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I.—CONGREVE AS A ROMANTICIST

William Congreve is undeniably the most polished of our dramatic writers and probably the most witty. Of his four comedies, *The Old Bachelor, The Double Dealer, Love for Love,* and *The Way of the World,* the first is one of the most scurrilous plays in English, and the last one of the most exquisite. If this were all that is to be said of him, one might be content to leave him to the scholars and the connoisseurs who at present seem to be his only earnest readers. But there is another and a greater claim to be made for Congreve. There is the claim not merely that he should be regarded as a classic—an empty and neglectful honor—but also that he should have that loving perusal by a younger generation which is the rightful prerogative of a classic. A reputation for indecency, a suspicion that he is one of those "to be read for style only," most of all, ignorance or a misunderstanding of the real quality of his plays, have made his immortality an immortality on shelves, bookcases, and desks, dusty altars for his brilliance. This is of little moment for Congreve, who professed to despise literary fame in his lifetime, and

would ask for no popularity now, but it is of some importance for readers of our generation who have revived the old interest in published plays, and should not be frightened or discouraged from the best.

That the comedies of Congreve are the best in prose that our language offers few critics will deny, even if in the same breath they make the charge of grossness in purpose which was responsible for much of Congreve's bad repute in the nineteenth century. In this essay I hope to prove the untruth of this charge, without performing the impossible task of acquitting the plays of grossness in word and in act. That the best of these comedies contain a refinement, an elixir of life not found elsewhere in such perfection in English, and that it is this which makes them immortal and therefore worthy of our better acquaintance, is perhaps a more interesting and valuable proposition. It is with this last, which is not so much an attempted defence, as an attempted explanation of Congreve, that I am chiefly concerned.

Charles Lamb has been Congreve's best friend among the critics. "I do not know how it is with others," he wrote, "but I feel the better always for the perusal of one of Congreve's comedies. I am the gayer at least for it: and I could never connect those sports of a witty fancy in any shape with any result to be drawn from them to imitation in real life. They are a world of themselves, almost as much as fairy-land. . . . The Fainalls and the Mirabells, the Dorimants and the Lady Touchwoods, in their own sphere, do not offend my moral sense; in fact they do not appeal to it at all. They seem engaged in their proper element. They break through no laws or conscientious restraints. They know of none. They have got out of Christendom into the land—what shall I call it—of cuckoldry—the Utopia of gallantry, where pleasure is

duty, and the manners perfect freedom. It is altogether a speculative scene of things, which has no reference whatever to the world that is."

This, I suppose, is what we should call now-a-days impressionistic criticism. It describes the effect of these comedies upon the sensitive, tolerant spirit of a humorist. It must arouse both assent and dissent in the minds of those of us who have felt, in reading, the incomparable charm, and also the indubitable hardness of those gay Congrevian folk who move through plots which cynicism underlies, and trickery carries forward. Some fortunate ones may readily assent, and be satisfied with the liberal critic's assertion that they do right to leave the moral sense at home when their imagination goes to these plays. Upon their sensory nerves *The Way of the World,* for example, makes a pleasant effect which Lamb's criticism adequately describes. The indecency, the hardness, the cynicism do not trouble them; that the actors had prototypes whose wickedness was not Utopian does not mar their enjoyment; they recognize, without analysis, that this is only Utopia after all, and are not disturbed. Frankly, there is probably in the essay which follows nothing for such readers. They have already gotten as much as they have a right to expect from their Congreve.

But there is another class, of whom I admit myself one, which is more troubled by historical perspective and moral responsibility, less blest with the ability to take art at its face value. We remember that Macaulay professed to contradict flatly Lamb's pleasing defense by proving, as was but too easy, that the Fainalls and the Mirabells had counterparts in the life of the period, whose deeds were unpleasantly real; that the court of James II. and William III. was no fairy-land, and that the comedies were studied from this court. We are obstinately curious to know

why these plays, in spite of this apparent reality of their scenes, can make the impression of a world where moral laws are broken with relative impunity. Perhaps we wish to justify our liking for plays that many call wicked, or thrash out for once (though this is presumptuous) the old question of art *versus* morality. In any case there is only one course open: we must approach Congreve as if he were Ibsen, or Brieux, or Shaw. On the one hand is the society he lived in; on the other, the plays he made from it. What is the true relation between them? Only when that question has been answered can we call him moral, unmoral, or immoral, or, what is more important, define his art.

Are they realism, these plays, where cynical lovers and careless coquettes do the things that ought not to be done, and mention the unmentionable: where Mirabell plots with an old mistress to get a new one, or where two young bachelors and one old, heap for five acts scorn and disgrace upon matrimony? Unfortunately it is scarcely necessary to prove that the Valentines, the Mellefonts, the Belindas who move through Congreve's plays had prototypes, even for their worst misdemeanors, in the Restoration and the Orange ages in London. The satire of Swift, the mockery of Pope, the evidence of Addison, all contemporaries of Congreve, would establish it; but we have proof which needs no support in *The Memoirs of Grammont* and in the historical records of the time. It is certain that Congreve's scenes have a very direct reference to the world which his audiences knew. And his assertion that the dialogue of *The Way of the World* had profited by the conversation of Ralph, Earl of Montague and the gay society in retirement with him from the town, might have been altered, with a possible gain in sincerity, to an acknowl-

edgment of indebtedness to him and to his class for the manners presented upon the stage.

But the certainty that these plays were based directly upon the gay life of the period in no sense proves that they are realism. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that these Bellmours who think that loose-living is the chief duty of man, these Valentines whose talk is wine and honey, while their acts, as Voltaire said, are the acts of "fripons," these charming Angelicas and Millamants who toy with indecency and are chaste only from fastidiousness—it is difficult to believe that they represent a literal transcript, either in their charm or in their wickedness, of the courtly society of the times. Credulity strains at accepting as literally true a world where morality is scarcely believed in, where men are esteemed only for their skill in gallantry, and the folly of fools is measured by their deficiencies in the arts of libertinism. And in spite of the proved laxity of the times perhaps credulity is right. Jeremy Collier, who, to be sure, is a prejudiced witness, denied that the stage presented the "quality" with fairness. Addison, a much better one, is equally impressed, as one can see in *Spectator* 446, with the difference between life in the comedies, and the life which he knew and had known. It would seem, indeed, that a society actually governed by the principles, the morals, the habits of the Restoration comedy would be as impossible as a community made up exclusively of gamblers, murderers, and pickpockets.

But even if there had been a society as light-principled as this of the plays, even though there were individuals as indifferent to morality, nevertheless this drama is certainly not an utterly realistic presentation. A plain statement of the *facts* about Mirabell as they might be deduced and summarized from Congreve's play would be utterly different in its effect upon the reader from the account of

Mirabell the fastidious libertine as Congreve writes it. In the first, he would appear as a clever gentleman whose charming manners would not blind us to the truth,—that he passed without scruple from one amour to another, and gave up vice only because he had found something more fascinating. In the second, he is—well, Mirabell. Or, to draw our illustrations from a wider range, Rochester and Buckingham: how different is the account of their affairs given by the matter-of-fact Pepys, who calls Rochester " an idle rogue," from that tale of their gallant exploits which ornaments *The Memoirs of Grammont,* a book which shares the atmosphere of the comedies. How different is Pepys's bald statement of a rascal's career from the Dorimant of Etherege's *Sir Fopling Flutter,* and those other gay character sketches of the comedy which are usually supposed to be based upon these notable rakes of the court of Charles II.! How different is this world as Evelyn saw it in his diary from its gay illusion for the dramatist! No, there is much reality; but of true realism, the attempt to see things as they are, there is little in these plays.

But if not realism, what? Is it clever literary heightening which has transformed the world which lay about the dramatist into a Utopia of gallantry? That some part of this result is due to such a heightening is undeniable. Congreve's exquisite style in itself is sufficient to make ugly deeds into " sounds and sweet airs, that give delight, and hurt not." It gives an indescribable charm to a stage world that lacks all moral excellence:

> *Millamant* (*repeating*). "Like Phoebus sung the no less am'rous boy."
>
> *Mirabell* (*who enters*). "Like Daphne she, as lovely and as coy." Do you lock yourself up from me, to make my search more curious? Or is this pretty artifice contriv'd, to signify that here the chase must end, and my pursuit be crown'd; for you can fly no farther?

> *Millamant.* Vanity! No—— I'll fly and be follow'd to the last moment; tho' I am upon the very verge of matrimony, I expect you shou'd solicit me as much as if I were wavering at the gate of a monastery, with one foot over the threshold. I'll be solicited to the very last, nay, and afterwards.

But our question is not so answered. Literary heightening is only a means after all. It is only the means by which the writer expresses his imaginative conception of life. We must look deeper,—to his conception of the life about him, for the cause of Congreve's transformation of a very real society into Utopia.

The truth is that Congreve did not present the life of his contemporaries with absolute realism because, like so many others before and since, he *did not see it realistically.* He presented not life as it was, but rather the fashionable world's, and his own, conception of the life they were leading. What this was can well be seen in the memoirs of one of them, the Count of Grammont. These memoirs, written in the old age of the Count, by his brother-in-law, the talented Anthony Hamilton (who himself had lived at the English court), depict, it is true, the court of Charles II., not that of William and Mary. But as it is clear that the drama of the Orange period is different only in polish from that of the first two or three decades after the Restoration, so it is agreed that the fashionable life of the 'nineties of the century differed only in degree from that of the 'sixties and 'seventies. In these charming if licentious memoirs personages of the highest nobility, men of importance to the State, women whose sovereignty was renowned, and youths who were preparing for the great responsibilities of the nation, all act, as the whirl of pleasure carries them up and down, like desperadoes, hoydens, clowns, spoiled children, or beasts. The beautiful

Jennings, "prettiest and most extraordinary creature in England," and maid of honor to the Duchess of York, disguises herself as an orange girl, and goes to the playhouse. Sydney, "more handsome than the beautiful Adonis," was busy adjusting his curls, but the other fine gentlemen soon taught her what was expected of the character she had assumed. The rake of rakes, Lord Rochester, being exiled from court, changed his name and made himself familiar with the burgesses, railing against the profligacy of the court ladies and such rakes as himself; then further disguised himself as a German doctor-astrologer that he might do mischief to the sex from a new point of vantage. Lady Chesterfield, having deceived both husband and lover, tempts the latter to follow her forced exile from London, then leaves him to freeze till daybreak in the mud of a garden. The court laughed at the lover, and bitterly condemned the jealousy of the husband! The men are known by the mistresses they are besieging; the women by their breaches of decorum as much as by their beauty and address. "The court," says Hamilton,[1] "was an entire scene of gallantry and amusements, with all the politeness and magnificence, which the inclinations of a prince, naturally addicted to tenderness and pleasure, could suggest; the beauties were desirous of charming, and the men endeavored to please; all studied to set themselves off to the best advantage; some distinguished themselves by dancing; others by show and magnificence; some by their wit, many by their amours, but few by their constancy."

It was not as an "entire scene of gallantry and amusements" that the Puritans characterized this court. They called it a brothel; and modern historians are not much more complimentary. But to Hamilton it was

[1] Chapter VIII.

not ugly, it was not vicious, this court where the king kept a harem, and illicit love was the theme by day and by night. To him it was no loose riot of the passions, however it may have appeared to those who looked on from without the circle. He sees not lasciviousness in all these wild revellings, but gallantry; not debauchery, but the free pleasures of men of the world; not idle quarrelsomeness, but the keenness of honor. He idealizes the profligacy of this court; he idealizes the acts of its most graceful and its vilest members, so that in his pages they do remain "ingenious and entertaining." And we do not have to be Puritans in order to see that the basis of his *Memoirs* was in no sense realism, that is, an attempt to see things as they were in the court.

But the idealization was not altogether his, although we must ascribe some of its success to a mind which, as Horace Walpole said, was "superior to the indelicacy of the court," and some to the literary powers of the writer. It was also in some measure the idealization of the court itself, of the Chevalier de Grammont as he thought of his career, of Miss Jennings, of Charles in the gaiety of Whitehall. It was the fashionable view of the fashionable vices of the age. It was a pose necessary to human nature in such circumstances, and especially necessary to a society gross in its manners but, by the example of France, and the standards of its generation, committed to an assumption of elegance even in its immoralities.

And it was the same gay Stuart world, a score of years later but still idealizing rakishness, that Congreve studied. His society closely resembled that of Charles's Court, its conception of gallant life was the same. Like Hamilton, he shared its conception, its tendency to idealize rakishness, and, as with Hamilton, this prevented his work from being realism. Mirabell is wittier than the rakes

of Charles's circle, Millamant is more exquisite, more fastidious than Miss Stewart and Miss Jennings as they appear in Grammont, but they would have been at home in the *Memoirs*. And if Congreve's literary heightening is far greater and far more successful than Hamilton's, so much the greater is his divergence, in spite of the vividness of his portraiture, from plain, uncolored realism.

Have we told the truth of Congreve when we say that he was the artist who best idealized libertinism, and thus satisfied the desires of his class in his age? Not the whole truth. It is certain that Hamilton in some measure, and Congreve to a far greater degree, did, in the true sense of the word, idealize the life of the libertine, that is. they brought out the inner meaning of that life, and with varying success distilled what it possessed of grace and of charm. But it is even more apparent that they were unfortunate enough to do more than this, that they overemphasized (as did, to a greater degree, Congreve's predecessors among the dramatists of Charles's reign, and his contemporaries, Farquhar and Vanbrugh) the gross, the lascivious, and the cynical in this libertinism. This is not idealization. The term does not cover these facts. It is too narrow to describe the angle from which these writers viewed their world. It cannot denominate the impulse which not only made them idealize its libertine desires but also caused them to detail affectionately, and with complete absence of moral reprobation, its ugly libertine deeds. Grant the idealization and there is still a cause of causes to be sought and named before you can apprehend the inner spirit of these elusive comedies.

Fiction, the gay and almost worthless fiction of the Restoration period, where the literature of rakishness attains its greatest exaggeration, offers unexpected aid in comprehending the far more perfect work of the dramatists.

M. Victor Cherbuliez, in a recent article in *La Revue des Deux Mondes,* has discussed in a very interesting fashion the vogue of the roué in French literature of the early days of Louis XIV., choosing the *Gil Blas* of Le Sage as his prime example. Monsieur, the duke of Orleans, was the leader of the fashion as it showed itself in real life; Le Sage but one of many contemporary authors who put it into fiction. It is scarcely needful to add that novels which reflected this spirit of rakishness were widely read in England as well as in France. A swarm of stories of intrigue in gallant life, translated or imitated from the French, poured into English presses from the beginning of this period onward. Sometimes they were called "romances," though much shorter, less unreal, and more licentious than the heroic romance of Scudéry; sometimes "novels," which meant then news of amorous adventure, real or feigned, among people of quality. The publishers' catalogues for these years prove that English readers were clamoring for such stories, and the subscription after many of them, "by a person of quality," as well as their courtly atmosphere, shows, at least, the class for which they were composed.

This fiction breathes forth the very spirit of what Hamilton might have called gallantry. It contains in exaggerated form the motives which animated the court that condemned Lord Chesterton for punishing the infidelity of his lady, and inspired Grammont to seek amorous adventure instead of confining himself, as his practical friend, Saint-Evremond advised, to the more profitable occupation of play. And it very often includes, as the frequent sub-title, Secret History, proves, a romantic version of the actual deeds of the smart set of England or of France. The authors are concerned with the pursuit of pleasure as practised by a debased chivalry. The chase of woman

becomes a gallant war, where men win by renown of their victories, and women by their defeats. Elegance is a prime requisite; virtue is unfashionable. Worth is measured in terms of wit; and spiritual eminence, when it appears, by the fastidiousness which determines the pleasure to be sought. With less truth to the life about them, with less art, and with less success, these novelists work in the field which was tilled in a more masterly fashion by the comic dramatists of the age.

It was in this field of gallant narrative that Aphra Behn, the one English writer of powerful fiction in the age, won a distinction which has been at least as durable as her reputation as a dramatist. It was in this field that the young Congreve, then only a boy, made his first adventure into literature with *Incognita: or Love and Duty Reconcil'd,* a little novel which reflects with some charm but no originality the spirit of the period. And from the later stories of Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Haywood scores of less worthy and much more licentious examples could be chosen to show how thorough was the attempt to render interesting, attractive, and romantic, a life which was sometimes vicious, often unprincipled, and always unrestrained.

The young Congreve asserts in the preface to his *Incognita* that the so-called "novel" is of a more familiar nature than the heroic romance; that it comes nearer to us with its intrigues, its accidents, and events which are neither unreal nor unprecedented. This is true, but these novels are in no sense realism. There is, to an even greater extent than in the comedies, a heightening of all which emphasizes the delights of amorous pleasure-seeking, of all which throws a glamour over rakishness. The reckless gallants of Scarron's *Innocent Adultery* (that book which Lucy in *The Rivals* thrust into *The Whole*

Duty of Man), the dashing adventuresses of Mrs. Haywood, are pictures of the gay libertine with all that the libertine would dislike left out, all that he would like to be or to do heightened, exaggerated, as adequately as the rather moderate powers of the authors would permit. It is the language of romance, of the heroic romance of Scudéry, and of the heroic tragedy, which these creatures speak when they rise towards the climax of their stories. And romance of a different order has colored the actions which are given them, the sentiments they express, and the view of life which their creators must be supposed to have possessed. The libertine of these novels is as romantic as his language. The conception of life held by the novelist is romantic. And the comedy of this period, which, in spite of its notable differences in style and in restraint, handles libertinism in this very fashion, has also a basis of romance.

Blinded by the hot romance of Byron, Keats, and Tennyson, of Shakespeare and of Marlowe, critics have sometimes been too narrow in their limitations of the romantic view of life. Romance for a romantic period is the light that never was on land or sea; but in more prosaic times it may also be the light that never was in ball-room or coffee-house. Wax candles and flambeaux may supply it as truly if not so nobly as moonlight, or the rays of setting suns. Rakes and women no better than they should be may seek it as keenly, if not so heroically, as fiery-souled Childe Harolds, or pure-hearted Juliets. The roué has his especial romance and by such romance much of the noble and the ignoble in the literature of this period was colored. In the empty grandiloquence and strained passions of the tragedies of Dryden, Otway, and Lee, in the heroic absurdity of the fiction of a Scudéry or a Boyle, is to be found the remains of the powerful

romance of an earlier age. As a recent historian of our drama has observed, it was in such work that the Restoration gratified what was left of the *old* romantic fervor. But the rakish novel which we have just been describing, and the rakish comedy, are not unromantic because they are so different from the heroic fiction and the heroic drama. They descend to deeds, thoughts, and desires which were more possible, more prosaic, and lower in tone. They are full of literal transcripts of grossness; real life is their model, at least with the comedies; they admit moods of the realist, such as the cynical and the satiric; yet there is romance in the angle from which the writer views his libertine world.

This is very obvious in the rakish novel, but unsatisfactory. The romance is seldom successful; indeed the best stories are those in which the least glamour and the most reality are given to the rake, as for example in *Gil Blas.* The verbiage of decadent heroics encumbers the pages of the specimens which England produced, and is mingled with a thoroughly hypocritical morality. Heroic romance joins with rakish romance to form a compound which is muddy even when it is not vile. Again, in Grammont's *Memoirs* the romance is less obvious, since it is confined to the point of view of the writer. It is just sufficient to prevent his charmingly real figures from being realism. It was in the comedies that the romantic attitude towards gallantry produced its greatest effects.

Much in these comedies is essentially unromantic. The playwrights were realists by bent, like the Dryden of the satires, like Swift, like Pope. They were inclined towards satire, towards criticism, towards an unsparing exhibition of life as they saw it. As every one knows, their representation of society is far more gross, their dialogue more indecent, their incidents more exceptionable

than was the case with Molière and the French school from whom they learned so much of their trade. Much too in this drama is essentially Jacobean. Many characters, many incidents, and many dialogues are as like to Ben Jonson as their authors could make them, and so are reminiscent of a past age rather than symptomatic of a new one. And even in their romance the Restoration playwrights saw no forest of Arden, no Athenian wood, or coast of Bohemia. Nevertheless, behind their cynical studies of would-be gallants, and their sympathetic portraits of free livers and free lovers, was the attempt to discover some Utopia of gallantry, as Lamb with his keen intuition named the world of their stage. They sought their *own* romance.

Too frequently, as one might expect from such an enterprise, the license which accompanied their view of life resulted in such grossness and sensuality that the names of these writers have been blackened for posterity. Congreve in his first play, *The Old Bachelor,* presents a cynical outlaw from sexual morality, and two young rakes who pursue libertinism in its most ardent forms. In the rollicking atmosphere of the play these characters are no longer, as in real life, mere evidences of barbarism or degeneracy. The young author partly succeeds in imposing upon us his conception of the libertinism he was depicting. Nevertheless, this attempt to make attractive the grosser attributes of the rake is clearly unfortunate. The ugly blackness of word or deed shows through the rose of the spot-light. The writer has applied literary heightening to life of a kind better left to the realist. His romantic view of " sporting-life " has led him to attempt a gilding of dirt. Wycherley, Etherege, Vanbrugh sin with him and far more deeply.

But on the other hand, if there is any virtue, or any charm in the life whose excesses we term libertinism, this romantic view was sure to bring it out. And in truth in all the plays which lift themselves above mere grossness some traces are to be found of the fastidiousness, the liberality, the grace which when attained were better attained by this libertine generation than by any other. Congreve was the least gross, the most skilful, and the finest of the dramatists. In his plays, gallantry is truly romantic. The weary worldlings whom he loved to depict disengage themselves from the imperfections of libertinism, and move away from their unlovely companions in the caste. Mellefont in *The Double Dealer,* Angelica in *Love for Love,* most of all Mirabell and Millamant in *The Way of the World,* are all true products of a rakish society. They could have bloomed nowhere else. Follow Mirabell through his play and you will see that he has denied himself nothing that furthers his pleasure. But his pleasure is now not avarice or debauchery, it is the exquisite Millamant. That charming personality is also libertine. She is virtuous to be sure, but out of contempt for her lovers and a nice fastidiousness. When her capricious mind is in a fine rage of distemper for the crudities of her drunken suitor, Wilful, it is the verse of Suckling which discharges her pent-up emotion, Suckling the poet of gallantry, who dwells upon lust! But though libertine, Millamant is not gross. Her mind is as exquisite as her body. She jests at the delights of pleasure-seeking until they become piquant. She enriches worldliness, and tempers sensuality by taste. It is Mirabell's power to refine upon the relations of sex, his desire to make love to the mind as well as to the body, which attracts her. And reciprocally, in loving her this roué lifts his ideal from the gross. All this is the vision of a romanticist; and it follows naturally

that, for all its verisimilitude, his work has sometimes the glamour, and the imaginative appeal of romance.

Thus, to return to our questions, it was this romanticizing of the libertinism of Stuart life which makes the finest of Congreve's plays to seem a Utopia of gallantry wherein man sins without serious injury to the moral sense of the reader. His best characters, though relatively true to life, act, as Lamb's phrase suggests, in a world idealized by romance, the world in which a libertine society wished to believe. Thus Lamb's phrase is a good phrase, and a true critical summary of the most distinctive quality of Restoration drama. It merely needs to be explained; and the explanation is that where gallantry was in question Congreve wrote not realism but romance. It is this which gives to the literature which he left a flavor of peculiar piquancy, to be found nowhere else in English but in the work of his contemporaries, and there obscured by the errors which accompanied so rash an attempt. And it is this which may give to his plays their most interesting claim upon greatness.

This interpretation of Congreve's work, and particularly of his attitude towards the society of which he wrote, is confirmed by, and may serve to explain, the strange contrast between his private life and the gay licentiousness of his plays. Aside from an almost respectable intrigue with the Bracegirdle, a fondness for good wine, and a weakness for high society, nothing is charged against him. In the one published group of his familiar letters, letters written to Joseph Keally of Ireland, a friend of his inner circle and of as close an intimacy as Congreve permitted to men, he appears, at the time of *The Way of the World* and shortly after, as a portly gentleman of retiring habits, more solicitous for his income than for gay pleasures, joking solemnly or lamenting over his dog, Sappho,

and far more likely to remind one of Gray or of Addison than of the witty, careless debauchees of his fancy. Even Mirabell, who in refinement and in fastidiousness is like Congreve, and has by some been supposed to represent him, is only less unlike than the others to this quiet, scholarly gentleman of private tastes, and most reputable habits. But grant the romantic point of view, the idealizing tendency, and this contrast which has puzzled his biographers is no longer so surprising. In actual experience we know that he partook only of the finer flavors of gallantry, such flavors as the charm of his society, and the delicacy of his relations with women might lead us to suppose that he would enjoy. But if in imagination he sympathized with libertine ideals, it is natural that in his writing he should make (often too readily) a romance of gallantry from the exploits of a rake. Goethe, though sound and sane himself, gave an impulse as well as a needed vigor to sentimentality in his *Sorrows of Werther.* And correspondingly this dramatist, though most respectable in his private affairs, applauded as well as beautified a wild libertinism in his comedies.

Again, this interpretation of Congreve explains perhaps, certainly is supported by, the strange position of the dramatist in a controversy which still echoes in English literature. It was in Jeremy Collier's *A Short View of the English Stage* (1698) that the justifiable irritation against the licentiousness of the contemporary drama found its most impressive voice. In 1698 the playwrights of the reign of William III. were at their height. It was specifically against them that Collier, who was Jacobite in party, but Puritan in outlook, directed his attack; and if his complaint seems often to be against the English stage in general, as some critics have maintained, this was only because his advocacy of a moral purpose in stage

representation made him fall foul of great names in earlier periods. The Elizabethans suffer but little at his hands, even the foul-penned Wycherley, whose work was done, comes off but lightly, and the vials of his wrath are reserved, as was indeed fitting, for his active contemporaries, the writers then composing for the stage.

Collier's wrath was to be dreaded. His cause was holy, his prejudice vast, his style a chopping, smashing instrument with which he smote and hewed regardless of the arguments he left unprotected. Congreve and his contemporaries were charged with four misdemeanors: disrespect to the "quality"; disrespect to God's ministers; the countenancing of indecent or immoral behavior; and profanity.

The first charge we cannot take seriously, and Congreve did not fail to answer his part of it successfully in his *Amendments of Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations*, a little pamphlet which represents his contributions to what became a battle of the presses. Nor is the second accusation driven home with any palpable success. It was the last two items which troubled the dramatists. It was profanity which Collier cried out against most ragingly. It was indecency which remained as proved in the judgment of posterity.

Now the so-called profanities which Collier finds in Congreve's work are profanities by convention only; Shakespeare is guilty of such indiscretions as often as Congreve; a modern writer of comic opera much more often. But the indecencies of language which Collier charges upon him are not conventions, even when trivial; the licentiousness of action and of spirit which he points out are not to be denied or explained away. Yet Congreve's answer is only the child's "You're another!" The lewdness, so he says, is in Collier's mind; his adversary is

one of those writers characterized by Ben Jonson who "suck the poison of Books." And this weak defence is rendered more feeble by an irritation which spreads through the remainder of the *Amendments.* Was this keen analyst of character unable to see the inconsistency of his argument? Was this keen wit unable to defend himself? Was the most brilliant comedy-writer of the day unable to grasp the incongruity of his own position? Why was he at loss to oppose, unable to confess, a charge of indecency too easily proven upon the body of his works?

The seeming (and the usual) answer is that he perfectly understood the nature of his offence, and was ashamed to confess his guilt. But a careful reading of the *Amendments* leaves a strong impression that this is not the right one. If he had wished to conceal his iniquities he would have been more clever about it. He would not have puzzled Collier (and later critics) by denying that there was indecency where to us it is too apparent. He would have instituted such complete or partial defences as a critic of his acumen would have well known how to offer. He would not, like one of his own fools, have left his flanks unguarded while he stopped to vilify his opponent's literary style! But regard this attack from Congreve's point of view, and the dramatist's wild return begins to seem more comprehensible. Congreve, as we have seen, had endeavored to present his class's conception of gallant life. This attempt was not immoral. It had nothing to do with morality, except indirectly in the possible effect of a stage presentation. He had created the charming Angelica and Cynthia, Mellefont and Valentine; Mirabell and Millamant were forming in his brain. He had also, after the manner of his time, admitted too much of the licentiousness of the world from which these characters sprang. In this last he was morally culpable. Per-

haps he would have conceded it in some measure if he had been given the chance: he tacitly concedes it by the sweeter language and purer action of *The Way of the World,* which came after Collier's attack. But he was not given the chance. Collier made the true charge that these dramatists were presenting upon the stage, manners prejudicial to public morality; but he made it as subordinate to, as a part of, the untrue charge—untrue at least for Congreve—that their real purpose was to set lewdness and evil as an example for English life. "Thus we see," he says, "what a fine time Lewd People have on the English Stage. No Censure, no mark of Infamy, no Mortification must touch them. They keep their Honour untarnish'd and carry off the Advantage of their Character. They are set up the Standard of Behaviour and the Masters of Ceremony, and Sense. And at last that the Example may work the better, they generally make them rich, and happy, and reward them with their own Desires." All of these statements except the last are true, but the implication that the writers referred to were unprincipled counsellors of sin was, so far as Congreve is concerned, false. It was naturally this, the main charge, that Congreve tried to meet. He failed. With his Stuart point of view, his callousness to indecency, and his sympathy for the weaknesses of the gallant life, he was unable to meet it squarely, because he was unable to disentangle his innocence from his guilt. He tried to defend the defensible and the indefensible together, and the weak and irritable *Amendments* was the result. Even so a painter accused of immorality in his depiction of the nude might hesitate to admit an undue freedom of portrayal lest he should seem to be confessing that prurience was the *aim* of his work.

The confusion of mind which led to Congreve's failure in this controversy, to his manifest irritation, and to the

sulkiness which shows itself in later dramatic criticism, and which may have been one motive for his retirement from the stage, is almost entirely due to his romantic conception of gallantry and the vices and virtues which accompanied it. There is complete incompatibility between his tolerant, or humorous, or rose-colored conception of the gallant pleasures and weaknesses of society, and Collier's, which was that of a moralist without imagination. Both were partly wrong: Congreve in staging the evil in libertinism without consideration of its moral effect; Collier in attacking the dramatist because his plays were not composed for the purpose of inculcating laws of right-living. Neither could have comprehended the other, but Congreve suffered most, since he was rendered incapable of reply.

The great controversy was really a struggle between irreconcilable societies. Congreve was blind to the vices which the moralists reprobated, because he was a connoisseur in the rare and excellent refinements which he found, or imagined, in the Stuart world. Like Shakespeare, he was strictly unmoral in his writings; like Molière most brilliant when his characters were godless epicureans; and a fastidious worldliness, tempered by romance, mellowed by a subtle melancholy, and illumined by wit, was the atmosphere in which alone his spirit expanded. It was in this atmosphere that he carried the idealization of the libertine beyond coarseness into the admirable Mirabell and Millamant. But Collier, blind to these charms, saw far more truly the dangers of accompanying vice. And Collier prevailed. Libertinism, having passed the bounds of safety, began to go out of fashion. The works of Addison, Steele, Swift, even Pope, show that in the eyes of the generation which came to the front about 1700 the gay sins of the Cavaliers, if still peccadilloes, were no longer

merely romantic. The rake was beginning to be unpopular among some of the most influential of "the quality"; the times were preparing to enjoy a novelist's criticism of such a character in the Lovelace of *Clarissa Harlowe.*

Congreve yielded a little before this movement, for his *Way of the World,* which contains his noblest refinements upon libertinism, is more decent than his other plays. And then at thirty years of age he threw up his part and left the stage. Was it laziness? For we know he was lazy. Was he discouraged by the partial failure of *The Way of the World?* These explanations are not in themselves sufficient. Was it not also because his sensitive spirit felt the cold blast of a new, an uncomprehending criticism, and shrank? *The Way of the World* did not fail merely because libertinism was going out of fashion. Plays of Farquhar and Vanbrugh of far greater licentiousness succeeded at a later date. But Congreve was expecting misapprehension of some kind. "Little of it was prepared," he writes in the preface, "for that general taste which seems now to be predominant in the palates of our audience. . . . It is only by the countenance of . . . the few so qualify'd, that such who write with care and pains can hope to be distinguish'd." And in the prologue:

> Satire he thinks, you ought not to expect;
> For so reformed a town, who dares correct?

So exquisite a master of the arts of literary refinement felt sooner and more keenly than his fellow dramatists the coming of the adverse wave which, threatening the gross, seemed to threaten the fine also. There were Colliers in his audiences who had no better name than bawdry for the life over which he had thrown some glamour of romance.

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY.

II.—SOME TENDENCIES OF ITALIAN LYRIC POETRY IN THE TRECENTO

It is not easy to form an adequate conception of the course of Italian lyric poetry in the fourteenth century; partly because not all the relevant material has been published,[1] partly because the admitted faults of the period have been held to justify a neglect of most of its representatives in favor of a concentrating of attention on the great names of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Such an attitude, however, involves the disregard of much that is needed for an accurate view of the time, and the neglect of many poets who, while not uniformly inspired, give us much of genuine beauty and significance. It is accordingly my design to set forth, in broad but not unfaithful fashion, the main causes which gave this large body of verse not only its easily noted defects, but also its real, tho not always recognized, merits.

I

The first tentative essays of Italian lyric were, as all know, taken over and transfigured by the Tuscan school of the *dolce stil nuovo,* which, initiated by Guinizelli, was brought by Cavalcanti to Florence, where it soon assembled a little band united by common aims and high achieve-

[1] The most accessible collections are Carducci's *Antica Lirica Italiana* and Volpi's *Rime di Trecentisti Minori* (both Florence, 1907), reference to which is made by the abbreviations *ALI* and *TM* respectively. Numerous poems, however, must be sought in scattered and often recondite publications, and a considerable body of material has never been printed at all. The best general history of the period is Volpi, *Il Trecento* (Milan, 1898).

ment. We do not always realize how brief was the real duration of this school; a comparatively short period sufficed for the gathering of its members and the setting forth of its message. The most characteristic work of its poets, like the scholastic mode of thought which had led to it, belongs almost wholly to the Dugento; nay, even before the end of the century Dante had already shown tendencies in his lyrics which pointed to new developments. Yet the accomplishment of the school had been very great. Its members, for the first time in the history of Italian poetry, had been free, in full command of their means, to express themselves as they would; and their legacy was a lyrical technique rich in subtle and varied stanza-forms, and expressed in a most carefully chosen vocabulary. They had also made the canzone a vehicle of abstract thought, by discussing the true nature of love; a tendency which Dante had carried further by his close analysis of some of love's attendant virtues. His departure from the circle of strictly *stil nuovo* ideas had also led him, in the *rime pietrose,* to seek an expression of vivid personal emotion which should be as directly and humanly rendered as possible. The perfected lyrical technique through which the new conception of love had been set forth, and the new range of subjects to which Dante's genius had pointed the way, were thus the basis of development which the school offered its successors.

The civil strife in Florence which, in 1302, cast out Dante, along with Petrarch's father and many more, marked the end of the school as a unified group, but not, of course, the end of its influence. Indeed, one result of the dispersal of the school was a revival of interest in poetry in regions where it had previously been less cultivated. Thus Dante's sojourn in the Veneto, at the very end of his career, led to a brief movement, shown in such

men as Giovanni Quirini and Niccolò de' Rossi. The latter, a native of Treviso, was not only a poet himself, but a student of the poems of others. We still possess the codex [1] which he compiled about 1325, as a repository of much work of his predecessors, including Dante and Cino da Pistoia, and of his own poems. Among the latter a minute imitation of Cavalcanti's famous *Donna mi prega,* accompanied by a lengthy Latin commentary, shows a pious attempt to perpetuate the older scholastic attitude at a time when it had really lost its value. Cino da Pistoia, most voluminous and unequal of the school to which he does not entirely belong, was active until his death in 1336—an event lamented by the youthful Petrarch, whom he doubtless influenced. Sennuccio del Bene and Matteo Frescobaldi [2] carried on the tradition of the *stil nuovo* to the middle of the century; to the same group seemingly belongs Jacopo Cecchi, whose two canzoni (*ALI,* nos. 97 and 98) are technically very close to *stil nuovo* types. The precise relation of their work to what had preceded has yet to be adequately studied; but it is unquestionably to be defined as survival rather than as actual growth.

The one poet who possessed sufficient genius to make the realistic tendency of the *stil nuovo* the starting-point of a fresh development is Fazio degli Uberti. I have elsewhere [3] briefly discussed his relation to Dante, and the character of his work, and hence may merely note here that his best poems effected a readjustment of what was most vital in the *stil nuovo* to the new currents of the age

[1] Published by G. Lega, *Il Canzoniere Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 3953,* Bologna, 1915. For the date, see introduction, p. xxxiii.

[2] The poems of the former are practically complete in *TM*, pp. 27-39; those of the latter were edited by Carducci, Pistoia, 1866.

[3] See *Fazio degli Uberti as a Lyric Poet,* in *Romanic Review,* v, pp. 350 ff.

which, had a consistent transition from old to new been possible, would have brought notable results. As it was, he clearly indicated the fresh paths open to lyric poetry, and did much to shape its course; but a complete realization of these tendencies was forbidden by the age itself, for reasons now to be examined.

II

No study of the Trecento can be adequate which does not begin with a realization of the effect of changed political conditions on society at large. The strife of Empire and Papacy which had rent the previous century was, after the death of Henry VII. and the removal of the Papal seat to Avignon, practically a dead issue. The names of Guelf and Ghibelline still survived, and the emperors—notably Ludwig of Bavaria and Charles IV. of Luxemburg—still endeavored to influence Italian affairs; with some resultant echoes in literature, but little real effect. Yet the internal conflicts of Italy were as keen as ever, save that now they centered about the efforts of a host of petty princes or soldiers of fortune to gain or consolidate local power at the expense of the decaying communes; while greater rulers—Robert of Naples in the south, and Visconti in the north—cherished the ambition of bringing the entire land under their control. As a result of these incessant struggles, little continuous quiet was possible; and lyric poets, like other citizens, were often exiles, compelled to frequent changes of residence, and unable to establish a durable tradition in their art, or to write in leisure and tranquillity.

It is further true that many poets of the time were of humble origin, and hence obliged to eke out a living between desultory practice of some learned profession and

the favor of some prince who would employ them in minor diplomatic or political capacity, or in even more menial service. Even Fazio, tho he could boast descent from Farinata, was by that very descent born into exile, and condemned to seek service where he could find it. Constrained to put his Muse at the disposal of Scaligers and Visconti, he failed even so to escape the pangs of poverty and neglect; and what was true of one who possessed high lineage and geniune gifts would be all the more true of men of more dubious talents and humbler birth. They could hardly fail to seek what they might at some court, generally in northern Italy—at Bologna, for instance, under the rule of Giovanni d'Oleggio, and most of all with the Visconti. Changes of allegiance were naturally frequent, as the favor which they enjoyed waned, or as their benefactors were driven from power in the perpetual strife of factions. Their prosperity was at best uncertain, the esteem in which they were held scant; the danger of withdrawal of protection involved constant peril of poverty, the shifting of residence favored vagabondage and all its attendant vices.

We can scarcely wonder that such conditions fostered many poems neither limpid nor cheerful. They directly inspired a whole class of lyrics—invectives against ever-threatening poverty,[1] or against Fortune that ruled the world so ill; long catalogs of personal defects, or more or less futile promises of repentance. Fazio himself found material here, tho his descent and his innate power kept him, for the most part, from undignified excess. Per-

[1] Cf. the poem *O povertà, come tu sei un manto*, in Renier's *Fazio*, p. 177, and the similar, tho inferior, *O povertà, che ti distrugga Iddio*, printed by S. Debenedetti in *Boll. della Società Filologica Romana*, N. S., III (1912), p. 17, who adds references to other poems on the theme.

haps impelled by his example, his eccentric friend Antonio da Ferrara devised that most characteristic form, the *disperata*. This, as the name implies, is a graduated series of curses, ranging from the universe in general, through the poet's parents, to his own personal shortcomings. Even tho poets found, in the harsh conditions of the age and the abundance of their failings, opportunity for occasional vivid phrases, the general tendency of such poems must obviously be toward the grotesque or the trivial, especially when, as was often the case, it was uncontrolled by any fine moral or critical sense.

It follows that we need not be surprised at the discovery that our knowledge of the lives of these hapless poets is in the highest degree fragmentary. Occasional allusions in the class of poems just discussed, and occasional documents accidentally preserved, may cast a momentary light, immediately withdrawn; or the references in some poem written in connection with a particular event may enable us to fix the residence of its writer at a given moment. To illustrate this state of affairs, let us glance at what we know of the careers of two typical figures, Antonio da Ferrara and Bartolommeo da Castel della Pieve.

III

Antonio de' Beccari [1] was born at Ferrara, in the year 1315, as he himself states. His father, a butcher (hence the family name), contrived to give his two sons, Antonio and Niccolò, a good classical education, but, in the former's case at least, with rather dubious results. Antonio,

[1] The most complete account of his life and writings is Ezio Levi's *Antonio e Niccolò da Ferrara*, in *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Ferrarese di Storia Patria*, vol. XIX (1909), on chapter V of which the ensuing paragraph is based.

tho endowed with a quick and eager mind, soon fell into habits of dissipation, especially of gambling; and, despite occasional efforts at reform, he became a thorough vagabond. In 1343 he was at Bologna, where in the next year he committed an assault on a Florentine minstrel, and was in consequence banished, to spend the ensuing period in poverty and wandering. He returned to Bologna, however, and in 1350 secured a formal pardon. For the next decade he used Bologna as his base of operations, making thence frequent excursions to the neighboring courts; now enjoying the favor of their rulers, now indulging in such exploits as setting the altar-candles before Dante's tomb at Ravenna, as Sacchetti vividly relates (novella cxxi). In 1353 he was in Venice, in the company of Petrarch, whom he soon forsook in order to squander his substance among the gamblers of the Rialto, until he was fain to pawn his valise, as he describes in an amusing pair of sonnets (*TM*, pp. 50, 51), and retreat to Padua. When, in 1360, Bologna passed under the control of the Church, Antonio withdrew to Tuscany, where we lose sight of him, and where he probably died not long after 1364; for his disordered career had brought him a premature old age, making him speak of himself as *vecchio e canuto* at forty-two.

Our knowledge of Antonio's life is much illuminated by the numerous autobiographic details included in his poems, notably in the five capitoli [2] addressed to the Virgin. In the most powerful of these, the third, he gives us an unflinching self-portrait. At first he proudly records his early promise, and its inconsistency with his present estate:

[2] Printed by Bini, *Rime e Prose del Buon Secolo*, Lucca, 1852, pp. 26-35.

> Costui non nacque a viver cogli pravi;
> Anzi concedè tanta di ragione,
>   Che molta gente fe' meravigliare,
> Essendo ancor d' età puro garzone (terz. 9, 10);

but he soon passes to frank admission of his disordered and irresponsible way of living, and, knowing well enough his essential instability, gives his verdict on it with restrained bitterness:

> Egli è ben ver che talor gli rincresce
>   Questa cose lascive, e par volere
> Seguir quell' opre che in fama accresce.
> Sta pure un poco, tu 'l vedrai cadere;
>   In lui virtù nè fermezza non dura,
> Che la ragion sottomette al volere (terz. 35, 36).

Precisely when he wrote the famous disperata (*TM*, p. 47) does not appear; but it touches on most of the hapless circumstances of his life—his childhood, his unprofitable studies, his vain services to the great—and bitterly curses his father's ill-starred efforts for his advancement, and his own failure to profit by them. No poetry of the time gives us a more vivid picture of the havoc wrought in a truly gifted and sensitive nature by the pitfalls of the age; even tho it is at times overdrawn and pedantic, the cry of a tortured soul breaks through, and speaks with dignity and passion.

Bartolommeo da Castel della Pieve,[3] tho not (so far as we can tell) a vagabond like Antonio, was scarcely happier or more settled in his mode of life. Born, early in the Trecento, in the sleepy little Umbrian town later famous as the birthplace of Perugino, he became a wandering teacher, or *maestro,* finding a livelihood where he might. He too was at Bologna, in the service of Giovanni d'Oleg-

[3] See F. Novati, *Bartolommeo da Castel della Pieve,* in *Giornale Storico* XII, pp. 181 ff., for an account of his life and works.

gio; later he spent some time in Tuscany, exchanging sonnets with Sacchetti, and letters with Salutati, who praised his Latin style and exhorted him to the study of theology. In 1370 he wrote a canzone to offer good advice to the Perugines, who had just submitted to the Pope; and soon thereafter he decided to seek his fortune in the North with some Lombard prince. On reaching Brescia he was (for no cause, he says) cast into jail, but opportunely rescued by the Podestà, Manfredino da Sassuolo, himself an exile, who made him tutor to his sons.[4] Here our information stops; and we can only hope that he did not live to witness the betrayal and death of his benefactor in 1389.

Not many of Bartolommeo's poems can be read with pleasure throughout; yet, despite his insecure command of form, and his undigested learning, he had shrewd flashes of common sense, and sundry gleams of true poetry evoked by the realistic trend of his time. His most popular canzone, *Cruda, selvaggia, fugitiva e fera* (*TM*, p. 73), tho abundantly illustrative of his faults, rises at times to a swiftness and vigor of expression that reminds us of Fazio, as in this stanza:

> Deh, per Dio, corre e allegra ti specchia
> Vagheggiando te stessa e immaginando
> Con un vago piacer le tue bellezze;
> E per tua compagnia prendi una vecchia
> Che si ricordi del bel tempo quando
> La prese amor nelle prime vaghezze;
> E tu riguarda ben le sue fattezze,
> Le sue parole ascolta e' sospir soi,
> Ed al tuo specchio poi
> Ritorna e mira i tuoi biondi capelli,
> Mira le fresche rose e' fiori e' gigli

[4] For our knowledge of these events we are indebted to a letter by Bartolommeo himself, printed by Novati, p. 204.

> Che 'ntorno a' tuoi begli occhi
> Vernan, che par che fiocchi
> Dal tuo bel viso un ciel di nuove stelle,
> La tua candida gola e le mammelle
> Che 'n sul bel petto par ciascuna un fiore:
> Po' pensa ciò che vali senza amore.

Nor are the lines in which his betrayed maiden sends forth the song that tells her sad tale [5] without a quiet but sincere sentiment:

> La crudel vita e 'l mio dolor tu 'l sai;
> Novellal dunque fanciullescamente,
> Che forse dama o mie simil servente
> D'amor farai, per mia pietà, divise
> Da tanto caso; e di': Quel che conquise
> Questa fanciulla e fe' di sè crudele
> Fu dolce gusto d'amorosa fele.

By the lives of these two hapless poets we may sufficiently judge of the disadvantages under which many writers of the Trecento were fain to exist, whether through their own vices, like Antonio, or, as we may charitably conjecture in the case of Bartolommeo, through low estate and capricious fortune. We can scarcely wonder that their poems should be largely inspired by the desire to win the favor of a patron, or should reflect, in lament or imprecation, the troubled conditions which gave them birth. Except in these latter cases, with their obvious opportunities for lapses of taste, poetry which was the direct outcome of a desire for personal expression must needs be of subordinate utility. Moreover, even when the impulse was there, it had to strive against certain other tendencies which, in less obvious but equally certain fashion, led it astray from its true aim, and hampered its development.

