the former by Calderon, the latter hitherto ascribed to the same author. He finds in the first of these plays the poetic background, and in the two plays the leading motives and situations of *Penthesilea*.—A paper by Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan, on "The Runes at the End of Hickee's Transcript of the Runesong," was read by title. [Printed in *Modern Philology*, I, 1.]

The Friday afternoon session was devoted, by way of innovation, to three separate "department meetings," in English, Romance Languages, and Germanic Languages. These meetings were for the informal discussion of questions of supposed restricted departmental interest. Professor F. A. Blackburn, of the University of Chicago, presided at the English conference, and opened the discussion by speaking of the manner in which text-books in modern languages are usually reviewed for the journals. He pleaded for a more genuinely conscientious and critical treatment in the reviews.—Professor D. K. Dodge, of the University of Illinois, spoke in favor of some inter-collegiate agreement in courses in undergraduate English. A committee, composed of Messrs. Dodge, Tolman, and Thorndike, was appointed to consider the question.—Professor F. I. Carpenter, of the University of Chicago, reported upon the founding of a new journal of modern philology, to be edited by representatives of the department of English and other modern language departments of the University of Chicago. Professor G. E. Karsten, of the University of Indiana, announced a change in the title of the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, and the addition to the editorial force of Professor A. S. Cook, of Yale University. Both speakers expressed the conviction that there would be no rivalry between the two reviews.—Professor G. Scott Clark, of Northwestern University, introduced a brief discussion of spelling in the high schools.

The conference in Romance Languages met with Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri, in the chair. In the first topic discussed: "Conditions of instruction in the Romance languages in the West," it was brought out that a vast amelioration in these conditions could be brought about by a closer and more earnest affiliation among the teachers of the various languages concerned. A brief historical survey was given of the conditions of instruction in French and Italian in the west. There was substantial agreement that, even in the elementary texts read in French, the subject matter should be as distinctly national as possible, treating of the life and history of France, rather than of foreign countries. Mention was made of the too-often forgotten value of scientific French.

Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin, presented in the German conference the subject of university preparation for secondary teachers of German. He spoke of the high ideal of scholarship and duty to be given future teachers, and commented upon the inferiority of the American professional training of teachers of German as compared with the German. The comparative value of insistence upon elementary and advanced work was discussed. A number of those present joined in the discussion, and reports were given of what is being done in various institutions towards the introduction of better methods of instruction for secondary teachers of German.—Professor Starr W. Cutting, of the University of Chicago, introduced a discussion on the importance of composition in the curriculum. In the opinion of the speaker, more time should be given to composition. The translation of English sentences into German can easily be carried too far; much more can be gained, beyond a given point, by the oral and written reproduction of a passage or text read. Professor J. T. Hatfield, of Northwestern University, was one of a number who entered into the discussion. He thought that texts should be used which relate experiences

that could be duplicated in the life of the student, and favored an attempt to develop the use of various styles.—Professor Hohlfeld brought up the third subject, “the teaching of German literature.” In teaching a foreign language with a view to its literature, more regard should be paid to the facts and principles familiar to the American student from his earlier reading and study of English literature. Most of our text books, in the opinion of the speaker, follow too exclusively German methods, and neglect the principle of establishing as close a connection as possible between the foreign and native literatures. There was a general discussion of this as of the other questions.

The general opinion concerning the department conferences seemed to be that they formed a valuable adjunct to the meeting. In so small a group, a more earnest and frank discussion is possible. The increased specialization of the papers read at our meetings is rapidly decreasing the number of occasions when a considerable proportion of those present are capable of joining in a discussion. The tendency to specialization has probably not yet reached its height, hence there is danger that the meetings of the future will offer fewer and fewer subjects of general interest. On the other hand, there is a danger that the “department meetings” degenerate into mere experience meetings, but even as such they would serve a real purpose.

On Friday night, a Commers was held at the Hotel Bismarck.

On the convening of the Association for the fourth session, the reports of committees were listened to. The Committee on Nominations reported as follows: President, Professor George Hempl, University of Michigan; Secretary and Treasurer, Professor Raymond Weeks, University of Missouri; First Vice-President, Professor A. F. Blackburn, University of Chicago; Second Vice-President, Professor John S. Nollen,

Iowa College; Third Vice-President, Professor Lawrence Fossler, University of Nebraska. Members of the Council: Professors John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford University; A. R. Hohlfeld, University of Wisconsin; Frederick Klaeber, University of Minnesota; Gustaf E. Karsten, University of Indiana; C. von Klenze, University of Chicago. These gentlemen were then elected, and the following Executive Committee was chosen: In addition to the Secretary, Professors A. R. Hohlfeld, F. A. Blackburn.

In accordance with the report of the Committee on Place of Meeting, the Association voted to join the parent Society in a meeting at Ann Arbor.