[5] See the canzone *Accorr' uomo, accorr' uomo, ogni uom soccorra*, printed by Novati, p. 214.

IV

We could be confident, even without the testimony of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia,* that the poets of the *stil nuovo* were of a genuinely critical temper. The care shown in choice of vocabulary, in construction of stanzas, in coherence of thought, indicates a close attention to such technical matters of which Dante's treatise is merely an extensive and definitive confirmation. But in the new age such an interest was hard pressed by the dispersive tendencies of society just discussed, which made it practically impossible for poets to secure the leisure needed for calm reflection on the technical problems of their art. This state of affairs involved certain consequences of a more strictly literary sort which combined with the others to promote the disintegration of pure lyric.

We note, first of all, a decided tendency to make the canzone a vehicle for strange subjects. Thus Dante's son Piero employs it to defend his father's memory against the charge of heresy; [1] and poet after poet presses it into the service of moralizing and would-be philosophical discussion of abstract themes. Lyrics of such a reflective cast had of course been written by earlier Italian poets, notably Guittone d'Arezzo and those whom he influenced; they had received the sanction of Dante; and it is therefore not remarkable that the poets of the Trecento should have followed such precedents. Sturdy Bindo Bonichi,[2] who was practically a contemporary of Dante, wrote almost exclusively on such topics, with occasional touches of shrewd

[1] See the canzone *Queste sette arti liberali in versi* (*TM*, p. 43), in which each art is allotted a stanza for her plea.

[2] Cf. I. Sanesi, *Bindo Bonichi da Siena e le sue Rime,* in *Giornale Storico,* XVIII, p. 1. The poems were edited by Ferrari (Bologna, 1857).

observation or satiric humor, tho not, for the most part, with much felicity of expression. He was a native of Siena, a merchant who held sundry responsible offices in his city, evidently devoted much time to study, and later became an oblate of Santa Maria della Misericordia, dying in 1337. His younger follower, Gregorio d'Arezzo,[3] shows similar traits, except that he was a physician, and had a somewhat lighter touch. Occasional bits of realism enliven the soberness of their poems, as in this little genre scene from Gregorio:

> Quand' uom torna a veder la sua famiglia
> Con foggia nuova di paese strano,
> Non è a mano a mano
> Conosciuto per padre dai suo' nati;
> Ma poi che l'uno e l'altro si consiglia,
> Tutti lo miran, tutti onor li fanno,
> Come color che sanno
> Che da lui son prodotti e generati.

On the whole, however, these poets, and still more their successors, were not endowed with that tact which had led the poets of the *stil nuovo* to deal sparingly in such moralizing, nor with the logical skill which had carried Dante triumphantly through the demonstration of the nature of true nobility. Moreover, the *stil nuovo,* freely tho it had used the science of its day, had never been prodigal of citation; and it had notably abstained from the use of proper names drawn from antiquity. Coincidence or not, it is worth noting that the sole case of the kind in Dante's authentic lyrics is precisely in one of the canzoni which, as we have seen, opened a new field for Italian lyric.[4] But the typical Trecentists were fain to make a

[3] See his poems, edited by A. Ugolini, Livorno, 1901.

[4] I allude to the mention of Dido in v. 36 of *Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro.*

show of learning at the least expense; so that we encounter in them a portentous outpour of undigested and often inappropriate erudition. Hence, for example, the abundant use of astrology, sometimes to an extent which renders poems unintelligible without special comment—a dismal tho unconscious parody of the real knowledge, sound at least for their own time, which the *stil nuovo* poets had possessed.[5] But an even readier means, at once easier to apply and more grateful to an age already touched by the revival of interest in antiquity, was the promiscuous use of proper names drawn from classical mythology and history.[6]

No single trait does so much to render the reading of Trecento lyric unendurable as this abuse of inexpedient erudition. Almost every poet falls its victim; even Fazio is by no means exempt, tho in him such allusions occur rather in groups than scattered through entire poems, and much of his best work is entirely free from them. Examples meet us on every hand; but perhaps the most flagrant is the canzone *O fior d'ogni città, donna del mondo*,[7] which reads like nothing but Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Biography* turned into rime. Here is a specimen stanza:

> Ove li due gentili Scipioni?
> Ove il tuo grande Cesare possente?
> Ove Bruto valente,

[5] See, *e. g.*, the opening of Fazio's eleventh canzone in Renier's edition, and the thirteenth stanza of Bruzio Visconti's *Mal d'amòr parla chi d'amor non sente* (*ALI*, no. 110). Bonichi's seventeenth canzone expounds the theory of astrology.

[6] The influence of the *Commedia* should not be overlooked in this connection.

[7] Once ascribed to Boccaccio, but rejected, with others, by his latest editor, Massèra (*Rime di G. Boccaccio*, Bologna, 1914, p. xcviii), doubtless with justice. Not so much, however, can be said for his further suggestion that it may be Fazio's, which ignores all internal evidence, and is supported by but one MS.

Che vendicò lo stupro di Lucrezia?
Furio Camillo e gli due Curioni,
Marco Valerio e quel tribun saccente
Quinto Fabio seguente,
Cornelio, quel che vinse Pirro e Grezia,
Publio Sempron colla vinta Boezia?
Il fedel Fabio, Fulvio, Quinto Gneo
Metel, Marco, Pompeo,
Porzio Caton, Marcel, Quinto Cecilio,
Tito Flaminio, e il buon Floro Lucilio?

Matteo Frescobaldi, we may note, turns this tendency to purposes of satire when he sings the praises of a friend's love by comparing her to all the least reputable ladies of the ancient world; [8] but few of his successors took their learning so lightly.

At the same time that the canzone was thus invaded by strange material, it suffered a like degeneration in form. The poets of the *stil nuovo* had achieved their results in poems of moderate compass, rarely exceeding a length of thirteen or fourteen lines to the stanza, or using more than five stanzas (with or without *commiato*) to a poem. This is, at all events, the rule in the love-poems, and is also the prevailing custom with the writers who stand nearest to the *stil nuovo* tradition. It is to be remarked that the three canzoni of Dante which exceed 100 lines in length are precisely those in which he embarks on moralizing discussions which are a departure from the strict spirit of his school, and hence are characterized by various novelties of form. In the Trecento, poems of well over 100 lines (with consequent increase in the number of stanzas) are by no means infrequent, a fact indicated by the technical term *canzone distesa,* used not only in manuscript rubrics, but by the poets themselves.[9] So far as I am

[8] See *Amico, che domandi e vuoi sapere,* in Carducci's ed., p. 27.

[9] Petrarch is in this regard a true child of his time. Out of 29 canzoni 13 exceed a length of 100 lines.

aware, the undisputed priority in this direction is held by Francesco di Vannozzo, whose *Pascolando mia mente al dolce prato*[10] attains a total length of 304 lines!

Another aspect of this degeneration is to be found in the structure of the stanza itself. More and more, as the century advances, poets tend to substitute for the elaborately interwoven rime-schemes of the *stil nuovo* the simpler device of a succession of couplets in the latter part of the stanza. In Dante we never find more than two successive couplets; in Braccio Bracci's *Silenzio posto aveva al dire in rima* (*TM*, p. 228) we find no less than six. At the same time a certain rigidity of structure in the whole canzone becomes apparent, in the uniform metrical schemes adopted by such moralizing poets as Bonichi and Gregorio d'Arezzo, and in the ending of each stanza with a learned allusion, illustrated by Antonio da Ferrara's *disperata* and Bruzio Visconti's *Mal d'amor parla*.[11]

When we assemble these various evidences of technical decline—the tendency to inordinate length, the reversion to a rudimentary arrangement of rimes, the greater rigidity of structure—we perceive that they are easily explicable as the outcome of the same lack of critical taste which had led to the choice of unsuitable subjects and to the profusion of needless erudition, and which was itself in part the result of those disturbed social conditions which denied the poet a chance for an independent career, and made him subservient to a patron. As regards this last point, it may be noted that such Florentines as Pucci and Sacchetti, who apparently live in a free commune, are yet nearly as subject to the tastes of that commune as the

[10] Printed in *Petrarca e la Lombardia* (Milan, 1904), p. 73.

[11] A complete demonstration of these statements would require a much more detailed treatment, which I hope eventually to supply elsewhere.

poets of the Visconti were to the whims of their masters. Sacchetti's political verse shows the same characteristics of form and content that we have found to prevail in his time; when he is writing a *canzone distesa* against Pisa (*TM,* p. 119), or in praise of the Signori of Florence (*ib.,* p. 141), he can be as verbose, as needlessly erudite, as eager for labor-saving devices, as any of his contemporaries. Only in his madrigals and ballate is he wholly free to write as he wishes, with those charming results, familiar to all his readers, which seem the closest parallel in Italian poetry to the songs of the Elizabethan age.

V

Some of my readers may have wondered why I have made scant mention of Petrarch in discussing this century of which he is reputed the chief glory. One reason is that from what we know of his habits of composition—his long retention of work in his own hands for polishing and retouching—it is unlikely that his influence, except on persons (like Boccaccio) in his immediate circle, can have been great. The precise extent of that influence in the Trecento still awaits adequate study; but we must at all events not rashly assume that every poet of the time was exposed to it by the mere fact of being a contemporary. Moreover, Petrarch really stands outside the development I have been endeavoring to trace. His intellectual ancestry is to be found, not in the *stil nuovo* proper, but in that disposition to sentimentalize which is to be noted in Cino[1]—a disposition to enjoy the reflexes of one's nerves, to prolong observation of the quiverings of one's

[1] Cf. Carducci's remarks in his preface to *Rime di Cino e d'Altri,* p. xxiii.

sensibilities, with a consequent centering of attention on oneself, an ultimate absorption into sheer egoism. I can see little evidence that he understood, or cared to understand, the older tradition; when, as sometimes happens in his earlier work, he adopts a motive from the *Stil nuovo,* it is in a wholly external way, which carries over none of the fervor of its prototype.[2]

It is a commonplace of criticism that Petrarch is the first modern poet, the first who leads us into the recesses of his personality, and shows us all its inner working. So, in a sense, he is; but after all, what of this personality itself? Is it really a great and commanding one? I must confess that I do not find it so. Strip Petrarch of the stylistic perfection which clothes his ideas, and we shall find those ideas rather limited, and repeated to an often depressing extent. He wrote too much; he overworked his vein, and fell at times into a curious self-parody, himself becoming his own first imitator. Moreover, the very perfection of style which so endears him to his countrymen is in a sense a danger. One of the perils of Italian as a poetic language has often been a too facile music. I am sure that Dante was favored by finding Italian not wholly tamed; in the last struggle to subdue it he found opportunity for triumphs of expression. But he did tame it, and his successors had little further chance for salutary wrestling with it. In Petrarch's hands it becomes at times annoyingly smooth and well-bred.

The harm which Petrarch did to Italian lyric, by giving it something it could imitate, is sufficiently shown by the futility of the professed Petrarchists of a somewhat later time. The successors of Dante could not literally imitate

[2] See, *e. g.*, the sonnet *Quando fra l'altre donne ad ora ad ora,* or the ballata *Volgendo gli occhi al mio novo colore.*

him; what they could do was to follow him, as Fazio in part did, utilizing his methods for new ends, but not closely copying his thought or his phrasing. I grant that this process could not have been an easy one; Dante's lyrical style was at its best inimitable, and the fame of the lyrics was overshadowed by that of the *Commedia,* itself valued largely as a versified encyclopedia, rather than as the supreme poem it really was. Yet the enterprise, tho difficult, was not impossible, as Fazio's example suffices to show. But Petrarch could be literally copied, and the most obvious traits to copy were of course those which constituted the weakness, not the strength, of his manner. He too often wrote with his eye not on the object, but on some classical model; he refined until vigor was lost; he became thin, abstract, bloodless. Not in his work could be found the antidote for the faults of the Trecento, or the elixir which should release its best qualities for new and active development.

It may seem to some that I have judged Petrarch harshly. To me, I admit, his manner is often repugnant; even his best moments have not always the direct and weighty appeal of the highest poetry, and his ceaseless self-centered scrutiny of his moods becomes wearisome. Yet, leaving aside all questions of personal judgment, I maintain that his general influence on the development of lyric in his time, whatever extent we assign to it, was unfavorable; he tended to lead it away from the direct observation of nature into the search for a stylistic perfection based too largely on the desire for harmonious but impersonal and soulless beauty, and thus ultimately assisted in giving the older, more vital tradition its final blow.

VI

The foregoing remarks, tho they by no means exhaust all that might be said of the course of lyric poetry in the Trecento, suffice, I think, to set forth the most striking developments of the period, and the causes which produced them. The age that culminated in the *stil nuovo* was centripetal; everything contributed to that brief and perfect flowering on the banks of the Arno. Yet so consummate a thing could not long survive intact; the genius of Dante parted with his school, and showed the new ways which lyric might follow. Here, however, the centrifugal tendencies of the age began their work, scattering the movement which Dante had indicated, and which Fazio had done his best to promote. As a result, poets were driven to write largely to win favor, and, for that end, to use the ready devices of learned allusion, unlyrical subjects, and cruder technique. An understanding of the circumstances which led to this result will help to explain much that is at first sight repugnant in Trecento lyric and to make us esteem the more that realistic trend which contrived to offer so vigorous, tho so vain, a resistance to all distracting and annulling tendencies.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE.

III.—THE LITERARY METHODS OF THE GONCOURTS

Estimates of the work of the Goncourts have varied considerably. While the majority of critics have treated the inseparable brothers as one man, a few writers such as Jules Lemaître [1] and A. de Pontmartin [2] have insisted on drawing a distinction between these literary Siamese twins. To the minds of these critics, the novels due to the pen of Edmond alone were vastly inferior to those produced in collaboration with Jules. Among the host of critics who do not feel that a difference is discernible in the talents of the two brothers, there is further diversity of opinion. Sainte-Beuve,[3] a friend of the Goncourts, freely recognizes their merits as collectors of notes, books, and engravings, and would grant at least that their novel *Sœur Philomène* appears to be drawn from life.[4] For Emile Zola, the authors are admirable in their descriptions of human beings as related to environment.[5] Ferdinand Brunetière finds that the Goncourts, while pretending to follow nature in

[1] Jules Lemaître, *Impressions de Théâtre,* Paris (1891), IV, p. 221.

[2] A. de Pontmartin, *Souvenirs d'un vieux critique,* Paris (1886), VII, p. 225.

[3] Cf. Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Nouveaux lundis* (1885), IV, p. 1.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 2. A. de Pontmartin (*op. cit.*) sees in the commendation of Sainte-Beuve for the artistic activity of the brothers an ironical touch. That Sainte-Beuve thought rather well of *Sœur Philomène* may be inferred from the following quotation from the *Journal des Goncourt* (1906), I, p. 389: "Là-dessus il [Sainte-Beuve] nous parle de SOEUR PHILOMÈNE, disant que seules ont de la valeur, les œuvres venant de l'étude de la nature, qu'il a un goût très médiocre pour la fantaisie pure. . . "

[5] Emile Zola, *Les romanciers naturalistes,* Paris (1893), p. 228: ". . . les paysages dans lesquels ils [les hommes] marchent les complètent et les expliquent. . ."

the minutest detail, unconsciously illustrate the excesses of Romanticism, in their exclusive attention to the abnormalities of human nature.[6] Paul Bourget would emphasize their determinism, which has exerted a noteworthy influence upon Alphonse Daudet and Emile Zola.[7] A large number of critics have, of course, given special consideration to that obvious lack of organization in the work of the Goncourts which is due to their use of note-books.[8]

[6] Ferdinand Brunetière, *Le roman naturaliste*, Paris (1896), p. 259. Cf. Sainte-Beuve, *op. cit.*, x, p. 395: "Un bon *ordinaire* n'existe pas pour eux dans les choses de l'esprit: il leur faut le *rare*."

[7] Paul Bourget, *Nouveaux essais de psychologie contemporaine* (1885), pp. 137-139.

[8] Jules Lemaître, Emile Faguet, and René Doumic are among those who dwell upon this point. Jules Lemaître writes (*Les contemporains*, Paris, 1894, III, p. 52): "Quelques critiques leur ont vivement reproché ce dédain de la composition et d'avoir l'air (surtout dans *Charles* et dans *Manette*) de vider leur portefeuille au hasard, de secouer leurs notes pêle-mêle autour d'une maigre histoire." In the opinion of Emile Faguet (*Propos littéraires*, Paris, 1905, III, p. 179): "Ils [les romans] se composent tous: 1° d'un portrait fort intéressant: MM. de Goncourt ont vu quelqu'un, homme ou femme, et reproduisent ses traits, gestes et démarches avec une scrupuleuse fidélité: 2° de scènes, également vues, également exactes, rattachées plus ou moins adroitement à ce personnage." In the language of René Doumic (*Portraits d'écrivains*, Paris, 1911, I, p. 185): "Leurs livres sont la collection de leurs notes." This judgment meets an antagonist in the person of Georges Rodenbach (*L'Élite*, Paris, 1899, p. 37), who declares that the Goncourt brothers always took pains to amplify their personal observations with a very fecund imagination. Léon A. Daudet, in *Les idées en marche* (Paris, 1896, p. 124) would compare the psychological study in *Mme Gervaisais* to the work of Racine. Henri d'Alméras (*Avant la gloire*, Paris, 1902, p. 44) thinks that *Germinie Lacerteux*, among other novels of the Goncourts, was a masterpiece, and quotes Sainte-Beuve as writing to the authors (p. 45): "J'ai été attaché . . . par ce récit simple, vrai, d'une vérité si peu flatteuse mais si conforme à la réalité, où jamais aucun trait n'est livré au hasard ni accordé au convenu. . . Mais je suis frappé d'une chose: c'est que pour bien juger cet ouvrage et en parler, il faudrait une poétique tout autre que l'ancienne, une

If we turn to the estimates made by the Goncourts of their own work, we shall find that they believe all excellence to depend upon a direct study of nature. According to their view, the weakness of their early novel *Bas-Meudon* consists in their failure to see humanity with a *vision directe,* unobscured by the medium of books.[9] They would laud *Renée Mauperin* and *Germinie Lacerteux* because the principal characters of these books belong to that *vie vraie* which ten years of first-hand observation have revealed.[10] The modern novel, they feel, should be based upon *documents* obtained by hearsay, or noted down from nature, much as history is compiled with written documents.[11] In putting such a theory into practice, it is in-

poétique appropriée aux productions d'un art nouveau et d'une recherche nouvelle." G. Neunier (*Le bilan littéraire du XIXe siècle,* Paris, 1898, p. 276), while agreeing with Brunetière in regard to the tendency of our authors to study exceptional types, believes (p. 278) that "leurs livres sont empreints de ce charme inquiétant qui les fera consulter dans l'avenir comme des mémoires piquants et fidèles sur le XIXe siècle." E. Gilbert (*Le roman en France pendant le XIXe siècle,* Paris and Brussels, 1909, p. 272) maintains that the novels of the Goncourts are based on distorted recollections which have been forced into a conventional frame-work. For the interesting judgments of the Goncourts by A. Dumas the younger, cf. J. Troubat, *Souvenirs du dernier secrétaire de Sainte-Beuve,* Paris (1890), p. 340. The thesis of Heinrich Friedrich: *Die literarischen Theorien der Goncourts* (Heidelberg dissertation, Lahr, 1910) is a convenient compendium.

[9] *Préfaces et manifestes littéraires* (Edmond et Jules de Goncourt), Paris (1880), p. 13.

[10] *Ibid.,* p. vi.

[11] *Journal,* II, p. 229. *Ibid.,* p. 214: "En littérature on ne fait bien que ce qu'on a vu ou souffert." *Ibid.,* p. 273: "Maintenant il n'y a plus dans notre vie qu'un grand intérêt: *l'émotion de l'étude sur le vrai.* Sans cela l'ennui et le vide." *Préfaces et manifestes cit.,* p. 45: "Ces notes, je les extrais de notre journal: JOURNAL DES GONCOURTS (*Mémoires de la vie littéraire*); elles sont l'embryon documentaire sur lequel, deux ans après, mon frère et moi composions

evitable that infinite attention should be paid to details, particularly such as pertain to environment.[12]

In view of the widely varying judgments concerning the methods of the Goncourts, and even regarding the ex-

Germinie Lacerteux, étudiée et montrée par nous en service chez notre vieille cousine, Mlle de Courmont, dont nous écrivions une biographie véridique à la façon d'une biographie d'histoire moderne."

[12] *Journal*, II, p. 281: "La description matérielle des choses et des lieux n'est point dans le roman, telle que nous la comprenons, la description pour la description. Elle est le moyen de transporter le lecteur dans un certain milieu favorable à l'émotion morale qui doit jaillir de ces choses et de ces lieux."

In their regard for environment and background, the Goncourts are far from being the innovators that they imagined themselves. As Professor C. H. Grandgent, of Harvard University, has suggested, their theories here remind one strongly of the methods of Balzac. Henry James (*Notes on Novelists, with some other Notes*, New York, 1914, p. 157) thus summarizes the situation so far as Balzac is concerned: "His truest and vividest people are those whom the conditions in which they are so palpably imbedded have simplified not less than emphasized; simplified mostly to singleness of motive and passion and interest, to quite measurably finite existence; whereas his ostensibly higher spirits, types necessarily least observed and most independently thought out, in the interest of their humanity, as we would fain ourselves think them, are his falsest and weakest and show most where his imagination and efficient sympathy break down."

If I have understood Mr. James aright, the work of the Goncourts affords at least one curious contrast with this statement concerning Balzac. Abbé Blamfoix, justly considered as one of the best drawn characters of the Goncourts, appears to have been as nearly a product of the imagination as can be found in their novels. How convincing the portrait of Abbé Blamfoix is may perhaps be gathered from the following anecdote in the *Journal*, v, p. 334: "Au moment où je m'avançais pour signer sur le registre, le maire me fait signe d'aller à lui. Et le voici—du reste en homme fort distingué—moitié mécontent, moitié satisfait, à se plaindre à moi, d'avoir fait figurer son frère dans un roman, avec des détails si particuliers, qu'il est impossible, me dit-il, que je ne l'aie pas connu. Le maire est, à ce qu'il paraît, le frère de l'abbé Caron, que j'ai croqué sous le nom de l'abbé Blamfoix, dans RENÉE MAUPERIN. Je me défends, en lui répondant que, dans mon livre, je n'ai fait aucune personnalité, que

tent of their influence upon the naturalistic school,[13] perhaps it is in order to conduct a purely empirical investigation, leaving out of account all matters of opinion, and limiting the argument to documentary evidence, of which the Goncourts themselves were such doughty champions. Attention will be confined to the six novels which the brothers wrote together: *Les hommes de lettres* (*Charles Demailly*), 1860; *Sœur Philomène,* 1861; *Renée Mauperin,* 1864; *Germinie Lacerteux,* 1865; *Manette Salomon,* 1867; and *Madame Gervaisais,* 1869. The question of the relative talents of Jules and Edmond de Goncourt, and of the value of their historical, dramatic, and artistic work, will be passed over for the present.

It is important to determine, with more precision than has been done heretofore, the extent to which the Goncourts employed their notes in the composition of their works. In answering this question, we shall be aided to a certain extent by a comparison of the *Journal* with the novels, for it is well known that a large number of characters and anecdotes in the *Journal* were the germ of later fiction.[14]

j'ai peint un type général—et ce qui est la vérité—que je n'ai jamais vu ni connu l'abbé."

[13] L. Marillier, *The International Quarterly,* Vol. VII (1903), p. 330, says: "It is because we ourselves have adopted the best part, the most individual part of their style and their modes of thought that the novels of the Goncourts no longer startle one nowadays, even when read for the first time. Most of our contemporary novelists are their disciples, unwittingly at times; and their imitators, whose name is legion, have, though they did not set out to do so, transformed the revolutionaries of yesterday into the classical writers of to-day." (Translation by Professor F. C. de Sumichrast). E. Gilbert (*op. cit.*) would deny much of the influence here attributed to the Goncourts.

[14] A fact which seems to have passed unobserved is that in some cases the notes went into the novels first, and were afterwards tran-

Edmond de Goncourt has cited the twenty-odd pages of notes from the *Journal* which form the embryo of *Germinie Lacerteux.* The original of Germinie was Rose, a servant of the Goncourts' cousin, Mlle de Courmont.[15] He has also indicated that the original of Mme Gervaisais was none other than their aunt Mme Nepthalie de Courmont, of whom he writes a sketch twenty-three years after the appearance of the novel itself.[16] In other volumes of the *Journal* he has pointed out that from Pouthier, the vagabond architect, a friend of their youth, was sketched Anatole in *Manette Salomon.*[16a] Other examples will be introduced later.

When we come to examine the manner in which the Goncourts utilized their notes, we shall be confronted with the greatest diversity of method. In some cases there is a literal transcription of the notes into the text of the novels; in other cases, the original materials undergo alteration, if not distortion, in order to meet the exigencies of fiction.

scribed in the *Journal.* For instance, in the *Journal,* II, pp. 226 ff., the authors cite a passage from *Germinie Lacerteux.* Cf. first reference in note 16. Many notes were utilized directly in the novels, and no hint of them can be found in the *Journal.* An example is the sketch of the life of Crescent (*Manette Salomon,* p. 285), a character modeled on the painter Millet (cf. notes 44, 45, 46). Crescent begins his artistic career by imitating pictures that he had seen in certain old books at Nancy. Millet, as a lad, started drawing by imitating the engravings in an old illustrated family Bible.

[15] *Préfaces et manifestes littéraires,* pp. 23-45.

[16] *Journal,* IX, pp. 63-72. *Ibid.,* p. 72, he boasts that the story of Mme Gervaisais, so far from being a work of the imagination, is almost literally true. The only differences of importance are the delay of two hours in the death of the heroine, and the fact that the half-idiot child called Pierre-Charles had in reality died of meningitis before his mother's departure for Italy. Cf. *Journal,* III, p. 263.

[16a] For the identification of Anatole, in *Manette Salomon,* with Pouthier, cf. *Journal,* IV, p. 358, and V, p. 283.

In *Charles Demailly,* fifteen pages of notes are copied pell-mell [17] under the pretext that they will answer for a description of the hero's "soul." The letter of Charles Demailly to Chavannes, giving his impressions at the funeral of his uncle, is drawn almost *verbatim* from the narrative in the *Journal.*[18] The servant Marie-Jeanne remains unaltered, even in name.[19] Not only are the details of the house and furniture most easily recognizable, but actually the characteristic remarks of their uncle about a suitor for his daughter's hand: "Il est très bien ce jeune homme! . . . Il m'a parfaitement expliqué le baromètre . . ." is taken bodily from the *Journal.*[20] Even the hydropathy to which Charles was forced to submit seems to hark back to a personal experience.[21] The original of Renée Mauperin

[17] *Charles Demailly,* pp. 74-89. The following are some of the sources of the notes:

	Charles Demailly	*Journal,* Vol. I.
1)	pp. 75, 76	pp. 86, 89
2)	77, 78	216
3)	78	209
4)	78, 79	98, 99
5)	79	121
6)	80	188
7)	81	125, 126
8)	81	216
9)	82, 83	164-166
10)	84, 85	181, 182
11)	85, 86	206, 207
12)	88, 89	241, 242

[18] *Ibid.,* pp. 185-191. Cf. *Journal,* I, pp. 197-202.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 187. Cf. *Journal,* I, p. 201.

[20] *Ibid.,* p. 188. Cf. *Journal,* I, p. 202.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 400. Cf. *Journal,* III, p. 258.

Another character in *Charles Demailly* that seems taken from the *Journal* is the peasant physician. Cf. *Ch. Demailly,* p. 283, and *Journal,* II, p. 57, concerning Procureur, physician of the Goncourts' grandfather. The *Vente d'une jolie collection d'autographes modernes* (*Ch. Demailly,* p. 375, etc.) may have been suggested by the

is sketched in the *Journal* much as she is portrayed in the novel itself. She is the same girl of free and easy manners, but delicate sensibilities, moved to deep melancholy by the funeral march of Chopin.[22] Likewise *Sœur Philo-*

trick played by H. . . upon Mlle B. . . (*Journal*, I, p. 141). The significant silence of the friends of Charles about his book (*Ch. Demailly*, p. 120) is probably suggested by an experience similar to that of the Goncourts after the publication of *Renée Mauperin* (*Journal*, II, p. 168:—" Voilà trois jours que nos amis s'abstiennent rigoureusement de nous en parler.") The *Scandale* in *Charles Demailly* (pp. 21-25) had a history not unlike *L'Éclair* in the *Journal* (I, pp. 5, 6, 13, 14, 15). Charles Demailly has the same sensitivity as the Goncourts (*Ch. Demailly*, p. 77, *e. g.;* cf. *Journal*, I, pp. 272, 273, and II, p. 230, etc.). The burlesque figure Vif-Argent in *Charles Demailly* (pp. 59-62) appears not unlike *le Garçon*, which amused Flaubert in his younger days (*Journal*, I, pp. 321, 322).

In the *Journal*, I, pp. 352, 353, is a description of a nurse making her rounds in the hospital which is utilized in *Sœur Philomène*. The expression *boîte à chocolat* (*Sœur Philomène*, p. 216) is found in the *Journal*, I, p. 354.

The *Journal*, II, p. 308, mentions a trip to Barbizon, in the Fontainebleau forest, to work on *Manette Salomon*. The authors endure the same kind of lodgings as Coriolis and Manette.

The strange attachment of Coriolis to an illiterate woman like Manette (*Manette Salomon*, p. 219) is in accord with the spirit of the following excerpt from the *Journal*, I, p. 187: " Il faut à des hommes comme nous, une femme peu élevée, peu éduquée, qui ne soit que gaîté et esprit naturel, parce que celle-là nous réjouira et nous charmera ainsi qu'un agréable animal auquel nous pourrons nous attacher."

Garnotelle (*Manette Salomon*, p. 152 and p. 202) is possibly modeled somewhat on the rather patronizing About (*Journal*, I, pp. 276, 277).

The long paragraph in *Manette Salomon* (pp. 28-30) on " La Blague " is perhaps an amplification of the note in the *Journal*, I, p. 166:—" Jamais siècle n'a plus blagué, etc."

The origin of one of the scenes in *Manette Salomon* is revealed by Edmond de Goncourt in the *Journal*, VI, p. 231: " Dîner hier chez Daudet, avec le peintre Beaulieu, le peintre des feux de Bengale dont j'ai donné l'atelier dans MANETTE SALOMON. . ."

[22] *Journal*, I, pp. 145, 146.

mène is founded upon an incident related to the Goncourts by their friend Bouilhet. The latter, it appears, was acquainted with an interne who was loved platonically by a nurse at the hospital. The interne committed suicide, and the nurse, after kneeling a full quarter of an hour by the bedside of the dead man, stole away a lock of his hair, which had been intended for his mother.[23] The incident of the *patraque* who pleaded in vain for admission to the hospital in *Sœur Philomène* is taken with only slight alterations from the *Journal*.[24]

So far the literary productions of the Goncourts give every evidence of a perfect accord with their theory that the novel should be a sort of up-to-date history, founded upon a documentary basis, and hence absolutely true to life. Despite this apparent consistency, the authors subject their fundamental principle to a very severe strain. Emile Faguet has already noted that they added to their Renée Mauperin a number of features which did not belong to the original.[25] He might have stated further that the same process is adopted for almost every other charac-

[23] *Journal*, I, p. 311.

[24] *Journal*, I, pp. 354-356. Cf. *Sœur Philomène*, pp. 118-120.

[25] *Propos littéraires*, Paris, 1905, III, p. 180. The present discussion of the characters in the novels of the Goncourts applies with equal force to the naturalistic doctrine of environment, which is perhaps best stated by Zola: "Les romanciers [Edmond et Jules de Goncourt] obéissent simplement à cette fatalité qui ne leur permet pas d'abstraire un personnage des objets qui l'environnent; ils le voient dans son milieu, dans l'air où il trempe, avec ses vêtements, le rire de son visage, le coup de soleil qui le frappe, le fond de verdure sur lequel il se détache, tout ce qui le circonstancie et lui sert de cadre. L'art nouveau est là: on n'étudie plus les hommes comme de simples curiosités intellectuelles, dégagées de la nature ambiante; on croit au contraire que les hommes n'existent pas seuls, qu'ils tiennent aux paysages, que les paysages dans lesquels ils marchent les complètent et les expliquent. . ." (Emile Zola, *Les romanciers naturalistes*, pp. 227, 228).

ter in the novels, and to a far greater extent than he would imply.

Let us take for instance one of the most consistent characters ever depicted by the Goncourts—Charles Demailly—easily recognized as the authors' own image. Yet, not content with the materials available from their own neurasthenic lives, they introduce incidents pertaining to the robust Flaubert, whose manly vigor they were accustomed to envy. Flaubert was once so furiously in love with his mistress that he came near killing her, and was deterred by a sort of hallucination about the resulting trial for murder: "Oui, oui," he remarked, "j'ai entendu craquer sous moi les bancs de la cour d'assises." [26] Marthe, escaping death from the hands of her semi-invalid husband Charles by a similar miracle, sees in his strange expression "cette colère blanche dont elle entendait à côté d'elle le pas craquer sur le parquet." [27]

If Flaubert is Charles Demailly in one place, he evidently does not adhere closely to his *rôle,* for in another passage he talks like de Rémonville about the merits of play-writing.[28] On the other hand, one of the numerous quarrels which Charles has with his wife is doubtless borrowed from the love affairs of a person designated in the *Journal* as "X . . .," whose tyrannical treatment of his mistress offers no suggestion of the relations between Charles and Marthe.[29] One day "X . . .," with a tearful voice, confesses that his mistress has adopted another lover.[30] Similarly Marthe feigns to take refuge with Nachette, an enemy of Charles.[31]

[26] *Journal,* I, p. 8. [27] *Charles Demailly,* p. 343.

[28] *Charles Demailly,* p. 250.—"Pourquoi fais-tu du théâtre?" etc. Cf. *Journal,* I, p. 304 (Flaubert): "Au fond, quand on fait une pièce, on est f. . ."

[29] *Journal,* I, p. 123. [30] *Ibid.,* p. 172.

[31] *Charles Demailly,* p. 335.

Marthe reads *L'Homme aux trois culottes* by Paul de Kock, to the excruciating disgust of her husband. She considers the book not only well-arranged and interesting, but a better picture of the Revolution than ordinary histories.[32] In the *Journal,* we discover that the original eulogist of Paul de Kock was not a tantalizing, unsympathetic young actress, but a "femme bon garçon, vieille amie qui me raconte ses amants." Her remarks are essentially the same as those of Marthe. There is even the same impropriety involved, that of praising a second-rate historical novel to the author of a serious work like the *Histoire de la société pendant la Révolution.*[33]

In *Manette Salomon,* the painter Coriolis is likewise a composite character. His noble name Naz de Coriolis, suggests Jules or Edmond de Goncourt, and he was made to suffer for it in the same way as our authors by narrow-minded persons who supposed that no serious contributions to art could be expected from an aristocrat.[34] Even his income of 6,000 francs per annum was exactly the same as that of the Goncourts. On the other hand, his adventures in Asia Minor have a strong resemblance to those of Flaubert.[35] In the *Journal* we read that Flaubert, like Coriolis, underwent "ses étapes forcées, ses dix-huit heures de cheval, ses jours sans eau, ses nuits dévorées d'insectes, etc." However, it is not long before Coriolis plays exactly the *rôle* of Tournemine.[36] Like this painter, Coriolis

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 241. [33] *Journal,* I, p. 206.

[34] *Journal,* III, pp. 70, 71. Cf. *Manette Salomon,* p. 179: "La signature *Naz de Coriolis,* mise en bas de ces tableaux, faisait imaginer un gentilhomme, un homme du monde et du salon, occupant ses loisirs et ses lendemains de bal avec le passe-temps d'un art. . ." For his income, cf. p. 34.

[35] *Journal,* II, p. 159. Cf. *Manette Salomon,* pp. 75-79.

[36] *Manette Salomon,* pp. 147, 148; *Journal,* II, p. 232. In the *Journal,* II, p. 272, the Goncourts mention receiving a package of letters

sets out to portray an Orient which is not a *pétard* like that of Decamps, but has " un brouillard opalisé . . ., avec des couleurs . . . comme un scintillement de morceaux de verre coloré . . ." [37] Nevertheless, the description of the painting called the *Bain turc* in *Manette Salomon* [38] seems to have been inspired by a *terra cotta* of Clodion.[39] The characteristics of the *terra cotta*, so far as noted in the *Journal*, are practically identical with those of the *Bain turc*, except of course that the work of Coriolis is a painting, and that of Clodion is not. Yet again, Coriolis appears to have observed the watering-resort of Trouville through the eyes of the Goncourt brothers.[40] Flaubert, for his part, reappears in *Manette Salomon* as Chassagnol, discoursing on an ideal beauty, belonging to no one people or epoch.[41]

The painter Crescent is partly modeled on Jacques, who felt so little interest in military affairs that he declined a promotion to the rank of corporal offered him by the Duke of Orleans.[42] He preferred to spend his time making caricatures, which luckily were highly relished by his captain. This officer, after threatening to have Jacques shot, or at least sentenced to a week's imprisonment for neglect of

written by Tournemine from the Orient, and their intention to use these documents in *Manette Salomon*.

[37] *Manette Salomon*, p. 149. Cf. *Journal*, II, p. 233: ". . . un brouillard opalisé, dans lequel les conleurs baignent et scintillent comme dans une évaporation d'eau de perle, leur donnant l'harmonie la plus chatoyante. . ."

[38] *Manette Salomon*, pp. 168-170.

[39] *Journal*, I, p. 150.

[40] *Ibid.*, III, p. 58. Cf. *Manette Salomon*, pp. 338-341.

[41] *Manette Salomon*, p. 332: " Est-ce que tu crois que ça n'est donné qu'à une époque, qu'à un peuple, le beau? " etc. Cf. *Journal*, II, p. 159. Flaubert here discourses about " un beau, non local, non spécial, un *beau pur*, un beau de toute éternité, etc.

[42] *Journal*, I, p. 49.

duty, would request him to draw a cartoon of the wife of the adjutant—and revel in it.[43] Crescent, however, is principally Millet. Both were sons of peasants. Millet, during the early days at Barbizon, was taking a walk one day with Jacques. Some peasants who were reaping began making fun of the Parisians. "Millet s'approche d'eux, fait la bête, demande si une faux ça coupe bien et si c'est difficile de faire ce qu'ils font, puis prend la faux, et la lançant à toute volée, donne une leçon aux paysans éplafourdis." Crescent plays the same trick on some peasants who call him in jest "le Parisien." [44] The wife of Millet was a peasant woman, who could neither read nor write. Whenever he was obliged to be absent from home, he would correspond with his wife by signs which had been pre-

[43] *Journal* I, p. 51. Cf. *Manette Salomon,* p. 285:—"Eh bien! n . . . de D . . . f . . . ! disait le capitaine, qui l'avait fait appeler,—qu'est-ce que c'est, Crescent? Encore un manque de service. . . . Je devrais vous faire fusiller, s . . . n . . . de D . . ! Est-ce que vous vous f . . . de moi! f . . . ! Tenez! fichez-vous là, et faites-moi la charge de la femme de l'adjudant . . . — La charge faite:—Étonnant, ce b . . . -là. C'est n . . . de D . . . n . . . de D . . . bien l'adjudante . . . — Et par la fenêtre:—Lieutenant, venez voir la charge de ce b . . . de Crescent! "

Journal, l. c.—"Ah! cré nom de D . . . ! qu'est-ce que c'est, Jacques, encore un manquement de service, f . . . Je devrais vous faire fusiller, sacré nom de D . . . ! Je vous ferai f . . . huit jours à la salle de police, nom de D . . . ! Tenez, f . . . -vous là et faites-moi la femme de l'adjudant.—La charge faite—Ce bougre-là, c'est charmant, charmant . . . oh! que c'est bien la femme de l'adjudant! Et aussitôt, par la fenêtre: 'Lieutenant, venez voir la charge de ce bougre de Jacques! ' "

[44] *Journal,* I, p. 51. Cf. *Manette Salomon,* p. 285: "J'ai été à ceux qui m'appelaient comme ça, je lui ai pris sa faux des mains, en faisant la bête, en lui demandant si c'était bien difficile, si ça coupait. . . . Et puis, v'lan! j'ai donné un coup de faux à la volée . . . Ah! il a vu que je connaissais son métier mieux que lui, et que je n'avais pas du poil aux mains pour cet ouvrage-là! . . . Depuis ça, ils me tirent tous des coups de chapeau . . ."

viously agreed upon.[45] Similarly Crescent was wedded to a *payse,* who tolerated her husband's painting, of which she understood nothing, and earned what she could by day-labor.[46]

At the same time, Millet differed from Crescent in essential respects. Instead of being totally " sans instruction, sans éducation " like Crescent,[47] he had at an early age learned to read the Bible and Virgil in Latin from the village priest, and possessed a certain taste for classical subjects. Furthermore, while Crescent might adopt the language of Jacques on occasion, he was far from imitating his fashions in dress. We read that Crescent " portait le pantalon de toile et les sabots du paysan." Jacques, for his part, wore on all occasions a black coat and " stove-pipe " hat, whether at work or while eating.[48] In general, Jacques presented the appearance of being " l'habile et le spirituel crayonneur, le brillant et savant aquafortiste," [49] wheras Crescent produced the impression of " l'homme inculte et rustique comme un Jean Journet des bois et des champs. . . " [50]

The original of Mlle de Varandeuil, the mistress of Germinie Lacerteux, was a cousin of the Concourts, Mlle de Courmont.[51] In order to fill out their portrait of this worthy spinster, the Goncourts ascribe to her anecdotes which really belong to the career of their uncle. For instance, Mlle de Varandeuil, in order to preserve the life

[45] *Journal,* I, p. 50.

[46] *Manette Salomon,* p. 285. Cf. *Journal,* VIII, p. 58: " Si j'étais un journaliste, voici l'article que je ferais: Personne plus que moi, et avant tout le monde, n'ai loué d'une manière plus haute le talent de Millet (citations de MANETTE SALOMON et de mon JOURNAL) . . ."

[47] *Manette Salomon,* p. 278.

[48] *Journal,* I, p. 51.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Manette Salomon, l. c.*

[51] *Journal,* I, p. 163. Cf. *Germinie Lacerteux,* chapter II.

of her father, who was in concealment, stood in the bread line every day. One day a woman in *sabots,* jealous of the preference shown to little Sempronie, gave the poor child a kick which confined her to her bed for nearly a month. Meanwhile the family would have perished from hunger but for a provision of rice which an acquaintance, the Countess of Auteuil, shared with them.[52] M. de Courmont, an uncle of the Goncourts, was kicked by a young urchin in *sabots* while at a *pension,* and had to be carried home. He was later sent to a *pension* at Lagny, where he was supplied with bread by the tenant of the family farm at Pomponne.[53]

Little Pierre-Charles cries "M'man! . . . m'man! . . ." as the lifeless form of his mother slips from his arms to the floor.[54] The Goncourts pride themselves on having borrowed these words from a prostitute who called to her mother, through the door: "M'man, m'man, ouvre-moi!" and finally exclaimed, in vexation at the delay: "Ah! que c'est m . . . !"[55]

A similar process is undertaken in *Renée Mauperin.* "Ah!" cries poor, tender-hearted Renée, dying of heart-disease, "on aurait dû nous faire en autre chose. . . Pourquoi le bon Dieu nous a-t-il faits tout en viande? . . ."[56] This remark was taken from an old spinster, who had formerly been a nun. Far from having Renée's over-delicacy, she hardily told one story for which even the Goncourts apologize, acknowledging it to be better suited to the poem of Baroalde de Verville than to their own.[57]

[52] *Germinie Lacerteux,* p. 11. [53] *Journal,* II, p. 211.

[54] *Madame Gervaisais,* p. 309.

[55] *Journal,* III, p. 264. "C'est ce qu'on peut appeler une perle ramassée dans du fumier," is the exultant comment of the authors.

[56] *Renée Mauperin,* chapter LI.

[57] *Journal,* II, p. 55: "Il y a une vieille demoiselle ici, une ci-devant religieuse, qui terminait une longue déploration de toutes les mi-

The inseparable Goncourts are represented in *Renée Mauperin* by Denoisel. Notwithstanding this fact, the father of Renée has also at least one experience in common with the author. During the incurable illness of Renée, while seeking distraction in the park one day, he disconsolately picks a copy of the *Illustration* only to lay it aside at once. He has guessed the meaning of the rebus: " Contre la mort il n'y a pas d'appel." [58] Such had also been the experience of the Goncourt brothers when they were despondent over the health of Rose, the cook.

Jupillon, in *Germinie Lacerteux,* plays the same seductive *rôle* as the dairy woman's son mentioned in the *Journal.*[59] The young man of real life, however, is described as " plus joli, plus original que l'imagination." He is a " svelte Hercule, surmonté d'une petite tête de Faustine." [60] Thus he produces the opposite impression from the sickening character with whom the authors strangely make Germinie fall desperately in love.

In view of the foregoing examples, it is by no means surprising to read the observation of M. Emile Faguet that our authors added to Renée Mauperin a number of features not belonging to the original. Such is their usual plan of procedure, and in order to appreciate fully the significance of this fact, a moment's reflection is necessary. The proposition that one man partakes of the characteristics of many others is not to be gainsaid: it is an easy inference from the kinship of the human race. Yet the

sères et de toutes les dégoûtations de l'humanité par cette réclamation: 'Et puis, pourquoi sommes-nous faits en viande?'"

[58] *Renée Mauperin,* chapter XLIV. Cf. *Journal,* II, p. 38.

[59] *Préfaces et manifestes littéraires,* p. 40.—" Elle entretenait des hommes, le fils de la crémière, auquel elle a meublé une chambre, etc." *Ibid.,* p. 41: " Elle a eu avec le fils de la crémière deux enfants, dont l'un a vécu six mois."

[60] *Journal,* I, p. 217.

impossibility of *perfect* duplication anywhere in nature has been recognized from time immemorial. The idea was present in the mind of Heraclitus when he observed that a man was never twice in the same stream. It is for substantially this reason that Bertillon, in our own time, was able to determine that only a few statistics, if accurately recorded, are sufficient to establish absolutely an identification. Nevertheless, the Goncourts, with their photographic method, often attempt to attribute to "A" as it were the *exact* finger-print of "X," the *exact* head of "Y," and the *exact* temperament of "Z."[60a] Their method would be less vulnerable if "A's" finger bore only an ordinary resemblance to that of "X." The difficulty is that the Goncourts, by renouncing the principle of selection in art, are prone to insist upon an *absolute resemblance*—their notes frequently being thrust into their novels without alteration. Thus their characters, though possessing features, living in surroundings, and speaking a language precisely such as have been observed in real life, and jotted down with infinite pains upon the author's pads, are far from being truly realistic. They are contrary to "nature," to "history," and to the medical science of which the Goncourts professed themselves disciples. Many a romantic character of the early nineteenth century novel, though improbable, was at least possible, while the characters of the Goncourts would seem, if our reasoning is just, to be in many cases impossible. The position of Faguet is therefore an understatement of the case: nor is there ground for maintaining that the opinion of Brunetière about the exaggerations in the plot of *La Faustin,*

[60a] Cf. J. Lemaître, *Les Contemporains,* IV (1893), p. 223. For a contrary opinion, cf. F. Brunetière, *l'Immortel par M. Alphonse Daudet, Revue des deux mondes,* Vol. 88, 3d series (1888), p. 699. Cf., however, F. Brunetière, *op. cit.,* Vol. 36, 3d series (1879), p. 447.

by Edmond de Goncourt, should not hold in great measure for the novels written by the brothers in collaboration.

Zola has expressed approval of the lack of plot at the beginning of the novels of the Goncourts. He regards the intrigue, which usually starts in the middle of the book, as an unfortunate concession to literary conventions.[61] The Goncourts themselves have condemned in no uncertain terms not only a plot, but also every work of the imagination, with its too rigorous logic.[62] Yet where they have attempted a plot, the Goncourts have generally proceeded with a mechanical method totally at variance with their own doctrine. Their desire seems to be to heap as many misfortunes upon their heroes and heroines as possible, the result, if not actually the cause, of their method of combining in one person the lives of several. Indeed, it is quite inconceivable that anybody in real life could undergo quite the total number of tortures that they many times inflict upon the individuals in their stories. Often when they have brought a character to the point of exhaustion, he is allowed to escape miraculously for a time, only that his agony may be prolonged, and the horror of the inevitable tragedy increased. One is frequently reminded, for all the world, of that favorite deity of the classical drama, the *deus ex machinâ.*

Let us examine, for instance, a bit of the plot of *Ger-*

[61] Emile Zola, *Las romanciers naturalistes, l. c.*

[62] *Journal,* II, p. 219: "Le défectueux de l'imagination, c'est que ses créations sont rigoureusement logiques. La vérité ne l'est pas. Ainsi, je viens de lire dans un roman, la description d'un salon religieux: tout s'y tient, depuis le portrait gravé du comte de Chambord jusqu'à la photographie du pape. Eh bien! je me rappelle avoir vu, dans le décor sacro-saint du salon du comte de Montalembert, un portrait de religieuse, qui était le costume de comédie d'une de ses parentes, jouant dans une pièce du XVIIIe siècle. Voici l'imprévu, le décousu, l'illogique du vrai."

minie Lacerteux, in order to observe this mechanical ebb and flow of fortunes. The story of the life of Mlle de Varandeuil is usually considered one of the best examples of narrative style in the novels of our authors. No injustice will be done them by citing this chapter [63] as a fair sample of their method. Yet Mlle de Varandeuil, as we have already remarked, is made to endure not only her own misfortunes, but also some that really befell an uncle of the Goncourts.

The vicissitudes of this neglected child began early during the Reign of Terror. First her uncle was arrested; then her mother, panic-stricken, sold the family mansion for worthless paper. The father dared not leave his hiding-place. Relief was given by Sempronie, the daughter, who stood in the bread line to save her father's life. This resource was of short duration, for a jealous woman gave the child a kick which confined her to her bed for nearly a month. The family was unexpectedly preserved from starvation by a provision of rice stored away by a friend. Despite this succor, the financial condition of the family grew more and more desperate. They were saved for a time by a windfall: a haphazard investment in four vaudeville shares, made by M. de Varandeuil, proved most profitable. Yet Sempronie was not to be happy on this account. She waited upon her father, who in return despised her because she looked like a servant. Meanwhile her mother remarried in Germany, establishing her widowhood by the death certificate of her guillotined brother-in-law. Her brother had gone to the United States, leaving her alone with their irritable father, who ruined her eyes by compelling her to assist him in an unprofitable translation of Vasari. Apparent relief came when the father employed

[63] *Germinie Lacerteux,* chapter II.

a servant to do the housework which had fallen upon the shoulders of Sempronie. The servant presently became her father's mistress, and bore him a daughter. Sempronie was one day called upon to wait on this child at the table. She revolted, but her father never forgave her, and died ungrateful. As her father had prevented her from marrying, in order to command her entire services, the last hope of companionship was her brother. He returned from America, but with a negress wife, who soon grew jealous of Sempronie. In this manner, separated from every natural friend, Sempronie spent the remainder of her life in lonely spinsterhood.

In fact, while the art theories of the authors call for anachronisms and disarray here and there, as in the case of the nun who was dressed as an eighteenth-century actress,[64] they fall, whenever they are obliged to invent a plot, unconsciously into that very rigor of logic which they condemn. Such is particularly the case where they would narrate a series of misfortunes. We may be certain in advance that nothing which makes life worth living will be allowed to remain. Not only do the authors, by an inexorable system, make a clean sweep of Sempronie's friends, on one pretext or another, but they do the same thing for Coriolis—allowing always brief respites, that the agony may continue. Anatole had been a friend of Coriolis since their early days together in the studio of Langibout. His good-nature was so extreme that he could endure an extraordinary amount of buffeting, so that the arch-fiend Manette Salomon found it extremely difficult to dislodge him from the household of her paramour. After a series of manœuvres, Manette finally succeeded in getting him in her power, through a stratagem borrowed

[64] *Journal*, II, p. 219 *cit.*

from the legend of Potiphar's wife. Meanwhile she did her utmost to discourage Coriolis from receiving his other friends, with the exception of Garnotelle, whose influence she valued. Poor Coriolis retired more and more into solitude, his one comfort being his son. At length, by nursing Coriolis through an illness, Manette acquired such an ascendancy over him that she was enabled to drive Anatole out of the household. When, after long wanderings, first lodging with a policeman, then becoming a fisherman, eventually eking out a meagre living through orders for paintings obtained for him by Mme Crescent, he returned for a visit to Coriolis, he was insulted by the son, who had been trained by Manette to despise his father. The remainder of the *débâcle* was comparatively simple. Coriolis invited another friend, Massicot, to dinner. The invitation was declined on account of the cool reception always accorded to visitors by Manette and the servants. Crescent called one day to get a sketch promised him by Coriolis. Manette insisted that he accept one instead that was worth less money, and Crescent left the house forever. Once Coriolis revolted against the tyranny of Manette when his painting, the *Révision,* produced while he was still an idealist in matters of art, and not yet sacrificing his talents for money at the behest of his mistress, sold for 15,000 francs. In supreme defiance, he burned a very valuable painting before Manette's eyes, then settled back crushed. Manette had achieved a definite supremacy. The only friend remaining to Coriolis was Garnotelle, who offered to obtain for him a nomination to the French Academy. Coriolis, who had a spark of pride left, refused, and Garnotelle treated him thereafter with marked coolness. The last straw was the invitation from Garnotelle, about to marry Princess Moldave, to act as a witness at the wedding. Coriolis regarded the matter as an insult,

in view of his domestic relations. At the end of the story, we are told of the marriage of Manette and Coriolis, the latter being reduced to a hopeless nonentity.

It must be apparent that the theories of the Goncourts, if carried out completely, ought to mean no novel at all, but a biography pure and simple. Such is indeed the very language of the authors, for we have observed that they speak of their *Germinie Lacerteux* as "une biographie véridique à la façon d'une biographie d'histoire moderne." [65] The one production of the Goncourts which does not transgress their principle is the *Journal,* a more or less disconnected series of notes, trivial at times, but often interesting. The trouble is that the Goncourts have not been satisfied with the domain of the biographical sketch, and have attempted to construct works of fiction which should contain no element of the unreal. Struggling thus to continue two contradictory *genres,* they have felt obliged to weld together characters that were distinct in actual life, while those which remain comparatively intact are depicted in an environment not their own. The cumulative effect of their combinations of characters upon the exaggerations in their plots is a matter of importance that has been neglected by the critics. The total result of the defects in literary method upon which I have dwelt and of the exclusive attention which the Goncourts gave to the abnormalities of human nature is a type of fiction which is far removed from the truly natural.

OLIN H. MOORE.

[65] *Cf.* note 11.

IV.—SOME EVIDENCE IN SHAKESPEARE OF CONTEMPORARY EFFORTS TO REFINE THE LANGUAGE OF THE DAY

I

One of the chief abuses urged against plays by the puritans of the sixteenth century was their immoral language.[1] At all periods of the dispute this offence of plays was the puritans' "floodgate which let in the most, or the most substantial of all their arguments."[2] Writing at the beginning of the dispute, Stephen Gosson particularly denounces this corruption in English comedies cut by the Italian pattern;[3] and following Gosson other critics of plays increased the severity of their denunciations on this account. In fact no "abuse" of plays received a more continued, severe, or unanimous denunciation than that of their immoral speeches.[4]

The Elizabethan defenders of plays agreed with the

[1] Northbrooke, *Treatise against Dicing, Dauncing, Playes and Enterludes* [about 1577]. Shakespeare Society ed., p. 93: "Why, then, shoulde not Christians abolishe, and punishe suche filthie players of enterludes, whose mouthes are full of filthinesse and wickednesse?"

[2] Sir Richard Baker, *Theatrum Redivivum* (1662), p. 26.

[3] Stephen Gosson, *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, Roxb. Club ed., p. 173: "Therefore the Deuill, not contented with the number he hath corrupted with reading Italian baudery, because all cannot reade, presenteth us Comedies cut by the same patterne, which drag such a monstrous taile after them as is able to sweep whole cities into his lap."

[4] *Third Blast against Plays*, Hazlitt ed., p. 138: "[We are] not content [in plays] to sport ourselves with modest mirth, as the matter gives occasion, unles it be intermixed with knaverie, dronken meriements, craftie coosenings, undecent iuglings, clownish conceits and such other cursed mirth, as is both odious in the sight of God, and offensive to honest ears."

puritan critics of the same that there was in plays no place for immoral speeches; but they insisted that the puritans were wrong in wishing on this account to suppress *all* plays. Thomas Lodge, in his answer to Gosson's "pleasant invective," explicitly states that he "abhors those poets that savour of ribaldry, and with the zealous would admit the expulsion of such enormities."[5] Thomas Heywood is equally emphatic in his condemnation of this offence: "I speak not in the defence of any lascivious shewes, scurrelous jeasts, or scandalous invectives. If there be any such I banish them quite from my patronage."[6] In these and similar expressions of disapproval the defenders of plays unite with the puritan critics in condemning plays which have, as Hamlet complains, "sallets in their lines to make their matter savoury."[7]

However, the extreme puritans pushed their reform of speech further than the dramatists and the people in general thought necessary or desirable. The break between the puritans and the defenders of plays in this connection came over the "smaller abuses" of speech, which the puritans insisted should be avoided, but which the non-puritans saw no adequate reason for avoiding. Gosson admits that the play-makers of his day had "purged their comedies of wanton speeches." "Yet," he says, "the corne which they sell is full of cockle." "Small are the abuses," he adds, "and slight are the faultes that nowe in theatres escape the poets pen; but tall cedars from little graynes shoote high: greate oakes from slender rootes spread wide."[8] For these "slight faults," however, he would forbid plays.

[5] Thomas Lodge, *Defence*, Hunterian Club ed., p. 20.

[6] Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors*, Shak. Soc. ed., 1841, p. 54.

[7] *Hamlet* (II, ii, 462), Neilson's Shakespeare.

[8] S. Gosson, *School of Abuse*, Shak. Soc. ed., p. 27.

Gosson's attitude is characteristic of the extreme puritans who were intent upon a radical reform in the speech of the day. They sought to root out the least examples of blasphemy and of ribaldry, and to cultivate generally a speech such as would "become saints." Their aim was that it might be said of all as it was said of "the saintly Mistress Stubbes," that "there was never one filthy, unclean, undecent, or unseemly word heard to come forth of her mouth . . . ; but always her speech was such, as both glorified God and ministered grace to the hearers, as the Apostle speaketh." [9] They were not satisfied to banish merely those words admittedly offensive. But they extended their reform to include all "idle" words, words which, although not offensive, still "neither glorified God nor ministered grace to the hearer." [10] Besides their proscription of "idle" words, they placed also under the ban of their disapproval all "naming of fornication and of all uncleanness"; all "foolish talking and jesting." [11] To the defenders of plays "foolish talking and jesting" and "the mention of uncleanness" were not "unlawful abuse"; to the puritans, however, they were sins. And as

[9] P. Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses,* Shak. Soc. ed., 1879, p. 199.

[10] Northbrooke, *Treatise,* p. 68.

[11] Northbrooke, *Treatise,* p. 68: "Saint Paule sayth that fornication and all uncleannesse or covetousnes must not be once named among vs, as it becommeth saints." *Ibid.,* p. 93. Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix,* p. 949: "The very naming of fornication and adultery, together with foolish talking and jesting on the stage, are nought else but actuall sinnes in God's account." *Ibid.,* p. 63: "Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good for the use of edifying, that it may minister grace to the hearers: Let all evill speaking be put away from you: and as for fornication, and uncleannesse (the common subjects, and principall ingredients of our comedies), neither foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient, let them not bee once named (much lesse then acted, or applauded) among you, as becometh Saintes." Also *ibid.,* pp. 552, 89, 70, 264. *Third Blast against Plays,* Hazlitt ed., p. 138.

Stubbes argued, "sins were not divisable into small and large, but were equally damnable." [12]

The puritans' inspiration for the reform of these smaller sins in speech were the words of Holy Writ,[13] so that in insisting upon this reform, they were striving to recover the pure speech of the primitive church. St. Paul's exhortation to the Ephesians that "fornication and all uncleanness . . . be not once named among you, as becometh saints," [14] was their chief authority in their efforts for a pure speech. It was St. Paul's counsel, also, that caused them to strive diligently to avoid "foolish jesting, which is not convenient." [15]

The puritans were particularly careful themselves to avoid the use of words which would offend others. Stubbes in one place will not name the sin he is reproving "for offending chaste ears"; [16] and in another place he checks himself from naming an offence because the offenders "know best what I mean." [17] Likewise Prynne avoids

[12] Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 27.

[13] Northbrooke, Stubbes, Gosson, Prynne, and others quote one or more of the following verses in connection with the reform of speech: 1 *Peter* 1, 15, 16: "But as he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation; because it is written, Be ye holy; for I am holy." *Ephes.* 4, 29: "Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers." *Col.* 3, 8: "But now ye also put off all these: anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth." *Col.* 4, 6: "Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt, that ye may know how ye ought to answer any man."

[14] Ephesians 5, 3: "But fornication and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named among you, as becometh saints."

[15] Ephesians 5, 4: "Neither [let be named among you] filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient: but rather giving of thanks."

[16] *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 135.

[17] *Anatomy of Abuses*, pp. 78 and 88.

describing things "done of these in private," because it is "even unseemly to utter." [18]

When, however, the puritans "of necessity touched matters uncleanly," they used, generally, circumlocution, "in order that their mind and tongue might be honest all season." [19] They had resort also to euphemistic substitutes for offensive words, as where for "fornication," they employed such expressions as "the deeds of darkness," "incontinence," [20] "infirmity of blood," and "flesh frailty." [21]

Less frequently than the use either of circumlocution or of euphemistic terms, the reformers employed, in company with a word considered "unseemly," an apologetic word or expression.[22] But this older custom, because it called attention to the offensive meaning of the word apologized for, seems to have been considered by the puritans less desirable than either circumlocution or a euphemistic substitute. As a result it was less and less employed by the guardians of good manners, and survives for the greater part in the dramatists' ridicule of this ineffective method of apology for the use of an immodest word.[23]

Besides their anxiety that their own conversation should not offend, the reformers took particular care that the

[18] Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix*, p. 279.

[19] A. Barclay, *Mirrour of Good Manners*, Spenser Soc. ed., p. 71.

[20] Davenant, *The Law against Lovers*, Folio ed., 1673, p. 277: "*Luc.* I believe 'tis that which the precise call Incontinence."

[21] Thomas Middleton, *Game at Chess* (Dyce ed., IV, p. 406): "*W. Duke:* Some that are pleas'd to make a wanton on't, Call it infirmity of blood, flesh frailty; But certain there's a worse name in your books for't."

[22] Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 107: "*Honor sit auribus.*" *Sir reverence, God bless you,* and *Save the mark,* are found more frequently in derision of the reformers' regard for propriety, than seriously.

[23] See page 78.

words of their neighbors should be seemly. This concern for the speech of their neighbors found in plays a chief field of activity. To understand here the violence of the puritan's contention that the speech of plays was highly "dishonest," it is necessary to recall the broader license of speech in the sixteenth century, and also the puritan's extreme sensitiveness to offence. Without an understanding of their sensitiveness to offence, the severity of Rainoldes's condemnation of Gager's Latin comedy, *Rivales,* is not clear. With reference to this play, Rainoldes says that he is ashamed to rehearse "the filth" that Gager's scholars are "pestered with" in the acting of this comedy.[24] But when Gager retorts that Rainoldes is "not able to allege one word savouring of scurrility," the latter adds that it is not the language, but the dancing and gestures of the actors which had offended him.[25] Gager's comment in this connection that "merry things are called wanton by him" (Rainoldes) summarizes the antagonistic points of view of the condemners and the authors of dramatic entertainments.

II

The puritan reformers of dramatic speech were roundly criticized by the defenders of plays for trying to force upon all a standard of speech that was capable of being attained at any time by only a few. It was argued that the reformers were placing upon minor features of morality a disproportionate amount of emphasis; that they wished to apply to men that were of the earth, a purity that was of the angels. Other men than Falstaff—and in a more serious mood—thought that there was urgent need,

[24] J. Rainoldes, *The Overthrow of Stage Plays,* p. 122.
[25] *Ibid.,* p. 18.

if not of actually "lending countenance to the poor abuses of the time," [26] at least of opposing the puritans' marvellous precise definition of abuse. Nash voiced a general feeling when he complained that the puritans "extend their invectives so far against the abuse, that almost the things remain not, whereof they admit any lawful use." [27] Heywood, defending plays against the excessive attacks of the puritans, objected to their desire for "a purity that is of the angels": and attacked their extravagant standards of righteousness on the ground that "that purity is not look't for at our hand, being mortal and human, that is required of the angels, being celestial and divine. God made us of earth, men: knows our natures, dispositions, and imperfections, and therefore hath limited us a time to rejoice, as he hath enjoined us a time to mourn for our transgressions: and I hold them more scrupulous than well advised, that go about to take from us the use of all moderate recreations." [28]

Sir Richard Baker, likewise, registers protest against the exalted standards by which Prynne measured plays. Unlike Prynne and his fellow puritans in their efforts to attain to a perfect purity, Baker sought to justify plays as "fit recreations for an honest, natural or moral man, but no ways to be matched with the high, mysterious contemplations of Christian divinity," in comparison with which "the best works we can do, even the good works of the law," are accounted "no better than very dung." [29] Protests of this kind show the reactions of the dramatists and their friends to what to them appeared to be the "marvellous stoical and precise reasons" of the extremer sort of

[26] 1 *Henry IV.* (I, ii, 175).
[27] Nash, McKerrow ed., vol. I, p. 20, line 7.
[28] T. Heywood, *An Apology for Actors,* Sh. Soc. ed., p. 25.
[29] Sir Richard Baker, *Theatrum Redivivum* (1662), p. 27.

puritans, who "extended their invectives so far against the abuse of plays, that the lawful use did not exist."

The "verbal nicety" of the puritans did not escape criticism also in the plays of the day. A hypocritical reformer of morals in Marston's *Dutch Courtezan* is mockingly reminded when he lets slip a forbidden word, that "'tis not in fashion to call things by their right names." [30] In an antipuritan pamphlet a pretended puritan is represented as excusing his suggestion to sin with the plea that "no harm is done if terms be not abused." "You must say virtuously done," he explains, "not lustily done." [31] Chapman in his *Widow's Tears* exclaims against masking hypocrisy behind verbal piety: "O, holy reformation! how art thou fallen down from the upper bodies of the church to the skirts of the city. Honesty is stripped out of his true substance into verbal nicety. Common sinners startle at common terms, and they that by whole mountains swallow down the deeds of darkness, a poor mote of a familiar word makes them turn up the white o' th' eye." [32] The same "verbal nicety" under Angelo's regency in *Measure for Measure* forbade Claudio even the naming of his offence.[33]

[30] Bullen Ed., vol. II, p. 18 (I, ii): "Freeville (to Malheureux): Whore? fie, whore! you may call her a courtezan, a cocatrice, or (as that worthy spirit of an eternal happiness said) a suppository. But whore! fie, *'tis not in fashion to call things by their right names.* Is a great merchant a cuckold, you must say he is one of the livery. Is a great lord a fool, you must say he is weak."

[31] *Pappe with a Hatchet*, vol. III, p. 400, l. 4, Bond ed. of J. Lyly's works.

[32] Chapman's *Widow's Tears*, Shepherd ed., 1874, p. 314, col. 1.

[33] *Meas. for Meas.* (I, ii, 139): "*Lucio:* What's thy offence, Claudio? *Claudio:* What but to speak of would offend again." Similar are the words of Lysimarchus to Marina: *Pericles* (IV, vi, 72): "*Lys:* Now, pretty one, how long have you been at this trade? *Mar:* What trade, sir? *Lys:* Why, I cannot name 't but I shall offend."

This meticulous care for honesty of speech is at times in plays given in derision to the lowest type of women.[34] The offence taken at a "common term" by the pious bawd in *The Widow's Tears* is the occasion for Chapman registering the protest that, since the "holy reformation has fallen to the skirts of the city, honesty is stripped out of his true substance into verbal nicety." [35] Again in *The City Match* visitors to a pretended puritan are admonished to abstain from all improper conversation, for she takes offence "at the least obscene word"; [36] and in *A Mad World, My Masters* the same type of woman "would sooner die than endure profane talk." [37] Dame Quickly in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is another such "foolish carrion." She cloaks her real nature under an affected zeal for modest speech. In her objection to Sir Hugh Evans's "horum, harum, horum," her care for modest terms leads her into ridiculous error: "You do ill to teach the child such words: he teaches him to hick and to hack, which they'll do fast enough of themselves, and to call 'horum,'—Fie upon you." [38] It is to such women as these who only pretend piety that some of the dramatists apply in contempt the term of "puritan." [39]

A more substantial though less frequent counter charge than that of the hypocrisy of those objecting to the speech of plays is found in the use of the recurring figure of the bee and the spider sucking, according to the nature of

[34] Much less frequently the same characteristic of pretended honesty of speech is found in men of the lowest order of society. *Pericles* (IV, vi, 38): "*Boult:* And she were a rose indeed, if she had but—— *Lys:* What, prithee? *Boult:* O, sir, I can be modest. *Lys:* That dignifies the renown of a bawd, no less than it gives a good report to a number to be chaste."

[35] See note 32. [36] Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, XIII, p. 283.

[37] Middleton, Dyce ed., II, p. 338. [38] *Merry Wives* (IV, i, 68).

[39] E. N. S. Thompson, *The Puritans and the Stage*, p. 207.

each, honey or poison from the same flower.[40] Baker in his *Theatrum Redivivum* is one of a number to shift the blame for the offence taken, to the evil thoughts of those taking offence: "Indeed," he says, "it is not so much the players that make the obscenity, as the spectator himself; as the bee or spider, that sucks the juice."[41] Adam and Eve, Baker explains in further illustration, "did never trouble about obscene sights, till they made themselves obscene hearts." This is the same answer in substance that Margaret, in *Much Ado About Nothing,* makes to Hero who reproves her for speaking "too broad." "An bad thinking do not wrest true speaking, I'll offend nobody," replies Margaret.[42] In Marston's *Dutch Courtezan* there is a passage to the same effect. A young girl, Crispenella, also checked for speaking "too broad," retorts that she is "not ashamed to speak what she is not ashamed to think"; and adds that she "dares as boldly speak venery as think venery," for "she whose honest freeness makes it her virtue to speak what she thinks, will make it her necessity to think what is good." Crispenella's further assertion that she would have nothing prohibited by policy but of virtue,[43] is Marston's answer

[40] R. Perkins, p. 10 in Heywood's *Apology:* "Give me a play, that no distaste can breed. Prove thou a spider, and from flowers suck gall: I'le, like a bee, take hony from a weed; For I was never puritanicall."

[41] *Theatrum Redivivum,* p. 31.

[42] *Much Ado About Nothing* (III, iv, 33).

[43] *Dutch Courtesan,* Bullen ed., II, p. 47. Also in *As You Like It* (III, ii, 278): Orlando's request to Jaques "to mar no more of his verses *with reading them ill-favouredly,*" is Orlando's way of asking Jaques not to "wrest true speaking with bad thinking." Jaques's remark to Orlando that "the worst fault he has is to be in love," indicates in turn Jaques's misinterpretation of Orlando's "love-songs." The charge of "lascivious apprehension," as Timon phrases this argument in a conversation with Apemantus (*Timon,* I, i, 211), is also the general

to the prohibition placed by the puritans upon certain subjects and words. His appeal here for a frank recognition of, and reference, where necessary, to the facts of life, becomes clearer with a knowledge of the puritan contention that even the mention of certain facts in life is sinful.

III

Shakespeare's art is superior to participation in the political and religious disputes of his time. He finds, nevertheless, in the endeavors of the reformers to attain a pure speech, material for characterizing both his purest and his darkest characters. For the purpose of revealing the true nature of his most detestable villains Shakespeare has them show a hypocritical abhorrence at "naming any uncleanness." It is no accident that Don John,[44] Iago,[45] and Iachimo[46] mask their villainy behind a modest re-

answer given by the friends of plays to those who would forbid the representation of vice on the stage. "Read them [plays] as my author meant them," Harington insists, "to breed detestation and not delectation." (Sir John Harington, *An Apologie of Poetry*, Haslewood ed., II, p. 139). Heywood reiterates (Heywood's *Apology*, p. 51) the thought in his *Apology for Actors:* "Plays are in use as they are understood, spectators' eyes may make them bad or good."

[44] *Much Ado* (IV, i, 89): "Upon my honor, Myself, my brother, and this grieved count Did see her, hear her, at that hour last night Talk with a ruffian at her chamber-window; Who hath indeed, most like a liberal villain, Confess'd the vile encounters they have had A thousand times in secret. *Don John:* Fie, fie! *they are not to be named, my lord, Not to be spoke of: There is not chastity enough in language Without offence to utter them.* Thus, pretty lady, I am sorry for thy much misgovernment."

[45] *Othello* (IV, i, 28): "*Imogen:* Hath he [Cassio] said any thing? *Iago:* He hath, my lord; but be you well assur'd, No more than he'll unswear. *Oth:* What hath he said? *Iago:* Faith, that he did—I know not what he did."

[46] *Cymbeline* (I, vi, 87): "*Imogen:* I pray you, sir, Deliver with more openess your answers To my demands. Why do you pity me?

luctance to name the crime by which they seek to strike down injured virtue; for by simulating a "verbal nicety," they gain a more ready acceptance for their slanders of Hero, Desdemona, and Posthumous. A realization that these villains modestly refuse to name the crime they bring against the noble and innocent victims of their slanders, heightens our appreciation of their hypocritical villainy.

Shakespeare avoids preferably [47] the recurrent Elizabethan type of the female hypocrite who assumes a modesty which "dignifies the renown of a bawd no less than it gives a good report to a number to be chaste." [48] In two instances, however, he makes deeply tragic allusion to this type of woman whose piety is verbal, not real. Hamlet, suffering in mind from the falling away from virtue of his mother and the suspected faithlessness of Ophelia, turns savagely upon the latter with the charge that women "nickname God's creatures and make their wantonness their ignorance," [49] in other words that they mask their viciousness behind a simulated care for virtuous speech. Similarly Lear's clouded mind, brooding over the stinging ingratitude of Goneril and Regan, "reasoning in madness," bitterly upbraids the hypocrisy of the evil-minded "simp'ring dame,"

> That minces virtue, and does shake the head
> To hear of pleasure's name.[50]

Shakespeare's women with rare exceptions are modest in nature and therefore modest in speech. Two of his purest characters, Desdemona and Isabella, give verbal

Iachimo: That others do, I was about to say, enjoy your——
But it is an office of the gods to venge it, Not mine to speak on't."

[47] Dame Quickly and Dol Common approach nearest to the common type of pious hypocrites.

[48] *Pericles* (IV, vi, 38). [49] *Hamlet* (III, i, 151).

[50] *Lear* (IV, vi, 120).

expression to their genuine abhorrence of putting into words the insults which have been offered them. Desdemona [51] cannot repeat to Emilia the name applied to her by her husband, and Isabella [52] recoils from mentioning Angelo's terms for Claudio's liberation. Perdita [53] reveals as truly, although less dramatically, the same care for "honest speech" in her admonition to Autolycus that he avoid in his lines all "scurrilous words"; while the lack of modesty in Ophelia's songs heralds the flight of her sweet reason more feelingly than if it had been told in words. In two instances, also, those of Camillo [54] and of Othello,[55] the depths of masculine natures are revealed by a refusal "to mention any uncleanness."

Besides Shakespeare's employment in tragedy of a reluctance to name that which is objectionable, he employs it also in comedy. Audrey anxiously inquires of Touchstone whether "poetical" is "honest in deed and word." [56] Nathaniel, equally solicitous, before consenting to hear Holofernes' epitaph, requests him to "abrogate scurrility"; [57] and later after dinner, "at the house of a certain pupil of mine," Holofernes basks in Nathaniel's approbation of his discourse that had been "pleasant without scur-

[51] *Othello* (IV, ii, 161): "*Des:* I cannot say 'whore': It doth abhor me now I speak the word." And earlier in the same scene (II, 118): "*Des:* Am I that name, Iago? *Iago:* What name, fair Lady? *Des:* Such as she says my lord did say I was. *Emilia:* He call'd her whore."

[52] *Measure for Measure* (III, i, 101): "*Isa:* This night's the time That I should do what I abhor to name, Or else thou diest to-morrow."

[53] *Winter's Tale* (IV, iv, 215).

[54] *Winter's Tale* (I, ii, 281): "*Cam.* (to Leontes): Shrew my heart, You never spoke what did become you less Than this; *which to reiterate were sin As deep as that, though true.*"

[55] *Othello* (V, ii, 1): "*Oth:* It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul; Let me not name it to you, you chaste stars!—It is the cause."

[56] As *You Like It* (III, iii, 17). [57] *L. L. L.* (IV, ii, 55).

rility." [58] To Quickly's objections to Sir Hugh Evans's Latin words, I have referred. In the same comedy, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* Falstaff plays the puritan the first time that he meets Mistress Page and Mistress Ford, by giving "orderly and well behaved reproof to all uncomeliness" [59] of speech.

Finally, Shakespeare's use of "sir reverence" is a part of his characters' solicitude to avoid offence.[60] In Elizabethan plays generally, this expression involves a jibe at the expense of the character using it. Outside of Shakespeare it is found not infrequently in the mouths of pretended members of the purer sect.[61] In ridicule of an ignorant or a pretended solicitude for propriety, Shakespeare puts it in the mouths of some of his Pompeys and his Dromios.[62] But as Falstaff, Margaret, and Mercutio employ it,[63] there may be more than the usual amount of "sportful malice" towards the upholders of good manners. In only one case, where it is employed by Cloten, [64] does it borrow tragic significance—there it calls attention to the hypocrisy of the villain, who is careful to apologize for the use of an indelicate term, while planning to perpetrate a hideous crime.

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[58] *L. L. L.* (v, i, 3).

[59] *Merry Wives* (II, i, 57).

[60] Other similar expressions are used for the purpose of comic treatment: "Saving your manhood," by Fluellen (*H. V.*, IV, viii, 35; 2 *H. IV.*, II, i, 28); "Bless the mark," *Two Gentlemen*, IV, iv, 20.

[61] *The Puritan Widow, The Shakespeare Apocrypha* ed., p. 231, used by the Widow herself; p. 242, used by her servant Frailtie; *The Family of Love,* Dyce ed., p. 274, by Geraldine speaking to a puritan, while he is disguised as a porter. *The Woman's Prize,* Weber ed. (1812), p. 372. *Widow's Tears,* Shepherd ed., p. 316, "Saving your honor." *Bartholomew Fair,* Everyman Edition, pp. 228, 180.

[62] Pompey (*Meas.*, II, i, 92), Launcelot (*Merchant,* II, ii, 27), Gobbo (*Merchant,* II, ii, 138), Dromio (*Errs.*, III, ii, 93).

[63] *Much Ado* (III, iv, 33); 1 *H. IV.* (II, iv, 515); *R. and J.* (I, iv, 42).

[64] *Cymbeline* (IV, i, 5).

V.—FASHIONABLE SOCIETY IN FIELDING'S TIME

In using satire to ridicule the vices and follies of his contemporaries, Fielding is the direct successor of the last member of that "Triumvirate of Wit," Lucian, Cervantes, and Swift, to which he so often refers in his works. In his novels and in his periodical essays Fielding often refers to the luxury of the times and the consequent general moral corruption among all classes of society. He ridicules especially the affectation of his contemporaries—their vanity and hypocrisy, the twin roots of affectation—and assails with direct invective their spiritual and moral degeneration. Believing that example is stronger than precept in reforming human conduct, he likes to place before them examples, ridiculous or odious, of what they are to avoid; but his satire is more kindly than Swift's.

It was against the vices of the fashionable that Fielding usually directed his criticism. On them he placed responsibility for the general degradation of the age. In this paper I do not intend to question the accuracy of his diagnosis nor the value of his remedy; we may take Fielding's word for what he saw. Fashionable society was undoubtedly somewhat corrupted, and Fielding took it upon himself to do what he could. Consequently when we find a Lady Bellaston in *Tom Jones* or a Lady Booby in *Joseph Andrews* we may be sure that she is intended to be something more than a mere ridiculous figure in the fictitious panorama which the author unrolls before us. Such characters he undoubtedly copied from the life of his times with the intention of depicting vice as an object of detestation; the picture is, however, most entertaining. When Fielding abandons the "true ridiculous"—

a form of humor which does not depend upon indecency as an object of prurient enjoyment—for serious criticism, he is no less entertaining; for then he has something of the charm of Sterne in his vocational writings. We feel, however, that Fielding is not in either case writing for our diversion, but to "laugh mankind out of their favourite follies and vices." Lady Booby is to be regarded, therefore, as the caricature of a vicious type of woman, and Lady Bellaston as the characterization of a less ridiculous creature of the same type.

The evidence of Fielding's serious concern in this problem is found more abundantly in his essays; but his novels afford several interesting cases. Lady Booby is, of course, one of his early experiments. She is a vulgar, lecherous creature, but is really no more degenerate than her superficially refined city cousin, Lady Bellaston. Of the former Fielding writes: "My lady was a woman of gayety, who had been blessed with a town education, and never spoke of her country neighbors by any other appellation than that of the brutes." It does not take us long to discover that Fielding did not regard a London social education as an unmixed blessing. We suspect that the gayeties of the town were often too alluring for the "violet modesty and virtue" of these London-bred ladies. When we see Lady Booby walking with Joey, her footman, in Hyde Park and hear the scandalous remarks of Lady Tittle and Lady Tattle, we are sure that Lady Booby's love is tinctured with vanity, and we are greatly amused to watch her aping *her* betters. But when we behold Lady Bellaston ensnaring Tom Jones, we are not amused—unless we take a cynical enjoyment in such episodes; we are, on the contrary, distinctly shocked, and our regard for Tom is permanently lowered. His experiences in fashionable circles are, as we might expect, rather limited.

He meets Lady Bellaston by chance, becomes her dependent, and from a false sense of honor requites the autumnal passion which rages in her. Lord Fellamar is then introduced as a typical high-society villain; and Tom, after a time, makes his escape from their clutches. The effect of all these episodes is precisely what Fielding intended—we despise these people of fashion.

We are not accustomed to regard Fielding and Hogarth as solemn-faced reformers of their age; but when we discover that Fielding regarded the "ingenious Mr. Hogarth" as "one of the most useful satirists" that any age had produced, then we feel that our author had a serious interest in the problem of reform. I do not mean to imply that *Tom Jones* is to be considered as a *Rake's Progress,* or *Joseph Andrews* as another *Whole Duty of Man;* I do feel, however, that there is much in both that is intended to "serve the cause of virtue." Take, for example, the career of Mr. Wilson, as it is narrated in *Joseph Andrews.* Apart from the amused interest that we feel in watching Parson Adams as he listens to Mr. Wilson's shocking story, there is something in the account that seriously holds our attention. We read that this worthy at the age of seventeen left school and went to London to attain the character of a fine gentleman. There he soon learned the manners of the young "bucks" of his acquaintance. Mornings he was accustomed to don his green frock, to put his hair in papers, and with his great stick in hand to walk out for his morning saunter. This often led him to the auction rooms where fashionable society was wont to gather; and there in aping the manners of his betters, he bowed to noblemen whom he did not know and ogled the ladies out of countenance. In the afternoon he would spend two hours in dressing, and then, at some time between four o'clock and six in the evening, he would dine.

Thereafter he divided his time between the coffee-house, the Drury-Lane Theatre, the entertainment in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the drawing-room. A few years of this life utterly corrupted Mr. Wilson's nature, and while fortune smiled upon him he indulged in several unhappy and expensive amours which eventually led him to ruin and despair. We read that when misfortune came to him he turned philosopher for his mental solace and author for his bread and butter, and that he was rescued from imprisonment for debt and from suicide in the nick of time. Throughout the narrative we feel that Fielding is trying to show his contemporaries the folly of such vicious conduct; some passages are ironical, some satirical, and there are not a few in which the reformed sinner moralizes in an earnest tone of warning; but all are penned for the same purpose.

It is not necessary to believe that Fielding found all of his fashionable contemporaries vicious; but we do know that he saw among them an alarming number of degenerates. The presence of so many evil-minded persons of fashion in his novels, and the general absence of the virtuous type, may be explained on the ground that in Fielding's vocabulary *fashionable* and *vicious* are synonymous, and on the ground that he found examples of what men are to shun more potent in reform than examples of what men are to emulate. Novels of contemporary manners are not always reliable sources of information concerning the *morale* of an age; but we may be sure from what Fielding tells us in his prefaces and in his essays that his pictures of contemporary society as we find them in his novels are reasonably faithful.

Contemporaries of Fielding drew similar pictures. The rascally P. Pickle pursues a course that is really repellent to the most hardened reader; and the story of the amours

of Lady Vane which is inserted in this narrative is simply monstrous to contemplate. Such persons as Hillario and Lady Tempest in *Pompey the Little* are purely ridiculous; but when we finish this very interesting picture of eighteenth-century manners we feel relieved to get rid of these acquaintances. Richardson's sanctimonious novels are not without such characters—Sir Hargrave Pollefexen, Lovelace and his crew, and even the unreformed Mr. B—. We suspect, however, that many of these pictures are too highly colored; and when we run across such books as *Cleora, or the Fair Inconstant, Memoirs of a Man of Pleasure,* and *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure,* we distrust our evidence. Popular demand, however, must have called forth such "low stuff"; and this in itself is an indication of a general depraved taste in books and reading. The author of *Pompey the Little* refers to "this *life-writing age* . . . when no character is thought too inconsiderable to engage the public notice, or too abandoned to be set up as a pattern of imitation." "The lowest and most contemptible vagrants, parish-girls, chambermaids, pick-pockets, and highwaymen," he adds, "find historians to record their praises, and readers to wonder at their exploits." One thinks at once of the history of the life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew and Fielding's own *Jonathan Wild;* for both are histories of rogues. In his *Covent-Garden Journal,* Fielding frequently refers to the great abundance of indecent literature, and takes particular pains to ridicule the taste of the age. The *Monthly Review* in January, 1752, while reviewing *The Secret Memoirs of Count Saxe,* comments on the fact that novels are getting more and more numerous and worse and worse, as if the authors were trying to cure the taste of the age by overproduction of "extremes of dullness and nonsense."

In speaking of the general moral laxity of his time

Fielding writes, in his second number of the *Covent-Garden Journal,* that he feels reasonably certain that Sodom and Gomorrah were "*somewhat worse* than we are at present." It would be easy to select many other similar remarks from Fielding's pages; and it is almost as easy to find historical characters of that age who stand for all that is flagrantly immoral and indecent. Take, for instance, that notorious man of fashion, Dr. Hill, who styled himself *Sir* John Hill; or consider the history of Lady Vane, as it is recorded in sources other than *Peregrine Pickle.* This interesting pair of scoundrels were in their own time deservedly infamous, and were even more notorious than the Gunning sisters, who took fashionable London by storm in 1751-2 and within a year married into noble houses. Dr. Hill, quack, editor, and beau, rolled about town (in search of patients) in his own emblazoned chariot, and spent his spare time at the Bedford Coffee-House, where he acted as self-appointed autocrat at gatherings of men, among whom must have been Hogarth, Murphy, and Fielding himself. By night he was wont to go to Ranelagh and other similar outdoor places of amusement, or to seek the infamous "Diamond," who was not without a flaw. Notoriety was his food; no amount of ridicule or public caning could feaze him. Vanity led him to publish an account of his amours; his desire for fame led him into a thousand atrocious acts; and finally, after all else had failed, he became nurse to the innocent flowers of Kew Gardens. Lady Vane's career was notorious for the rapidity with which she married, divorced, and remarried; when marriage failed, she turned to illicit courses; when love failed she wrote an account of her life in which she defends adultery in the light of her own experiences.

Fielding makes it very plain that such flagrant immorality had a very bad effect on the lower classes. The

evidence of corruption among the fashionable was thrust in everyone's face. In imitation of the upper classes the mob made public show of their bad manners, vicious conduct, and moral degeneration. Their excesses rapidly pauperized large numbers of them; poverty led many to get dishonestly what they were unable and unwilling to get honestly; and, as a result, a flood of criminals swept over London. Daylight robberies and murders were very frequent; and by night the streets were extremely perilous. As one reads newspapers of 1751-3 one is amazed not only at the number of crimes perpetrated in London and its environs, but even more at the great boldness and savage cruelty of the criminals. In that day a convicted murderer was in the eyes of the mob a hero, and his hanging was public entertainment for them—a holiday amusement.

If anyone has doubts concerning Fielding's seriousness in his work of reform, let him read the *Increase of Robbers*. In this tract Fielding directs our attention chiefly to the effects of the luxury and the extravagance of the age on the lower classes, and proposes remedies for the growing evils. "I am not here," says he, "to satirize the great . . . "; but upon them he lays the responsibility for the widespread degeneracy of their day. "Could luxury be confined to the palaces of the great, the society would not perhaps be much affected with it. . . ." The situation was, however, in his eyes by no means hopeless. If he could do nothing with the rich, he could provide salutary legislation for the poor; and in this he was partly successful. In attempting to restrain the extravagance of the day he confined himself "entirely to the lower order of people"; but the upper classes are not allowed to get by unscathed. "Pleasure always hath been, and always will be, the principal business of persons of fashion and fortune, and more especially of the ladies, for whom I have

infinitely too great an honour and respect to rob them of any their least amusement. Let them have their plays, operas, and oratorios, their masquerades and ridottos; their assemblies, drums, routs, and hurricanes; their *Ranelagh* and *Vauxhall;* their *Bath, Tunbridge, Bristol, Scarborough,* and *Cheltenham;* and let them have their beaus and danglers to attend them at all these; it is the only use for which such beaus are fit. . . ."

Such a picture is not without a touch of satire. Similarly, in the *Dialogue at Tunbridge Wells* (after the manner of Plato) which Fielding gives us in his thirtieth number of the *Covent-Garden Journal,* we find delightful ridicule of fashionable life—satire leveled especially against the ladies, and in particular against a young daughter who is infected, before our very eyes, with the bacteria (perhaps I should say germs) of social ambition. In other papers Fielding puts before us women who would be fashionable at any cost—"Zara Grandemondes" who talk of their "circle," their drums and routs, their monkeys, dogs, and young men whom they keep as pets. "Humphrey Gubbin," a country lout, gives us his impressions of Ranelagh, reserved for the rich; and the benevolent "Axylus," another Parson Adams in character, groans at the follies and vices of his associates. Fielding sets forth a "Statute of Good Breeding" regulating public conduct, especially at the theatres, where (as happens today) the fashionable were accustomed to ogle, whisper, and talk aloud throughout the performance. "Fashion," writes Fielding in the first number of his *True Patriot,* "is the great governor of this world."

All classes of society, if we may believe Fielding, were addicted to drinking, gaming, and licentious amusements of all sorts. Gin-drinking was a widespread evil among the poor—see, for instance, Hogarth's *Gin-Lane.* All

classes contributed to the public lotteries; prize-fights were commonly attended by the rich and poor; and while the rich fought their duels, the poor occupied themselves in street brawls. All sorts of coxcombry, impudence, and insolence found expression in public. It was an age of quacks, free-thinkers, and atheists. We read of drapers' assistants who swagger about like "Pistol in the play," of arrogant cartmen, of impudent soldiers strutting about the streets. Dr. Richard Rock held political meetings in Covent-Garden, and there sold to the gullible public his priceless "Viper Drops" and his "Anti-Venereal Electuary," of which an unkind contemporary said that they had killed thousands. Even among the tradesmen free-thinking had its vogue; the butchers and tailors met regularly at the Robin-Hood to discuss "Whether relidgin was of any youse to a sosyaty." A godless, vain, and vicious world it must have seemed to Fielding.

We know, however, that Fielding did not regard the world as one vast sink of iniquity. If his pictures of the life of the times are sometimes depressing, it is because he was in daily contact with the criminals of Middlesex and Westminster, and was hard put to it to keep his large police district free from robbers, murderers, and prostitutes. When he leaves his office and wanders about the streets, mixing with the persons of fashion who thronged the thoroughfares and parks, then he finds material for pictures that are far from depressing. After all, the follies of the idle rich *are* amusing; and as serious as Fielding meant to be in his ridicule, his mood is that of the laughing school of philosophers. In this connection we can understand why Fielding took pains to insert among the news contained in his *Covent-Garden Journal* such an account as that which relates the marriage of the Duke of Hamilton and Elizabeth Gunning. This young

lady, whom Fielding speaks of as a lady "of really great beauty and merit," had come penniless from Ireland with her sister Maria, and had received rather marked attention from James, the sixth Duke of Hamilton while her sister was engaged in snaring *her* peer. The town then found much amusement in watching the progress of these two women. The fashionable world vied with one another in showing them attention, and the rabble paid its tribute by mobbing these *belles* whenever they appeared in public. Despite his reputation, the Duke, whom Walpole describes as "hot, debauched, extravagant, and equally damaged in fortune and person," made rapid progress; and his friends made public bets with one another regarding the probability of a marriage between the two. The gossips record that in February, 1752, the Duke, while under the influence of some golden dram, proposed marriage, and had the ceremony performed in the hostelry where he committed himself, all of an evening. A parson was called in late at night, and in lieu of a proper ring, a wooden ring from the four-poster is said to have been employed. The story sounds rather improbable; but it is certain that the affair was rather impromptu. If we may believe the account in the *Covent-Garden Journal,* the losers of the bet taken up by Hamilton's friends were quick to settle, and the Duke, who was party to the transaction, was present at a hilarious dinner, given a week after his marriage, at which his friends spent the proceeds with their accustomed prodigality.