The Auditing Committee reported that it had found the Treasurer's report correct.

The Association ordered the Secretary to tender the thanks of the Society to the following institutions for invitations received for the next meeting: Lewis Institute, Northwestern University, University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin.

The following amendments to the Constitution of the Division were proposed by the Secretary and carried:—

In Section 1 of Article II, omit the word *a* before *Treasurer*; in Section 2 of the same Article, change the word *four* to *five*; in Section 2 of Article III, omit the word *the* before *Treasurer*.

Professor F. M. Tisdell, of the Armour Institute, opened the programme with a paper on "The Influence of Popular Customs on the Mystery Plays." The speaker discussed the dramatic nature of mediaeval popular celebrations, explained how these customs forced their way into the church, until finally they were taken up by the clergy and made a part of the religious festivities. Because of this process, came the development of comedy within the Mystery plays.—Dr. Edwin C. Roedder, of the University of Wisconsin, presented some "Semasiological Notes on *Kopf* and *Haupt*." After

devoting a few moments to the history of semasiological research and recent publications of importance, the paper discussed the different methods of interpreting change in word-meaning, and made a plea for the psychological method, illustrating the different methods by the manner in which they treat the words *Kopf* and *Haupt*. The second part of the paper dealt more particularly with the pathotonic or emotional coloring of words.—Professor E. C. Baldwin, of the University of Illinois, followed with a paper on “The Relation of the English ‘Character’ to its Greek Prototype.” The formal “Character,” the most prolific and significant literary form of the seventeenth century, developed under the change that was taking place from the creative to the analytic spirit. Joseph Hall was mentioned as the first writer of “Characters” in English, and his indebtedness to the “Ethical Characters” of Theophrastus was illustrated. [See *Publications*, XVIII, 3.]—Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, read a paper on “The Substitution of *lui parler* for *parler à lui*.” *Parler à lui* occurs in the plays of Molière, without any special emphasis being intended. Material which has recently become accessible permits us to locate chronologically the disappearance of this construction. At first, the conjunctive form seems to be used only when the verb has an indirect complement with *de*: *parler à lui*, but: *lui parler de son aventure*. In the opinion of the reader, the conjunctive form was brought in largely through the analogy of *dire*, whose use overlapped *parler*. The long survival of the disjunctive form may in part be due to the fact that *à* fell heir to the meaning “with,” formerly expressed by *o* (apud), so that a distinct prepositional sense, different from the ordinary dative relation, was conveyed by *parler à lui*.—Dr. Jane Sherzer spoke on “A Search for a Manuscript.” Dr. Sherzer’s paper related the discovery by her of a new manuscript of *The Isle of Ladies*, which was found in the Marquis of Bath’s Library at Longleat.

At the fifth and last session, which met Saturday afternoon, Professor Timothy Cloran, of Vanderbilt University, opened the proceedings with a paper on "The Accents in Manuscript No. 24,766 of the Bibliothèque Nationale." These accent marks do not indicate the tonic vowel. They are used: with *i* before or after letters which might be confused with *i*; to prevent the confusion of *a*, *o*, *u*, *e*, before or after nasals; to distinguish two vowels in hiatus; to indicate the first vowel of a diphthong; to distinguish homonyms.—Professor E. P. Morton, of the University of Indiana, read a paper on "Some Characteristics of Epic Blank Verse," in which he discussed caesura, end-stopt and run-on lines, unstressed and feminine endings, in the principal English poets. It would take too long to give all the conclusions of this interesting paper, which comprised the results of a careful examination of more than 27,000 lines of Shakespeare, Milton, Young, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Keats, Shelley, and Arnold. Wordsworth, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning have established what may be called the normal blank verse in English for the nineteenth century, a verse form subtle in its power of effect, and without marked idiosyncrasies.—The next paper was "Fifteen Unpublished Letters of Wilhelm Müller," by Professor J. T. Hatfield, of Northwestern University. Search in public and private libraries in Germany has brought to light fifteen unpublished letters of Wilhelm Müller, some of which are of real value for a correct understanding of the author and of his relations with certain contemporaries.—Mr. R. W. Bruere, of the University of Chicago, discussed "The Ploughman's Creed." He considers untenable Skeat's theory of the single authorship of this work and the *Ploughman's Tale*.—The last paper, by Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri, gave a statistical inquiry into the texts most used for the teaching of Old French in the best universities. The speaker deprecated the preference too commonly given to the *poésie courtoise* over the national epic. [See *Publications*, XVIII, 4.]

Professor Hohlfeld presented the following resolution :

Resolved, That the sincere thanks of this Association be tendered to the President and Trustees of the University of Chicago, to the members of the Local Committee, and to the teachers of the modern language departments, for their liberal and generous hospitality, which has contributed so much to the success and pleasure of this meeting."

This resolution was unanimously carried, and the eighth annual session of the Division then adjourned.

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