To be sure, this story is not tremendously funny, nor is it horribly wicked. If the reader is inclined to have something really shocking, let him read the *Adventures of Lady Frail;* but let him remember that this and other reports concerning the death of virtue are greatly exaggerated. The statistics of eighteenth-century social condi-

tions—the records of Bow Street, Acts of Parliament, and other formal records—help us but little in forming our pictures of fashionable life in the time of Fielding; but the literature of that age is of great assistance—consider, for instance, the material in Fielding's *Modern Glossary* (in the *Covent-Garden Journal,* No. 4) which is characteristically suggestive:

> GREAT. Applied to a thing, signifies bigness; when to a man, often littleness or meanness.
>
> GALLANTRY. Fornication and adultery.
>
> KNOWLEDGE. In general, means knowledge of the town; as this is, indeed, the only kind of knowledge ever spoken of in the polite world.
>
> MODESTY. Awkwardness, rusticity.
>
> MARRIAGE. A kind of traffic carried on between the two sexes, in which both are constantly endeavouring to cheat each other, and both are commonly losers in the end.
>
> RELIGION. A word of no meaning; but which serves as a bugbear to frighten children with.
>
> DEATH. The final end of man; as well of the thinking part of the body as of all other parts.

"Vanity Fair" is a hardy literary perennial; we wonder who is to be the Fielding or Thackeray of this complex twentieth century.

GERARD E. JENSEN.

VI.—SPENSER'S *MUIOPOTMOS* AS AN ALLEGORY

Most readers of Spenser's *Muiopotmos* will recall Professor Palgrave's comments upon the poem in his essays on *The Minor Poem of Spenser*. He said in part: "The lyric regarded from this point of view, is as light and fanciful, as winged and ethereal, as Clarion himself: the sunshine of the Summer's day which it describes glitters through it: the musical ripple of rhyme and metre is unbroken." Then, finding but a fantastically slight connection between the episodes of the tapestries and the story of Clarion, Mr. Palgrave further summed up his comment upon the poem: "The tale hence seems even more inconsecutive than Mother Hubbard's; it neither is a whole as a story, an allegory, nor a moralization; and one asks in what humour a poet so sage and serious as Spenser, an artist so finished, can have painted this picture? —a question for sufficient answer to which he might have pointed triumphantly to the exquisiteness with which the fairy web is wrought and embroidered; to the poet's right, now and then, to be fancy free." [1]

We have, I believe, kept too closely and too traditionally to Palgrave's view. And modern critics, led by the older commentators to a superficial reading of the poem, have emphasized the fancy and exquisiteness of it at the expense of its content, real body, and allegorical intention. Accordingly we have accepted such comment as Mr. Dodge's: "Its subject is a mere nothing: it tells no story that could not be told in full in a stanza, it presents no situation for the delicate rhetoric of the emotions: it is a mere running

[1] *The Minor Poems of Spenser*, in Grosart's *Spenser*, vol. IV, pp. lxx-lxxi.

frieze of images and scenes, linked in fanciful continuity, etc." [2]

It is not necessary to review all of the theories and suggestions about *Muiopotmos.* Mr. Nadal has done that thoroughly in his article, *Spenser's Muiopotmos in Relation to Chaucer's Sir Thopas and the Nun's Priest's Tale,*[3] although his report is colored by his own point of view. And Mr. Percy Long, in the latest attempt at an interpretation,[4] refers to Mr. Nadal's work and makes further record of critical comment. I shall refer therefore to but one earlier commentator, whose suggestion if later interpreters had followed, instead of the tradition set up by Palgrave, Lowell, and others, they would have come more nearly to a real understanding of what was in Spenser's mind when he wrote *Muiopotmos.* Professor Craik, in his comment upon the poem says, first of the date, that it "is, unlike the other pieces, dated 1590, and has therefore been supposed to have been previously published by itself in that year. If there was any such edition, however, no copy, we believe, is now known to exist. The date, 1590, if not a typographical error, may possibly have been prefixed to indicate the real events of which there can scarcely, we think, be a doubt that the poem is a veiled representation, although the commentators give no help toward solving the riddle, nor indeed any hint that there is a riddle to be solved." And later, in his running comment: "The narrative thus solemnly introduced [referring to the two opening stanzas which later commentators persist in ignoring] can hardly be a mere story of a spider and a fly." [5] Professor Hales, in his brief remarks upon *Muiopotmos,*

[2] *Spenser's Works,* Cambridge Edition, pp. 115-116.

[3] *Publications of the Modern Lang. Assn.,* vol. XXV (1910).

[4] *Modern Language Review,* October, 1914.

[5] *Spenser and His Poetry,* vol. III, pp. 172-3.

appears to follow Craik's suggestion and says that the poem "would seem to be an allegorical narrative of some matter recently transpired." [6]

Professor Craik's view, which Mr. Nadal thinks is wholly unwarranted, I shall try to prove a correct one and entirely justifiable by the text of the poem, as Mr. Nadal's is not. Mr. Nadal's introductory remarks, like Mr. Dodge's, reflect the influence of the Palgrave comments above-mentioned. "*Muiopotmos,*" he says, "has long been a puzzle to the readers of Spenser. A poem of fantastic beauty, built upon a trifle as a subject, a light and fanciful story of over four hundred lines with no apparent lesson or moral, *Muiopotmos* is altogether so unlike 'our sage and serious Spenser' that critics have been baffled in their efforts to account for it." [7]

In his examination of the possible allegorical interpretations of *Muiopotmos* Mr. Nadal discards Lowell's suggestion that the poet is symbolizing himself as a poet because "To reign in the air was certainly Spenser's function." [8] Such a theory he says "does not carry us far and reduces the allegory to a vanishing point," as it certainly does. Mr. Nadal is right, so far as he goes, in making the point of the poem not the "reigning in the air" but "the tragic end which overtakes Clarion." He even refers to the opening of the poem as indicating this tragic end. If only Mr. Nadal had read all of the lines of the two opening stanzas and applied them as he applied the phrases selected, he might, alas, have had no theory to propound.

Mr. Nadal objects to Professor Craik's suggestion that the poem is a veiled representation of real events or, in the words of Professor Hales, "an allegorical narrative of

[6] *The Globe Spenser,* Introduction, p. xlvi.

[7] *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assn.,* vol. xxv, p. 640.

[8] *Lowell's Works,* Houghton, Mifflin & Company, vol. IV, p. 313.

some matter recently transpired," because they offer no opinion or suggestion as to whom the matter concerns. He dismisses this theory, he says, "on the ground that it really has no solution to propose. It goes no further than to say that the poem *must* mean something, *must* have some allegorical significance, because it 'can hardly be a mere story of a spider and a fly.' Just why it cannot be, we are not told, except that it is too solemnly introduced." If Mr. Nadal had read carefully all the lines of the "solemn introduction," he might have found some answer to his "why?"

I propose to complete or make definite Professor Craik's suggestion about the poem and to answer Mr. Nadal's objection to interpreting it as allegory, by offering an "opinion or suggestion as to whom the matter concerns." Mr. Nadal also says that "if allegory, it is quite unlike Spenser. Whatever else his allegories may be, they are not obscure." It will be the purpose of this paper also to show that the allegory is no more obscure than Spenser's other allegories, is in fact perfectly clear and quite after his characteristic allegorical method.

In considering the meaning, immediate source, and inspiration of *Muiopotmos* we are not concerned with Spenser's literary models or sources, but with the source of the idea as found in contemporary events and people. We shall not therefore further discuss Mr. Nadal's theory except as it stands in our way. Surely we all know that Spenser was familiar with Chaucer, and Mr. Greenlaw has convincingly shown that he knew and used the mediaeval *Renard the Fox* cycle in his *Mother Hubberds Tale.* But Mr. Greenlaw is careful to insist that Spenser is "too great and too original to follow slavishly his source" and that his debt to his sources is "the suggestion to a bright mind of the usefulness of the Renard material as a means

of satirizing the life of the time." [9] Mr. Greenlaw's articles on *Mother Hubberds Tale* are not indeed more striking for their revelation of Spenser's method of using literary sources and models than for making more evident the fact that the poet's eye was sharply fixed upon his time—upon the figures and life of Queen Elizabeth's Court, upon the political actions of his friends and, we may add, his enemies.

Muiopotmos was composed probably early in 1590, as the title page indicates, when Spenser's mind was most preoccupied with the life at Court, when it was with him vividly as fact and experience. And *Colin Clouts Come Home Again,* containing another record of the impression made upon him by his experience at Court, was written but a year later, as his dedicatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh indicates. Nor did he outgrow, after *Mother Hubberds Tale* and *Colin Clout,* the disposition to keep his eye closely upon the Court figures and the affairs of his contemporaries, and to reflect them in his poetry. No one can read the later books of *The Faerie Queene* with a fresh impression of the time and the main events and figures without realizing that they are more specific and that the allegory is more definitely significant of the actions and conduct of the real figures selected than is the allegory of the earlier books. Spenser did not lose his tendency to portray contemporary life in fanciful allegory, which was his natural habitat, and the visit to the Court in 1589-1590 with Sir Walter Raleigh would but increase, not only his natural tendency to use contemporary material in allegory, but also his interest in this material of the Court.

However, we might believe that Spenser cast aside his

[9] *Modern Philology,* January, 1905.

nature for once and, when in the midst of Court life in its most fascinating complexity, wrote a poem of pure fancy, if there were no internal evidences of the allegory. But certainly he would write no such school-boy exercise as Mr. Nadal would have us believe it. The exquisite Clarion is not a patch-work or piecing together of the figure of Sir Thopas and, "having exhausted the lines" of this mock-heroic, of Chaucer's Chantecleer. It would be pathetically humorous indeed if Spenser could be imagined at so servile a task, even in his days of earliest apprenticeship. To consider the poem under such a process of construction is to take from it its congruity and its internal consistency, to lose entirely the creative vision of the poet. So also does such an interpretation as that attempted by Mr. Long. Both of these theories entirely ignore the signification of the two introductory stanzas, which direct the reader with a certainty to things of contemporary interest, and indeed to "an allegorical narrative of some matter recently transpired."

Mr. Long has characterized Mr. Nadel's argument as "unconvincing." I am inclined to honor his with the same epithet and pass it by. It is even less convincing that Mr. Nadal's, "that Spenser in *Muiopotmos* represents his captivity to the charms of Lady Carey." Mr. Long does admit that "To figure his beloved as a spider—a 'cursed creature'—in a poem dedicated to herself may appear indeed to require a 'milde construction.'" And he warns us against pressing the parallel too far, as well he may, since both spider and butterfly are male. He ignores, not only the directing stanzas of the introduction, but also the entire story and central idea of a hapless butterfly swept into the web of *Envy,* not *Love.* His parallels are not parallels of the situation of the poem, but mere similes or metaphors in which the method of a spider or

the fabric of the web is compared. He makes no use of anything else in the poem, of the incidents or parts of the story, and merely centers attention upon a metaphoric conceit. Again, Mr. Long would have profited by a careful reading of the first two stanzas of the poem, with which it is only fair that we should refresh the reader's mind, since we have so insisted upon their importance.

> I sing of deadly dolorous debate,
> Stir'd up through wrathfull Nemesis despight,
> Betwixt two mightie ones of great estate,
> Drawne into armes, and proofe of mortall fight,
> Through prowd ambition and hartswelling hate,
> Whilest neither could the others greater might
> And sdeignfull scorne endure; that from small jarre
> Their wraths at length broke into open warre.
>
> The roote whereof and tragicall effect,
> Vouchsafe, O thou the mournfulst Muse of nyne,
> That wontst the tragick stage for to direct,
> In funerall complaints and waylfull tyne,
> Reveale to me, and all the meanes detect
> Through which sad Clarion did at last declyne
> To lowest wretchednes: And is there then
> Such rancour in the harts of mightie men? [10]

According to these lines the poet has in mind some "dolorous debate" between two prominent persons who have been "drawne into armes." These two have been led by their ambition and hatred from "small jars" or bickerings to a state in which neither could endure the scorn and might of the other, and finally they come to some proof of their strife in an attempt at arms. The poet then beseeches the tragic muse to reveal the root or cause by which Clarion, presumably one of the "two of great estate," fell "to lowest wretchednes"; and he closes the stanzas with the significant question, "can such hatred be

[10] *Spenser's Poems*, Cambridge Edition, p. 116.

in the hearts of mighty men"? Our questions are: Who were the "two of great estate"? who was Clarion? what was the notorious feud?

Spenser, we know, during the summer of 1589, but a few months at the most before the writing of the poem, had received the visits of Sir Walter Raleigh at his home in Ireland; and after the intimate acquaintance recorded in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again,* had returned with Sir Walter to England in the autumn of 1589 and been introduced to the Court. There he saw for himself things that he had known only by hearsay before. Raleigh, in their summer intimacy, if we may trust the account of it in *Colin Clout,* had told his friend all his troubles. Here we may anticipate our account of Sir Walter Raleigh by mention of the event which seems to be directly referred to in the first stanza of *Muiopotmos.* Hostilities, begun in 1587, between the young Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, broke out afresh on their return to Court after the expedition to Portugal, and culminated in December, 1588, in Essex's challenging Raleigh to a duel, which the Council prevented and kept secret from the Queen.[11] The first stanza of the poem pictures the relations of the two at this time with peculiar definiteness, as we shall see later.

Raleigh then went to Ireland, driven from the Court by Essex and his friends and somewhat out of favor with the Queen. There Spenser, in the intimate conversations of the visits, learned Raleigh's side of the matter, of which he had doubtless heard before. And we may imagine him, on his entrance to the Court circle with Sir Walter, a sympathetic but curious observer of the situation, anxious

[11] W. Stebbing, *Life of Sir Walter Ralegh,* p. 69; E. Gosse, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh,* p. 40.

indeed to find the source of his friend's distresses. The cause he found quickly, as the story of *Muiopotmos* clearly tells, in the hateful envy of Raleigh's rivals, of whom the young Earl of Essex was the tool.[12] But envy does not kill physically and the tragic fate of Clarion in the web of Aragnoll figures, or more accurately prefigures, not the real "death of a young courtier," but the fateful career of Sir Walter Raleigh in "the gardins" of the Court, where he was the prey of a virulent envy which even at this time may be regarded as fully operative and marked by inevitableness.

That we may have a clearer impression of the organic nature, real connectiveness, and purport of the story than is granted us by the commentators, it seems best to summarize the poem.

The young Clarion, of royal lineage, hoped by his old father to be worthy of his throne, disdained to remain at home in "loathsome sloth" or waste his hours in ease, and early set out to explore, not only his father's lands, but the higher regions of the air, the rivers, and the crystal sky, and "oft would dare to tempt the troublous winde."

But this adventurous butterfly, in his "vauntful lustihead," was still unsatisfied and set about to "fare abroad." So, arming himself in full and appropriate armour, butterfly as he was, he made ready to set out upon further adventures. After the description of the butterfly armour and the gorgeous wings, the poet stops to tell the story of Clarion's ancestry. His mother was the nymph Astery, whom Venus out of jealousy had transformed into a butterfly, the flowers which she had collected in her lap being transformed into the beautiful colors of her wings. So, in ex-

[12] W. Stebbing, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, pp. 61-62; E. Gosse, *Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, p. 35; Oldys, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, p. 84.

quisite armour and with his "shinie wings painted with thousand colours," the young Clarion set out on his adventures. But after trying all the delights, exploring woods, rivers, meadows, mountains, he still was unsatisfied. All these pleasures, however sweet, did not please his fancy or "cause him to abide." And now,

> To the gay gardins his unstaid desire
> Him wholly caried, to refresh his sprights.

There he tastes all the pleasures, sucks every sweet, tastes at will of every "vertue of the gardin good or ill" and when he has "fed his fill, embays himself in the warm sun,"

> And there him rests in riotous suffisaunce
> Of all his gladfulness and kingly joy-aunce.

But nothing "can long abide in state"; foreordained by the heavens was a cruel fate for the hapless young fly. A wicked creature, "foe of faire things and the author of confusion," the venomous spider, Aragnoll, whose mother was Arachne, had built his mansion in the gardens and soon spied the joyous butterfly flitting here and there, free, careless, unsuspicious of foe or danger. The envious creature set to work to weave his web to snare the hapless, careless fly, who, once entangled, struggled all in vain to free himself and in his struggles became all the more entangled in the meshes of the snare. At last he was at the mercy of his envious foe, who rushed out of his den and seized and greedily destroyed him.

And now let us follow the fortunes of the young Walter Raleigh up to the time indicated by the introduction of Spenser's poem. However silent later historians may be as to his high lineage, or whether it can be proved, Raleigh was believed by himself, and probably by his friend Spenser, to be of royal descent—descended, as his Devonshire

friend and relative John Hooker told him, from the Plantagenets through the house of Clare.[13] The genealogical information searched out by Hooker for his young friend was contested by Sir William Pole, another Devonshire antiquary of the time, and the older historians admit that there is no obtaining the absolute fact, since all the genealogies are conflicting. But it seems altogether probable that, in the intimate visits of the summer of 1589, Sir Walter had confided the information to his friend, even if Spenser had not read Hooker's *Epistle,* which was published in 1587. In this dedicatory address the old antiquary not only imparts to Sir Walter the information about his royal ancestry, but reviews his entire life, and uses the whole as the text for an exhortation to the young courtier. We shall refer more definitely to the whole later.

Although very little is positively known about Walter Raleigh's youngest days, we are certain of an active, restless curiosity and energy, and an early development. We find him very early, like the young Clarion, arming himself for adventure, not content to stay at home and finish his academic career at Oxford, but leaving college and setting out for the campaigns [14] in France at the age barely of seventeen, younger if the date 1554 instead of 1552 is accepted for his birth. The young Walter had taken the opportunity, probably offered by his young kinsman Henry Champernoun, who had been given the privilege by Queen Elizabeth of raising " a troop of a hundred mounted gentlemen volunteers for the Protestant side." But with his

[13] E. Edwards, *Life of Sir Walter Ralegh,* vol. I, pp. 2-5; *Epistle Dedicatory of John Hooker to Sir Walter Ralegh Knight,* etc., *Holinshed,* vol. VI, p. 101. Oldys, *Life and Works of Sir W. Ralegh,* vol. I, pp. 87-88.

[14] W. Stebbing, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh,* pp. 9-10.

characteristic energy and audacity, he anticipated the advent of the troops in France and reached there before Champernoun and his men, in time to have part in prominent battles and in the Huguenot retreat of 1569. He is thought to have remained in France about six years, between the years of seventeen and twenty-three. Then he served, probably from 1577 to 1578, in the Netherlands with Sir John Norris under the Prince of Orange, although he was in England between 1576 and 1578, probably, as Mr. Stebbing thinks, visiting his family and his half brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert who was at this time a commander in the English army.

He was back from his adventures in France, searching for advancement in London and enjoying life to the full, one may believe from the anecdotes of the period, if good gossip Aubrey is to be trusted. At any rate, Mr. Stebbing says it is on record that he was committed to Fleet with Sir Thomas Perrot for six days.[15] How early the privateering adventures began we are not made certain by historians, but in 1577-78 he was active with Sir Humphrey Gilbert and had probably obtained the means for his already noticeable social extravagances by this "west country art of privateering." He had by this time, as shown by his later correspondence, become known to Walsingham and Burghley, and had come into some "good means of allying himself" with Leicester.

In 1580 he was commissioned as captain of a hundred foot-soldiers to go against the insurgents at Munster and their Spanish and Italian confederates. He was with Lord Grey's army in November, 1580. In this Irish service the young adventurer found his curiosity, daring, and headlong energy satisfied, at least for a time. Mr. Stebbing says

[15] *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, pp. 11-17.

that he was "indefatigable" and "shunned no toil or danger, caring not if the enemy were five or twenty to one." [16] And the old continuator of *Holinshed* shows great zest and vividness in recounting his acts of coolness and courage.[17]

But Raleigh's curious energy and love of activity were not long satisfied in Ireland. Although there is every evidence that he enjoyed his part in the brutal policy he was aiding, at least so long as he was acting upon his own initiative, he soon became restless and dissatisfied with Lord Grey's policy and began correspondence with Walsingham and Leicester for his return. So he was sent home by Lord Grey in December, 1581, and made the notable visit to the Court upon which his entire career turned when, whether by the casting of his plush cloak before his mistress in the muddy way or by some introduction of Leicester or Sussex, he leapt into the Queen's good graces there to stay, although at great hazard, for a number of years; chosen by her as her own servant, not only for her pleasure in his personal attractions, but for his sagacity, his greater understanding, and his rarer gifts.[18] So,

> To the gay gardins his unstaid desire

had carried him, and there he sucked to his fill the sweets and the "vertues, good or ill that grew in this gardin," until he, too sure, too careless, was swept into the hideous web of Envy prepared for him.

Raleigh's charm of manner and person, and higher gifts of versatility and intelligence, all helped to raise him quickly in the Queen's favor over Leicester and Hatton, her favorites heretofore. And he had more influence with the Queen than these intriguing favorites, for his power lay in

[16] *Life of Sir W. Ralegh,* pp. 18-19.
[17] *Holinshed* (London, 1808), vol. VI, pp. 441-442.
[18] W. Stebbing, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh,* pp. 26-30.

his marvelous capacity and headlong courage and energy and in the open sincerity of a franker, more powerful nature which it pleased the Queen to know she was mistress of. For a few years then, few indeed, from 1582 to 1587, he tasted to the full all the sweets of royal favor. And he had a gift, as had his symbolic representative in Spenser's poem, for enjoying with frankest pleasure every activity that his versatility, courage, intelligence, and vanity found out for him.

Although his early activities were not definitely honored for some time by official position, still there is every evidence that from early 1582 he held an enviable position in the Queen's favor and was accepted among her counsellors, while he also enjoyed the honor of advising Burghley and having his advice noted by the Lord Treasurer. In 1584 he was elected a member for Devonshire and was knighted in the early part of the same year. In 1585 he became Warden of the Stannaries, and afterwards was appointed to the Lieutenancy of Cornwall and the Vice-Admiralty of the Counties of Cornwall and Devonshire. And later, in 1586, he received the most signal token of the Queen's favor by being appointed Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, an office held for several years by her favorite, Sir Christopher Hatton, in conjunction with the office of Vice-Chamberlain. And this favor looked apparently, says Mr. Stebbing, toward the Vice-Chamberlainship, since Sir Christopher had been made Lord Chancellor. These offices, it is true, carried no pay and Raleigh was left to gain his pecuniary advancement in other ways, which at any rate brought into play the aforesaid wit and energy in which he abounded. Finally, in 1586, he received the Irish Grant, with its twelve thousand acres and other shares and privileges. And in 1587 he added English estates to his Irish, obtaining by confiscation lands in Lincolnshire,

Derbyshire, and Notts, together with the confiscated goods and personalities.

I quote from Mr. Stebbing at this point in the career of this remarkable "butterfly of fortune."

"Five years separated the needy Munster captain from the Lord Warden of the Stannaries, the magnificent Captain of the Queen's guard, the owner of broad lands in England and Irish seignories. He had climbed high, though not so high as the insignificant Hatton. He had progressed fast, though another was soon to beat him in swiftness of advancement. He had gathered wealth and power. He was profuse in the application of both. Much of his gains went in ostentation. He was fond of exquisite armour, gorgeous raiment, lace, embroideries, furs, diamonds, and great pearls." [19]

Add to this picture that of the person of the brilliant young courtier, tall, splendidly handsome with "the general aspect of ascendency," an indomitable energy, will and wit, and a frank and free almost incontinent desire for all good things whether of power, labor, peril, strife, or the sensuous delights and gorgeousness of the "gay gardins" —and we have the Raleigh whom Spenser and others of his time saw rushing heedlessly on, in his lust for even richer fields to enjoy, into the snare of his enemies. With this picture in mind, Spenser's introductory stanzas and the allegory of the career of the joyous young Clarion and his enticement into the web of Envy are all too clear.

Already by 1587 [20] the mutterings of popular envy are caught along with the detractions of rivals and the note of unwholesome though romantic scandal among the multi-

[19] *Life of Sir Walter Ralegh*, pp. 39-40.

[20] W. Stebbing, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, pp. 58-61; *Holinshed*, Hooker's *Dedication*, vol. VI, p. 101; E. Gosse, *Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, pp. 32-35; Oldys, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, p. 83-84.

tude about his rich estates, his colonizing schemes, the Virginia plantation, and the new plants, fruits, and flowers which he had introduced. Mr. Stebbing says: "Apologists and impartial chroniclers are as distinct as enemies in intimating that he was a constant mark for 'detractions' and 'envyings.'" Yet it was by his most admirable qualities, from a modern point of view, that he gained the universal hatred which he attracted from all sides; his superior wit, independent energy and activity, and his frank, lusty enjoyment in using them made him by 1587 "the best hated man of the world, in Court, city and country," [21] and swept him into that hideous web of envy and malice from which, the remaining thirty years of his life, he struggled to disentangle himself, after the fashion of Spenser's Clarion.

But it was with more than popular envy that Raleigh had to contend. He was continually at the mercy of envious, deceitful rivals in whose way he stood and in whom he roused bitter hatred, in spite of his own frank and generous attitude toward them. And, as we have said before, it was in the young Earl of Essex, who appeared at Court in 1587 and instantly became a favorite, that these envious rivals found their willing tool.[22] It is not difficult to see how, when he appeared upon the scene, he found a quick and easy way to favor, not only by his petulant self-assurance and vanity and his capacity for ingratiation, but also because of the popular aversion to the favorite Sir Walter Raleigh. Mr. Stebbing again says: [23] "The popular attitude towards Essex is the solitary exception to the rule of the national abhorrence of favorites. It is explained as

[21] W. Stebbing, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, p. 61.

[22] W. Stebbing, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, pp. 61-62; E. Gosse, *Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, p. 35; Oldys, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, p. 84.

[23] W. Stebbing, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, pp. 61-62.

much by the dislike of Ralegh as by Essex's ingratiating characteristics. Animosity against Ralegh stimulated the courtiers and the populace to sing in chorus the praises of the step-son of the hated Leicester. No anger was exhibited at the elevation of a lad of twenty to the Mastership of the Horse. Stories of the Queen's supposed infatuation, how she 'kept him at cards, or one game or another the whole night, and he cometh not to his lodgings till birds sing in the morning,' amused and did not incense."

The vain, impetuous youth quickly caught at this popular aversion and played upon it. He pettishly and insolently demanded of the Queen that his hated rival be put out of his way, and used every opportunity to insult Raleigh.[24] Finally, after the return from the Portugal expedition, upon which both Raleigh and Essex had gone, Raleigh was, before the end of summer, again immersed in bickerings with Essex. And now, in December 1588, the insolent young favorite challenged Raleigh to a duel, for some unknown but such slight grievance as he is known to have used in the case of Lord Mountjoy.[25] The Council interposed in the case of Raleigh, averting the combat and endeavoring to suppress the fact from the Queen, "lest it might injure the Earl." Mr. Stebbing says in this connection that "the two could be bound over to keep the peace. They could not be reconciled. Too many indiscreet or malignant partisans were interested in inflaming the conflict." And in the spring of 1589 Raleigh quitted the Court for the West and Ireland, where Spenser met him in the summer of that year. Of this act Captain Francis Allen wrote to Anthony Bacon in August, 1589:

[24] E. Gosse, *Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, p. 35; W. Stebbing, *see note above.*

[25] *Life of Sir W. Ralegh*, pp. 69-70; E. Gosse, *Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, p. 40.

"My Lord of Essex hath chased Mr. Raleigh from the Court and hath confined him into Ireland." [26] This, of course, was Essex's boast to his friends, and Mr. Stebbing thinks was not accurate, because Raleigh was able to return after his visit of a few months to Munster. And Raleigh himself took occasion to deny the charge in a letter to his cousin George Carew in December, 1589. However, Spenser's evidence in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again,* based upon the confidences of the summer visits, indicates very certainly that Raleigh was out of favor with his Queen, and the lines also imply that the great Cynthia had been induced to abate her displeasure and take her favorite to her grace again.

It is to these events, then, and to this quarrel that I believe Spenser is alluding in the introductory stanza of *Muiopotmos.* The lines very definitely sum up the events and the situation in 1588-89—the intense, scornful, unendurable hatred of the two, and its culmination in the challenge. The second stanza intimates even more of the state of mind of the poet with reference to the affair. He had received the story from Raleigh evidently in the intimate talks of the summer before; but now, visiting the Court with his friend and meeting as friends the rivals and enemies of Raleigh, he must have been struck by the reality of the situation and curious of its source. We may infer perhaps by the analogy of his earlier works, *The Shepheardes Calender* and *Mother Hubberds Tale,* that Spenser was led by impulse to defend his friend and administer a light rebuke to his enemies, or felt impelled to warn Raleigh of the impending danger. In studying the situation he found, as we also gather from the historians, that Essex

[26] W. Stebbing, *Life of Sir W. Ralegh,* pp. 69-70; E. Gosse, *Life of Sir W. Raleigh,* p. 42.

was only manipulated as an engine and that all the forces of envy and hate were turned against Raleigh. But he accepted the popular attitude too finally and, like Raleigh's enemies, prophesied the inevitable too soon. Mr. Stebbing says, "The rank and file at Elizabeth's Court had a keen scent for their sovereign's bias. They foresaw the inevitable end, though they antedated by several years the actual catastrophe."[27] So did Spenser.

As to the time of the poem, so far as indicated by the events it refers to, I believe Craik is right in his conjecture that the individual date 1590 was prefixed to the poem, although it was published with the other poems of the volume *Complaints* in 1591, because 1590 was a better date to which to refer the "real events" indicated by the introduction. Indeed, early 1590, if not late 1589, would seem to be the most significant time for its composition. After the Earl of Essex's temporary fall from favor because of his secret marriage in April, 1590, Sir Walter Raleigh was, till his own downfall because of his marriage in 1592, in very good favor with the Queen and uppermost at Court, at least during the few months of Essex's retirement. There was at any rate no appropriateness in the date 1591. This, I think, Spenser indicated by the particular date 1590.

The poem, then, in view of these facts, "light and airy" as it is, because it tells the story of a butterfly, and mock-heroic perhaps, at least in a sense, since Spenser could not realize how fatefully true his allegory was to be,—is an illuminating picture of the career of Sir Walter Raleigh in "the gay gardins" of Queen Elizabeth's Court. The introductory stanzas remarkably summarize the relations of the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh during the

[27] *Life of Sir W. Ralegh,* p. 63.

years from 1587 to 1590. The second stanza indicates that the poet is not intending to deal with the relations of the two personally, but that he will select one of the rivals and show that hate and envy caused his downfall. Admitting the significance of the introductory stanzas and their applicability, we cannot fail to find the poem as a whole definitely allegorical.

It is not according to Spenser's method to carry his allegory too far or to give it a very literal application. But the story of the career of the young butterfly is marvellously suggestive of the career of the young Walter Raleigh to one who has a well defined picture of the first half of Raleigh's life in mind. First, as I have called attention to the point before, the young "flie," rather oddly if there is no signification in the detail, is of royal lineage and is the "fruitfull hope" of his old father's aged breast that his heir will prove worthy of his heritage. This cannot be taken literally, as indeed Spenser did not intend a literal interpretation of any of his allegorical genealogies.[28] But it almost obviously looks to Hooker's exhortation to the young Sir Walter when he tells him that he has come to retrieve his family's ancient name and honor and must be worthy of his trust. Compare the following from Hooker's *Dedication:* "Wherefore you are so much the more to be carefull to restore the house of your decaied forefathers to their ancient honour and nobilitie, which in this later age hath beene obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state,"[29] and other like passages.

[28] Compare the genealogy of Marinell, who clearly represents Sir Walter Raleigh, *Faerie Queene*, Bk. III, Canto iv, and Bk. IV, Canto xii. There is an interesting likeness in the characters of Clarion and Marinell.

[29] Dedicatory Epistle to Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, etc., *Holinshed*, vol. VI, p. 108.

I shall offer it as a conjecture that the name "Clarion" may indicate the family name *Clare* from which Raleigh was said by his antiquary friend to be descended. And another interesting parallel, which further corroborates my opinion that Spenser had lately read and was thinking of Hooker's *Dedicatory Epistle,* is found in his use of the word "silver-winged" as characteristically descriptive of the race of butterflies to which Clarion belonged.

> Of all the race of silver-winged flies,

is the first line of the story; and later,

> Lastly his shinie wings, as silver bright,

repeats the epithet. Hooker at some length describes Raleigh's coat of arms and "ensignes," and dwells upon the "white colour or silver" and its signification.[30]

The youthful curiosity and activity of the adventurous young fly, as depicted especially in the fourth and fifth stanzas of the poem, suggest vividly the youthful activity and adventurousness of young Raleigh. The adventures of Clarion are clearly those of a butterfly, yet many times they appear to have a double suggestion and to make one think of the early adventures of the sea-roving youth who earned from the poet the later epithet, "The Shepheard of the Ocean."

Compare:

> Whence downe descending he along would flie
> Upon the streaming rivers, sport to finde;
> And oft would dare to tempt the troublous winde.

The poet having in mind young Raleigh's adventures on the Devonshire coast and his privateering adventures on the sea, could not inconsistently represent his butterfly as flying over the ocean, but he pictures him more than once as

[30] Dedicatory Epistle, *Holinshed,* vol. VI, p. 109.

flying upon the "streaming rivers," and as tempting the "troublous wind" just as young Raleigh himself did many a time in his adventures at sea. At least Spenser's use of "rivers" thus interpreted does not involve an inexact reading of Chaucer's technical phrase for hawking, "for river," in *Sir Thopas,* but belongs to the natural picturesque imagery of the poetic conception.[31]

Then Spenser, with young Walter Raleigh in mind setting out at seventeen as a young soldier of fortune, had some other reason for arming his young butterfly than, as Mr. Nadal supposes, that of copying the conventional lines of Chaucer's arming of Sir Thopas. Not that he had not a fleeting reminiscence, very likely, of how Chaucer armed his toy knight, and of other conventional armings, but the real vision in his eye, or double vision, was that charmingly elusive one of a butterfly-knight in pure terms of butterfly. Here Spenser was indeed fancy free, and in this is the exquisite charm of the poem which has caught every reader and commentator. But withal there was the added interest of suggestion to Spenser's friends, who knew well the young courtier's "love of exquisite armour." And as we read the description of the butterfly's wings with their "thousand colours bejeweled like the heavens," the envy of all the ladies of the Court, we recall another picture of "gorgeous raiment, lace, embroideries, furs, diamonds and great pearls," which not only the ladies of the Court and the Queen herself did envy, but which more than once caused their possessor annoyance because coveted by someone else.[32]

There can be no question that "the gay gardins" or "this gardin" indicates the Court of Queen Elizabeth.

[31] See Mr. Nadal's article, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, vol. xxv, p. 647.
[32] E. Gosse, *Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, p 20.

The definiteness of the phrase is as significant as if the poet had said " the Court " where, as he also portrays in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again,* Envy had " lately built his hateful mansion."

I do not believe that Spenser conceived the poem in a truly mock-heroic spirit or manner. In fact we may doubt whether he really understood mock-heroic as Chaucer did —as ironic or burlesque imitation of the heroic. He used the device of a heroic introduction, but in all seriousness with respect to his material, and as he used it in other poems. And he bewailed in heroic fashion, in two stanzas preceding the catastrophe, the cruel fate of the " luckless Clarion." He appealed to the Tragic Muse as he had done, in absolute seriousness, at the beginning of the poem when he gave tragic direction to the story. Yet Mr. Nadal says, " There is especially to be noted that which moves through them all, binds them all together, and gives significance which otherwise they would not have,—the mock heroic spirit in which every description, circumstance, and incident of both poems is written." We must save ourselves from falling under the spell of Mr. Nadal's enthusiasm by referring to his parallels from time to time.

So far from being a " mere running frieze of images and scenes, linked together in fanciful continuity," the poem is in all parts clearly related, even in the mythical tales, one at least original with Spenser, which tell of the source and parentage of Clarion and Aragnoll and the cause of the Spider's " vengefull malice." I cannot agree with the several commentators that there is not a marked organic quality in the poem. The narrative moves straight and inevitably from the introductory stanzas. It is not in the least necessary, or indeed conceivable, that the poet in giving allegorical significance to the butterfly's story should tell it in detail absolutely fitting to the person whom he

represents. Such was not his method. The story is charming and consistent in itself, and the allegory is a harmonious unit. It is sufficient and really necessary for so exquisite a theme that the allegorical parallel drawn should be marked only by a general likeness, should suggest only generally the different periods of Sir Walter Raleigh's career, and should bear a general truthfulness to the real situation, as we have found it clearly does. Given, then, the first two stanzas with the poet's avowed intention stated in them, they cannot be ignored—for thereby hangs the tale.

This interpretation of the allegory makes no encumbrance upon the airily delicate conception of the poet. Indeed, the allegorical intention must have given rise to the phantasy of the butterfly, and the idea became fitted to the scheme in an exquisite adjustment, which at the same time gave the poet the opportunity to use the older conventional motifs with freshness and originality. "The gardin," the resort of the lustful, joyous butterfly, is only the mediæval garden or list of herbs and flowers, but as the final resort of Clarion and symbolizing with delicate suggestion the gorgeous Court of Elizabeth at its richest flowering, it becomes a vivid reality.

Spenser's plea to Lady Carey in the dedication to "make a milde construction of all things therein" is obviously explained by this interpretation, as it is not satisfactorily by Mr. Nadal's or Mr. Long's. Spenser shows the same concern as in other dedicatory letters, and well he might, about the construction put upon his allegories by his contemporaries. He so far succeeded in his delicately dressed satire of *Muiopotmos* that the poem has ever been, as Mr. Nadal says, a baffling allurement to critics.

JESSIE M. LYONS.

VII.—HITHERTO UNPRINTED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH *IPOTIS*

The relationship of the manuscripts of the Middle-English poem *Ipotis* has been studied in detail by Dr. Hugo Gruber [1] on the basis of the nine MSS. known to him.[2] In addition to these there are five others, four of which are printed for the first time below.[3] One of these, unfortunately a fragment, is of the greatest importance, since it carries back the date of the poem at least fifty years. On

[1] Hugo Gruber, *Zu dem mittelenglischen Dialog 'Ipotis,'* Berlin, 1887.

[2] For convenience I add at this point a list of the hitherto printed MSS. of *Ipotis*, with the symbols by which they are cited in the following discussion. To avoid confusion I retain the symbols employed by Gruber.

V, Vernon MS., fol. 296. Printed by C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, neue Folge*, Heilbronn, 1881, pp. 341 ff.

C, MS. Cott. Calig. A II, fol. 79b. Printed by Horstmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 511 ff.

A^1, B. M. Addit. MS. 22283 (Simeon MS.). A copy of *V*, according to Horstmann, who collates the readings of this MS., *op. cit.*, pp. 341 ff.

A, MS. Arundel 140, fol. 1.

B, MS. Ashmole 61, Art. 26, fol. 83-87b.

T, MS. Cott. Tit. A XXVI, fol. 163.
The variant readings of *A*, *B* and *T* are recorded by Horstmann in his print of *C*, *op. cit.*, pp. 511 ff.

B^1, MS. Ashmole 750, fol. 148a-159b. Printed by Gruber, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

D, MS. Douce 323, fol. 160-167. Printed by Gruber, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

B^2, Brome MS. Printed by Lucy Toulmin Smith, *A Common-Place Book of the Fifteenth Century*, Privately printed, Norwich, 1886, pp. 25 ff.

[3] The text of *Ipotis* which still remains unprinted is contained in York Minster MS. XVI, L. 12, fol. 58a-69b, as I am informed by Professor Carleton Brown. I have not been able to secure a transcript of this manuscript.

the basis of the earliest manuscript known to him—MS. Vernon, written about 1385—Gruber assigned the *Ipotis* to the second half of the fourteenth century. But in the light of the new evidence, the composition of the poem is pushed back to the very beginning of the century.

Two scraps of this oldest text are preserved in the Bodleian Library. The first is a single leaf containing sixty-two lines (MS. Eng. poet. c. 1, fol. 1) in a collection of fragments taken from bindings. The second scrap, preserved in a similar collection of fragments (MS. Rawl. Q. b. 4, fol. 90) gives the ten concluding lines of the poem. The identification of these two scraps as fragments of the *Ipotis* was made by Dr. Carleton Brown, who discovered further on comparing them that they are parts of the same MS. In the opinion of Mr. F. Madan, Bodley's Librarian, the hand of these fragments is that of the early fourteenth century. In printing the text of these fragments herewith, I place at the left the line numbers according to Ashmole MS. 750 (B^1), and at the right the Vernon line numbers.

FRAGMENTS (*F*)

I. MS. Eng. poet. c. 1 (Sum. Cat. no. 30516), fol. 1.

554	On a friday wytȝ milde mod	529
555	Godes sone tok fleus and blod	530
	Of þe maide mari,	
	Wyȝ oute wem of here bode.	
	þe vyfte resoun, I telle ȝou biforn,	
	On a frid nyht godes sone waȝ born	534
560	Of þe holi virgine,	(a)
	To brigge man fro helle pine.	(b)
	þe syxte resoun is of a vair enprised,	535
	How Ihesu Crist was circumsised.	536
	Opon a friday furst gan blede	(a)
	ffor þe gilt of oure misdede,	(b)
565	And for þe gilt of Adam & Eue;	549
	þe blod was bled for oure biheue.	550
	þe seueþe resoun	537

How saint Steue, godes mart*er*, 538
570 Opon a friday was staned to ded, 540
þurw Herowd and his false red. 539
þe eyhte resoun I may ȝow telle, 541
ȝe þat willen a stounde dwelle,
On a friday seynt Iohan þe baptyst
575 Was martird for þe loue of Ih*esu* Cryst,
In heruest after þe assumpcioun: 545
þe dey is cleped þe decollacioun. 546
þe nyþe resoun is fol goud,
How godes sone was don on rod 548
580 On a friday, as I þe telle, (a)
He bouhte mannes soule owt of hel[le]. (b)
þanne is þe tenþe resoun 551
Of our leuedyes assumpcioun.
On a freiday hee ȝeld þe gast
585 To hire sone þat he loued mast,
And now in heuene þat virgine is, 555
Bodi and soule for sothe i-wys.
þer he is kyng hi is quen,
Blessed mote þat time ben.
590 þe euleueþ resoun is fol trewe,
Of ye holi apostel seinte Andrewe, 560
On a friday was don on croys,
To god he cryede wyȝ a mylde voyȝ
And saide: "fader in trinite,
595 þis passioun I suffre for þe."
þe twelþe resoun wyȝ a mylde mod, 565
. . . . ene fond þe rod
. . . . . . friday . . . . . .
On þat rode Ih*esu* gan [dye.]
600 þar was þe croys i-founde,
. . . delve depe out of þe grounde. 570
. . . . it was unto a cite, (a)
Wyȝ fol gret solempnete (b)
þe þriteenþe resoun is verement 571
605 How god ffa . . . . e iuggement 572
[Up]on a friday wyȝ drery mod, (a)
Wy[þ] honden and fot & sides on blod: (b)
þarfore haue friday, man, in þi mynde; 579
Vor þise þriteene resouns i-write we finde 580
610 þ*at* Friday is a day of chaunce
Best to faste an do penaunce:
þe saterday after, sikerly,
. . . . . . to faste for loue of Mary;

	þurȝ hire we weren of bale vnbounde,	585
615	Y-blessed be þat ilche stounde.	(a)

II. MS. Rawl. Q. b. 4 (Sum. Cat. no. 16032), fol. 90.

634	"W . . . artou an euel aungel oþer a go . d?"	603
	þ[e] child ansuerde wyþ milde mod,	
	"Ich am he þat þe wrouhte,	605
	Ich am he þat þe dere aboute."	
	þe child into heuene wente þo,	
	To þe stede þar he cam fro .	
640	þ . . . p*er*our knelede vpon þe grounde	
	And þankede god þat blisful stounde	610
	And . . cam a god man as I þe rede	(a)
	. . . . and . . . almus dede,	(b)
	And louede god in alle wyse,	611
645	And leuede and deyede in his seruise.	612

These fragments (*F*), being at least fifty years older than any other manuscript of *Ipotis,* are of the highest authority in determining the relationship of the extant MSS. to the original text. Gruber, in his study of this problem, accepted the Vernon MS. (the earliest in his list), as representing essentially the original text, and accordingly regarded the deviations of the other MSS. from the Vernon as in most cases alterations of the original. It is interesting now to discover that *F* shows no special correspondences with the Vernon (*V*), but, instead, agrees closely with B^1. In more than a dozen instances B^1 is the only MS. which follows exactly the reading of *F*. Particularly notable is the case of v. 615, in which B^1 preserves precisely the reading of *F,* whereas all the other MSS. change the sense entirely.[4] None of the differences between B^1 and *F* involves

[4] B^1 *F* (vv. 614-15):

"þurȝ hire we weren of bale unbounde
Y blessed be þat ilche stounde."

V and all other MSS. (vv. 585-6):

"þorw hire we weoren al vnbou*n*de
And I-brouȝt out of helle grou*n*de."

a whole line, though in the case of the other MSS. such differences are frequent. The testimony of the fragments, therefore, indicates that *B′* best represents the original text, and that *V* is the variant. This conclusion receives confirmation from the other texts presented below, none of which, it will be seen, gives support to the readings of *V*. Of the three texts which are here printed for the first time, two are complete, but the third, (*J*), begins and ends imperfectly; it lacks the first 144 lines and breaks off at about v. 485, according to the numbering of the lines in B^1.

In printing B^1 and *D* Gruber numbered the lines according to the order in *V*. Miss L. T. Smith also adopted the Vernon numbering in printing the Brome MS. But *V* transposes many lines and shifts the position of many passages; consequently much confusion results when *V*'s numbering is imposed upon the other texts. The logical course in printing these texts would be to adopt the line numbering of B^1, which best represents the original text. On the other hand, to discard the line numbers of *V* would cause much inconvenience inasmuch as these numbers are employed throughout by Gruber in his discussion. Hence I have placed at the left of the text the numbering according to B^1 and at the right the numbering of *V*. In discussing the texts all lines will be cited according to the numbering in *V* unless otherwise stated.

TRINITY COLL. CAMB. MS. B. 2. 18 (*Tr.*)

fol. 95b Alle þ*at* willen of wisdom lere, 1
2 Lestneþ to me & ȝe mowe here
Off a tale of holy writte—
Seint Iohn þe wangelyst witnesse hit—
5 What be felle in gret Rome, 5
6 þe chieff Citee of Cristendome.
9 The nobill Emper*o*ur of Rome þan 9

10 Was clepid be name Sir Adrian. 10
7 þan a childe was sent of mythtes moste 7
8 þrow vertu of þe hooly goste. 8
11 & when þe childe of gret honoure 11
12 Was come before the Emp*er*our,
þe childe on kneys faire hym sette,
The Emp*er*our þan faire he hy*m* grette.
15 þan asked þe Emp*er*our w*ith* mylde chere 15
Whenys þe childe comen were.
The childe þan answerde apliȝt:
"ffrom my ffadir I came nowe right,
ffro my ffadir, ȝ*at* heye Iustice,
20 To teche þam þ*at* ben not wyse 20
Ne fulfilled in goddis lawes."
þe Emp*er*our answerd in his sawes:
"þan art þou come wisdome to teche?"
þe childe hy*m* answerd in his speche:
25 "He is wyse þ*at* heuen may wynne 25
& kepe hym out of dedly synne."
The Emp*er*our seide w*ith*outc blame:
"Childe," he seyde, "what is þi name?"
"Mi name is hoot Ipotys,
30 Moche can I tell of heuen blys." 30
"Childe," he saide, "what may heuen be?"
"Sirre," he saide, "a place of goddis p*ri*ueytc."
"& what," he seide, "is god almyht?"
þe childe answerde anone right:
35 "He is w*ith*oute be-gynnynge, 35
& shall be w*ith*oute endynge."
þe Emperour seid: "I haue selcowth.
What came first of goddis mouþe?"
þe childe þan answerde annone:
40 "þer offe spekiþ þe appostill Iohn, 40
In his gospell alle & som.
In principio erat verbum,
þ*at* was þe first be-gynnynge
þat euyr spake our heuen kynge.
45 In þ*at* worde was the sonne, 45
ffadir & þe holy goste to gedir won,
Thre p*er*sones in Trinytee—
& none may fro other be."
The Emp*er*our seide þan ful euen:
50 "Childe, hast þou ben in heuen? 50
How fele heuenes haþ god almyth?"

	"Seuen," seide þe childe apliȝt,	
	"The heyest heuen þat may be	
	Is of þe holy Trinitee.	
55	Ther is þe ffadir *with* the Son,	55
	The holy goost to-gedir won,	
	Thre p*er*sones in oon godhede,	
58	As clerkes in holy bokes rede.	
	The ij^e heuen is full fre,	
	Men & wome*n* þer in to be.	
63	The gret Ioye ne may no man tell	63
64	Til domys day þogh he spell.	64
65	The thirde heuen is liȝt cristall,	65
	ffull of ioye and sot smale;	
	ffor men & women þ*at* place is diȝt,	
	þat louen god *with* all her myht.	68
	þ*at* gret ioye may noman spell,	(68a)
70	Til domys day þogh he tell.	(68b)
	The iiij^e heuen is godeliche,	69
	ffull of p*re*cious stones & riche;	70
	ffor Innocentes þ*at* place is diȝt,	
	þ*er* eu*er* is day & neuer nyght.	
75	The ffyfte heuen is longe & brode	
	& is fulfeld of goddis manhode.	
	Gyff goddis manhode ne were,	75
	Alle þis worlde forlore were.	
	ffor þrowe þe passiou*n* of his manhede,	
80	Heuen blisse shall ben oure mede.	
	The sixte heuen holy chirche is,	
	fful of goddis angelys, ywys,	80
83	þat of hym syngeth day & nyght,	
(a)	Of his strengh & of his myght.	
	The seuen heuen is, so seiþ þe story,	
85	Is paradys afftir purgatory,	
	Whan þ*at* soules han done her pen*au*nce,	85
	Ther shull þei dwell *with*outen destaunce.	
	þes seuen heuenes, se*r* Emp*er*our,	87
89	Hath god oure dere saueoure."	87–1
89–(1)	The Emp*erour* seide þus aplight:	(2)
fol. 96a	"Tell me, childe, anone riȝt,	
	ffro þe nethereste heuen of þe seuen,	
	How meche it is vnto þe heyest heue*n*?"	(5)
(5)	þe childe answerd anone þere:	
	"A man þ*at* myȝt leue CC ȝere,	
	& eu*er*y day þat he myght goo,	

Euene XXX mile & twoo,
At his last day, sekir þou be, (10)
(10) þat ȝit were he but þe maiestee.
Be-twene euery heuen, I þe pliȝt,
Seuen þousaid mile ben vpright."
The Emperour þan seide, "be goddis grace,
þan is þer a wele faire place. (15)
(15) & tell me, childe, sone anone,
ffro þe nethereste Sterre of euerychone
How moche space it is y-founde
Hedir doun vnto the grounde?"
The childe answerd anone þere: (20)
(20) "A man þat mytht leue an hondred ȝere,
& myȝt gone euery day
Seuen & twenty mile of iournaie,
& at þe laste day he were y-founde
ȝit he ware a mile fro þe grounde."
(25) The Emperour þan seide sekirleche:
"þan is a sterre wele moche,
þat hedir doun to grounde ritht
ȝeueþ to vs so moche light."
The childe þan answerd anone: (30)
(30) "þe leest sterre of euerychone
Is as moche, as men rede,
As all myddelerth of lenþe & brede.
þan is þe mone, I telle the,
As moche as sterres thre. (35)
(35) þan is þe sonne, I tell þe sone,
As moche as twys þe mone."
The Emperour, þan seide: "sekirleche,
þan is goddis myht wondir moche."
"Sirre Emperour," he seide, "I tell þe, (40)
(40) þi soule shall so white be,
& shall com to heuen as slepely,
In space of twynglynge of þi eye."
The Emperour þan seide: "I pray the
Off oon þinge þat þou telle me, (45)
fol. 96a Alle þe soþe giff þou me canst tell
The lengh & þe brede of hell."
The childe seide, "þat I wel may,
& alle þe soþe þeroffe I wil þe say.
Six þousand mile it is longe, (50)
(50) & eke sixe hondred of peyn stronge,
& sixe hondred of brede it is,

& eke sixe mile more, ywys.
And ȝiff it wele y-straught,
More be a mannes bowe draught. (55)
(55) þis is the lenghe & þe brede
As so men fynde i*n* holy Boke to rede.
Off þe depnesse of it I may tell noȝt,
80–(58) ffor þe dedly synne þ*at* þer in is wrouȝt."
90 þan seide þe Emp*er*our anone right, 87–(60)
"How fele Ordres ben of angles bright?" 88
The childe answerd anone to hy*m*,
"Nyne orders of angles þ*er* ben In. 90
The ffirst ordre is Cherubyn,
95 & þe secou*n*d is seid Seraphyn,
þe thirde ben seide Trones,
& þe ffourþe ben seid D*omi*naci*on*s,
99 And þe v^{e} ben seid Potestates, 95
98 & þe sixte is called Pryncipatys,
100 & þe vij^{e} virtutes is,
& the viij^{e} ordre angelica, ywys,
The ix^{e} ordre is archangeli:
103 & þus eve*ry* ordre in his partie 100
103–1 Haþ C^{ml} & xxij^{ml} of blisfull sp*iritus* 100–1
& eke ccxxij^{ti} & ij^{e} odde i*n* alle, ywys.
Afftir þe trewe diuisiou*n* of þe scripture,
As þus telleþ the gret Docture.
(5) Seynge þus in þis holy Texte, –(5)
As afftir sueþ in þes wordes next,
Mille milia ministrabant ei et,
Decies centena milia assistabant ei,
–(9) & þes ix^{e} Ordres in beste maner 100–(9)
105 To serue þe gode lorde boþ fer & nere. 102
But þe tenþe ordre shall manhede ben,
To fulfill þat place aȝen,
In heuen be þ*at* ilke syde, 105
þat fellent oute w*ith* Lucyfer pryde.
110 Than shall þe manhode of god almyght
Ben oure Prynce & lorde, & þ*at* is riȝt;
& ou*er* all oþ*er* fruit he shall be,
113 W*ith* the ffadir in Trinitee." 110
118 The Emp*er*our þan seide: "I þe pray, 117
What made god þe ferste day?" 118
120 þe childe answerd þan euene: 118(1)
"Angeles & archangl*es* in heuen, (2)
& þis worlde of so gret nobley,

God made on þe fferste day.
On the Moneday verament, 119
125 God made the ffirmament; 120
Son & mone shynynge bri3t,
& ffele sterren þ*er* on to gyff li3t.
& on þe twyesday, 3e shull vndirstond,
God made the see & þe londe,
130 Wellis fele & watres fresshe, 125
To tempre þe erþe harde & nesche;
Erbes he made, tree & gras,
& oþir þinges þ*at* his wille was.
On þe Wenysday god almyght
135 Made ffisshe in flode & ffoule i*n* fli3t. 130
& bade hem aboute þe worlde wende,
ffor to helpe alle man kende.
On þe þursday god made bestys alle,
Boþ diu*er*se be downe & dale,
140 & 3aue hem erthe to her fode, 135
And bade hem turne mankende to gode.
& vpon þe ffriday god made Adam,
& afftir his face & gaffe hy*m* nam.
On rybbe of hym he gan to take
145 & made Eue of it to ben his make. 140
143 & made hym man of myght moste 141
144 And 3aue hym the holy goost. 142
151 & the Satirday for3ate he nou3t. 145
150 He made for man all þ*at* he had wrou3t.
þis day he blissid w*ith* gode wille,
& alle his werkes boþe loude & stille.
154 & eu*ery*chon in his partie 149
he bad he*m* cresse & multiplie
On þe sonday god reste toke,
As clerkes fynden in her boke, 152
& co*m*maunded alle mankynde
þ*at* ilke reste to haue in mynde.
160 þilke day shulde noman wirche 155
But bedis bidde & go to chirche,
& to kepe þem oute of dedly syn,
þ*at* þei ne fallen not þer Inne." 158
The Emp*erour* þan w*ith* wordes mylde
165 He gan asken þan of the childe:
167 "Off how fele þinges was Adam wro3t 164
166 Tell me, childe, giff þou canst ou3t?" 163
The childe answerd & seid: "Of seuen, 165

	& wiche þei ben I will ȝou neuene.	
170	Slyme of þe erþe wan on of þoo,	
	& watir of þe see god toke þerto,	
	Of þe sonne & of þe wynde,	
	& off the clowdes, as I fynde,	170
	& off þe stones be see coste,	
175	& also of the holy goost.	
	And of þe erthe is ma*n*nes flesshe,	
	& off watir his blode so nesshe,	
	Off þe sonne his hert & his wittes,	175
	His godnesse & his gode þankes,	
180	& off þe cloudes his wittes beþ,	178
	& off þe wynde is his breth,	177
	& of þe stone is made his bane,	
	& off þe holi goste his soule name.	180
	Loo, Emp*er*our, Sir Adrian,	
185	Off þus fele þinges is made man.	
	But eu*ery* þ*at* leueþ here	
	Is made in diuerse manere:	
	He þ*at* haþ of þe erþe most,	185
	He shall be heuy, wele þ*ou* wost;	
190	& boþe in worde & eke in dede,	
	& in oþ*er* þinges as I rede.	
	He þ*at* haþ most of þe see,	
	In trauaill hy*m* shall leef to be,	190
	To coueite londe & leede	
195	& alle shall hym faill at his nede.	
	Hit fareþ be þis worldes gode	
197	As be an hebbe & be a fflode,	
(a)	Now hit is tus & now it nys,	195
(b)	But fewe þenken þer on ywys.	196
198	He þ*at* haþ of þe wynde most myȝt,	201
	þrowe riȝt resou*n* he shall be light,	
200	Hastyff of hert & wilde of þouȝt,	
	& spekeþ many wordes þ*at* helpiþ hy*m* noȝt.	
	He þ*at* haþ of son most plentee,	205
	Hoote & hastyff shall he be,	206
	A stronge man & gret of myght,	207
fol. 7a, col. 1.	And in his hert he shall be liȝt.	208
	He þ*at* of þe cloudes haþ most foy[soun]	197
207	He shall be wyse be gode reso[un]	198
(a)	Boþ in worde & eke in dede,	199
(b)	And in alle þinge as I rede.	200
208	He þ*at* of þe stone moste is wro[uȝt]	209

	He shall be trewe in hert & in [þouȝt]	210
210	& in trauaill truste & trewe,	
	& *with* resou*n* of hewe.	
	He þat haþ moste of þe holy goste,	
	Heuen he shall haue in hert m[oste]	214
	Gode worde, gode þouȝt & gode d[ede]	215
215	þe pore to cloþe & to fede,	
	& to loue god and holy chirche,	
217	And oþir pen*au*nce for to wirche."	
(a)	Tho be-spake the Emp*er*oure,	
(b)	"Tell me childe, p*ar*amoure,	
218	þou spakest lang ere of þe see,	
	Tell þou me, what it may be?"	
220	The childe þan seide: "Be heuen [kinge]	
	A wilde way of wendynge,	
	ffor swiche man myȝt saile þ[er Inne]	225
	þat neu*er*e londe ne shulde fynde."	
	The Emp*er*our þan seide: "Childe, I þe [pray]	
225	Off oon þinge *þat* þou woldest m[e say,]	
	What tyme did Adam amys,	
	Wher fore he loost paradys?"	230
	þe childe seide, "At vndir tyd[e]	
	& or mydday he lost his prid[e]	
230	An angell drof hy*m* in to dese[rt]	
	W*ith* a briȝt brennyng swerd[e,]	
	& þere to leue in care & wo[o]	236
233	He & all his of sprynge eu*er* m[oo.]"	235
240	The Emp*er*our seide: "It s*er* . . .	
	þat Adam was so gret a ffoo[le.]	
	How fele synnes did Adam,	
	Wher fore he oure kynde n[am.]"	240
	The childe seide: "Vijᵉ w*ith* ou[te mo,]	
245	Sacrilege was one of þo,	
246	ffornicac*io*n was oon of þe[se,]	
247	Eke auerice & also coueyt[yse,]	244
250	& in pride he synned ill[e]	247
251	Whan *þat* he wrouȝt afft[er his wille.]	248

[A gap here, owing to the cutting away of fol. 97a, col.2, and fol. 97b, col. 1.]

fol. 97b, col. 2.	Dauid, Moyses and Abrah*am*	337
341	& all þe gode w*ith* hym he nam.	
	He lad hem in to Ioye & blisse,	
	þer ioye was & euer more is,	340
	& sone afftir his vprisynge	

345	He steyed to heuen, þ*er* he is kynge,	
	& on his fadir riȝt hand he sette hy*m* þan,	
	& þ*er* he is blissfull kynge & man.	
	þ*at* ilke god o*mni*potent	345
	Shall come at þe day of Iugement	
350	To deme men afftir here dede;	
	He is vnwys þat nell it drede.	
	þe gode to Ioye, þe wikked to peyn	
	þ*at* ioy may noman devyne	350
	þ*at* þei shall haue for her. s*er*uice	
355	þat serueþ god in alle wyse."	
	The Emp*erour* seide: "Be heuen kynge,	
	Childe, þis is a faire vndoynge.	354
	& tell me, childe, giff þou can,	357
	Wher *with* þe ffende begileþ most man.	
360	& I pray þ*at* þou me tell	
	What draweþ ma*n*nes soule most to hell."	360
	þe child seide, "sy*n*nes ffyve,	
	Amonge mankynde þei ben full ryve.	
	Wikked þouȝt of mannes hert,	
365	While he is heill & querte;	
	Sclaundre is a noþer shame,	365
	To brynge a man in yuell fame,	366
	But giff he hym make þer off clere	366a
	His soule goþ to heell fire;	b
370	þan is pryde also anoþ*er*,	367
	Lecherie[5] is the thirde broþ*er*,	368
	Lecherie is þe fourth	
	on of þe worst abou*en* erþe	370
	The Ve is coueytyce, as I ȝou tell,	371
375	þ*at* many soules it draweþ to heell.	372
	[A]s seint Poule it witnesseþ i*n* his story,	
	[þ]at in þe peynes off Purgatorie	
	[f]for coueitous men þ*er* in is dight	375
	[A] wheel of brasse rennynge so briȝt,	
380	[ff]ull of hokes a bouen and vndir,	
	[&] whan hit goþ it fareþ as þondre.	
	As full of soules it is hanggynge,	
383	[As] eny þ*er* may be oþir thrynge.	380
(a)	[A] wilde ffire among hem renneþ	380–(1)
(b)	[þa]t þe soules al to-brenneþ.	(2)
fol. 98a col. 1.	& whi coueytice is likned to a whell	(3)

[5] Deleted by dots and a line.

385 I wil þou tell faire & wele. (4)
A man in his ȝouþe hopeþ to haue þe pris (5)
Whan he hym ȝeueþ to coueitys; (6)
In þe myddell of his age he nel not
amende hy*m*, (7)
But atte laste he deyeþ þ*er* Inne, (8)
390 & certeynly, as I þou tell, (9)
Wi*th* outen doute he goþ to hell. (10)
Coueytice ne haþ ende noo deell 381
& þ*er*fore it is likned to a whell. 382
But þe syn of p*ri*de þ*at* is so bolde,
395 It is[6] moche wers many folde;
ffor angels þ*at* weren in heuen briȝt, 385
þ*at* weren so faire & so light,
ffor here p*ri*de god gan wreche take,
& seþin þei becamen ffendys blake,
400 & fellen dou*n*, as I ȝou tell,
Into deppyst pitte of heell. 390
& som ben ȝit amonge mankyn
& maken hem to do many dedly syn,
þ*er*fore schryue þe wel of þi pride,
405 Or þe wormes eten þi side.
ffor when þi body ligh in grounde, 395
& þi soule in woo & peyn ybounde,
ffull sore shalt þou þan smert
þat eu*er* þou bare pride in hert. 398
410 ffor p*ri*de is a syn most of myȝt 398–(1)
þ*at* stynkeþ gretly on Ih*es*us siȝt. (2)
Lecherie is þ*at* oþir wik & wik oþir, (3)
& is one of þem þa ful bad broþir. (4)
The lechour weneþ þat noo lyffe nys (5)
415 So swet a lyfe as his lyff is. (6)
(a) & som women, as I ȝou tell, (7)
(b) Many soules drawen to heell; (8)
ffor in holy writte it is ysette, (9)
417 þ*at* lecherie is þe ffendys mette. (10)
420 & gloteny I wil discriue, 399
Amonge mankynde it is full ryue. 400
þe ffende is full glad whan he may lache
Dronken ffolke when he may hem cache.
ffor þan þei sweren as þei weren wode
425 Be Cristes hert & be his blode,

[6] *wers*, deleted before *moche*.

fol. 98a col. 2	& vpbraideþ hy*m* of his passiou*n*	405
	& þ*er*fore þei han his malisou*n*.	
	& but þei hem shriue of glotonye,	
	In hell shall be her baillye."	408
430	The Emp*er*our þan seid w*ith*oute destau*n*ce,	408–(1)
	"What letteþ a man to do pena*un*ce	(2)
	Agayne god oure sauyour?"	(3)
	The childe þan seide: "þinges foure.	(4)
	Slouþ is on & shame is þe toþ*er*,	(5)
435	& wanhop, is þe thirde broþir.	(6)
	The iiij^{e} is w*ith* oute fable,	(7)
	þat god is so merciable,	(8)
	ffor he wille of men take no wreche,	(9)
	Gyff shryft of mouþe may be her leche."	(10)
440	þe Emp*er*our seide: "Soþe is þis,	457
	Bot what bringeþ a man most to blis?"	460
[*V* here inserts 20 ll. (409-428). *Tr.* makes 2 lines of *V* 457-60.]		
	þe childe answerde aȝen & seide:	461
	"Gode worde, gode þouȝt & gode dede;	462
	ffor þ*er* was neu*er* no wikked dede y wrouȝt,	462–(1)
445	Bot at þe begynnynge þ*er* was a yuell þouȝt.	(2)
446	Ne þer nas neu*ere* no gode doynge	(3)
447	But þ*er* was a gode þouȝt atte begynnynge.	(4)
452	A gode ded is more of myȝt	467
	Agayn god in heuen liȝt,	468
	ffor a man may w*ith* a gode dede	469
455	Wyn heuen blisse to his mede."	470
(a)	The Emp*er*ou*r* seide: "I pray þe,	429
(b)	On þinge þou tell me,	430
472	Off how fele synnes vnscryue	
	Agayne god ne shull not be forȝeue?"	
	þe childe seide þan: "Synnes two,	
475	Misbeleue is oon of þoo.	
	Many man nelle for no resou*n*	435
	To beleue on þe incarnaciou*n*,	436
480	& þ*at* Crist deyed on þe Rode tree,	445
	þei willen not beleue þ*at* it may so be;	445–(1)
	& steyed to heue*n* wher*e* þ*er* he is kynge,	(2)
	& bot þei it beleuen in alle þinge,	446
	S*er*teynly, as I ȝou tell,	447
485	Wiþ outen ende he goþ to heell.	448
(a)	& whanhope is þat oþir syn,	449
(b)	þ*at* many man deyeth þer In.	450

fol. 98b. col. 1.

(c) Agayn god when man haþ gylte, 451
(d) The ffende to wanhope sone hy*m* pilte." 452
486 "Than þenkeþ me," q*uod* Emp*er*our þoo, 471
"þat syn wircheþ to man full gret woo.
But wher*with* myȝt a man hy*m* were,
þ*at* the ffende scholde hym not dere?"
490 The childe seide *with* a gode deuocioun: 475
"To þenke on goddis passiou*n*,
Howe þ*at* he kneled on þe mont of Olyuete, 437
& for dréd of deþ he gan blode to swete, 438
And afftir was bonde to a piler longe, 439
495 & was betyn sore *with* skurges stronge, 440
500 & bare his cros vn to Caluerie, (1)
& siþen þer on he he gan to deyé; (2)
& þenke wele on his smert 477
503 & haue wele his passiou*n* in þine hert." 478
534 The Emp*er*our þan *with* wordes mylde, 509
þus gan aske þo the childe, 510
Whi men fasten þe ffriday so comenleke 511
More þan eny oþir day in þe weke. 512
The chylde þan answerd hy*m* aȝen,
"ffor xiije resou*ns* þ*at* þer offe ben,
540 The ffirst resou*n* tell I can, 515
Vppon ffriday gode made man,
In þe vale of Ebron þrow his *gr*ace;
He made hy*m* afftir his owne face.
The toþ*er* resou*n*, þou myȝt me leue,
545 Vp on þ*at* day Adam and Eue 520
Losten Paradys, as I ȝou tell,
& weren dampned in to heell,
The thirde resou*n*, I þe tell,
549 On þe ffriday Caym slow Abell, 524
& Caym for his wikked doynge, a
Hadde þe curs of þe heuen kynge. b
552 The iiije resou*n* is full swete, 527
Gabriell oure lady gan grete,
& vppon hir *with* mylde mode
555 Goddis sone toke flesshe & blode." 530
558 The ve resou*n*, I tell þe beforne, 533
559 On a ffriday Ih*es*us was borne, 534
560 Of þ*at* holy & blissed virgyn, 534–(1)
To brynge oure soules oute of peyn. (2)
The vje resoun is wel co*m*mend & preysed, 535

fol. 98b, col. 2.	*þat* ihesu crist was circum*c*ised,	536
	Vppon a ffryday & þat first gan blede	536–(1)
565	ffor þe gilte of oure mysdede.	(2)
568	And þe vij^{e} reiso*un* tell I can,	537
	How Seint Stheuen, þe gode man,	538
570	On a ffriday was stoned to deed,	540
	þrow wikked & fals mennes rede.	539
	The viij^{e} resou*n* I wil ȝou telle,	541
	ȝiff ȝe willen a while dwell,	
	How on a ffriday Seint Iohn Baptyst	
575	Was martired for þe loue of Ih*es*u crist,	
	In heruest afftir the assu*m*pciou*n*,	545
	On þe ffeste *þat* men cleppeþ decollacou*n*.	
	The ix^{e} resou*n* is wondir gode,	
	þat goddis son deyed on the Rode,	
580	Vppon a ffriday, as I ȝou tell,	
	To brynge oure soules out of heell.	550
	Then is seide þe x^{e} reisou*n*,	
	Off oure ladyes assu*m*pciou*n*,	
	ffor vppon a ffriday she ȝelde þe goste,	
585	To hir son þe she loued moste.	
588	þ*er* he is kynge she is quene,	557
	Blissed mot þei boþe ben.	
590	The xj^{e} resou*n* is ful trewe,	
	Off þe apostell Seint Andrewe,	560
	þat vppon a ffriday was done on croys,	
	& to Ih*es*u he cleped w*ith* mylde voys,	
	& seide: "ffadir god in Trinitee,	
595	Alle þis peyn I suffre for þe.'	
	The xij^{e} resou*n* is full gode,	565
597	þat Seint Eleyn fonde þe Rode.	566
600	ffor vppon a ffriday þe cros was fonde,	569
601	þat was doluen depe oute of þe grounde.	570
604	The xiij^{e} reisou*n* is verrament,	571
605	þat god shall ȝeue þe gret Iugement,	572
	Vppon a ffriday w*ith* sterne mode,	572–(1)
	W*ith* handes & ffeet & sydes on blode.	(2)
	Man þ*er*fore haue þou be ffriday in mynde,	579
	ffor þes xiij^{e} resones *þat* I ffynde.	580
610	The ffriday is þe v^{e} day of chau*n*ce,	
	& beste to faste & to do trewe pen*au*nce;	
	& þe Satirday afftir þat sekirly,	
fol. 99a col. 1	Is best to faste for our lady.	
	þrow hir were we alle vnbounde,	585

615 & bouȝt oute of helle grounde,
ffor she is cleped the well of m*er*cie,
Tho þ*at* to hir clepen or crye,
To wasshen hem & to make clene,
619 Alle þo that in synne bene. 590
622 ffor of hir spronge þ*at* swete ffloure, 590–(1)
Ih*es*u crist oure Sauiour. (2)
I-blyssed mote þei alle be, 593
625 That seruen wele þ*at* mayden free." 594
627 The Emp*er*our þan seide also ȝerne, 596
626 To þe childe w*ith* wordes sterne: 595
"Childe," he seide, "I comaund þe, 597
628 In þe name of þe Trinitee, 598
ffadir & son and holi goste, 598–(1)
Tell me childe, er þou gooste, (2)
632 þ*at* þou tell me þe soþe saye, 601
Er þou hens wende awaye, 602
Wheþ*er* þou be an yuell au*n*gell or gode?"
635 The childe þan answerd in his mode,
"I þ*at* the hath of noȝt wroght, 605
& þ*at* the so dere haþ bouȝt."
The childe þan steye to heuen þoo,
To þ*at* place þ*at* he came fro.
640 The Emp*er*our þan kneled on þe grounde,
& þanked god þ*at* ilke stounde, 610
& became a gode man as I Rede,
643 In bedys & in almesdede.
646 Seint Iohn the Ewangelyste,
þ*at* tyme he ȝede in erþe w*ith* I*he*su criste.
This tale & Boke he made, 615
& holy he writte it in p*ar*chemyne.
650 Than he co*m*maunded all mankende,
þ*at* þis tale or Boke to haue in mynde.
652 And þus endeþ this talkynge, 619
(a) & god gr*aunt* vs gr*ac*e of gode endynge,
(b) & here amendem*ent* off all oure synne,
(c) Er body & soule dep*ar*ten atwynne;
(d) & þat the ffende ne þere offe haue noȝt,
fol. 99a col. 2. Off þ*at* at god hath so dere bouȝt.
(f) But, lorde, off þi gret gr*ac*e gr*aunt* vs
in heue*n* a place,
(g) & to haue þe swet siȝt of þi glorio*us* face,
(h) And gr*a*unt to vs þ*at* it so bee,
(i) And seiþ all ȝe amen, amen, for charitee. Amen.
Here endeþ the Booke off Ipotyse.

B. M. Addit. ms. 36983 (A^2)

fol. 264a.

1	Alle þat wille of wysdom lere,	1
	Herkeneþ to me & ȝe schulle here	
	Of a tale of holi write,	
	Seynte Ion apostele witnessiþ hit,	
5	As hit befelle in grete Rome,	5
	þe chefe cyte of cristendome.	
	A childe was sente of myȝtes most,	
8	þrouȝe vertu of þe holy gost.	8
11	Whane þe childe of grete honoure,	11
	Was come to for þe Emp*er*oure,	12
	A downe on knee he hym sette,	13
	þe Emp*er*owre well fayre he grete.	14
9	þe Emp*er*owre of Rome þan;	9
10	Was cleped Sir Adriane.	10
15	þe Emp*er*owre wiþ mylde chere	15
	Asskede from wham he come were.	
	þe childe onswerede þo apliȝte:	
	"ffrom my modere I com now riȝt,	
	And from my fadyr þe hye iustice,	
20	To teche men þat buþe not wysse,	20
	Ne ffulfylde in goddus lawe."	
	þane seyde þe Emp*er*oure in his saw,	
	"þane arte þou wisse, wisdom to teche?"	
	þe childe answerde *with* myld speche:	
25	"He is wise *þat* heuene may wyn*ne*,	25
26	And kepe his soule from dedely synne."	26
31	þe Emp*er*oure seyde: "Whate may heuine be?"	31
	"Syr," he sayde, "goddys pryuete."	
	"What," he seyde, "is god allemyȝte?"	
	þe childe answerd amonge riȝte:	
35	"He is *with* oute begynnynge,	35
	And schalle be *with* oute endynge."	
	þe Emperowre sayd: "I haue selkouþe,	
	What come firste of goddis mouþe?"	
	þe childe onswerd þo anon,	
40	*þer* of speket þe postelle Ion,	40
	In his gospelle all & sume.	
	In principio erat verbum,	
	þis was þe first worde as . . .	
	þat euer spake oure heuene king.	
45	*With þat* worde was þe fadir & þe . . .	45

46 þe holy gost togedyr þ*er* co . . . 46
49 þe Emp*er*oure sayde þo: we . . . 49
50 " Child, þou hast be in heuen*e*, 50
How felle heuen*us* haþ god all . . .
" Seuene," sayde þe childe apliȝ[t]
þe hiest heuene þ*at* may be
þ*ere* is þe holy trinite.
55 þ*er* is þe fadir & þe sonne 55
þe holi gost togedyre wonne,
þre p*er*sons in one god hede,
As clerkes in bokes doþe rede. 58
þ*at* ioye may no man discriue,
60 Lord ne lady þ*at* is on lyue.
þ*at* oþer heue*n* his gostly fayre,
A lowere degre þou myȝte desayr[e]
þ*at* yoye may no name telle, 63
Tylle domus day in þouȝte ne in s[pell.] 64
65 þe þrid heuene schynyþ as cristall, 65
ffulofioye & swete smalle.
ffor confessours þ*at* place is diȝte,
68 To serue God fulle of myȝte.
71 þe ferþe heue is golde liche,
ffulle of precyous stones riche. 70
[7] . . . ffor innoce*n*tes þ*at* place is dyȝt,
þ*er* is day & neu*ere* niȝte.
75 þe fyrfte heuene is long & brode,
And fulle of goddis manhode.
And ȝif goddus manhod nere, 75
All þis worlde for lore were. 76
fol. 264b. [For] þrouȝe his passyon and his manhode
80 [Heu]ene blysse schalle be oure mede.
[þe] sixte heuene holy chirche is,
[Full] of holy aungel*es* y wys. 80
83 [þat si]ngeþ boþe day & niȝt,
(a) Of his strengeþ & of his miȝte.
[þe] sewnte heuene, so seiþ þe story,
85 [Is] paradyse aftir purgatory.
[W]hen soules haue don her penaunce, 85
þer schulle þey dwelle *with* oute distaunce. 86
[þ]es buþe þe seuene heuen*us*, Sir Emp*er*oure, 87
[þat] haþ God oure sauyoure." 87(a)
90 þe Emp*er*oure sayde anone riȝt: (b)

[7] *ruhe,* deleted.

"How felle orderus be þ*er* of angelus briȝt?" 88
þe childe onswerde aȝeine, 89
"Nyne orderus in heuene þer ben. 90
þe fyrste is Cherubyn,
95 And þat oþ*er* is Seraphine,
þe þrid is tronus,
And þe ferþe is dominac*io*unes.
And þe fyfte is principates, 95
And þe sexte is potestates,
100 þe seunte vertutes ys,
And þe eyte angelica, y wis.
þe nynte is archangeli,
And eu*er*y prynse haþe his party. 100
Many þousande angels to his banere,
105 To serue hym boþe fer & nere.
þe tenþe ordyr schall mankynd be,
To fulfille þ*at* plase aȝe 104
þ*at* Lucyfer les for his pryde, 106
þ*er* fore to helle gan he glyde. 106(a)
110 þ*er* schalle monhode be of god almiȝte, 107
111–112 Aboue alle oþer and þ*at* is riȝte." 108
118 þe Emp*er*owre seyde: "I þe prey, 117
fol. 264b, col. 2. What made god þe furste day?" 118
120 þe childe onswerde þo fulle euene, 118(a)
"Angels archangels and heuene. (b)
þ*at* werke wiþ grete nobelay, (c)
God made þe sonnday. (d)
þe monnday aftyr uerement, 119
125 God made þe firmamente, 120
Sonne and mone to schyne bryȝte,
And þe sters þerin he piȝte.
þe twesday, I vndurstonde,
God made þe see & þe londe,
130 Wellus fayre & waturs freche, 125
To temper þe erþe hard & nesche,
Erbus treys & gras,
And all oþer þinge as his wille was.
þe wedunesday made Gode Allmiȝte,
135 ffische in watur and foule in fliȝt, 130
And bade ham aboute þe world wende,
ffor to helpe all man kynde.
Apone þe þursday god made vale
Bestus, boþe in doune and dale,
140 And ȝafe hem herbes to her foode, 135

	And bade hem turne mane to goode.	
	On þe fryday God made Adam,	
	And aftur his schape formede hym to man.	
	And a rib of hym gan take,	
145	And ȝaf hym Euene to his make,	140
148	And made hym man of myȝttes most,	
149	And ȝaf hym life of þe holy gost.	
146	A grete lorde he gan him make,	144
147	Alle paradyse he gan hym take,	143
150	And made him lorde of alle þ*at* he wrouȝte.	145
	þe saturday forȝate he nouȝte;	
	þ*at* day he blissed w*ith* wille	
	Alle his werkus boþe longe & stille,	
fol. 265a.	And bade hem waxe and multiplie	
154	Eu*er*ychon in her partye.	150
156	Apon þe sonnday God rest toke,	151
158	And comau*n*dede alle man kynde,	153
	þ*at* day rest to haue in minde.	
160	þilke day schulde no mon wyrche,	155
	Bot serue God & holy chirche.	
	And kepe hem from dedely synne,	
163	þ*at* he falle not þ*er*in."	158
(a)	þe Emperoure sayde: "I prey þe,	161
(b)	Bot oo þinge þ*at* þou telle me,	162
166	ȝif þou conste me telle ouȝte,	163
	Of how fele þinges man ys wrouȝt."	164
	þe childe onswerde & seyde, "Of seuene.	165
	Whiche þei ben I wolle ȝow neuene.	
170	Erþe slime is on of þoo,	
	Watur of þe see God toke also,	
	Of þe sone & of þe wynde,	
	And of þe cloudes wretyne w[e] finde;	170
	And of þe stone by þe see coste,	
175	And allso of þe holy goste.	
	Of þe erþe made is mannes flesche,	
	And of water his blode nesche,	
	Of þe sone his herte is bouels,	175
	His mekenes and his good þewus.	
180	Of þe clowdes his wittis buþe,	178
	And of þe wynde is made his breþe.	177
	And of þe stone is made his bone,	
	And of þe holy goste his soule alone.	180
	Lo, Sir Emperoure Adrian,	
185	Of þes þinges is made man.	

þerfore eche man in his worlde here,
So þis ys of diu*er*se manere.
He þat haþe of þe erþ most, 185
fol. 265a, col. 2. He schalle he heuy, welle þow wost.
190 Heuy in þouȝte and dede,
An in oþer þinges so we rede.
He þ*at* hathe most of þe see,
Eu*er*e in trauayle he schalle be, 190
And moche coueyte londe & lede,
195 And alle schalle fayle hym at his [nede.]
Hit faruþ by þis worldus good
As doþ by a nebe & a flood. 194
He þ*at* haþe of þe wynde moste myȝt, 201
Be riȝte resonne he schalle be liȝt, 202
200 Sauage in worde & in þouȝte, 203
201 And speke wordus þ*at* buþe nouȝte. 204
206 He þ*at* haþ of þe clowdeþ, most fus[oun] 197
207 He schalle be wis be riȝte resun*ne*. 198
(a) And be ware in word and dede, 199
(b) And in oþer þingus men to rede. 200
202 He þ*at* haþ of sonne moste plente, 205
203 Hye and hasty he schalle be,
204 Stalworþe mon of moche myȝte,
205 And be riȝte resoune he schuld be liȝte.
208 He þ*at* of þe stone moste is wrouȝte,
He schall be stedefast in word & þouȝt[e] 210
210 And in trauayle trwste & trewe,
And by riȝte resoun pale of hewe.
He þ*at* haþ moste of þe holy goste,
He schall haue in herte moste,
Good þouȝte, good worde & dede, 215
215 þe pore naked to cloþ and fede.
Loue welle God & holy chirche,
217 And oþ*er* penaunce for to worche."
(a) þe Emperoure sayde: "þis may be,
(b) Bot o þing I pray þe telle me. 220
218 þou speke ere whyle of þe see,
I wolde wete what hit myȝte be."
fol. 265b. þe childe onswerde *with* oute lesynge,
"A wylde way hit is to wyndynge,
Suche way þou myȝte seche þ*er* *in* 225
þ*at* þou schallte neu*er* londe wyn."
. . e þe Emperowre sayde wiþout delay,
225 "Telle me, child, I þe pray,

What tyme dyde Adam amisse
When he lost paradyse?" 230
þe childe sayde, "At mydmorue tyde;
At mydday he les his pryde,
230 An angel hym drofe into deserte,
Wi*th* a bri3te bren*n*yng swerde,
þ*er* to lyue in care and woo, 236
233 He and his ofspringe eu*er* moo." 235
240 "Alas," sayd þe Emp*er*oure for doule,
241 "þ*at* Adam was so grete a foule!
How many synnes dyde Adam,
Wherfore he oure kyngdom by nam?" 240
"Seuene," he sayde, "wi*th* oute moo.
245 Sacrilage was on of þoo,
246 ffornicac*i*oun was on of þese,
247 Enuye, wraþe & couetyse. 244
250 Gloteny in pryde[8] . . . synnynge ille, 247
251 Whanne he wrou3te aftur þe fend*us* wille, 248
256 And[9] . . . fulfilled his owne talente, 253
257 And dide þe fend*us* comau*n*demente, 254
252 And nou3te aftur þe heste of God, 249
253 Whenne he toke þ*at* he was forbode. 250
267 In sacrylege he synnede als, 258
266 And helde þ*at* goddus lore was fals, 257
Whanne he couetede more, 259
þanne he had nede fore. 260
270 Whenne paradys was at his wille,
271 No wondir þou3e God lyked ylle.
þerfore I helde hym more þan wode,
261 Whenne he stalle þ*at* was hym forbode.
fol. 265b, col. 2. Certeynly, as I 3ow saye, 265
263 Worþi he was for to deye.
258 Man slau3te he dyde I-nouþe,
259 Whanne he his owne sowle slouþe,
234 And alle þ*at* eu*er* wi*th* hym came[10] 270
235 þe deuil away wi*th* hym name. 269
272 In glotonye he synned ylle, 271
Whanne he pute hymselfe to þ*at* p*er*ille,
Whanne he þ*at* apulle gon take,
275 þ*at* god forbede hym & his make.
276 Sleuþe he dide worst of alle, 275

[8] *semy* deleted. [9] *fulled* deleted.
[10] *þe deuil* wi*th* *hym away* deleted.

Whenne he in þ*at* synne was falle.
He hade no grece for to ryse,
þo come god in his wise
280 And saydede: 'Adam, what duste þ*ou* nouþe?'
Adam answered þo w*ith* mouþe: 280
'Lorde, I here þe a pliȝte,
Bot I haue on þe no syȝte.'
Oure Lorde to Adam sayde,
285 'Man, why deste þou þ*at* dede?'
Adam answerde aȝen w*ith* wille, 285
'Eue tysed me þer tylle.
Sche made me to doþ þ*at* dede."[11]
Oure Lorde to Eue seyde,
290 'Woman, why wrouȝttest þou þ*at* p*er*ille?'
'þe addur, Lorde, me gaune bygille.' 290
Oure Lorde sayde to þe addur þoo,
"Worme, why wrouȝttest hem þ*at* woo?'
þe fende onswerde w*ith* maystrye,
295 ffor I hade to hem envy,[12] 294
þ*at* þey schulde haue þ*at* blysse, 295
þ*at* I for pryde gonne to misse.'
Oure Lorde sayde to Adam þanne,
'ffor þi gilte,' he sayde, 'manne,
fol. 266a. þou schalte tylle þi mette w*ith* swynke & swote,
301 And suffir boþe colde and hote.' 300
304 To Eue sayde oure Lorde heuene kyng,
305 'Womon, for þi wikede tysynge,
þou schalte be vndure mannes hest,
In moche trauayle woo and cheste,
And bere þy fruyte w*ith* gronyng sore, 305
þou and þine ofspringe eu*er* more.'
310 Oure Lorde sayde to sathanne,
'In forme of worme þou temtest mane,
Vpon þu wombe I coma*n*de þe þou glyde,
And alle þ*at* buþe by þy syde 310
Of þe schulle be a ferde.
315 þer schalle come into myddellerde,
A virginne schalle be borne blyue,
þ*at* all þi pouste schalle to dryue.'
þus Adam lyued in erþe here 315
319–20 Nyne vndrede & two & and þritty ȝere

[11] *Oure Lorde lethe sayde to þea euy seyde* deleted.
[12] Text has corrupt reading *eiroye*.

And whanne he dyede to helle he name, 318
(a) And alle þ*at* eu*er* wiþ hym came. 318(a)
Adam soule was in helle þere, 320
ffuore þousand and sexe h*u*ndred ȝer*e* & more, 319
And foure ȝere & tydes seuene, 321
325 Til þ*at* myȝtefulle kyng of heuene
Kude þ*at* he was of myȝttus moste,
And sente downe þe holy goste,
And lyȝte in þe mayde Mary, 325
W*ith* oute weme of hur body.
330 þritty wyntyr and þre & a halfe ȝere
Goddis sone ȝede on erþe here,
And fourty dayes for vs he fast,
þe Iewes nome hym at þe laste, 330
334 And dyde goddus sonne on þe rode,
(a) And bouȝte vs wiþ his swete blode.
336 And seþe he wente into helle,
fol. 266a, col. 2. þe fendus pouste for to felle,
And fette oute Adam & Eue. 335
And oþer mo þ*at* were hym leue.
340 [13] Moyses, Dauid & Abraham,
Alle þe goode w*ith* hym he name,
And ladde ham into paradyse,
þer ioy and blysse eu*er* is. 340
And seþine aftur his vp-risinge
345 He stye to heuene þ*er* he is kyng.
In his fadur riȝte honde he sette h[ym þanne]
þ*er* he is soþefast God & manne.
þer aftir schalle God omnipotente 345
Come at þe day of iuggemente,
350 And deme men afftur her dedis—
He is vnwysse þ*at* hit not dredes—
þe good to yoye, þe wickede to pyne;
þ*at* ioye may no mane deuyne, 350
þ*at* þey schulle haue for her seruyse,
355 þ*at* seruen god in alle wisse."
þe Emperoure sayde, "By heuene king*e*
Childe, þis was a fayre endynge. 354
Tylle me, childe, ȝif þou con, 357
359 Where w*ith* þe fende most tempede ma[n] 358
362 þe childe onswere, "W*ith* synnes fyue, 361
Among mankind þei beþe full riue.

[13] *and* is deleted.

Wycked þouȝte in mannes herte,
He þ*at* is holy and in querte.
Man slauþe is oþ*er* schame, 365
367 þ*at* bringeþ man to wickede fame. 366
370 P*ri*de is þe þride broþer,
372 Lecherie is þ*at* oþer, 369
374 And couetyse I þe telle, 371
375 þis doþe mannes soule to helle.
Seynte Poule witnessiþ in his story,
In þe peyne of purgatory,
fol. 266b. For Couetyse a welle is diȝte, 375
Of brasse brennyng briȝte,
380 Ffulle of hokes abuue & vndure,
381 Whanne hit goth hit semeþe þundir.
384 Alle fulle of soules it is likened to a well, 379
385 I wolle ȝow treuþe telle. 379 (a)
386 Man in his ȝouþ getiþ hym p*ri*ce, (b)
387 And ȝeueþ hym alle to cou*e*tyse. (c)
[In] his medylle ende will not blyn, (d)
But endiþ riȝte soo þ*er* in. (e)
390 Serteynly, as I ȝou telle, (f)
391 W*ith* outyn ende he goþe to helle. (g)
394 Bot p*ri*de be þou bolde, 383
He is wors a hundrede folde.
ffor aungels þ*at* were in heu*in* liȝt, 385
So fayre & eke so briȝte,
ffor her pride God gan wreche take,
þ*at* þey become fendes blake.
400 And fellen a downe, as I þe telle,
In to þe neþermoste pitte of helle. 390
And sum buþ amonge mankynne,
To tyse men to dedely synne.
þerfore schriffe þe of pride,
405 ffor wormes schulle ete þy syde,
And þi body lyge vndyr grunde, 395
And þi soule in woo bounde.
Sore miȝte þou þo smerte,
þ*at* eu*er* haddest pryde in herte. 398
410 P*ri*de is synne moste a pliȝte, 398 (a)
þ*at* stynkeþ on God fulle of myȝte. (b)
Lecheri is þe ferþe, (c)
On of þe worste aboue erþe. (d)
þe lechore þinkeþ þ*at* no lyfe nys (e)
415 So merþ at þ*at* is. (f)

In holy write hitte is sette (h)
fol. 266b, col. 2. þ*at* lechori ys þe deuollus nette. (i)
Kepe ȝow alle frome þ*at* synne, (j)
þ*at* ȝe falle not þerin. (k)
420 Glotony I schalle discryue, 399
Amonge mankynde hit is fulle ryue. 400
þer w*ith* þe fennde wynnuþ fale,
Whanne þey beþe dronke at nale.
þey crye and swere as þey be wode
425 By Crystes herte & his blode,
And hym brayde of his passione; 405
þ*er* fore þey haue his malyson*ne*.
Bot þey schryue ham of her glotony,
In helle schalle be her baly." 408
430 þe Emperoure sayde: "þis is an hard chaunce 408(a)
431 Whatte lette þe men to do penaunce?" (b)
434 "Sleuþe is on, schame ys anoþ*er*, (c)
Whannehope ys þ*at* oþer broþer. (d)
þe ferþe is w*ith* oute fabille, (e)
þ*at* God is so merciabille. (f)
He nil of no mon take wreche (g)
ȝef schrifte wolle be his leche." (h)
440 þe Emperoure sayde: "Soþe is þis. (i)
What bringeþ a man moste to heuene blysse?" (j)
þe childe I-onswerde & sayde, 461
Good worde, þouȝte & dede. 462
446 Was þer neu*er* good doynge, 462(a)
447 þ*at* good þouȝte was at begynnynge. (b)
444 þ*er* was neu*er* wicked dede wrouȝt, (c)
445 Bot þe begynnyng was euil þouȝte. (d)
448 Who þ*at* w*ith* hym haþe good speche, 463
And his foo wolle of hym take wreche, 464
450 He may w*ith* good speche, here he wynde 465
Of his fo make his frende.
And goode bede do most of miȝte,
Aȝens God in heuene liȝt.
A man may w*ith* good dede
fol. 267a. Wynne hym blysse to Mede." 470
þe Emperoure sayde: "þis I leue. 415
Bot, childe, take þou not in greue,
Telle me, childe, ȝefe þou cane,
How mony deþes may dye mane?"
460 þe childe onswerde: "In deþus þre,
I wolle þe telle whiche þei be. 420

	þat on deþe ys bodylyche here,	421
	þat is secyned in erþe here.	421(a)
	þe body and soule schalle parte a towo,	424
465	Here on erþe *with* moche woo.	424(a)
	þat oþer deþe is deþe of schame,	425
	ȝif man dyeþ in wiked fame.	
	þe þrid, so say þes clerkis,	
	ȝef he haue no parte of good werkis."	428
470	þe Emperoure sayde: "I beseche þe,	
	O þinge, childe, þou telle me.	430
	How many synnis þer beþ me deseriue	
	Aȝens god schulle not be for ȝeue?"	
	þe childe seyde: "Synnes two;	
475	Misbeleue ys on of þoo.	
	Many man nil for us resoune	435
	Beleue in þe carnacione,	436
	þat god toke flesche & blod of Marye,	436(a)
	With oute weme of her bodye;	(b)
480	And þat he dyde on þe rode tree	445
	þey wile not leue þat hit so be—	446
	And stye to heuene þer he is kynge.	446(a)
	Bot þey hit leue in alle þinge,	(b)
	Certeynly, as I þe telle,	447
485	*With* oute ende he goþe to helle.	448
(a)	Whanhope is þat oþer synne,	449
(b)	I rede þat on man be þer in	(a)
(c)	Whanne he haþe aȝens god donne gilte,	451
fol. 267a, col. 2.	þe fende to whannehope þan him [pilte]	452
(e)	þat he nil no mercy craue.	453
(f)	ffor þat whanhope wrete I fy[nde]	455
(g)	He goþe to helle *with* oute ende."	456
486	þe Emperoure sayde: "Seþe hit [is so]	471
	I assent welle þer to.	
	Childe, where *with* may mane hym [were]	
	þat þe fende ne scholde hym dere?"	
490	þe childe sayde: "*With* goode deuocioun,	475
	þinke welle in goddus passione,	476
	How he knelede in Olyuete,	437
	And for drede of deþ blod ganne s[wete]	
	And stode bounde to a pillar longe,	
495	And was bete *with* scorgis stronge,	440
498	þat his bodi þer he stode	443
499	Ranne in his owne blode;	444
500	And bare þe cros to Caluerey,	(a)

	And seþ on þe rode ganne dye;	(b)
	And þinke on his wondis smerte,	477
	Haue his passioune in þine herte.	
	þer *with* eche man may hym were	
505	þ*at* þe fende ne schall hym dere."	480
	þe Emperoure seyde: "I leue hit welle,	
	þ*at* hit be soþe eu*ery* dele.	
	But telle me, childe, ȝef þ*o*u cane,	
	What penaunce likeþ God best of ma[n]?"	
510	þe childe sayde: "Penaunce þre,	485
	I wolle þe telle whiche þey be.	
	ȝif a man be in trew chaunse,	
	And ledeþ his lyfe in trew penaunse,	
	And kepeþ hym from þe fend*us* fondyn[g]	
511	And saueþ hym from alle foule lykyng,	490
	God ys a payde wiþ þat enprise,	
	He schalle haue heuene for his seru[ise.]	
	In oy[14] þinges God in herte,	
	A man þ*at* is large in pouerte,	
fol. 267b.	And takeþ his pouerte stylle,	496
521	And þonkeþ God *with* goode wille,	495
	And wolle gladliche helpe & forþ*er*	
	His euene cristen *with* his power,	
	And ȝif he may helpe no more	
525	Bot her pouerte a rew sore,	500
	He schalle haue heuene at wille	
	At his endynge & þ*at* is skylle.	
	þe þride þinge payþe God moche,	
	A man þ*at* is in erþe riche,	
530	And ys come of riche kynne,	505
	And forsakeþ þis worlddis wynne,	
	And ȝeuiþ hym to pouerte,	
	þ*er*fore in heuene schall he be."	
	þe Emperoure sayde *with* word myld,	
	And þis ganne aske of þe childe,	510
	Why men fast freyday so moche	
	More þen on oþur dayis in þe weke.	
	þe childe onswerde þo aȝene,	
	"ffor xiij resons þ*at* þ*er* ben.	
540	þe fyrst reson telle y kan,	
	Apon a freyday God made Adam.	
	In þe vale of Ebrone þrouȝe his g*ra*ce,	

[14] Sic.

And furmede aftur his swete face.
þe secunde resoune þou myȝte me leue,
545 On fryday God made Eue, 520
þ*at* lost paradys soþe to telle,
And seþen were dampned to helle.
þe þrid resoune, I þe telle
Apon a fryday Caym slouþ Abelle,
550 þe furste martyr for soþe apliȝte, 525
551 þ*at* was I-martered for God almiȝte. 526
(a) And Caym for þ*at* wikede doynge, 526(a)
(b) Haþ þe cors of heuene kyng. (b)
552 þe fourte resoune is fulle swete; 527
fol. 267b, col. 2. Whanne Gabriell oure lady can grete 528
Apon fryday *with* mylde mode, 529
555 Godus sone toke flesche & blode. 530
558 þe fyfte resoune, I þe telle before, 533
Apon a fryday god*us* [sone] was bore, 534
560 Of þe swete wirgyne, 534(a)
To brynge mannes soule oute of pyne. (b)
þe sexte resoune is fayre of pryse, 535
Whanne Ih*es*u Crist was circu*m*sis; 536
Vpon a Fryday fyrst ganne bled, (a)
565 ffor oure gylte & oure mysdede. (b)
572 þe swente resoune I can ȝow telle, 541
ȝe þ*at* wolle a stounde dwelle.
Apon a fryday seynte Ion baptyste,
575 Was martered for loue of Criste,
In þe herueste aftur assu*m*pcyoune,
577 His day is clepud decollacioune. 546
568 þe viijte resoune telle I can, 537
Aponne a fryday Steuene, godd*is* manne, 538
Was stoned to þe dede, 540
þrouȝ þe fals Heroud*us* rede. 539
578 þe nynte resoune ys fulle good, 547
þ*at* goddus sonne dyed on þe roode, 548
On fryday, as I ȝow telle, (a)
To brynge mones soule oute of helle. (b)
This is þe tenþe resoune, 551
Of oure lady assumpcione,
þ*at* on a fryday dyed & ȝelde þe goste,
585 To her sone þ*at* sche louyd most,
And now in heuyn þ*at* virgyne is, 555
Body & soule for soþe, ywis.
þe Cryst is kinge & sche qwene,

Blessed mote þat tyme bene.
590 þe xjte resoune is fuulle trewe,
How þe postelle saynte Andrewe, 560
On a fryday was don on croys,
fol. 268a. To Gode he cleped *with* mylde voys,
Ande sayde: 'fadir in *tr*inite,
595 þis passyou*n* I suffre for þe.'
þis is þe xij resoune, as clerkis seyne, 565
597 How þe virgyn Elyne 566
600 Haþ þe holy cros founde 569
þat dolfe was depe in þe grounde, 570
And bore was into þe cyte, (a)
Wiþ grete ioy & solennyte. (b)
þe þrittene resoune is veramente, 571
605 þat God schall ȝeue þe iuggemente, 572
Apon a fryday wiþ drere mode, 572(a)
With honde and fote and sydus of blode. (b)
Manne haue fryday in mynde, 579
609 ffor xiij resounes þat we fynde 580
612 þe Saturday aftur, securly, 583
613 Good is to fast for oure lady. 584
624 Blessid mote þei alle be, 593
625 þat serueþ þat maydewiþ herte fre." 594
þe Emperoure sayde, wiþ wordes sterne, 595
To ȝe childe he sayde ȝerne:
"Childe, I comaunde þe,
In þe name of þe *tr*inite,
630 And of þe passioune of Ih*esu* Criste,
And of his deþe & of his uperiste 600
þat þou me soþe saye,
Or þou goo from me away,
Wheþur þou be wicked angel or goode?"
635 þe childe onswerde *with* mylde mode,
"I am he þat þe wrouȝte, 605
And he þat þe dere bouȝte."
þe childe wente to heuyn þo,
To þe stede þat he come fro.
640 þe Emperoure kneled on þe grounde,
641 And þanked God þat blissed stounde. 610
(a) And heryed hym of his swete grâce, (a)
fol. 268a, col. 2, þat he had sey his face. (b)
642 þe Emperoure bycam a good man as [I rede] (c)
643 In bedis biddyng and almes dede, (d)
644 And serue God in alle wyse, (e)

645	And come to heuene for his seruyse.	(f)
(a)	God leue þat so mote we,	(g)
(b)	Ame(n) amen for charite.	(h)
	Explicit liber Ipotyse.	

St. John's Coll. Camb. ms.. B. 7 (*J*)

fol. 1a.		
144	And sithe one of his rybbys gan he take,	139
145	And made Eue ther of to bene his make.	140
150	He made hym lord of that he hadde wroght;	145
	The Satirday forgat he noght,	
	That day he blyssed with goode wille,	
	All hys werkys lowde and still.	148
	Euery werke in hys party,	150
155	He had hem waxe and multiply.	149
	The Sonday god reste toke,	
	Als we fynde wrytyn in boke,	
	And he co*m*maunded all mankynde,	
	That reste schoulde haue in mynde.	
160	That day schoulde no man wyrche,	155
	Bot bedis byddyn and go to chirche,	
	And kepyn hem frome dedly synne,	
	That they ne falle noght ther*e* Inne.	158
	The Emperour with wordes mylde.	(a)
165	Than gan askyn thus the chylde	(b)
	ȝiffe he couthe tellyn hym oght,	163
	Of how fele thynges Adam was wroght.	164
	The childe answerd and seyde: "Of seuyn,	165
	Which þei bene I shall hem nevyn;	
170	The slyme of the erthe was one of tho,	
	Water of the see god toke als so;	
	Of the sonne and of the wynde,	
	And of the cloudes wrytyn we fynde;	170
	And of the stones be the sce coste,	
175	And als so of the holy goste.	
	Of the erthe is mannes flesche,	
	And of the water is blode nesche,	
	Of the sonne hys hert and hys bowaylis,	175
	Hys meknesse and hys goode thewis.	
180	Of the cloudes hys wittes bethe,	178
	And of the wynd is made hys brethe.	177
	Of the stone is made hys bone,	179

And of the holy gost hys soule all one. 180
Lo, syr Emperour, goode Adrian,
185 Of these thinges god made man,
And therefore euery man here
Is made of diuerse manere.
fol. 1 b Who so haue of the erthe moste, 185
He schall bene heuy wele thow woste;
190 Heuy in thoghte and in dede,
And in other thynge mo als so I rede.
Who so haue moste of the see,
In trauaile he schall ay be; 190
He schall couette londe and lede,
195 And that schall fayle hym at hys nede.
ffor it fayreth be thys worldis goode,
197 As be ane ebbe and be ane flode.
(a) Nowe it ne is and nowe it is," 195
(b) So seithe the chylde Ipotisse. 196
"Who so haue of the wynd moste myght, 201
Be ryght resoun he schall be lyght;
200 Sauage of hert and of thoght,
201 And speke mykel that tornethe to noght. 204
206 Who so hauethe of the cloudes most fisoun, 197
207 He schall be wise be ryght resoun;
(a) And be wer in worde ande dede,
(b) And in other thynge mo als so I rede. 200
202 Who so of the sonne hath moste plente, 205
Hote and hasty schall he be,
And a stalworthe man of myght,
205 And in his hert he schall be lyght. (a)
Who so of the stone is moste wroght,
He schall be stedfaste in worde and thoght 210
210 And in trauaile troste and trewe,
And be reson pale of hewe.
Who so hathe moste of the holy gost,
He schall haue in herte moste,
Goode worde, goode thoght and dede, 215
215 The pore to clothe and to fede, (a)
And loue wele god and holy chirche, 217
217 And other penaunce for to wirche."
(a) The Emperour seide, "Childe, this may wel be,
(b) Bot one thynge I preye telle thowe me. 220
218 Thowe spoke langere of the see,
Telle me what it may be?"
fol. 2a. The chylde seyde with oute lesyng,

	"A wilde waye of wendrynge,	
	Swiche weye thow myght seyle there Inne,	225
	That thow schouldest neuyr ende wynne."	
	The Emperour seyde with oute fayle,	228
225	"That is nowe a grate maruaile.	227
	Childe, which tyme dydde Adam of mys,	
	Wherfore he lese paradise?"	230
	"Sir," he seide, "At mydmorowe tyde,	
	And be mydmorowe he lese hys pryde."	
230	Ane Aungell hym droue in to deserd,	
	Withe a bryght brennand swerd,	234
	There to be wyth sorowe and wo,	236
233	Whils he lyued euyr mo.	235
235	And whan he died to helle he nam,	(a)
234	And all that euyr of hym cam.	(b)
	And so they weryn in hell forlorn,	(c)
	Tille that Ihesu Criste was born,	(d)
	And suffyrd on rode passioun,	(e)
	To brynge vs frome the deuyls presoun."	(f)
240	"Allas," seyde the Emperour, "that was dole,	237
	That Adam was so grete a fole.	
	How many synnes dydde Adam,	
	Wherfore wreche on hym god nam?"	240
	"Seuyne," seyde the childe with wo,	
245	"Sacrilege was one of tho,	
246	ffornicacion ande auarice,	
247	The ferthe I-wys was couatise.	244
250	In pryde and glotonye he synned ille,	247
	When he wrought hys owne wille,	
	And noght after the beheste of god,	
	When he dydde a ȝeyns hys forbod.	250
	In sacrilege he synned sore,	251
255	When he wroght after the fendes lore,	252
266	And helde that goddes lore was fals.	257
	In couatise he synned als,	
	Whan he couetyd to haue more,	
	Thanne he hadde nede fore.	260
fol. 2b.	Whan paradis was at his owne wille,	
271	No wondir thow Ihesu likyd ille.	
260	Theffe he was anempst god,	
	Whan he stale that him was forbod.	
	Sikirly, the sothe to seye,	265
263	Adam was worthi for to deye.	
258	Man sleher he was a now,	

259	Whan he his owne sowle slow;	268
272	In glotony he synned vile,	271
273	Whan he putte hym in swyche p*er*ile,	272
	That tyme that he noght forsoke,	(a)
	The appil of lyffe that Eue hym toke,	273
(a)	Of tre that is in paradis;	(b)
	Certis me thynkith he was vnwys.	(c)
	Ya yit slewthe was werst of alle;	275
	Whan that he in synne was falle,	
278	He hade no grace for to ryse.	
	Whan Ih*esu* came in this wyse	
	And sayd, 'Adam, what dost thow nowthe?'	
	Adam answerd tho with his mowthe,	280
	'Lorde, I here the ful ryghte,	
	But of the I haue no syghte.'	
	Ih*esu* Crist to Adam tho sayde,	
285	'Man, whi diddest thow this brayde?'	
	Adam answerde hys owne wille,	285
	'The woman put me, lorde, thar*e* tille,	
	And dydde me done that euil dede.'	
	Than Ih*esu* to Eue on one ȝede,	
290	'Woman, whi wroghtest thowe that wile?'	
	'The neddyr, lorde, gan me be gile.'	290
	Ih*esu* sayde to the neddyr tho,	
	'Thowe wykkyd fende, why dyddest thow so?'	
	The fende answerde sykyrly,	
295	'ffor I hadde till hem envy,	
	That thei schoulde haue that blysse,	295
	That I for pryde gan to mysse.'	
	Ih*esu* sayde vn tille Adam,	
	'ffor thy gylte, thow synfull man,	
fol. 3a.	Thow schalt with swynke wyn thy mete,	
301	And suffir bothe colde and hete.'	300
304	Vn to Eue sayde oure heuyn kyng,	
305	'Woman, for thy wikked entysyng,	
	Thow schat be vnder mannes beheste,	
	In grete trauaile wo and cheste,	
	To bere thy frote in gronyng and care,	305
	Thow and thyne osprynge euyr mare.'	
310	Tho sayde Ih*esu* vn to foule satan,	
	'In fourme of neddyr thow temptest man,	
	On thy wombe thow schalt glyde,	
	In euery londe and in euery syde.	310

	And than schalt thow be sore a ferde,	
315	Whan thare schall com vn till mydylerd,	
	A clene virgine, schall be[15] bore blyve,	
	That all thyne power schall doun dryve.'	
	Thus Adam lyued in erthe here,	315
319–20	Nine hundreth and thrytty ȝere.	316
322	Hys soule was in helle thore,	320
	ffour thousand ȝere and sixe hundreth & more,	319
	ffour ȝere ande tydes seuyn.	321
325	Tho the myghtfull kyng of heuyn	
	Kyd he was of myghtes moste,	
	He sente doun the holy goste,	
	And lyghted in the mayde Marie,	325
	With oute wemme of hyr bodie.	
330	Thrytty wynter and thryd half ȝere,	
331	Ih*es*u wente in erthe here;	328
334	And sythyn diede on the rode,	331
335	And boght mankynde with hys blode;	332
	And sythyn wente vn to helle,	333
	The fendes power all for to felle,	
	And broght oute Adam and Eue,	335
	And other mo that werne hym leue.	
340	Moyses, Dauid and Habraham,	
	And all the goode with hym he nam,	
	And led hem in tyll paradise,	
343	There euyr is Ioye & mykyll blys,	340
fol. 3b.	Lo, now sire Emper*our* Adrian,	(a)
(b)	This was the begynnyng and endyng of	
(c)	I will hem telle the or I go.	(b)
356	The Emper*our* sayde, "Be heuyn kyng,	353
357	Man hadde a fayre begynnyng.	354
358	ȝit telle me, chylde, if thow can,	357
(a)	What syn greueth most god and man?"	358
(b)	The chylde sayede, "Seuyn tho,	(a)
(c)	I will hem telle the or I go.	(b)
364	Wykked thoght in mannes hert,	363
365	Whiles that he is hele and whert,	
	Manslaght is ane other schame,	365
367	That bryngythe man in myche blame	
370	Pryde is the thrydde brother,	

[15] *fore* stands after *be*, a *b* written above the *f* and *ore* deleted with dots.

371	Glotonye is the tother	368
372	Lycherye and Couetyse I telle,	371
375	They bryng mannes soule to helle.	
	Seynt Poule tellithe in hys storye,	
	In the peynes of purgatorye,	
	ffor Couetyse a whele is dyght,	375
	Of bras brennyng day and nyght.	
380	ffull of crokes abouen and vnder,	
	Whan it gothe it fayreth as thunder.	
	And full of soules it is hange,	
	Als full as ony may be other gange.	380
384	Why couetise is lykned tyll a whele	382
	ffor it hathe ende neuyr a dele.	381
386	Man, if thow wilte wynne the prise,	(a)
	And ȝeue thyne body vn to Couetise,	(b)
	And there of wilt noght be lynne,	(c)
	But endys all way there Inne,	(d)
390	Sikirly I the telle,	(e)
	But thow leue of, thow gose to helle.	(f)
	ffor Couetise hathe ende no dele;	(g)
	Seynt Poule lykneth it to a whele.	(h)
	Of pryde be thow noght to bolde,	383
395	It is werse an hundrethe foulde.	
397	The aungels that weryn in heuyn lyght,	
396	So fayr*e* with Ih*e*su and so bryght,	
fol. 4a.	ffor thare pryde he gan wreche take,	
399	And they be come fendes blake.	388
402	Somme ben amonge mankynne,	391
	That tysen hem to dedly synne.	
	Man, schryue the of pryde,	
405	Or that wormes ettyn thy syde.	
	And thi body lyght in grounde,	395
	And thi soule in peynes bounde.	
	Than schall the sore smerte,	
	That euyr thow haddest pryde in herte.	398
410	Pryde is synne moste I-plight,	(a)
	That wrathyeth Ih*e*su full of myght.	(b)
	Licherye is the ferthe,	(c)
	On*e* the werst that is on erthe.	(d)
	The lichoure thynketh that no lyfe is	(e)
415	Halfe so swete so hys lyfe is,	(f)
(a)	A wykkede woman, I the telle,	(g)
(b)	Many a soule draweth to helle.	(h)
	In holy wrytte it is sette,	(i)

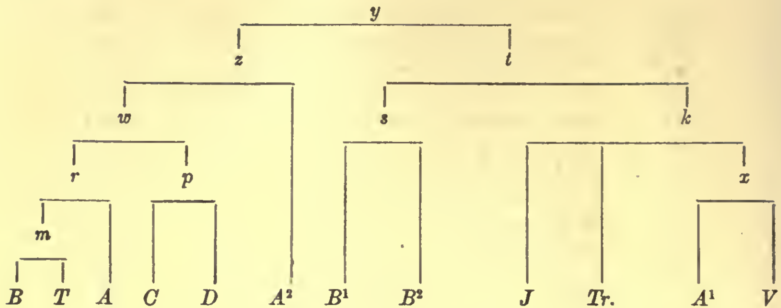
	Lycherye is the deuyls nette.	(j)
	Man, kepe the frome that synne,	(k)
	That thow ne fall noght there Inne.	(l)
420	Glotonye I wille dyscrive;	399
	Amonge men it is full ryve,	400
423	ffor whan ther syttyn at the ale,	402
422	And there tellyn many schrewed tale,	401
	Othes sweryn als they werne wode,	
425	Be goddes flesche and hys blode,	
	And hym onbreyden of his passioun,	405
	It fallithe many man to damnacioun.	
	Certes, bot thai hem schryfe of glotonye,	
429	ffor sothe in helle is thare balye.	408
(a)	Lo, sir Emperoure Adrian,	(a)
(b)	Here with the fend begylithe man."	(b)
430	"Allas," sayed the Emperour, "this chaunce.	(c)
	What lettethe a man to done penaunce?"	(d)
433	The childe sayde, "Thynges foure,	(e)
432	That mykyll greueth oure saueoure.	(f)
fol. 4b.	Sleuth is one, robbyng is ane other,	(g)
435	Wanhope is the thrydde brother.	(h)
	There trowynge is all in fable,	(i)
	That god is noght mercyable.	(j)
(a)	ffor they wille no mercy craue,	453
(b)	ffor they wene none tylle haue.	454
438	God wille of man take no wreche,	(a)
438	Whilles schryfte of mouthe may bene hys leche."	(b)
470	Thanne sayde the Emperoure,	429
	"Telle me childe, paramoure,	430
	How many synnes bene vn schryuyn	
	That schulle noght be for ȝeuyn?"	
	The childe sayde, "Synnes two,	
475	Misbeleue is one of tho.	
	Many man will for no reson	435
	Beleuyn in the encarnacion,	436
	That god tuke flesshe and blode in Marie,	(a)
479	With oute wemme of hyr bodie;	533
481	Noght they leue that it so be;	446
480	Ne that he diede one rode tre,	445
	Ne rose frome deth and steye vp ryght,	
	Vn to heuyn thorghe hys myght.	
	Sykyrly, als I the telle,	447
485	With outen ende they go to helle.	448

(a)	Wanhope is ane other synne,	449
(b)	That many man is bondyn Inne;	(a)
(c)	Whan man is fallyn in dedly synne,	(b)
(d)	And there Inne lyth and will noght blynne,	(c)
(e)	And aȝeynes go so myche hath gylt,	451
(f)	The fende in wanhope hathe hym pyght.	452
(g)	That he wille no mercy craue,	453
(h)	ffor he wenethe none to haue.	454
(i)	ffor that wanhope, als I fynde,	455
(j)	He gothe tille helle wyth outen ende.	456
(k)	ffor þow a man had done all the synne,	(a)
(l)	That is this wyde worlde with Inne,.	(b)
(m)	And he wolde ones asken a leche,	(c)
(n)	He schoulde be saued be hys speche.	(d)
	(Breaks off here).	

The newly printed texts necessitate some important modifications of the results reached by Gruber; the fundamental error in his filiation of the MSS. resulted from his mistaken opinion as to the authority of the Vernon readings. He divided the MSS. into two families, x (V and A^1), and y, comprising all the others; whereas, as will presently appear, x is not coördinate with y, but is merely a sub-group.

The discussion of manuscript relations will be followed more easily if at the outset we have before us a chart in which the grouping of all the known MSS. is indicated. To avoid confusion I have retained Gruber's lettering for his groups [16] and have added other letters to designate additional groups. I have not ventured to assign a definite position in the chart to F, since, on account of its fragmentary state, it is impossible to decide just where it belongs. It may represent s or perhaps t, but in any case it belongs at some point in the line of descent between y and B^1.

[16] See Gruber's chart, *op. cit.*, p. 35.



The division of the MSS. into the fundamental groups *z* and *t* is determined by the readings in certain passages already pointed out by Gruber. The following examples may be cited to mark the distinction between the readings of groups *t* and *z*:

1. v. 50, *z:* "Child, þou hast be yn heueu*ne*."
   t: "Chyld, hast þu ben in heven?"
2. v. 77, *z:* "hys passyon & hys manhede."
   t: "þe passion of hys ma*n*hed."
3. v. 156, *z:* "But serue god & holy kerke."
   t: "But bydde bedys and go to cherche."
4. v. 286, *z:* "Thys wo*m*man tysed me þ*er*tylle."
   t: "þe woman, lord, þu tokest me tylle."
5. v. 259, *z:* "that þey shulde haue þ*at* gr*e*te blysse."
   t: "that þay schuld have þ*at* blysse."
6. v. 318, *z:* "to helle he nam."
   t: "and ȝede to helle."
7. after v. 318 *z* adds a line which is not found in *t:*

   "and all þo þ*at* of hym cam."

8. *z* omits vv. 109-116, which stand in *t*.

Still other instances might be added, but these are sufficient to establish the division of the MSS. into the two groups.

Applying these criteria to the texts hitherto unprinted, we see that to Gruber's group *z* belongs also A^2, while to group *t* are to be added *Tr, J* and *F*. At the same time, when one attempts to define more exactly the relation of A^2 to the other MSS. of group *z* it is seen that in a number of passages A^2 agrees with the readings of group *t* where all the other MSS. of group *z* have introduced modifications.

1. v. 160, A^2 does not have the lines on—

"What mon dyed & was not born,"

which are common to all the MSS. of *w*, but do not appear in *t*.

2. A^2 has vv. 327-8 which stand in *t* but are lacking in *w*.

'XXX wynt*er* and thr*e* half ȝer*e*
Godys sonne wente i*n* erþe her*e*."

These lines were dropped by *w*, as they exist in all MSS. outside of this group.

3. A^2 likewise preserves vv. 418-19 (B^1) which *w* discards.

"Kep ȝow alle frome þat synne,
þat ȝe ne fal noght þerinne."

4. A^2 in v. 215 agrees with *s* (B^1 B^2), in the order of the phrases, against the other MSS. A^2 and *s* read:

"God þoght, god word and god dede."

All other MSS. read:

"Good worde, good þowȝt & good dede."

It is clear, therefore, that A^2 stands midway between group *t* and the other MSS. of group *z*. This obliges us to suppose the existence of a sub-group *w*, consisting of all the MSS. of group *z* except A^2, and to explain the differences between A^2 and the others as proceeding from variations introduced

by the hypothetical MS. *w*. The further division of sub-group *w* into *r* (*BTA*) and *p* (*CD*) is in accord with Gruber's classification of these MSS. It should be noted, however, that Gruber failed to recognize the wide separation between group *w* and group *s*, but regarded them as closely related.

Group *t* is much more difficult to analyse than *z*, and its relations are less clear. The sub-group *s* (B^1 B^2) is separated from the others, as Gruber has pointed out, by virtue of differences which he discusses in detail. A^1 *V* (*x*) also stand by themselves, but, as I shall endeavor to show, are really members of the *t* family. *J* and *Tr.* show a closer relationship than the other MSS. to *x*, so that A^1 *V J Tr.* may be regarded as comprising a sub-group *k*, distinct from *s*. Postponing for the present the more important question of the position to be assigned to *V*, we may first examine the relationship of these two hitherto unprinted manuscripts.

Beginning our inquiry with *Tr.* and applying the same tests which were employed in the case of A^2, we see that *Tr.* belongs under *t* rather than *z*. The evidence which leads to this conclusion may be tabulated as follows:

I. *Tr.* DOES NOT BELONG DIRECTLY WITH GROUP *s*.

1. v. 97. *Tr.* does not transpose the order inside the line as *s* does, thus:

   s: "is virtutes."
   Tr. and other MSS. "virtutes is."

2. *Tr.* with all other MSS. has not vv. 109-114 which *sx* have.

3. *Tr.* does not show the same order as *s* in v. 215:

   s(A^2): "God þoght, god word and god dede."

Tr. and others: "Good worde, good þowȝt, & good dede."

4. *Tr.* does not have the four extra lines which *s* (and *J*) add after v. 236.

II. *Tr.* DOES NOT BELONG DIRECTLY WITH GROUP *x*.

As I shall give later a detailed account of the vagaries of the Vernon MS., all of which are unshared by any other MS., it will be unnecessary to take up this point here.

III. *Tr.* SHOWS RESEMBLANCES TO BOTH *x* and *J*.

Tr. Jx have two extra lines after v. 194 which no other MSS. have.

"Now hit is, and nou hit nis—
þenk no-mon þeron I-wis."

IV. An interesting agreement of *Tr.* with *s* appears in the two following passages where *Tr.* and *s* read together against all other MSS.

1. v. 106, *s:* "þat Lucifer fel oute for p*r*ide."
   Tr.: "þat fellent oute w*ith* lucyfer pryde."
   Other MSS.: "That Lucyfer lost for h*ys* pryde."

2. After v. 68 *Tr.* and *s* add:

"þe yoye may no toung telle,
Tyl domysday þat þey schalle spelle."

In attempting to determine the relationship of *J* one encounters special difficulties. In the first place this MS. is defective, lacking 144 lines at the beginning and 135 at the end,—reckoning according to the lines in B^1. Again *J* shows agreements with *s, k,* and *z* of a sort which are difficult to account for except on the theory of contamination. It would appear that the scribe of *J* had access to no less than three MSS.: (1) a manuscript of the *x Tr.* type which he followed for the most part; (2) manuscripts

of the *z* and *s* groups respectively, to which he referred occasionally. The evidence pointing to this conclusion may be summarized as follows:

I. *J* shows Special Relationship to *Tr.* and *x.*

J agrees with *Tr.* and *x* against all other MSS. in inserting two extra lines after v. 194. This in itself seems sufficient to warrant the placing of *J* under *k.*

II. *J* shows a Unique Agreement with *s.*

J is the only manuscript which follows *s* in adding a passage of six lines after v. 236 (*B*[1] numbering):

> " And all*e*, þat ev*er* of hym came,
> þe fend w*ith* hym to helle name.
> þe sowlez wonden i*n* helle þor*e*,
> Tyl þat J*esu* C*r*iste bor*e* wor*e*
> And suffrede on þe rode passyo*n*
> And boght us oute of p*r*ison."

Either these lines stood in *k* and were omitted by *x Tr.*, or *J* must have added them through contamination with *s.*

IV. *J* in Two Passages Reads with the MSS. of *z* against *t.*

1. v. 295, *Jz:* " That þey shulde haue þ*at* g*re*te blysse."
   t: " þat he schuld wome*n* in þat blysse."

2. v. 286, *Jz:* " Thys wo*m*mon tysed me þ*er*tyll
   And made me to do þ*at* dede."
   t: " þe woman, Lord, þu tokest me tylle,
   Made me to don þis evell*e* dede."

The readings of *J* in these passages seem to be explained only by admitting contamination from a MS. of the *z* group.

We find *J,* then, manifesting in turn special characteristics belonging to group *s,* to *Tr. x* and to *z.* It is hard

to understand how this could occur unless, as I have suggested, the scribe had access to MSS. of three types, *Tr. x, s,* and *z.*

It remains to consider finally the special group *x* (A^1V) and its position in the *t* group. When the readings of *x* are compared with those of the other *t* manuscripts it is easily seen that they abound in perversions and alterations. Either the Vernon scribe himself, or (if the Simeon MS. is not a direct copy of the Vernon) the scribe from whom *V* and A^1 copied, was a man who "meddled in making"; he left out some lines and added others; he inverted many couplets; he took passages from their setting and shifted them into a different order. For example:

OMISSIONS: After v. 118 *V* omits:

> "þe childe hym answerd ful even
> Archangelles, angelles and heuen
> And thys world of gret nobleye
> God made on a sonnendeye."

Other cases of omission of lines occur after vv. 58, 87, 366, 380, 408, 442 and 611.

ADDITIONS: After v. 58 *V* alone adds:

> "þe oþer heuene nis not lowe;
> þe hexte þat eny mon of knowe."

V also adds lines 115-116; 158-9; 409-14.

INVERSIONS: The following couplets are inverted only in *V:* vv. 143-4; 177-8; 235-6; 319-20; 495-6; 534-40.

SHIFTINGS: The greatest confusion is caused in this way. In the original text, from the testimony of the other MSS., the passage on "good þowȝt, good word & good dede," *V* vv. 457-470, must have stood immediately before *V* v. 415. Lines 197-200, "Whose of þe clowdes haþ most foyson,"

should come after v. 208. The order in which the seven deadly sins are treated varies in most of the MSS., but the agreement of B^2 B C D seems to point to their order as the original one. In these MSS. the order is pride, sacrilege, manslaughter, theft, fornication, avarice and glotony (and sloth). In *V* the order, vv. 247-277, runs: pride, sacrilege, lechery, covetise, manslaughter, glotony, sloth. This means the misplacement of many lines in *V*. Other shiftings of the text occur in *V* at v. 436, where vv. 436-444 should come in after v. 476; at vv. 549-56, which should be set in just before v. 537.

It is clear, then, that instead of representing the original text of the poem, *V* offers a much edited text, and that the peculiarities of its readings are due, not to its being the head of a separate group, as Gruber thought, but to numerous alterations introduced by the scribe. On the other hand, the almost literal agreement of B^1 with *F* throughout the 72 lines of the fragment, obliges us to accept B^1 as the most authentic text.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that these same characteristics have already been noted in regard to other poems in the Vernon MS. Mr. R. W. Chambers, in his article on *The Authorship of Piers Plowman* [17] declares that the Vernon text of that poem is not to be relied upon as furnishing the original readings. The same charge against the Vernon MS. was made by Canon Simmons in his edition of the *Lay Folks Mass Book*,[18] where he states that the Vernon text has been "patched together from the copies of at least two different scribes, who have altered the original according to their several dialects."

JOSEPHINE D. SUTTON.

[17] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Jan. 1910, p. 26.

[18] *Lay Folks Mass Book*, EETS., Orig. Ser. 71, p. 362.

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VIII.—SOME OF LONGFELLOW'S SOURCES FOR THE SECOND PART OF *EVANGELINE*

I

At the end of a somewhat severe criticism of *Evangeline,* Theodore Parker said, "American readers may well thank the author for a poem, so wholly American in its incidents, its geography, and its setting." [1] The careful reader of the poem today naturally wonders at the poet's sources for all this knowledge of American geography and scenery, especially of that part of the country called "the west"; for, although he had visited only one of the places pictured, namely Philadelphia, he has shown a remarkably accurate knowledge of the details of the various regions. A great deal has been written concerning the historical basis of Part One, but little attention has been paid to the underlying sources of Part Two. The purpose of this paper is to point out some of the material which was used by Longfellow in this second Part.

[1] *Massachusetts Quarterly Review,* vol I, no. 1, Dec., 1847, p. 135.

Previous to the writing of *Evangeline,* reports of the Lewis and Clark expedition had been widely read. Chateaubriand's narratives, including *Voyages en Amérique* and *Natchez,* had been published. In the year 1846 the first volume of Gayarré's *History of Louisiana* had appeared. Longfellow was probably familiar with all these works, and from them he may have gained general impressions of the country; but a careful examination of each shows no direct influence upon the poem.

From Longfellow's journals we learn of the length of time given to the construction of the poem, *Evangeline,* and of the books from which he derived the setting and local color. From November 28th, 1845, when an entry reads, "Set about 'Gabrielle,' my idyl in hexameters, in earnest,"[2] until the beginning of December, 1846—the length of time for writing Part One—we find only two references to books which may have had influence.[3] But

[2] *Life of H. W. Longfellow,* by Samuel Longfellow, vol. II, p. 26.

[3] "April 29th, 1846. Looked over the *Receuil de Cantiques â l'usage des Missions,* etc., Quebec, 1833. A curious book, in which the most ardent spiritual canticles are sung to common airs and dancing tunes. For instance—*La Mort du Juste: sur l'air, 'On dit que vos parents sont autant de Centaurs.' Pieux sentiments envers Jesus Christ: sur l'air 'Des Folies d'Espagne.'* Other airs are *Le Carillon de Dunquerque; Charmante Gabrielle; Tous les Bourgeois de Chartres*" (*ibid.,* p. 36). Two of these songs are embodied in Part One (IV, 31, 32):

Gayly the old man sang to the vibrant sound of his fiddle,

Tous les Bourgeois de Chartres, and *Le Carillon de Dunquerque.*

"April 11, 1846. Read Dr. Page's 'Prairiedom, or the New Estremadura, namely Texas." The full title is "Prairiedom; rambles and scrambles in Texas or New Estremadura. By a Suthron [F. B. Page]." 1845. A careful reading of this book shows no direct influence upon any of the lines. It seems merely to have given general atmosphere.

This entry was furnished the writer of the paper by Miss Alice Longfellow, daughter of the poet. This, with the other unpublished

from the entry for December 10th, 1846, when he had "commenced the second part,"[4] until February 27th, 1847, when "*Evangeline* is ended,"[5] several references are made to books which he was greatly interested in, and which must have given him knowledge of local color.

On December 3d, 1846, Longfellow wrote, "In the evening F. [his wife] read Fremont's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1842; highly interesting and exciting. What a wild life, and what a fresh kind of existence! But, ah, the discomforts!"[6] Two days later he added, "Fremont has particularly touched my imagination; and I trust something may come of that." On December 15th, "Stayed at home, working a little on Evangeline; planning out the second part, which fascinates me,—if I can but give complete tone and expression to it. Of materials for this part there is superabundance. The difficulty is to select, and give unity to variety."[7]

The journal shows the following entry for December 17th, 1846: "Finished this morning, and copied, the first canto of the second part of Evangeline . . . I see a panorama of the Mississippi advertised. This comes very à propos. The river comes to me instead of my going to the river; and as it is to flow through the pages of the poem, I look upon this as a special benediction." Two days later he tells us that he "went to see Bonvard's moving diorama of the Mississippi. One seems to be sailing down the great stream, and sees the boats and the sand-banks crested with cotton-wood, and the bayous by moonlight. Three miles of canvas, and a great deal of merit."[8] It is impos-

entries which are quoted, she copied directly from the journals. Miss Longfellow kindly permitted the writer to examine the manuscript of *Evangeline*, thus enabling him to substantiate many points.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 81. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 67. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

sible to show any direct influence of this diorama on the poem, other than the general impressions it gave.

Under the date of January 7th, 1847, Longfellow wrote, "Went to the Library and got Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, and the Historical Collections of Pennsylvania. Also, Darby's Geographical Description of Louisiana. These books must help me through the last part of Evangeline, so far as facts and local coloring go. But for the form and the poetry,—they must come from my own brain."[9] Darby's Description of Louisiana[10] is accompanied by a map, which gives the detailed course of the lower Mississippi; but the only aid this book seems to have given, was in substantiating the impressions made by the diorama.

On January 12th, the following entry appears: "In the evening, read Sealsfield's Cabin Book, a description of 'Texas,' and of a man lost in the Prairie of San Jacinto."[11] This book, also, seems to have had no direct influence upon *Evangeline.*

On January 14th, 1847, Longfellow wrote, "Finished the last canto of Evangeline. But the poem is not finished. There are three intermediate cantos to be written."[12] It is in this canto that Watson[13] was used, although his influence can be found in virtually only one place. That is in the story of the pigeons in the lines (v, 47-49):

Then it came to pass that a pestilence fell on the city,
Presaged by wondrous signs, and mostly by flocks of wild pigeons,

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[10] *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana . . . Being an accompaniment to the Map of Louisiana.* By William Darby, 1816.

[11] *Cabin Book: or National Characteristics.* By Charles Sealsfield.

[12] *Life*, p. 75.

[13] *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania.* By John F. Watson, 1842.

Darkening the sun in their flight, with naught in their craws but an acorn.

Watson relates this under the heading "Remarkable Incidents and Things," as follows:

Thomas Mahin's poetic description of Pennsylvania in 1729, in Latin verse, says,

'Here, in the fall, large flocks of pigeons fly,
So numerous, that they darken all the sky.'

In 1782, Hector St. John of Carlisle, describing the country scenes he had before witnessed there says, twice a year they ensnared numerous wild pigeons. They were so numerous in their flight as to obscure the sun. He has caught fourteen dozen at a time in nets, and has seen so many sold for a penny as a man could carry home. At every farmer's house they kept a tamed pigeon in a cage at the door, to be ready to be used at any time to allure the wild ones when they approached.

In 1793, just before the time of the yellow fever, like flocks flew daily over Philadelphia, and were shot from numerous high houses. The markets were crammed with them. They generally had nothing in their craws besides a single acorn. The superstitious soon found out they presaged some evil; and sure enough sickness and death came.[14]

On January 23d, Longfellow wrote, "F. read our favorite Sealsfield. His descriptions of the Southwest are very striking. The Creole Ball quite life-like, and the passage through a cypress-swamp terrible."[15] January 24th, "In the evening read Sealsfield's description of the Attakapas." Two days later he added, "Finished second Canto of Part II of Evangeline. I then tried a passage of it in the common rhymed English pentameter. It is the song of the mocking-bird."[16] On February 17th, he added, "Wrote description of the prairies for Evangeline";[17] and on February 18th, he wrote, "Looked into Kip's Early

[14] Vol. II, p. 410.
[15] *Life*, p. 77.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Jesuit Missions in North America; a curious and a very interesting book." [18]

A careful examination of these various books mentioned in the journals, seems to show that only three had any appreciable influence upon the second part of *Evangeline,* namely, Fremont's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains,*[19] Sealsfield's *Life in the New World,*[20] and Kip's *Early Jesuit Missions in North America.*[21]

II

At the beginning of the account of his exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains, Fremont gives a list of men who accompanied him.[22] Among them was Basil Lajeunesse. This undoubtedly gave Longfellow the suggestion for the name he uses in the poem, for at first he was undecided in the title; "I know not what name to give to,—not my new baby, but my new poem. Shall it be 'Gabrielle' or 'Celestine' or 'Evangeline.'" [23] Having chosen the name Evangeline, he changes Gabrielle to Gabriel, and gives that name to his hero. A careful examination of the manuscript shows that the poet first introduced Gabriel as follows:

> But among all who came, young Gabriel only was welcome,
> Gabriel, son of their neighbor, Basil the blacksmith.

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[18] *Ibid.,* p. 80.

[19] *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1843-44.* By J. C. Fremont, 1845.

[20] *Life in the New World; or Sketches of American Society.* By Seatsfield [*i. e.,* Charles Sealsfield]. Translated from the German by G. C. Hebbe and J. Mackey, 1844.

[21] *The Early Jesuit Missions in North America.* By W. I. Kipp, 1847.

[22] Page 9.

[23] *Life,* p. 26.

These lines were crossed out later, and on the preceding page the following were written:

> But among all who came young Gabriel only was welcome,
> Gabriel Lajeunesse, the son of Basil the blacksmith.

This change came evidently after he had read Fremont and had used the name in the second part in the lines (I, 39, 40):

> "Gabriel Lajeunesse!" said they. "Oh yes! we have seen him.
> He was with Basil the blacksmith, his father"—

for on March 6th, 1847, he wrote in his journal, "I began to revise and correct Evangeline for the press. Went carefully over the first canto."[24] Nowhere else in Part One does the name Lajeunesse appear. Whenever Basil is spoken of, it is "Basil the blacksmith," with Gabriel as "son of the blacksmith."

Fremont's expedition began at Westport, now Kansas City, and extended west along the Kansas river, then north across the prairies to the Platte, or Nebraska river as it was then called, and thence to the mountains. After describing at length the journey over the prairies and the approach to the mountains, Fremont says,

> Here passes the road to Oregon; and the broad high way where the numerous heavy wagons of the emigrants had entirely beaten and crushed the artemesia, was a happy exchange to our poor animals for the sharp rocks and tough shrubs among which they had been toiling so long; and we moved up the valley rapidly and pleasantly.[25]

The explorers found the Columbia, then called the Oregon river; and they traced the sources of the Walahwalah and the Owyhee rivers. To them, "a mountainous range became visible in the north, in which were recognized some

[24] *Life*, p. 82. [25] Page 128.

rocky peaks, belonging to the range of the Sweet Water valley." [26] Two illustrations of the Wind River mountains accompany the report.

A comparison with the following lines of *Evangeline* will show the influence of Fremont (IV, 3-7):

Down from their jagged, deep ravines, where the gorge, like a gateway,
Opens a passage rude to the wheels of the emigrant's wagon,
Westward the Oregon flows and the Walleway and Owyhee.
Eastward, with devious course, among the Wind-river Mountains,
Through the Sweet-water Valley precipitate leaps the Nebraska.

The poet is evidently referring to the Walahwalah river when he speaks of the Walleway, for on the map accompanying the report, the courses of the Walahwalah and of the Owyhee rivers are clearly marked. The name probably was changed for reasons of euphony.

In the second part of the report, Fremont describes his expeditions to Oregon and North California. He tells of

descending a somewhat precipitous and rocky hill-side among the pines, which rarely appear elsewhere than on the ridge. We encamped at its foot, where there were several springs, which you will find laid down upon the map as one of the extreme sources of the Smoky Hill of the Kansas. From this place the view extended over the Arkansas Valley, and the Spanish peaks in the south beyond . . . . Turning the next day to the southwest, we reached, in the course of the morning, the wagon road to the settlements on the Arkansas river, and encamped in the afternoon on the *Fontaine qui bouit* (or Boiling Spring) river, where it was fifty feet wide, with a swift current.[27]

The names of these places Longfellow has used in the lines (iv, 8-10):

And to the south, from Fontaine-qui-bout and the Spanish sierras,
Fretted with sands and rocks, and swept by the wind of the desert,
Numberless torrents, with ceaseless sound, descend to the ocean.

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[26] Page 127. [27] Page 115.

For the characteristics of the prairies themselves, Longfellow had rich and abundant material from Fremont. Time and space permit only a few comparisons. Fremont goes at great length in describing the flowers he found. The following extract will show the picturesqueness of these descriptions:

Along our route the *amorpha* has been in very abundant but variable bloom—in some places bending beneath the weight of purple clusters; in others, without a flower. It seems to love best the sunny slopes, with a dark soil and southern exposure. Everywhere the rose is met with, and reminds us of cultivated gardens and civilization. It is scattered over the prairies in small bouquets, and, when glittering in the dews and waving in the pleasant breeze of the early morning, is the most beautiful of prairie flowers.[28]

Longfellow has incorporated this in the lines (IV, 12-14):

Spreading between these streams are the wondrous, beautiful prairies;
Billowy bays of grass ever rolling in shadow and sunshine,
Bright with luxuriant clusters of roses and purple amorphas.

The prairie animals that Longfellow enumerates in the lines (IV, 15, 16):

Over them wandered the buffalo herds, and the elk and the roebuck;
Over them wandered the wolves, and herds of riderless horses,

Fremont has described many times and sometimes at great length in his report. In one instance he has told of an encounter with a bear, as follows:

As we were riding quietly along, eagerly searching every hollow in search of game, we discovered, at a little distance in the prairie, a large grizzly bear so busily engaged in digging roots that he did not perceive us until we were galloping down a little hill fifty yards from him, when he charged upon us with such sudden energy, that several of us came near losing our saddles.[29]

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[28] Page 14.

[29] Page 114.

This Longfellow has woven into the lines (IV, 25, 26):

And the grim, taciturn bear, the anchorite monk of the desert,
Climbs down their dark ravines to dig for roots by the brookside.

During the course of the expedition, an Indian woman joined the company for a few days. Fremont gives the following account of the incident:

A French engagé at Lupton's fort, had been shot in the back on the 4th of July, and died during our absence to the Arkansas. The wife of the murdered man, an Indian woman of the Snake nation, desirous, like Naomi of old, to return to her people, requested and obtained permission to travel with my party to the neighborhood of Bear river, where she expected to meet with some of their villages. Happier than the Jewish widow, she carried with her two children, pretty little half-breeds, who added much to the liveliness of the camp. [30]

A little later he adds:

the Shoshonee woman took leave of us here, expecting to find some relations at Bridger's fort, which is only a mile or two distant, on a fork of this stream.[31]

All this Longfellow has used in the lines (IV, 39-44):

Once, as they sat by their evening fire, there silently entered
Into their little camp an Indian woman, whose features
Wore deep traces of sorrow, and patience as great as her sorrow.
She was a Shawnee woman returning home to her people,
From the far-off hunting grounds of the cruel Camanches,
Where her Canadian husband, a Coureur-des-Bois, had been murdered.

At this point in the poem, Longfellow introduces the two Indian tales, Leelinau [32] and Moowis,[33] which he had from Schoolcraft.

[30] Page 120.

[31] Page 130.

[32] *Algic Researches.* By Henry Schoolcraft, 1845.

[33] *Oneóta, or Characteristics of the Red Race of America.* By Henry R. Schoolcraft, 1845.

These references to the Indian legends are pointed out by Dr.

III

Sealsfield's *Life in the New World* is so full of picturesque descriptions of the lower Mississippi country, that it will be possible to select only a few passages to show their correlation with lines of *Evangeline*. It is when one reads Cantos Two and Three as a whole, and then reads Sealsfield, that the great similarity of thought and expression appears. Sealsfield, in the chapter entitled "Night Thoughts,"[34] gives the following account of the Acadiens:

The hay-moon has thrown its pale, silvery light over these, perhaps the youngest children of creating nature; a pale, gray magic veil is spread over the enchanting scene, and the light clouds of heaven seem to be reflected in it as in a mirror, in the distance. The cypress-groves are piled on each other like walls of bronze; a few light, silver flakes, unmoved by a breath of air, overspread the canopy of heaven. In the west, the golden purple is melted into a light green, and above us, ether is spread with deepest blue—the stars tremble abashed before the queen of night, whose mild and gentle rays glimmer in the east.

Only here and there, lights shine along the shore, like will-o'-the-wisps dancing past us, lighting up, for a moment, the groups of orange and citron-trees. They glimmer from the bright windows of planters' houses, hidden behind the group of trees. Perhaps there are fathers and mothers awake, who tell to their children or grandchildren the adventures of their grand or great-grandparents, who have not the least conception of the dangers which the storm threatens, and which might so terribly break over them. The children listen, and shake their heads incredulously, as if listening to nursery tales. Yes, these varieties are difficult to believe—more difficult to describe—which our ancestors, the first settlers of our dear country, had to undergo.

Only the shrill cries of water-fowls, the roaring and croaking of

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Paul Morin, in his thesis, *Les Sources de l'Oeuvre de Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, Paris, 1913. The story of Moowis had appeared, however, a year earlier in the first volume of *The Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine*, New York, 1844; and it is probable that Longfellow had read the story in this form.

[34] Part II, chap. 2.

bull-frogs and alligators, interrupt the dreadful moaning of the waves. Yes; those were daring souls, who built the first cabins on these terrible shores . . . . .

We have passed the *côtes des Acadiens*. How enchantingly beautiful the pale silvery stripe draws toward the mouth! They are the cypress groves, lit up by the last rays of the moon—a thin and mysterious light; it sparkles mildly, like the rainbow of the moon—mildly, like the eye of Providence, which guides the world! Perhaps it is the same silvery stripe, which lit the path of the poor Acadiens on their sorrowful wandering, when, eighty years ago, they pursued their thorny path for three thousand miles, from the coast of Nova Scotia. There were twelve thousand families, who, at the command of the Second George and his Tories, were torn from their homes, their friends, and their huts, because they would not fight against their fathers, brothers, and *Louis Quinze*, their native king.

In the midst of winter, they were driven from their valleys, and plains, and fields, which their hands had redeemed from the wilderness. Men, women, old men, girls and infants, were chased by bloodhounds beyond the boundaries of their own country. Thousands froze to death, starved, or fell a prey to wild beasts. Only a miserable remnant succeeded in reaching, across the lakes and Illinois, the shores of the Mississippi, down which they floated on miserable rafts. On its shores and in the Attakapas, among their countrymen and the Spaniards, they found succor and a resting-place.

At the beginning of Canto Two, Longfellow says (II, 1-10):

It was the month of May. Far down the Beautiful River,
Past the Ohio shore and past the mouth of the Wabash,
Into the golden stream of the broad and swift Mississippi,
Floated a cumbrous boat, that was rowed by Acadian boatmen.
It was a band of exiles: a raft, as it were, from the ship-wrecked
Nation, scattered along the coast, now floating together,
Bound by the bonds of a common belief and a common misfortune;
Men and women and children, who, guided by hope or by hearsay,
Sought for their kith and their kin among the few-acred farmers
On the Acadian coast, and the prairies of fair Opelousas.

Sealsfield describes the approach to the upper edge of the great prairies, as follows:

Stretching from the right, or rather as we are ascending, the left shore of the river, toward Opelousas . . . the variegated lustre of

this beautiful prairie is developed in all its glorious splendor before our eyes. It is the most magnificent sight ever witnessed by human eye—an ocean of flowers and spicy odors, the grass blades rising and falling, like the light waves created by the fanning breeze in the declining sun . . . Further toward the west, this immense prairie is bounded by the edge of a black forest, appearing like a frame to this beautiful picture.[35]

It is a delightful evening! To the west of the plantation the forest glows like a sea of fire. Flaming throughout the plaquemines, the rays of the setting sun illumine the landscape gloriously, giving the *tout ensemble* the enchanting aspect of the garden of Hesperides! The gable-ends of the parental house peep forth, dancing amid the variegated color of the cotton and the locust-tree. Light and darkness seem to meet, and steal one last embrace, ere the approaching stars hang out their lamps with their prying and mysterious twinkle! All nature trembles in the pulsation of departing day! Trees and bushes, orange and lemon groves, wind along the southwest and east, from Seeche toward the negro village, waving gracefully in the awakening breeze. The negro huts, with their small gardens, appear and vanish in the scintillating atmosphere. The unbounded cotton-fields, which extend for miles, float like seas of fire on to the primitive forests. Such an evening makes you forget the heat of summer, and you exclaim spontaneously: "It is indeed a glorious land our Louisiana!"[36]

Longfellow gives the picture in the lines (II, 124-127 and III, 140-142, 144-146, 151-154):

Softly the evening came. The sun from the western horizon
Like a magician extended his golden wand o'er the landscape;
Twinkling vapors arose; and sky and water and forest
Seemed all on fire at the touch, and melted and mingled together.

. . . .

Beautiful was the night. Behind the black wall of the forest,
Tipping its summit with silver, arose the moon. On the river
Fell here and there through the branches a tremulous gleam of the moonlight.

. . . .

Nearer and round about her, the manifold flowers of the garden
Poured out their souls in odors, that were their prayers and confessions

[35] Part III, chap. 8: "The Father's House."

[36] Part IV, chap. 1: "The Father's House."

Unto the night, as it went its way, like a silent Carthusian.

. . . .

Passed she along the path to the edge of the measureless prairie.
Silent it lay, with a silvery haze upon it, and fire-flies
Gleamed and floated away in mingled and infinite numbers.
Over her head the stars, the thoughts of God in heaven.

Sealsfield continues his description of the cypress swamp as follows:

Twenty-nine and thirty-nine miles above the capitol, two branches break from the Mississippi on the western side, called bayou la Fourche, and bayou Placquemine—the customary route which formerly, and also now, in high-water time, is taken to Attakapas . . . These bayous are crossed by so many rivers, standing-waters and swamps, that, even with an exact knowledge of them, it is only with the greatest care that a course through the labyrinth can be found. Now they expand to a lake, into which a great mass of new waters empty themselves; again, they are so narrow, that you cannot distinguish them from the twenty-feet-high overflowed cypress trees. The weight of these numerous trees, is festooned above our heads. The Spanish moss hangs in long close wreaths from their gigantic arms, lies upon the water, and obstructs the way. No ray of the sun penetrates the night of water and forest; a gloomy darkness oppresses the scene, and all nature. No singing bird utters its merry notes. In day time, the roar of thousands of alligators and bull-frogs—after sundown—the horrible laughter of the great Mississippi owl, drive the traveller to despair.[37]

Longfellow has incorporated all this in the lines (II, 26-34, 63-65):

They, too, swerved from their course; and entering the Bayou of
Plaquemine,
Soon were lost in a maze of sluggish and devious waters,
Which, like a network of steel, extended in every direction.
Over their heads the towering and tenebrous boughs of the cypress
Met in a dusky arch, and trailing mosses in mid-air
Waved like banners that hung on the walls of ancient cathedrals.
Deathlike the silence seemed, and unbroken, save by the herons
Home to their roosts in the cedar-trees returning at sunset,

[37] Part IV, chap. 5: "The Entrance into the Attakapas."

Or by the owl, as he greeted the moon with demoniac laughter.

. . . .

While through the night were heard the mysterious sounds of the desert,
Far-off,—indistinct,—as of wave or wind in the forest,
Mixed with the whoop of the crane and the roar of the grim alligator.

Sealsfield then gives his description of the Creole Ball, which Longfellow speaks of as being "quite life-like":

We looked in amazement at each other; the scene was funny, but at the same time had a strong flavor of meanness. Suddenly, Monsieur de Morbihan ran from the house, and stopping on the stairs, he cried: "Messieurs, is this the manner in which to pay your respects to French cavaliers? *Morbleu! parbleu!* what must these gentlemen think of you? I tell you, we have a ball; and go now, in Heaven's name, to inform your families, and then we'll see further!"

The word ball, put an end to all dispute . . . After they had examined us from every side, and we them, and their dresses—legacies from their fathers and grandfathers, of which they were the prouder the more they were worn—they strongly insisted upon our telling them the news. Some had left, to bring to the families the news of the ball; the rest, however, had stayed to hear something of *la belle France!*

During our relation, the avenue leading to the plantation began to look lively again. We saw ladies on horseback, and in cabriolets, at the wildest gallop, coming up to the house, slipping merrily out of the saddles and carriages, and dancing up to the piazza.

We were introduced into the ball-room by two masters of ceremonies. It was illuminated with tallow candles; the walls looked poor, and the two negroes, who formed the orchestra, were really grotesque figures. To us these things had the charm of novelty, which was heightened, by the elegant costumes of the ladies, their beauty and liveliness. At this moment, it appeared to us as if we were back in our dear France, engaged in one of those charming country parties, which owe their particular freshness to their rusticity. We had also, for a long time, not seen so many beauties collected in so small a space. We waited with impatience for the opening of the ball, and I must declare, that my surprise came to the highest pitch when we danced the first cotillon. This loveliness of motion, this ease, this poetry of dance, we had not dreamed of. I consider the Creoles the best dancers in the world; they blend the graceful ease of the French, with the majesty of the Spaniard.

It is only in the dance that their enchanting power becomes irresistible.[38]

Longfellow weaves all this into the lines (III, 120-123, 128-133):

Then there were voices heard at the door, and footsteps approaching
Sounded upon the stairs and the floor of the breezy veranda.
It was the neighboring Creoles and small Acadian planters,
Who had been summoned all to the house of Basil the Herdsman.

. . . .

But in the neighboring hall a strain of music, proceeding
From the accordant strings of Michael's melodious fiddle,
Broke up all further speech. Away, like children delighted,
All things forgotten beside, they gave themselves to the maddening
Whirl of the giddy dance, as it swept and swayed to the music,
Dreamlike, with beaming eyes and the rush of fluttering garments.

Three days after the entry in the journal concerning the reading of Sealsfield, Longfellow wrote, as quoted above, "Finished second canto of Part II of Evangeline. I then tried a passage of it in the common rhymed English pentameter. It is the song of the mocking-bird."[39] In the poem of *Evangeline* as finished, the passage appears as follows (II, 133-142):

Then from a neighboring thicket the mocking-bird, wildest of singers,
Swinging aloft on a willow spray that hung o'er the water,
Shook from his little throat such floods of delirious music,
That the whole air and the woods and the waves seemed silent to
listen.
Plaintive at first were the tones and sad: then soaring to madness
Seemed they to follow or guide the revel of frenzied Bacchantes.
Single notes were then heard, in sorrowful, low lamentation;
Till, having gathered them all, he flung them abroad in derision,
As when, after a storm, a gust of wind through the tree tops
Shakes down the rattling rain in a crystal shower on the branches.

This idea of the bird's song came from Sealsfield,[40] for

[38] Part IV, chap. 5.

[39] *Life*, p. 77.

[40] Dr. Morin makes the following statement concerning the source

at the close of the description of the Creole Ball, he continues:

Long after midnight the company parted, and we went to our rooms to repose.

The room in which I slept was a corner room opening on the balcony, through the blinds of which I saw a thicket of orange, palm and catalpa-trees, forming a thick arbor. The morning was wonderfully refreshing. Through the golden and snow-white fruits glittered the mirror of the Teche—birds of song hopped through the branches, and among them two mocking-birds. The male sat on a catalpa branch, and chirped with his hen, who rocked upon the branches a few feet lower down—flew around her, up to her, again around her, and then both broke out in the most beautiful nightingale song. I stood charmed. The lonely birds rose higher and imitated from their little throats the mewing of cats, the barking of dogs, the bleating of sheep, and of all animals which greeted the rising day in and around the house. The hen sent forth a curious laughing tone, and the male, flying up, broke again into the charming strain of our European nightingales. It was the first American mocking-bird I had ever heard: I was strangely touched.[41]

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for the mocking-bird song: "Longfellow qui récrit ici le chant de l'oiseau moqueur, lisait, à l'epoque où il écrivait ses lignes un poème de Brainard, intitulé The Mocking Bird (cf. *Life*, II, p. 66) qui a certainement dû l'inspirer." Longfellow says in the journal, December 8th, 1846, "Looking over Brainard's poems, I find, in a piece called 'The Mocking Bird,' this passage:

> Now his note
> Mounts to the play-ground of the lark, high up
> Quite to the sky. And then again it falls
> *As a lost star falls* down into the marsh.

Now, when in 'Excelsior,' I said 'A voice fell like a falling star,' Brainard's poem was not in my mind, nor had I in all probability ever read it. Felton said at the time that the same image was in Euripides, or Pindar,—I forget which. Of a truth, we cannot strike a spade into the soil of Parnassus, without disturbing the bones of some dead poet." It is not until January 26th, 1847, that he describes the bird's song for *Evangeline*, and two days previous to that, January 24th, he had spoken of the Creole Ball, which immediately precedes the description of the bird. The suggestion for this song comes unquestionably from Sealsfield.

[41] Part IV, chap. 5.

IV

The material obtained from Kip's *Early Jesuit Missions,*[42] Longfellow weaves into the following lines in Canto IV (IV, 89-92):

> On the western slope of these mountains
> Dwells in his little village the Black Robe chief of the Mission.
> Much he teaches the people, and tells them of Mary and Jesus.
> Loud laugh their hearts with joy, and weep with pain, as they hear him.

Kip gives Father Raslas's account of "Missionary Life among the Abnakis," which has the following interesting description of the chapel the priests erected, and of the services he conducted:

> The village in which I live is called Naurantsouak, and is situated on the banks of a river which empties into the sea, at the distance of thirty leagues below. I have erected a Church there, which is neat and elegantly ornamented. I have, indeed, thought it my duty to spare nothing either in the decoration of the building itself, or in the beauty of those articles which are used in our holy ceremonies. Vestments, chasubles, copes, and holy vessels, all are highly appropriate, and would be esteemed so even in our Churches in Europe. I have also formed a little choir of about fifty young Indians, who assist in Divine Service in cassocks and surplices. They have each

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[42] Concerning the Black Robe Missions, Dr. Paul Morin says: "La jeune héroine continuant son mélancolique voyage, s'arrête à la mission que les jésuits avaient établie dans le territoire indien (Texas). Or, en mai 1844, la *Democratic Review* de New York publiait un article de W. B. Peabody, intitulé The early Jesuit Missionaries in the North Western Territory; M. Sieper se demande, très logiquement, si la lecture de cet essai n'aurait pu suggérer à Longfellow cet incident d'Evangeline. Le souvenir d'une lecture agréable, la facilité d'expression que donne un sujet déjà étudié, l'aptitude à conduire ses héros vers une région visitée en esprit avec un auteur attrayant ne rendent pas le fait impossible." It seems likely that Longfellow would be influenced more directly by the book he was reading at the time of his writing, than by an article of a previous date.

their own appropriate functions, as much to serve in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass as to chant the Divine Offices for the consecration of the Holy Sacrament, and for the processions which they make with great crowds of Indians, who often come from a long distance to engage in these exercises: and you would be edified by the beautiful order they observe and the devotion they show.[43]

A foot-note, written by Rev. W. I. Kip, follows this description.

The following extract from Whittier's beautiful poem *Mogg Megone* places before us the scene which in those days must have been witnessed on the spot:

On the brow of a hill, which slopes to meet
The flowing river, and bathe its feet—
The bare-washed rock, and the drooping grass,
And the creeping vine as the waters pass—
A rude and unshapely chapel stands,
Built up in that wild by unskilled hands.
Yet the traveller knows it a place of prayer,
For the holy sign of the cross is there;
And should he chance at that place to be,
Of a Sabbath morn, or some hallowed day,
When prayers are made and masses are said,
Some for the living and some for the dead,—
Well might the traveller start to see
The tall dark forms, that take their way
From the birch canoe, on the river shore,
And the forest paths, to that chapel door;
And marvel to mark the naked knees
  And the dusky foreheads bending there,—
And stretching his long thin arms over these
  In blessing and in prayer,
Like a shrouded spectre, pale and tall,
In his coarse white vesture, Father Ralle.[44]

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[43] P. 2.

[44] It will be noted that the last four lines have evidently been changed in order to praise Father Raslas, for the lines as they appear in the first edition of the poem, are:

While, in coarse white vesture, over these
  In blessing or in prayer,
Stretching abroad his thin pale hands,
Like a shrouded ghost, the Jesuit stands.

This picture probably suggested the following lines in *Evangeline* (IV, 96-107):

Just as the sun went down, they heard a murmur of voices,
And in a meadow green and broad, by the bank of a river,
Saw the tents of the Christians, the tents of the Jesuit Mission.
Under a towering oak, that stood in the midst of the village,
Knelt the Black Robe chief with his children. A crucifix fastened
High on the trunk of the tree, and over-shadowed by grape-vines,
Looked with its agonized face on the multitude kneeling beneath it.
This was their rural chapel. Aloft, through the intricate arches
Of its aerial roof, arose the chant of their vespers,
Mingling its notes with the soft susurrus and sighs of the branches.
Silent, with heads uncovered, the travellers, nearer approaching,
Knelt on the swarded floor, and joined in the evening devotions.

The three books which had the greatest amount of influence upon the second part of *Evangeline* were Fremont's *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains,* Sealsfield's *Life in the New World,* and Kip's *Early Jesuit Missions in North America.* From these Longfellow drew the "facts and local coloring."

MURRAY GARDNER HILL.

IX.—THE ENGLISH BALLAD OF JUDAS ISCARIOT

Unusual interest attaches to the ballad of Judas, not only because the manuscript in which it is found antedates by two centuries the manuscript of any other English popular ballad, but also because the story it tells is very nearly unique. The manuscript, Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 14. 39, was written in the 13th century; just where is uncertain.[1] The ballad has been frequently printed,[2] but not correctly until 1904, in the Cambridge Edition of the Ballads.[3] It was Professor Child who first recognized the

[1] The manuscript has had something of a history; cf. M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in . . . Trinity College, Cambridge,* I, pp. 438 ff. (no. 323, § 17). Professor Skeat believed that the scribe was a Norman. Dr. James suggests that "the occurrence of verses on Robert Grosseteste may be construed as bearing on the provenance of the MS."

[2] Wright and Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae,* 1841, I, p. 144; Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben,* 1867, I, p. 114; Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads,* 1882, I, p. 242 (no. 23) and V, p. 288. The Cambridge Edition of the Ballads says the Judas ballad was first printed in 1845, but the first edition of the *Reliquiae Antiquae* was in 1841.

[3] The manuscript has *.ii.* at the end of lines 8, 25, and 30. Wright omitted this sign, and did not divide the poem into stanzas. Professor Child had seen only Wright's printed copy. In the Cambridge Edition Professor Kittredge, who had a transcript of the ballad made by Skeat after the manuscript was rediscovered in 1896, recognized the strophic device (indicated in the manuscript by *.ii.*) of repeating the last line of a stanza as the first line of the following stanza (as in st. 5, 14, 17); but it is very curious that Professor Child apparently recognized this device in stanza 14, and overlooked it in the other two cases.—The language of the ballad is Southern. Following Mätzner; Child emended Wright's *s* in *meist, heiste,* etc. (lines 6, 19, 21, 22, 28, 31, 33, 34, of the Cambridge Edition) to *h*. In the Cambridge Edition the *s*, which is the manuscript reading, is restored. I think it is likely that the scribe miswrote *s* for ȝ; at any rate, the phenomenon is exceedingly odd.

Judas poem as a ballad; but no one has questioned his judgment.

Ballads are, of course, of indefinite age. The ballad of Judas, though we have it in writing so much earlier than that of any other, is not thereby necessarily older. The language, moreover, shows no sign of being earlier than the manuscript. But although there is no direct evidence for believing the ballad to be older than the thirteenth century, there is, on the other hand, nothing to indicate that the story may not be much older. Indeed, *a priori* considerations point to its being very much older. And in view of the fact that analogous—though not exactly parallel—material turns up in Germany and in Africa, we may tentatively suggest a possible relationship, and therefore, by implication, but not necessarily, a very early date.

On Maundy Thursday (says the ballad) Judas sets out, at our Lord's bidding, to Jerusalem to buy food, with thirty 'plates' of silver on his back; in the broad street he may meet some of his townsmen. He meets his sister, the deceitful woman, who ridicules him for believing in the 'false prophet' and then induces him to go to sleep with his head in her lap—and when he awakes the silver has been stolen. In utter despair he finds a rich Jew named Pilate, and makes a bargain with him to sell his Master for precisely the thirty pieces of silver that have been taken from him. Then Jesus sits down with his apostles to eat, and announces that he has been sold; and at the very moment when Peter and Judas are denying implication in the crime, Pilate arrives with ten hundred knights.

Professor Child mentions the tragic, Œdipodean tale which the Middle Ages told as the life of Judas,[4] and he

[4] Cf. *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Graesse, ch. XLV. This legend is at least as old as the 12th century, and enjoyed an immense popularity throughout Europe. I have been investigating its history for some time, and hope to publish before very long the results of my study.

summarizes the usual story of the thirty coins;[5] but, as he indicates, neither of these has any connexion with the ballad. Very important, however, is the Wendish folk-song to which Professor Child drew attention.[6] Here the story is that the Highest God, wandering through the wide world, came to the house of a poor widow, and sought shelter. The widow complained that she had no bread in the house, but He offered to buy some for thirty pieces of silver, and asked who would fetch it. Judas volunteered, and went out into the street of the Jews. There some of his countrymen, who were gambling under a tub, invited him to join them. Judas replied, "Whether I play or not, I shall lose everything." The first two stakes he won; at the third play he lost all. Then the Jews asked him why he was so sad, and advised him to sell his Master for thirty pieces of silver.—Jesus asks who has sold him. John, Peter, and Judas say, "Is it I?" and to Judas the Master replies, "False Judas, thou knowest best."—Judas was seized with remorse and ran to hang himself. God cried after him, "Turn back, thy sin is forgiven."[7] But Judas ran on, came to a fir tree and said, "Soft wood, wilt hold me?" He ran on, came to an aspen, and said, "Hard wood, wilt hold me?" He hanged himself on the aspen, which still trembles in fear of the judgment day.

"According to the ballads,[8] then," says Professor Child,

[5] Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon*, Part. xx; etc. And cf. Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 95; and R. Duval, *Littérature Syriaque*, p. 116.

[6] Leopold Haupt und J. E. Schmaler, *Volkssagen der Wenden*, I, pp. 276-8 (no. CCLXXXIV), Grimma, 1841. The term 'Wends' is here used in the narrow sense, meaning the inhabitants of Lusatia (Ober- und Nieder-Lausitz).

[7] Cf. Pitrè, *Fiabe, novelle e racconti*, Palermo, 1875, I, p. cxxxviii, where after the betrayal Jesus says to Judas: 'Repent, Judas, for I pardon you'; but he went away and hanged himself on a tamarind tree.

[8] That is, the English and the Wendish.

"Judas lost the thirty pieces at play, or was robbed of them, with collusion of his sister. But his passionate behavior in the English ballad, st. 9, goes beyond all apparent occasion. Surely it was not for his tithe of the thirty pieces."[9] This last stricture is justified, although such extravagant madness is conventional in mediæval literature. Perhaps the author of the ballad was 'thinking ahead' and had in mind Judas's remorse for the betrayal of Jesus; or possibly by some accident of transmission the ninth stanza has been transposed from a later part of the ballad, now lost, where his final remorse was described.

The points of similarity between the two ballads are numerous, and for the most part obvious. In both Judas goes out with thirty pieces of silver, at Christ's bidding, to buy food for the apostles. In both he meets with fellow-townsmen in the city. In both he is tricked out of his money, in the one case by theft, in the other by gambling. In both his grief and despair are emphasized. In both, of course, he sells Jesus for thirty pieces of silver; but in the English ballad it is to Pilate, and he receives the very money he has lost, while there is no indication that the plan of selling his Master was suggested to him by the Jews. In both there is the same quick transition to the scene in which Jesus makes known to the apostles that he has been sold. Peter and Judas, of course, deny all guilt (the Wendish ballad adds John)—and here the ballads diverge. In the Wendish, Judas is branded as the false one; he suffers remorse and hangs himself, first on a fir then on an aspen. In the English, Pilate arrives with his

[9] St. 9 reads:

> He drou hym selue bi þe cop, þat al it lauede ablode;
> þe Iewes out of Iurselem awenden he were wode.

This is just after he has become aware of his loss.

knights (a variant of the scene on the Mount of Olives); and the ballad breaks off. The complete version may perfectly well have gone on with an account of Judas's remorse and hanging.

That the two ballads should agree in the main story is to be expected, because they both follow Biblical tradition; but that, while differing in some respects, they should agree in several non-Biblical details of incident and in structure is truly remarkable. There is nothing, to be sure, in this parallelism that cannot be accounted for by coincidence; but it seems to me more reasonable to assume some sort of indirect or distant relationship. Of just what sort, it is idle to speculate without more data.

With these two ballads I should like to compare an interesting fragment from the Coptic *Gospels of the Twelve Apostles,*[10] which Origen considered to be, along with the *Gospel according to the Egyptians,* the very oldest apocrypha, possibly even anterior to Luke.[11] Here it is the wife of Judas who is at the bottom of all his villainy. Every day Judas stole something from the bag and brought it to his wife.[12] But she was a woman of insatiable avarice, and when he did not bring home enough to please her she would hold him up to ridicule. One day, because of her greed, she said to him: "Lo, the Jews seek thy Master.

[10] Patrologia Orientalis, II, 2, *Les Apocryphes Coptes, I, Les Évangiles des Douze Apôtres.* Edited and translated by E. Revillout. Paris, 1904. This fragment is the 5th, pp. 156-7.

[11] M. S. L. 13, 1802. Other Fathers regarded it as not so early.

[12] Compare the Provençal *Passion,* still in manuscript, in which an early version of the usual legend of parricide and incest is found, at the end of which Jesus promises to Judas's wife and two children a tithe of the company's receipts for their support. MS. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), nouv. acq. fr. 4232, fol. 32v. It must be remembered, however, that this wife in the Coptic Gospel can have no connexion with the mother-wife of Judas in the mediæval *vitae Judae.*

Deliver him to them, and they will give thee great riches in return." Judas listened to his wife, just as Adam did to Eve, and under the power of her evil eye went to the Jews and bargained to sell his Master for thirty pieces of silver. When he had received the money he took it to his wife and said—. The remainder is lost.

The parallelism between this legend and the English ballad is not particularly close, but the two stories have this in common, that they both tend to shift the burden of guilt from Judas himself to a woman, his sister or wife. This tendency to shelter Judas or to palliate his crime is essentially Oriental; and although the Coptic fragment and the English ballad may independently represent a sort of attempt at motivation of the sudden incomprehensible betrayal, I am inclined to suppose some kind of relationship, devious and distant enough, between the two.

Although we have no means of following the early history of this ballad material, we may naturally turn to the Gospels as the ultimate source of part of it. The very ease with which the incidents of both the English and Wendish ballads could have sprung from a popular distortion of the Biblical history is a strong argument against the theory of any closer relationship of the ballads than that of having the same ultimate origin,—that is to say, of any relationship at all. And yet I think one must overstress the element of coincidence if one would deny the *probability* of some connexion.

For the journey to buy bread the obvious source is John 4, 8. When Jesus met the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well "his disciples were gone away into the city to buy meat"—*ἵνα τροφὰς ἀγωράσωσι*. Since Judas was treasurer and steward, it was natural to choose him for the errand. Moreover, in the Huldreich text of the *Toldoth*

Jeschu,[13] when Jesus and his companions are on the way to Jerusalem, Judas offers to go to the city to buy bread.[14] The difficulty of the disciples in obtaining food is perhaps reflected in the story of the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, which both Matthew and Mark tell twice,[15] and may have made a vivid appeal to the popular mind.[16]

[13] *Historia Jeschuae Nazareni,* Leyden, 1705, p. 53.

[14] Here it is an imaginary city, Laisch (Latium?). Cf. Samuel Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen,* Berlin, 1902, p. 163 n. For a somewhat analogous incident in the Koran cf. Krauss, p. 199.

[15] Mt. 14, 15 ff.; 15, 32 ff. Mk. 6, 35 ff.; 8, 1 ff.

[16] A travesty of the miraculous feeding of the five thousand is found in the Huldreich version, p. 51. On the journey from Rome to Jerusalem (the same on which Judas later went to Laisch to buy food) Jesus, Peter, and Judas stopped at a small inn, and mine host had only one goose to offer his three guests. Jesus then took the goose and said, "This is verily not sufficient for three persons; let us go to sleep, and the whole goose shall be his who shall have the best dream." Whereupon they lay down to slumber. In the middle of the night Judas rose up and ate the goose. When morning came the three met, and Peter said, "I dreamed I sat at the foot of the throne of Almighty God." And to him Jesus answered, "I am the son of Almighty God, and I dreamed that thou wert seated near me; my dream is therefore superior to thine, and the goose shall be mine to eat." Then Judas said, "And I, while I was dreaming, ate the goose." And Jesus sought the goose, but vainly, for Judas had devoured it.—Similar tales are reported by Vansleb, who travelled in Egypt in the seventeenth century. Cf. Gustave Brunet, *Les Évangiles Apocryphes,* 2nd edition, Paris, 1863. The tale of a person outwitting his two companions in this way is, of course, very widespread. It is doubtless of Oriental origin, and got into the literature of the West probably through the *Disciplina Clericalis.* Cf. *Contes Moralisés de Nicole Bozon,* ed. by L. T. Smith and P. Meyer, Soc. des anc. textes franç., Paris, 1889, p. 293. It is one of the exempla of Jacques de Vitry. Bozon tells it to illustrate the proverb: 'Qui tot coveite tot perde.' M. Meyer believes that the *Gesta Romanorum* (Oesterley, ch. 106) drew from Bozon rather than from Petrus Alphonsi. The *Alphabet of Tales,* however, gives Petrus as its source for the story (CCXXXVIII, ed. by H. H. Banks, E. E. T. S., p. 166). Goedeke, *Orient und Occident,* III (1864), p. 191, gives several other references, to Eastern and Western versions, and shows its occurrence in Æsopic

There is nothing in the Gospels to suggest the sister of Judas in the English ballad; but in the early Coptic text there is his wife with the evil eye and the inordinate love of money. Here is apparent, as I have suggested, a desire to shield Judas from the ignominy of having sold his Master by making him only an agent; and the choice of a woman to bear the responsibility of the crime is certainly of a piece with the usual Oriental attitude toward women. The general abuse of women which runs through so much of Western novelistic literature is practically all of Eastern importation. It is not at home in the West; it is not a popular motif there; and we feel therefore the more justified, when we find an isolated instance of it, as in the Judas ballad, in assuming an Oriental origin,—especially when we can find an Oriental analogy. Note, moreover, that in the ballad Judas's sister is not *an* evil woman, but *the* evil woman (þe swikele wimon), as though she were a person with a well-known history; and that the Coptic Gospel emphasizes by repetition the woman's bad character: 'la malice de ses yeux et son insatiabilité . . . par suite de l'insatiabilité et du mauvais œil de cette femme.'

The rôle of Pilate in the English ballad can be nothing but a popular corruption or misunderstanding of the Biblical story mediævalized. Since he had a large share in the destruction of Jesus, he might naturally have been the one to pay Judas; and as an important personage he would of course be a knight. Judas's apparent anxiety to get back the identical thirty 'plates' which were stolen from him is an exaggeration intended doubtless to emphasize

literature. (I am indebted to Professor Kittredge for references to Goedeke, Bozon, and the *Alphabet of Tales.*) Judas's connexion with this tale seems to be entirely limited to the East. In the *Toldoth,* of course, it is part of his rôle always to get the better of Jesus.

his remorse. How Pilate should be in possession of just those coins is a point (unless it implies that he was an accomplice of the theft) on which the narrator would simply say: so it was.

The other incidents of the ballad—so far as it goes—are in essential agreement with the Gospel narrative. The story of Judas's hanging on the fir and aspen in the Wendish ballad has various folk-lore ramifications which need not be discussed now. But one would certainly like to know the close of the English ballad.

Beyond all doubt it is a far cry from first-century Egypt to thirteenth-century England to nineteenth-century Lusatia. One might almost speak of the inherent improbability of tracing any relationship among tales or parts of tales so isolated and widely separated; and, to be sure, I do not pretend to have traced, in any strict sense, such a relationship. But the more one studies the mysteries of comparative folk-lore, the more one comes to look upon almost anything as possible, and to identify probability with possibility. At any rate, a dim light is better than none at all.

PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM.

X.—THE USURER IN ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

Jeremy Bentham in his iconoclastic *Defence of Usury* offers this plausible if somewhat cynical explanation of the well-nigh universal unpopularity of the money lender: "Those who have the resolution to sacrifice the present to the future, are natural objects of envy to those who have sacrificed the future to the present. The children who have eaten their cake, are the natural enemies of the children who have theirs." [1] And similarly he explains the unhappy rôle that is almost as universally meted out to the money lender of drama. "It is the business of the dramatist," he says, "to study and to conform to, the humors and passions of those on the pleasing of whom he depends for his success. . . Now I question whether, among all the instances in which a borrower and a lender of money have been brought together upon the stage, from the days of Thespis to the present, there ever was one, in which the former was not recommended to favour in some shape or other—either to admiration, or to love, or to pity, or to all three;—and the other, the man of thrift, consigned to infamy." [2]

However loath one may be to accept this theory of "the business of the dramatist," one has to confess that his practice often seems to be what is here stated; and there is no getting away from the fact that Bentham has described the typical treatment accorded both the money lender and the money borrower of drama, certainly of the English drama at its greatest period. Indeed, a reading of the more than

[1] *Defence of Usury.* Letter x, John Bowring's edition of Bentham's *Works*, vol. III, p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.*

sixty plays [3] in which these characters appear, written during the ninety years following 1553, reveals an analogous similarity of the very devices used by the dramatists to bring about the desired conclusion. Further, by reading the plays in approximately chronological order, it is even possible to trace an apparent evolution of these devices from a crude and literal *deus ex machina* in the morality plays to two very popular *deae ex machina* who flourished in numerous amusing and highly complicated comedies of the Elizabethan and Jacobean heydey. It is also possible, thus, to come to a new realization may be, not so much of the unabashed persistency with which Elizabethan dramatists, great and small, "went and took" characters, situations, and whole plots from one another, as of the resourceful ingenuity with which they altered and varied their borrowings.

The source of the rather surprisingly ubiquitous usurer of English drama is far from certain. William Poel, in his *Shakespeare in the Theatre,* of 1913, says, "Now if we go back to the Latin comedies and consider the origin of the money lenders, we find a type of character similar to that of Shylock. Molière's Harpagon who is modelled on the miser of Plautus, has a strong resemblance to Barabas and Shylock." [4] But the money lender and the miser are very different personages in Latin comedy. The typical Plautine money lender, for example, is not miserly; and, though the typical usurer of Elizabethan drama is, it does not seem likely that he is an exotic compound of these two

[3] Forty-five of the seventy-one plays that I have found containing or seeming to contain usurers are mentioned or described in one connection or another in this paper. In the remaining twenty-six, either the usurer is an unimportant character or his usuriousness is incidental or even doubtful.

[4] Page 75.

quite distinct characters. In the few cases where they were certainly transplanted, their differences were maintained. The miser, Jacques, of Jonson's *The Case is Altered,* far from lending his money even at usurious rates, hides it, as does his Plautine prototype, Euclio, of the *Aulularia.*[5] And the usurer, in Heywood's *The English Traveler,* who is even to his language, a translation of the Banker in the *Mostellaria,*[6] and who may be taken as a fair representation of the typical Plautine money lender, is unlike his English brethren in being portrayed as not miserly at all, or as in other ways objectionable. Indeed, neither the Plautine miser nor the Plautine money lender is markedly similar to the Elizabethan stage usurer in the latter's almost distinguishing characteristics: his villainy, his cruelty, his loathsomeness, and the contempt and hatred with which he is regarded. In these respects, the Plautine procurer comes much closer; and it is possibly significant that these rôles are actually combined in Security in *Eastward Hoe.* However, no one of these three characters in Roman comedy ever appears in a plot strongly suggestive of those which soon came to be the almost invariable vehicles in which the Elizabethan usurers ran their ignominious careers. Certainly, there seems to be no tangible basis for Poel's assertion that in *The Merchant of Venice,* "Shakespeare thrusts the conventional usurer of the old Latin comedy into a play of love and chance." [7]

After finding that many Elizabethan descriptions of the physical appearance, the dress, and the personal habits of the usurer were modelled closely on mediæval descrip-

[5] For a discussion of the indebtedness, see Cunningham's edition of Gifford's *The Works of Ben Jonson,* 1875, vol. VI, pp. 328, 345, 350.

[6] See Reinhardstoettner's *Plautus,* especially pp. 469-474.

[7] *L. c.,* p. 70.

tions of Avarice,[8] particularly upon realizing the close spiritual affinity between the two, I was led to look to the Avaritia who appears so often in the morality plays as the prototype of the usurer of the later drama. And here it is possible to trace a line of descent, but a line so faint and uncertain that it can be suggested as only a not improbable hypothesis. Dr. Walter Reinicke, whose treatise I did not come across until after I had completed my researches, says that out of the old morality drama, "Eine Menge typischer Gestalten treten uns entgegen, und unter ihnen befindet sich auch der Wucherer." [9] He, however, gives no example except the Usurer in Lodge and Greene's *A Looking-Glass for London and England* to support his statement, and he does not suggest an evolution from Avarice, or any other similar character of the moralities, to this relatively late dramatic usurer.

In the political-morality play, *Respublica,* of 1553, there is an Avarice who has filled one of his thirteen purses with the "intresse of thys yeares userie." [10] And Greedinesse, in George Wapull's *The Tide Tarrieth No Man,* written probably much earlier than 1576, the date of the earliest extant edition, is unmistakably and aggressively a usurer. Moreover, several other characters of this old play were to appear in most of the subsequent usurer plays, the prodigal, here a courtier, his evil associates, symbolized in Corage, "the Vice," and the broker, appropriately

[8] Compare, for example, Lodge's *Wits Miserie,* pp. 27, 28, Hunterian Club edition, and *The Vision of Piers Plowman,* Skeat's edition, vol. 1, B Text, Passus v, p. 146, ll. 190-199, and *The Romaunt of the Rose,* ll. 207-246. These partial parallels were brought to my attention in Professor E. D. McDonald's *An Example of Plagiarism among Elizabethan Pamphleteers,* Indiana University Studies, vol. IX, no. 8.

[9] *Der Wucherer im älteren englischen Drama.* Halle Dissertation, 1907, p. 6.

[10] Act III, sc. vi.

named Hurtfull-Helpe. And the usurer himself has most of the disagreeable traits of his successors and like them comes to a miserable end, though whether by "a greate fit" or "the new sicknesse" is not entirely clear. There is not in the play, however, any hint of the characteristic devices by which the overthrow of the usurer was later to be accomplished.

Nor were such devices employed in the next three plays, all belated moralities, in which usurers appear and come to richly merited confusion, Robert Wilson's *The Three Ladies of London,* 1583, its sequel, *The Three Lords and Ladies of London,* written between 1585 and 1588, and Lodge and Greene's *A Looking Glass for London and England,* of 1589.[11] In the first two, in company with Simony, Fraud, and Dissimulation, appears Usury, who has come from Venice to serve Lady Lucre. After a series of ingeniously symbolic acts, such as undoing Plain-Dealing, cutting the throat of Hospitality, attempting to slay Liberality, and "covering Conscience with Fraud's cloak very cunningly," he is arrested and branded with "a little x standing in the midst of a great C—to let men understand, That you must not take above ten pound in the hundred at any hand."[12] The Usurer in *A Looking Glass* is less of an allegorical abstraction than the Usury of the Wilson plays, as his name possibly would indicate. Instead of undoing Plain-Dealing and Conscience, he ruins Thrasybulus, a young gentleman, and Alcon, a poor peasant. And he also comes to a more theatric though scarcely as probable an end by

[11] Unless the main outlines of it have been preserved in *The Merchant of Venice,* we can know nothing of the nature of *The Jew,* which was being acted at The Bull in 1579, beyond Stephen Gosson's description of it as "representing the greediness of worldly choosers, and the bloody minds of usurers" (*School of Abuse,* Shakespeare Society edition, p. 29).

[12] Dodsley's *Old Plays,* Hazlitt's edition, vol. VI, p. 381.

appearing in the last act to return his ill-gotten gains with a halter in one hand and a dagger in the other, "groaning in conscience" because he believes he is "stumbling" over the "bleeding ghosts" of his many victims.

Marlowe's *Jew of Malta,* of 1589-1590, is the play that most clearly marks the transition from the old to the new dramatic portrayals of incarnate avarice. For one thing, the incarnation has at last gained a man's name. From Avarice, through Greediness, Usury, and a Usurer, Barabas has finally emerged, and Shylock is soon to come. In addition, Barabas is more than personified avarice, even if he does seem less a person than the complex and human Shylock. There is, nevertheless, in the play the intense seriousness and much of the didactic purpose and method of the earlier writers; though here again the *Jew of Malta* points forward as well as back. Several of the merriest of the later usurer comedies, such as Jonson's and Middleton's, retain something of both the earnestness and didactic intent of the morality play, and such creatures as Dekker's Bartervile, in *If it be not Good, the Devil is in it,* Massinger's Overreach, and Pertenax, of Francis Quarles's *The Virgin Widow,* have much in common with Barabas, the Usurer of Lodge and Greene's creating, and the still earlier Greediness, not only in the lesson and in the frightfulness of their final taking off, but in their abstractness as well. In fact the names, Bartervile and Overreach, show that allusive and symbolic names did not die out with Marlowe; Sir Moth Interest, Mamon, Lucre, Hoard, Scrape, Gripe, Bloodhound, Hog, and Vermine were all to follow. Marlowe's most fruitful contribution, however, at least to the development of the plot of the usurer play, was the introduction of a rebellious daughter, a heroine who later was to become almost a *dea ex machina* both in the overthrow of her

usurious father, the villain, and the salvation of her prodigal lover, the hero.

Even this, which soon came to be a frankly comic plot, was nevertheless related to one of the oldest and most persistent of all the themes of the morality drama, the story and the lesson of the prodigal son.[13] A usurer is often the means by which a prodigal comes to his downfall and reformation. The witty Thomas Nashe read this interpretation into the original version of the story itself: "The Prodigall-child in the Gospell is reported to have fedde Hogges, that is, Usurers, by letting them beguile hym of his substance." [14] And that the dramatists who made the most grossly comic utilization of this theme, even at a late date, were not unaware of the sacred source is possibly indicated by a passage in Shirley's *The Constant Maid,* of 1636 to 1639. A usurer there warns a friend not to have "either in arras or in picture the story of the prodigal" lest it frighten young gentlemen from spending their portions.[15] The prodigal-usurer play bears close resemblance to the Biblical story in another detail than the one suggested by Nashe, the often scandalous "happy ending." It must be noted, however, that the fatted calf in the Bible story is not killed until after the prodigal repents and returns, while in the drama the reward usually precedes the reformation. In fact, *Timon of Athens* is almost unique among the plays in which the usurer and the prodigal appear, in that Timon pays the just penalty of his foolish extravagance.

The typical and excellent comic situation in the prodigal-usurer play is this: A young spendthrift, who has

[13] See Professor Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama,* vol. I, p. 63.

[14] *Christs Teares Over Jerusalem,* R. B. McKerrow's edition of Nashe's *Works,* vol. II, p. 100.

[15] Act I, sc. i.

become heavily indebted, or has actually lost his property, to a usurer, comes into his own, or the other's, property by eloping with the usurer's daughter and by carrying off anything else of value he or his mistress can lay hands on, money, jewels, or the mortgage itself. A somewhat similar though really distinct and later device for undoing the usurer, either bachelor or widower, and rescuing the hero was the introduction of an heiress whose hand both should seek, but of course the prodigal should eventually win. There is practically no end to the dexterous changes that were wrought in these two basic groupings of characters and events. It is not, however, the present purpose to point out the ways in which most of the sixty and more dramas conformed to these protean plots, nor, indeed, to enumerate all the permutations and combinations that resulted from them. It may suffice merely to show some of the more important developments in the growth of the two main plots and to describe some of the later plays that illustrate the clever uses and changes of the stock situations and characters that came to be the stage usurer's almost inseparable accessories.

Marlowe's contribution to the first of the plots just described, the introduction of a rebellious daughter, was slight. Abigail in *The Jew of Malta* does not elope with one of her father's debtors or with a young prodigal; in fact, she enters a monastery. And her rebelliousness is only indirectly if at all responsible for her father's final overthrow. But in *The Merchant of Venice,* four years later,[16] the rebellious daughter goes farther. She does elope and she carries with her a part of her father's treas-

[16] There are no contributions to the usurer plot or to the portrayal of the usurer in two plays of 1592, *A Knack to Know a Knave,* and *Nobody and Somebody,* in both of which appear characters who are, quite incidentally, usurers.

ure, and, though she does not bring about her father's downfall, she and her lover are connected with the group who do. And, again, though Jessica does not elope with her father's debtor, nor, apparently, with a prodigal,[17] both a debtor and a prodigal are in the play. The latter, moreover, retrieves his fortune and that of his friend by marrying an heiress. If Bassanio had borrowed from Shylock, had eloped with Jessica, and had, in addition to money and jewels, carried off possibly the bond also, the first type of the usurer-prodigal plot would have been evolved as early as 1594 or 1595. And the elements at least of the other were inherent in this play; Shylock might have been one of the unsuccessful suitors for the hand and inheritance of Portia.

In *A Knack to Know an Honest Man,* first acted in 1594, a rebellious daughter once more appears to thwart the plans of a usurious father. She does not elope with a prodigal debtor, but she releases two prisoners from her father's house, whose capture and confinement were apparently expected to yield profit. Eventually she marries one of these young men, and thus makes an appreciable advance toward the completion of the earlier of the two chief usurer-prodigal plots.

Further advances were made in *Wily Beguiled,* written "not long after 1596." [18] The daughter of the merciless usurer, Gripe, elopes, this time with a poor scholar, Sophos. He is not one of Gripe's debtors, and so the final step in the development of the most frequent later plot is yet to be taken, but there are several innovations in this play that were to be widely imitated in succeeding usurer plays. For the first time, the "gull" appears as the suitor favored

[17] Note, however, Lorenzo's description of himself as "an unthrift love" (v, i, 21).

[18] Malone Society Reprint, p. vii.

by the father, here in the person of Peter Plodall, son of a rich and conscienceless extortioner and landlord, a kind of second usurer. Another innovation, followed at least twice, is the introduction of a usurer's worthy and humane son, as if in fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy, frequently in the mouths of Elizabethan preachers and reformers, "He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor." [19] More often this son is a dupe, comparable to Peter, or a profligate who would be as sore a thorn in the usurer's flesh as a generous son. Another means of undoing the villain, an accomplice who turns traitor, though reminiscent of Ithamore in *The Jew of Malta,* may fairly be regarded as a further innovation made by *Wily Beguiled,* especially because the accomplice is here a rascally lawyer and because he is woven more closely into the plot by being made another discomfited wooer of the heroine. Moreover, false magic is, for the first time I believe, introduced. In this play Robin Goodfellow appears as a devil, to embarrass the elopement of hero and heroine, but he is, needless to say, unsuccessful. Later and successful utilizations of false magic were for the purpose of undoing or converting the usurer. The feature of *Wily Beguiled* that is used most frequently in later usurer plays, however, is the final repentance of the usurer and his reconciliation to the enforced son-in-law and the erring daughter.

In the next usurer play of which I have knowledge, William Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money,* of 1597-1598, the rebellious daughter *motif* has reached its full development. In fact, the situation has been so cleverly complicated that one is compelled to wonder if some simpler form had not intervened, or if some foreign model had not

[19] *Proverbs,* XXVIII, 8.

been utilized.[20] Pisaro, the usurer, has *three* daughters whom he plans to marry to three rich foreign merchants. The daughters are in love with as many young English prodigals who have " pawned . . . their livings and their lands " [21] to Pisaro. The action of the play—and there is a plenty—consists in devices for outwitting the father and the three foreign dupes by the elopement of the daughters with the three English debtors. At the end, as in *Wily Beguiled,* the usuring father repents, accepts his unwelcome sons-in-law, and restores their property to them.

If Thomas Heywood's *The Fair Maid of the Exchange,*

[20] So far as I can discover, no source has been found for any one of these plays, or at least for the portions of them that would thus seem to reveal a natural evolution of the rebellious daughter device. What Marlowe may have called upon beyond his own fertile imagination is not known. Curiously, the Jessica-Lorenzo episode is not a part of the Italian novel, *Il Pecorone,* usually regarded as the ultimate source of *The Merchant of Venice;* and, though a fairly close analogue of the episode has been pointed out in Massuccio di Salerno's *Fourteenth Tale*—page 319 of the New Variorum edition of *The Merchant of Venice*—there is no other evidence that Shakespeare was familiar with the work of that author. The editor of the Malone Society reprint of *A Knack to Know an Honest Man* thinks that the name of one of the characters " suggests the possibility of an Italian source " (p. xi); and the editor of the same Society's reprint of *Wily Beguiled* does no more than point out certain obvious imitations of *The Merchant of Venice.* Dr. Albert C. Baugh, of the University of Pennsylvania, after a most painstaking search, is unable to find a source of the main plot of *Englishmen for My Money.* The " possibility of an Italian source " of any or all of these plays is strong, but thus far I have found none, nor have the several scholars, intimately familiar with the Italian literature of the period, to whom Dr. Baugh and I have appealed. Of course the prodigal, and the rebellious daughter, especially the daughter who refuses to marry the man of parental choice, are old and persistent characters in literature. It may not be too much to credit the slight if dexterous modifications of their rôles to meet the exigencies of the usurer play to a combination of English inventiveness and eclecticism.

[21] Act I, sc. i.

probably written in 1602, or, still better, Robert Tailor's *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl,* of 1613, had only preceded Haughton's comedy, it would have been possible to show an entirely regular evolution of the rôle of the rebellious daughter in the usurer play from the first uncertain step in *The Jew of Malta* to the delightful complexity of *Englishmen for My Money.* Moll, a character in the subplot of Heywood's play, and daughter of the usurer, Berry, marries Bernard, in debt to her father and frowned upon by him. At the end Berry relents, receives the profligate son-in-law, and returns to him his mortgage. In Tailor's play, the hero, Haddit, a young prodigal whose land is also mortgaged to a usurer, Hog, also carries off the daughter and some of the usurer's money as well, and is likewise pardoned and accepted by the eventually reformed Hog. Here there is false magic in the form of "spirits" conjured up to aid in the elopement and the robbery. One of the last of the usurer plays to appear before the closing of the theatres, Richard Brome's *The Damoiselle, or the New Ordinary,* written in 1637 or 1638, makes use of the same general plot and group of characters. Vermine, a late and loathsome descendant of Avarice, has ruined by egregious usury, one Brokeall. After many complications, Brokeall's son marries the usurer's run-away daughter, gains his father-in-law's reluctant blessing, and regains his father's property as dowry. The usurer's son reappears also, here a combination of the two most persistent traits of that character, gullibility and profligacy. These three plays may be regarded as exemplifications of the simplest form of the plot containing the usurer, his rebellious daughter, and the prodigal, and come logically, if not chronologically, before Haughton's triple complication of it. To take further liberties with the chronological order, Shackerly Marmion's *A Fine Companion,* of 1633, marks the next

stage of development. Here the usurer, Littlegood, has *two* daughters whom he plans to marry to two men of property, one of them Dotario, an old miser. However, Dotario's two needy nephews, Aurelio and a prodigal, Careless, succeed by various stratagems in marrying the two daughters, and not only are they reconciled to the reluctant father-in-law, but Careless receives back his forfeited lands and Aurelio becomes Dotario's avowed heir.

Dotario thus plays a rôle somewhat similar to the senior Plodall in *Wily Beguiled,* in being, if not precisely a usurer, yet an undesirable and avaricious person whose overthrow is as welcomed as the usurer's, especially when he stands in the way of a charming maiden and her needy lover. A still closer adherence to the plot of *Wily Beguiled* is to be found in William Cartwright's *The Ordinary,* of 1634. Here, again, the one usurer has the customary rebellious and attractive daughter, and the other, the almost as frequent foolish son. It is planned that these two shall marry, but the hero, whose father in this case has been undone by the first usurer, tricks the son of the other into marrying the daughter's maid, succeeds, of course, in marrying the daughter himself, and thus, in addition to humiliating both usurers, recovers his ancestral estates. The more frequent disposal of the usurer's son is to marry him off to a courtesan, a fate, indeed, sometimes meted out to the usurer himself. Such is the case in Middleton's well-known *A Trick to Catch the Old One,* of 1606, the first play, I believe, in which two usurers appear. Here the prodigal, Witgood, recovers his mortgages by persuading a usurious uncle, Lucre, into believing that he is about to marry an heiress—in reality his mistress. The other usurer, Hoard, is cozened into marrying the woman, who seems to have deserved a better fate, and Witgood recovers the mortgages from Lucre and marries Hoard's niece.

This play, however, has made use of a device that really should be regarded as part of what may be called the second main usurer plot. This second type appeared first in *Jack Drum's Entertainment,* written probably as early as 1600. Here the usurer, whose "great nose" and some of whose speeches recall Shylock,[22] and whose villainy reminds one less specifically of Barabas, is a bachelor and suitor for the hand of a young heiress. The needy hero appears as her true-love, however, and achieves the two-fold purpose of practically all usurer plays, the confusion of the usurer and the financial salvation of himself, by the eventual marriage of the rich heroine. This second plot is used in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Scornful Lady,* of 1609, with the substitution of "a rich widow" for the young heiress, and with the addition, borrowed from the other type of play, of making the prodigal the usurer's (rather willing) victim. In fact, the amazing final conversion of the usurer Morecraft, against which Dryden protested in his "Essay of Dramatic Poesy," may be evidence of a still further attempt to make use of elements in the older type of plot.[23] A variation of this device for the overthrow of the bachelor or widower usurer forms a sub-plot for Beaumont and Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife,* of 1624; it is the main plot of Shirley's *The Wedding,* of 1626, save that the successful lover is here the companion, not the debtor of the usurer; and it plays no small part in Shirley's *The Constant Maid,* of 1636-1639.

In this last play, however, are to be found several variations of older rôles and situations that had by 1636 become

[22] See Simpson's *School of Shakespeare,* vol. II, p. 208.

[23] It has been suggested that Morecraft owes something to Demea of the *Adelphi.* See *Variorum Edition of the Works of Beaumont and Fletcher,* edited by R. W. Bond, vol. I, p. 360.

common property. As early as Fletcher and Rowley's *Wit at Several Weapons,* of 1608, the function of the rebellious daughter had been transferred to the equally oppressed and resourceful niece and ward of the usurer. The rich gull, as intended husband, and the poor scholar, as successful lover, reappear in this play nevertheless. The usurious guardian and the elusive ward persist in Jonson's *The Staple of News,* 1625, and in his *The Magnetic Lady,* 1632, in D'Avenant's *The Wits,* of 1634, and in Shirley's omnium gatherum, *The Constant Maid,* of 1636. And the foolish or loathsome intended husband and the successful prodigal, or at least poor lover, are equally persistent.

Ward and niece did not exhaust the possibilities of the rôle of the rebellious daughter. The usurer's wife had been cleverly utilized as far back as 1603 in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term.* Here the young prodigal, Easy, loses his property to the usurer, Quomodo, but as if in return, wins the affections of the usurer's wife. Quomodo, ignorant of this fact, feigns death, to see how his widow and worthless son will bear their loss. The wife promptly marries Easy, and through the gullibility of the son and the chicanery of her husband's traitorous accomplice, is enabled to return Easy's money to him. Just who retains the lady after Quomodo's indignant return to life is not clear. This making a cuckold of the usurer was another much relished punishment. The next year it was employed in *Eastward Hoe;* and in *Westward Hoe,* of 1603 or 1604, the usurer, Tenterhooke, escapes it only by the last-hour faithfulness of his wife, as a reward possibly for his exceptional virtues. He is one of the very few kindly disposed usurers in the drama of the period, and is almost the only decent character in the play in which he appears. The earliest use of this highly popular humiliation of the usurer that I have found is in

Chapman's revolting *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria,* 1596. Inasmuch as the bigamous usurer inflicts this punishment upon himself, in his second rôle of Count Hermes, he can scarcely be regarded as having suffered severely. In *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's,* of 1613, Middleton introduced a real widow of a usurer to compensate the wife of one of her deceased husband's victims and to marry the customary young prodigal, who is here a needy brother-in-law of the victim.

The wife of an enforced marriage was twice used, first in Beaumont and Fletcher's bewildering play, *The Night Walker or the Little Thief,* of 1614, where as in *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl,* of the year before, false magic is also employed to bring about the usurer's overthrow and conversion. And to the same ends, his deserted wife is also introduced. An unwilling bride and an illegitimate child were similarly utilized in Richard Brome's *The English Moor, or the Mock Marriage,* of 1636; and the year after *The Night Walker,* in a play called *The Honest Lawyer,* written by an unknown "S. S.," false magic, robbery, a prodigal's deserted wife sought as mistress by the usurer, the revelation of attempted murder, and the usurer's worthy son were all marshaled to save the prodigal and to overwhelm the usurer, Gripe, whose name even is borrowed.[24] A more edifying reformation through the agency of another worthy son is wrought in Thomas May's *The Old Couple,* of 1619. Here the usurer, Earthworm, is publicly credited through the agency of the son with charitable deeds really performed by the son, and is so raised in general esteem thereby that the neighbors come to his aid when his dwelling catches fire. This mark of

[24] Wycherley also gives this name to a usurer. See his *Love in a Word.*

affection touches Earthworm's heart and wins him away from his evil courses.

The device for converting the usurer in the above play is far removed, it must be granted, from the device of the more typical plots, for a worthy son fulfils the functions of the rebellious daughter; and the usurer is not humiliated, gulled, or robbed. And John Cook's *Greene's Tu Quoque, or the City Gallant,* of 1609 to 1612, also departs from the more usual plays, for retribution is as tardy as in Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's.* In this play compensation is afforded by a nephew who in a sense combines two rôles, that of Middleton's widow and that of the persistent foolish son of the usurer. Staines, a prodigal, has forfeited his property to a usurer, Whirlpit. The usurer dies soon after the beginning of the play and leaves his wealth to his nephew, Bubble, who was at the first Staines's servant. Staines then becomes Bubble's servant and steward and by fraud and by leading Bubble into profligacy secures not only his own forfeited estate but practically all that Bubble has inherited. Thus at the end the characters are returned to their proper status; and the scandal of a gentleman acting as a servant and of a servant posing as a gentleman is saved by the gentleman's dexterous cheating. Another career in this highly immoral play is more conventional and, if possible, more disgraceful. There is a second prodigal, Spendall, who by gambling, debauchery, and silly lavishness runs through the property that has been given him by his former master, a mercer. He is then rescued from the imprisonment he manifestly deserves by the inevitable rich widow.

Before passing to those plays that represent the plagiaristic climax of the usurer drama, it may be of interest to analyze in some detail the elements in one of the most deviously compounded and justly celebrated of all the

plays of the class, Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts,* first acted sometime before 1626. Sir Giles Overreach, in the magnitude of his extortions, the terribleness of his villainy, his willingness to use his daughter's charms to gain his ends, and his final attempt to kill her, in his seldom failing resourcefulness, his dignity, and in his fearful fate reminds one inevitably of Marlowe's usurious villain, Barabas. His early love for his daughter, and her elopement, on the other hand, go back unmistakably to *The Merchant of Venice.* The usurer's traitorous accomplice, Marrall, had a possible prototype in Ithamore of *The Jew of Malta,* or more possibly in Churms of *Wily Beguiled.* Wellborn, "a Prodigal," who repents his wild ways and promises reform, after his lands have been regained by fraud, had become a familiar character in the usurer play. His "new way to pay old debts," indeed is not so very new, for the trick of making his creditors think he is about to marry "a rich Widow" (who needs no introduction to the readers of this paper) had been utilized by Witgood in Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One* nineteen years before.[25] Overreach's extortionate devices are not unlike those of the usurer, Shafton, in Heywood's *A Woman Killed With Kindness.*[26] And there are even verbal reminiscences of an earlier play.[27] Nevertheless, Massinger has combined these themes, characters, and situations so deftly, has given to his hero-villain so much eloquence and Marlowesque impressiveness, and has

[25] For a discussion of Massinger's indebtedness see E. Koeppell, *Quellen-Studien*, p. 138. Brander Matthews, however, says "it is not at all unlikely that Massinger may have owed nothing to Middleton's play" (C. M. Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, vol. III, p. 316).

[26] Cf. III, i, 58 of the latter play with II, i, 2-48 of Massinger's.

[27] Cf.

> . . . and when mine ears are pierced with widows' cries,
> And undone orphans wash with tears my threshold,

written all in such adequate verse that he must be given credit for having written not only an original but a thoroughly fine play.

We have seen the growth and the almost endless ramification of two fairly distinct usurer plots, that is, devices for overthrowing and humiliating the usurer; the introduction of a rebellious daughter who characteristically elopes with her father's prodigal debtor, and the introduction of an heiress, maiden or rich widow, in the pursuit of whose hand and fortune the usurer is ignominiously defeated, ordinarily by one of his young prodigal victims. The last logical step in the evolution of the usurer plots was, of course, the combining of these two devices into one plot. Several of the plays already described have in one way or other come close to effecting the inevitable union, but so far as I can discover, the first to do so completely was Rowley (and Middleton's) *A Match at Midnight,* "revised" in 1623.

In this play the crafty and repellent usurer, Bloodhound, has a daughter, Moll, whom he intends to bestow as a reward upon his loathsome accomplice, Earlock, a scrivener. Moll, however, elopes in due course and, as a culminating bit of poetic justice, carries off the mortgage on her lover's property. And, in addition, Bloodhound loses the ubiquitous "rich widow." Other old familiar faces appear. There is the usurer's foolish son who meets the approved fate of marriage to a trull. And the profligate son appears, too, but his rôle is given a somewhat original turn. He, of course, wooes, and for a time seems to win

(*New Way to Pay Old Debts,* IV, i, 127-128) and

> You lothe the widow's or the orphans tears
> Should wash your pavements, or their piteous cries
> Ring in your roofs.

(Jonson's *Volpone,* I, i, 50-52).

the widow his father is courting, but when the "widow's" husband unexpectedly appears,—shade of Quomodo in *Michaelmas Term*—the prodigal repents and reforms without his accustomed reward.

This ingenious compilation was not long denied the flattery of imitation. In 1625, Shirley hit upon it for the framework of his *Love Tricks,* but not without notable contributions of his own. The usurer, Rufaldo, has an even more humiliating love venture, and, incredible as it may seem, the young prodigal who carries off his daughter also plays the rôle of the elusive heiress whom the usurer would wed, and thus is able in his own person to achieve a double victory over the villain and to give him an unmerciful trouncing besides. This amazing dénouement is thus effected. Rufaldo is betrothed to Selina, who runs away disguised in the clothes of her brother Antonio. He, in love with the usurer's closely watched daughter, Hilaria, gains access to her and to her father's house by donning in turn his sister Selina's clothes, and appearing as the usurer's bride. After the mock wedding, the beating takes place. Antonio and Hilaria are made happy, and we learn that in the meantime Selina has married her true-love Infortunio.

The possibilities of this combination of plots evidently appealed to Shirley, for in *The Constant Maid,* written sometime between 1636 and 1639, he recurred to it, but this time with scarcely so original variations. It is a niece and ward in this play who finally eludes the clutches of her usurious uncle and guardian, Hornet, to marry the young Playfair. Hornet, moreover, loses a rich widow as usual, but under circumstances less ingeniously humiliating and painful than those utilized in the preceding play. One notes with surprise that the rich widow is not bestowed on, possibly, one of Playfair's profligate compan-

ions; Shirley, with unwonted inattention to opportunity and precedent, seems to leave her quite unprovided for at the end of the play. And one misses also the usurer's foolish son with his accustomed bride, or indeed, a profligate son who could have taken care of the widow.

If only these had been there, and a group of sharpers borrowed from Middleton, one or two corrupt serjeants and justices, a rascally lawyer, a broker, a vile scrivener possibly as the daughter's intended husband, and, may be, a starved servant, pale descendant of the famished Launcelot Gobbo, this play could have stood not only as an epitome of three-fourths of the usurer plays of the preceding ninety years, but also as a concluding illustration of the eclectic and synthetic practices of certain Elizabethan compounders of plays.

ARTHUR BIVINS STONEX.

XI.—THE *PUY* AT ROUEN[1]

The *puys* were pious literary societies in the north of France from the thirteenth century till modern times. Most of them were in honor of the Virgin. The one at Dieppe was dedicated to her assumption, the one at Amiens to her purification, the one at Rouen to her immaculate conception. At first the *puys* were more religious than literary. Later they became more literary than religious. Some became wholly secular literary academies. The *puys* encouraged the art of poetry by crowning the victors in poetic contests held according to their rules. The contests were arranged and conducted by a president chosen for one year and called *prince* or less often *maistre.* The membership was drawn from the clergy, the officials, and the bourgeois. The *puys* interest us on account of their acknowledged influence upon the German *meistersänger* and the French *rhétoriqueurs,* especially in the development of ballad poetry.

The name *puy* is in Old French *pui,* "a hill," and is found first in the *Chanson de Roland.* It derives quite regularly from Lat. *podium,* Gk. *πόδιον,* "base, height, balcony." Adam de la Halle, who died in 1286, is the first to use *puy* in the sense of a society holding literary contests. Writers disagree as to the reason for the change of meaning from "hill" to "literary society." The most common view is that the society took its name from the "podium" or platform on which the contest was held. I am inclined to the view, held by the French scholar

[1] To Professor Nitze and members of his staff at the University of Chicago I owe the heartiest thanks for valuable aid in the preparation of this paper.

Henry Guy, that *puy* as a literary court is derived from an old judicial custom of calling the accused to the summit of a hill, where they were heard and judged by their peers. Michelet (*Origines du droit français,* p. 303) says that the *rederikes* or poets of Picardy and Flanders held their assemblies on the *puys,* hills. Jacob Grimm (*Rechtsalterthümer,* pp. 800-802) gives ample evidence of the custom among the Franks of holding court on hill-tops. He cites in comparison the assemblies of the Kelts and Druids upon cliffs and hills for sacrifice and court, and of the Romance poets and singers upon the *puy.*

Early in the thirteenth century Folquet, the monk of Montaudon, became permanent president of a literary "court" at Le-Puy-Notre-Dame. He was permitted to give a sparrow as first prize for poems presented. A commission of four judges made the awards. Guirart de Calanson submitted his famous canzone on sensual love. Folquet retained his leadership till his death in 1221, when the court was disbanded. Suchier (I, p. 193) thinks that this society was a model for well-to-do citizens in northern France, who united to cultivate poetry and music and, later, the musical drama; that these societies were called puys-Notre-Dame or puys, after the southern model; and that they crowned poems on sensual love as well as on spiritual love. This theory seems doubtful. In the first place, the puys seem older. The one at Arras had been organized about the close of the previous century. Secondly, the fact that the puys were less active in literary matters and confined themselves almost wholly to sacred subjects and only later developed into secular academies points, in my opinion, to a religious motive for their foundation. Churchmen took an interest in the activity of the puys as a means for proselyting and promulgating the

pious doctrines of the church, especially the dogma of the immaculate conception.

It sems well established that the puys were a development of brotherhoods organized in northern France in connection with the festivals of the Virgin and of the passion of Christ. These fraternities wrought works of piety and sought to promulgate the dogmas taught by illustrious churchmen, particularly that of the immaculate conception. This doctrine originated in the Orient, whence it reached Italy. At an early date it had been brought to some of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries of England. Thence it was introduced into Normandy. From its popularity there, the festival of the conception was called *la fête aux Normands.*

Miraculum de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae is the title of a little work attributed to St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1109. This composition, dating from the beginning of the twelfth century, relates that William the Conqueror, after the conquest of England, fearing the intervention of the king of Denmark, sent to treat with him Helsin, the abbot of Ramsay, a former councilor of king Harold, in whom he had the greatest confidence in spite of his origin. The mission was successful. But on his return voyage Helsin was about to perish in a storm, when his guardian angel appearing promised him safety, if he would make a vow henceforth annually on the 8th of December to commemorate the holy conception of the Virgin. This Helsin promised to do, and the storm fell. The angel then commanded Helsin to celebrate the conception of the Virgin (Dec. 8th) with the same service as was prescribed for the celebration of her nativity (Sep. 8th), substituting "conception" for "birth."

As the editors Mancel and Trébutien have noted, a com-

parison makes it evident that the Norman poet Wace, who died about 1184, used the Latin text of St. Anselm as a source for his poem entitled *L'Etablissement de la fête de la conception de Notre-Dame* (cf. pp. 6-9). The same story is told by Charles de Bourguéville in *Les recherches et antiquitéz de la duché de Normandie,* p. 26; also by Jacobus de Voragine, *Epistula de conceptione Beatae Mariae.*

The same kindly intervention of the Virgin is often alluded to in works of art and especially in miracle plays (Jannet, III, pp. 475, 426, 465, 462, 437, 432). Numerous associations were in turn established at Rouen in honor of the Virgin. The *confrérie de Notre-Dame* of the metropolitan church was especially important. Its members made vows and observed certain rules of life under the direction of one of their number chosen annually and called *maistre.* Ballin (p. 8) found the origin of the *Puy de Rouen* in this association. But Beaurepaire (pp. 31 seq.) has shown that the cathedral chapter was far too strict to lend support to a society that made unseemly noise and show in the processions on rogation days. Much less did it favor the union of tradesmen styled *Caritas Beatae Mariae de Orto,* which occupied a place in the cathedral and held contests, crowning pieces of poetry, especially ballades, for the fête in honor of the Virgin. This was a puy all but in name. On Assumption day it attracted the crowd by a representation of Mary magnificently dressed in the midst of a beautiful flower garden. Hence the name. This guild appears in the chapter records of 1484. It was finally expelled from the church in 1526 on account of the disturbance it occasioned. January 20th, 1519, the canons decided to suppress in the procession of the Epiphany the representation of the three kings (magi), because the crowd ridiculed the ecclesi-

astics, who with crown and scepter represented the sacred personages. Such strict guardians would surely not have approved of the establishment of a *puy de palinods*.[2]

There was another brotherhood at Rouen quite distinct from those of the cathedral and beyond the zealous surveillance of the canons, that is the brotherhood of the immaculate conception in the parish church *Saint-Jean-des-Prés*, called also *Saint-Jean-sur-Renelle*. It was founded, says

[2] *Palinod(e)* is a term of obscure origin applied both to the puy and to a form of composition in which certain verses were repeated. The palinodial verse of the chant royal is the refrain line closing each of its five stanzas. Of the early French writers on the art of poetry, who were inspired largely by the requirements of the puys, Jean Molinet (1493) gives *taille palernoise* in MS. A with the variants *paleourde* in B and *palernode* in the Vérard text. The fact that the Anonymous (1524), who follows Molinet slavishly, omits only two paragraphs, those on the *taille palernoise* and the *rime leonine*, is evidence that he could not vouch for the term. L'Infortuné in his *Instructif* (1500) has *palmode* in a verse lacking one syllable, but *psalmodie* in the Latin title referring to the same poem. This suggests *psalmodie* for the halting verse. Still Fabri (1521) writes *pallinode*. Molinet's statement that the *taille palernoise est une espece de rethorique a maniere de chant ecclesiastique* throws no light on the derivation of the word, though *chant ecclesiastique* might suggest *psalmodia*. This leaves *palernoise* unexplained. De Bourgueville, in his *Antiquités de Caen*, derives *palinot* from *palinodie*, Gk. *παλινῳδία*, "recantation," as applied to Stesichorus' praise of Helen, which retracted his published curse. Hence *chanter la palinodie* means to retract what one has said. Heretics and protestants, says de Bourgueville, have written and sung that the Virgin was stained by original sin. Contrary songs have been composed in her praise, maintaining that in her conception she was free from all sin. The weakness of this argument is its lack of application to the case. Retractions and recantations are made by those who first make assertions. Catholics cannot recant what heretics have said. In late Greek, however, *παλινῳδία* could mean also *repetition*, so that the term might be applied to a refrain or to a form of poem with certain repeated verses. But the form *palinode* from *palinodia* can be neither popular, in which case the *d* would drop (cf. *podium*, *pui*), nor learned, in which event we should have *palinodie* (cf. *psalmodie*, *mélodie*).

Farin (III, p. 168), in the year 1072 "by the most notable inhabitants of the city, who obligated themselves as long as they lived to venerate in a special manner the holy Virgin, drawing up statutes for that purpose." The direction of the society was committed to one of the members, whom they elected annually to preside over their meetings and whom they called prince. This association was authorized and confirmed by Jean de Bayeux, the archbishop of Rouen, under the pontificate of Alexander II. (1072). It existed in this condition for four hundred years, doing works of piety, like similar societies in other churches of that time (Beaurepaire, pp. 42 seq.; Guiot, I, p. 40). In the year 1486 Messire Pierre Daré, sieur de Chateauroux, having been elected prince, determined to give the society a new lustre and to make of it an *académie*. Owing to the accidents of time and wars, all records of the society up to this time have been lost. From the transformation of 1486 begins its importance both literary and religious in the eyes of all local writers. Daré was a man of note and influence, being lieutenant-general in the bailiwick of Rouen. As prince of the brotherhood for 1486 he planned to inaugurate a poetic contest in the celebration of the festival on the 8th of December. He was warmly supported by Aymery Rousselin, the parish curate, who consented to be one of the first judges. Other churchmen followed Rousselin's example, notably the prior of Saint-Lô. The session of December 8th, 1486 was a great success and found many echoes in subsequent speakers and writers. Only one prize was given; Louis Chapperon was crowned for a chant royal. Farin gives in his history (III, pp. 164 seq.) the five strophes and the envoy of this poem. It contains nothing remarkable, but is characteristic of the age, the palinodial line being:

Vierge et mere pour titre singulier.

The second *prince du palinod* was Pierre Fabri in 1487. He crowned a single poet, the same Chapperon, for another chant royal with this refrain referring to the Virgin:

Royne des cieulx, sans tache et toute belle.

Fabri, a native of Rouen, must have been of great assistance in founding the *puy*. He was curate of Mercy in 1514, when he published his *Dialogue nommé le défenseur de la conception.* His most important work is *The great and true Art of complete Rhetoric,* published after his death at Paris, 1521. It has been reprinted for the Norman bibliophiles with an introduction and notes by Héron. By prescribing minute rules for the composition of chants royaux, ballades, rondeaux, virelays, and chansons, forms of poetry admitted at the puy, Fabri became its lawgiver. In the preface of the second part he says that he composed the work "à celle fin que les devotz facteurs du champ royal du Puy de l'Immaculée Conception de la Vierge ayent plus ardent desir de composer."

Names recorded in connection with the founding of the puy at Rouen indicate that the protectors of the association were recruited from the clergy, the magistracy, the nobility, and the merchant class. The priors of Saint-Lô continued to assist. The aid of the Carmelites was sought in 1515. In that year at a meeting of the princes it was recognized that their quarters in the church of Saint Jean were wholly inadequate and they decided to move. They chose the monastery of the Carmelites both on account of its favorable situation and especially because the monks of that order had shown themselves most fervent of all in accepting belief in the immaculate conception. At first the solemnities connected with the puy were held in the cloister, a beautiful large room, where several guilds held their sessions. It was called the cloister of the palinod or

simply the palinod. Later the sessions were held in the refectory. The religious ceremonies of the brotherhood were held in the chapel of the Carmelites and the puy had so taken possession of it as to adorn the walls with arms of the princes. A magnificent band of these encircled the choir. The arms of the prince in charge always remained near the door of the choir under a bell-glass till they were replaced by those of his successor.

The prosperity of the puy was greatly increased in 1520 by the obtaining of a papal bull from Leo X. This bull consecrated in a definite manner the puy itself and granted numerous privileges and indulgences to the members. This fact made the puy henceforth secure from hindrances on the part of opposing clergy. Being authorized by the sovereign pontiff, it had an assured refuge with the Carmelites and thus escaped to some extent the surveillance and possible censure of the ordinary church authority. This papal bull, which cost 142 livres tournois, approved the statutes passed in 1515, when the society was transferred to the monastery of the Carmelites, and accorded the puy numerous advantages over all other brotherhoods. It was proclaimed March 10, 1521, by Antoine de la Barre, abbé of Sainte-Catherine, Nicolas Ler, the prior of Saint-Lô, and Jean Letourneur, grand cantor of the cathedral, to whom it had been addressed. The princes and the members assembled and in thanksgiving had a solemn mass celebrated. All promised to conform rigorously to the statutes confirmed. The pope says in the bull "qu'il veult, entend et ordonne icelle confraternité, comme la plus noble, estre avancée, exaltée, et préférée à toute les autres confraternitez de lad. ville de Rouen et mesmes de toute la province de Normandie." He grants further to the princes, to the confrères and to their wives the permission to choose a confessor to absolve them from *cas*

réservés, to change their vows, and to have an altar in their homes, where they might have mass celebrated and receive the communion. He also grants them indulgences otherwise obtainable only at Rome, merely for visiting certain churches at Rouen. Lastly the association was given the right to revise its statutes without need of new approval. The statutes were drawn up with peculiar care. But unfortunately all the early records of the society as well as the original document of the papal bull have perished, especially in the religious wars. They have been preserved however in a little book by an unknown author, printed in Gothic type of the sixteenth century, entitled *Approbation et confirmation par le pape Léon X des statuts et privilèges de la confrérie de l'Immaculée Conception dite Académie des Palinods, instituée à Rouen* (republished by Frère). It was reëdited and extended by Alphonse de Bretteville and published in 1615 with the title, *Le Puy de la conception de Notre Dame.* It is from Beaurepaire's summary of this work (pp. 65 seq.) that the following résumé is made. The anonymous author first gives a brief history of the association, not omitting its rehabilitation by Daré in 1486. There are fifty-four articles of regulation, which may be arranged under two headings. The first six and the last three govern the religious brotherhood; the others prescribe the activities of the literary academy. The respective duties of the princes and the Carmelites are minutely prescribed. On the 7th and 8th of December and the following Sunday the monks must have the main altar adorned. Upon it must be, besides the chandelier in front, four candles of white wax. Above each stall of the choir a half-pound candle. In addition, the choir and the pulpit are to be decked with tapestry. On the 7th and 8th of December the confrères are to accompany the prince to hear the complin chanted

by the monks. To this end he shall give a pound candle of yellow wax to the chief musician. The service shall close with the *salve regina* or a similar chant. Each confrère is to carry a two-ounce candle of white wax. On Sunday, Dec. 14th, at 9 a. m., mass of the conception. Expenses: 18 livres for the monks besides the 18 livres they receive from the funds of the brotherhood; 18 livres for the musicians; 6 for the organist. After mass the members retire to the chapel Notre Dame de la Recouvrance and name the prince, who is to be conducted to the altar to render thanks to God upon his knees. On the days of the nativity, purification, annunciation, and assumption, masses at the expense of the confrères, who must assist or pay a fine of 5 sols; next, deliberation in the chapel of Recouvrance. The chaplain must assist at all these masses, wearing the surplice. His pay is fixed at 15 livres from the puy and 10 to be paid by the prince in charge. All must attend a member's funeral. Four priests in white surplices must attend, each with a four-pound candle bearing the escutcheon of the brotherhood. The funeral ceremony for a deceased prince is given in still greater detail. His coat of arms is to be painted on the wall of the church and an epitaph in French and in Latin, composed by the poets crowned by him, shall be put over his sepulchre.

The rules for the government of the literary activities of the puy are of greater interest to us. On the 14th of September the ceremony of the mass recalled the palinodic pomp. All members had to attend, as well as the laureates of the previous year with their emblems. Upon the decorated altar there had been placed before the mass " une palme, deux bouquets de cire attachés sur deux vases, l'ung représentant un lys, et l'autre ung rosier, un miroir, une tour, un soleil, un chapeau de laurier, une étoile et un

anneau." These objects were afterwards taken to the puy. The prince kept the wax bouquets. On December 17th a meeting was held at the home of the prince to discuss affairs of the brotherhood, after which the puy was opened in the cloister on a high stage reared by the prince's orders, decked with tapestries and surmounted by a dais. The emblems of the prizes were placed on a large table, at which sat the princes with the members on the right and on the left. The reader, who was paid six pounds of yellow wax candles, sat on one side at a small table assisted by several experts. At another on the other side sat the poets and the beaux esprits of former years. First came a fifteen-minute sermon, " brève collacion faite par vénérable docteur." Then in a loud voice accompanied by the sound of trumpets the laureates of the previous year were called upon. They read aloud their prize poems and thanked the former prince, if present, if not, the one in charge.

At this time prizes were offered for four different kinds of poems, the chant royal, the Latin epigram, the French ballade, and the rondeau, all old and hackneyed types of medieval literature. Second prizes were offered for the chant royal and the Latin epigram, making six in all. They were represented by emblems, all redeemable at prices fixed by the statutes. For the chant royal, first prize was a palm worth 100 sols tournois, second prize was a lily worth 60 sols tournois; for the Latin epigram, first prize was a laurel wreath worth 4 livres tournois, second prize was a gold star worth 40 sols tournois; for the French ballade, first prize was a rose worth 35 sols tournois, no second offered; for the rondeau, first prize was a gold ring worth 25 sols tournois, no second offered. The article describing these prizes explains also their symbolic meaning (Beaurepaire, pp. 74 seq.):

"Que celuy qui aura faict le meilleur champ royal, en signe de victoire par lui obtenue et aussi que la glorieuse Vierge Marie a obtenu la palme de victoire sur tous pechez tant originel que aultres sera premié de la palme, qui lui sera délivrée, redimable toutesfoys en lui payant cent solz tournois; et à celuy facteur qui par aprez aura faict le meilleur champ royal que l'on appelle le *débattu* en signe que vaillamment et vertueusement il a bataillé pour la belle dame comparée au lys blanc de pureté et que, ainsi que le lys croit et flourist entre les espines sans aucunement sentir leur asperité, aussi la dicte Vierge a esté conceue et procrée par generacion humaine comme les aultres femmes sans toutesfoys avoir esté maculée ni touchée de péché originel, sera donné et délivré une fleur de lis, rédimable par la somme de soixante solz tournois. A iceluy qui aura faict le meilleur epygramme en latin, en signe de triumphe et que aussi que les impérateurs et aultres Princes rommains aprez victoire obtenue sur leurs ennemis en triumphant portoient sur leur tête le chappeau de laurier, aussi la Vierge et Mère de Dieu a triumphé par excellente victoire sur tous pechez et vices sans aucune exception, sera donné et delivré un chappeau de laurier rédimable par la somme de quatre livres tournois; et à celuy qui aura faict l'epygramme *débattu*,[3] en contemplacion de ce que la Vierge est comparée à l'Estoille matutinalle et aussi que par icelle estoile sont chassez les tenebres de la confusion et nous est annoncé la lumiere de grace estre prochaine et par ce moyen parvenir à la grande et joyeuse lumiere du soleil de justice, sera donné et delivré une estoile d'or,

[3] Débattu, *beaten, vanquished;* hence, receiving 2d prize. Cf. the *chant royal* supra, which takes 2d place. Strangely enough Guiffrey (*Vie de Marot,* I, p. 65) takes this for a literary genre, calling it *une espèce de dialogue qu'on appelait le "débattu."* V. La Curne, *Dict. hist. de l'Anc. Franç.*, s. v.

redimable par la somme de quarante solz tournois. Et à celuy qui aura faict la meilleure ballade en francoys, en contemplacion de ce que la Vierge immaculée est comparée à la roze et que la roze est preferée à toutes les aultres fleurs en oulder et suavité, aussi ladite Vierge par la grande oulder et exemple de ses virtus console les sens et esperitz vitaulx de nostre ame et entendement, les remplissant de toutes suavitez spirituelles, sera donné et delivré une roze, redimable par la somme de trente cinq solz. Et à celuy facteur qui aura faict le meilleur rondeau en signe de perfection, et que ainssi que selon l'opinion des philozophes et géometriens la figure ronde et spherique est la plus parfaicte des aultres, aussy en la Vierge et Mère abonde par grace divine plenitude et perfection de vertus, sera donné et delivré un signet d'or, redimable par la somme de vingt cinq solz tournois."

The French compositions were judged and the prizes awarded immediately. The reader would read, for example, three chants royaux. The poorest was rejected. Another was read and the worst of the three in each case rejected. The better of the last two received the first prize. The other was called *débattu,* having second place. It is not wholly evident who constituted the judges. It seems likely that the prince in charge appointed competent persons to assist the members and to lend prominence to the occasion. The old rule said: "Le Prince adjugera les prix par l'avis desdits théologiens, poètes, princes et confrères sans faire faveur." When the prizes were given, each laureate read his piece. The emblem of the prize was brought accompanied by a blare of trumpets. The prince had to pay the trumpeters 7 livres 10 sols. The Latin poems were neither read nor crowned in public. The prince called a meeting of the authors and judges at his home on the following day (Thursday) at 2 p. m. The

epigrams were read by the reader and were judged by the theologians and jurors. The prince had many obligations. "Le Prince après son eslection était tenu de faire faire un tableau représentant, d'un côté, la figure d'un des mystères de la Conception et, de l'autre, les armes de sa famille. Cette pancarte, pendue sous le grand chandelier devant l'autel principal, y restait depuis le mois de janvier jusqu'à la fin de la principauté. Il devait, en outre, faire les frais de l'affiche palinodique dans laquelle se trouvaient des compositions faites suivant les regles usitées au Puy et de manière à servir de modèle aux concurrents. La façon des deux colonnes qui s'y trouvaient, renfermant chacune 60 vers, lui coutait 4 livres de cire jaune." Some of the members found the duties of prince very burdensome. Provision was made that the heirs of a prince-elect who died before the opening of the puy might be exonerated by paying 300 livres. Any member might be free from obligation, if he would pay the chaplain 400 francs three years before his turn to become prince.

Not long after the proclamation of the papal bull, on account of the troublesome times and the fear of burdensome expense, the zeal of the membership waned. The register shows a spasmodic increase of members in 1548. But the effort was in vain. On December 14th, 1578, the princes discussed means of assuring the prosperity of the puy. The religious troubles agitated the province. Rouen had to undergo disastrous sieges and had to suffer the successive entrance of the Calvinists, of the troops of Charles IX. in 1591, and of those of Henry IV. in 1593. People's attention was not to be held by a literary academy. In spite of this, strenuous efforts were to be made to transform and reestablish the institution.

A partial restoration of the puy took place in 1595 through the efforts and influence of M. Claude Groulart,

a canon of Rouen and the first president of the parliament of Normandy, who was chosen prince for the year 1596. Groulart had the rules revised and founded two new prizes. De Bretteville (p. 26) says that Groulart " volontairement se rangea sous la protection de la Vierge, releva ledict Puy abattu, en rendit le théâtre plus magnifique, régla la dépense qui s'y faisoit et augmenta le nombre des compositions de deux stances en honneur de la Vierge, duquel il fonda les prix a perpétuité, donnant une tour pour la plus parfaicte stance et un Soleil pour la meilleure d'après, qu'il désira pouvoir estre rachatées par le prix de six livres, la première et la deuxième par soixante sols. Ledict seigneur présida lui-meme au jugement des compositions sur ledict Puy en l'année 1596."

All official records of the society were lost in the religious wars. The original Latin bull as well as its proclamation had disappeared. In the library left by Pierre de Monfault, who had been a prince of the puy and was president of the parliament in 1527, they found a single copy of a little book containing these documents (Guyot, II, p. 122; Beaurepaire, p. 83). With the support of the archbishop the society requested of the parliament permission to reprint this book, which should have the authority of originals. A decree was passed January 18th, 1597, granting this request (Guyot, I, p. 138; Beaurepaire, p. 83). The society seems not soon to have profited by this permission. The old rules, no longer fitting the needs of the day, were revised in 1614, and after approval by the archbishop and a permis of the parliament dated March 11, 1615, they were edited by de Bretteville, prince in 1614, who founded an increase in the prizes for the Latin epigram. The changes and additions in this publication mark a stage in the development of the institution. Hitherto symbolic ideas dominated. The puy was for the most part a reli-

gious brotherhood. Now the symbolic ideas are largely wanting. The puy is becoming a literary academy. The religious ceremonies prescribed are almost the same. Five kinds of composition are to receive prizes. These are the chant royal, the ballade, the stance, the ode, and the sonnet. They are all described at length with examples given. In 1732 another revision of the statutes was made. The chant royal and the ballade were rejected. A still more complete revision was made in 1769, making of the puy a modern academy, which lasted till the revolution of 1789.

It is convenient here to give a brief account of the prizes offered by the puy at Rouen. At first only two were offered, first and second for the chant royal, the palm and the lily. In 1510 Jehan Le Lieur founded the gold signet ring as prize for the rondeau. In 1514 Jacques Deshommets established the rose as prize for the ballade. The laureates received only a sum of money represented by the emblems of the prizes given to them in the ceremony. The statutes of 1515 provided two prizes for the Latin epigram. In general the prizes were assured by no permanent foundation. In 1520 an ex-prince, Guillaume Le Roux, established an income of 25 livres to aid in recompensing the poets crowned and in defraying the expenses of the divine service. Other donations soon assured the distribution of the prizes and permitted changes in their emblems. The latter, being used only during the ceremony, thus served indefinitely. The donors set a fixed monetary value for each, which was sometimes increased by subsequent gifts. In 1613 Charles de la Rocque made a foundation by which the values of the prizes for the chant royal were raised to 12 and 8 livres. The palm and the lily were changed to two silver shields bearing in relief the arms of the founder together with a palm and a lily stem. In 1614

de Bretteville increased the prizes for the epigram. The laurel wreath was changed to two silver laurel branches with his arms (9 livres), and the golden star to a gold seal ring (2 livres). The prize for the ballade remained of the same value (2 livres), but the rose was changed for a signet ring with the imprint of a rose. The value of the ring given for the rondeau was raised from 25 sous to 2 livres by the generosity of Marin Le Pigny (1612). Later the idylle replaced the ballade, and the sonnet, the rondeau. The stance, the Latin and the French ode, the hymn, and the oration were all in succession admitted to the contests in the puy. A tower (6 livres) and a sun (3 livres) were given for the best two stances; later, rings with the impression of a tower and of a sun. For the Latin Pindaric ode François de Harlay, archbishop of Rouen, offered a silver bee-hive (1624). The prizes for the Fernch ode were represented by two silver mirrors. M. de l'Ouraille, prince in 1731, established as prize for the hymn, a silver oval representing in relief the Virgin, one of whose mysteries was to be the subject of the composition each year. The cycle embraced the conception, the nativity, the presentation, the annunciation, the visitation, the purification, and the assumption. In 1699 M. de Bonnetot founded the prize for oratory. At first the discourses dealt only with the cult of the Virgin. Later moral and historical subjects were allowed. The abbé Cotton des Houssayes, secretary to the puy, in his opening address, December 19, 1771, announced a reduction of the prizes to four: "ce seront dorénavant des médailles d'argent, chacune de trois pouces de diamètre environ et d'une epaisseur convenable: d'un côté, est l'image de la Sainte Vierge, avec cette légende *Immacul. Concep. B. V. Acad. Roth.* Sur le bord du revers, on voit la représentation des anciens prix, tels

que la Croix, l'Anneau, le Miroir, la Ruche, la Tour, le Lys, la Palme, la Rose, le Soleil, le Laurier, l'Etoile: le milieu du revers est uni pour qu'on puisse y graver le genre du prix, l'année où il aura été remporté, les noms des fondateurs. Ces quatre prix seront donnés, l'un au meilleur discours français sur un sujet de religion proposé chaque année, deux autres à deux pièces de poésie française, alternativement entre l'ode et l'idylle, les stances et le poème héroique; un quatrième à une pièce de poésie latine alternativement entre l'ode et l'allégorie, anciennement appelée épigramme."

Besides the regular prizes mention is made in the early and in the late history of the society of extraordinary prizes called *prix des princes*. These were of considerable importance. Sometimes the academy gave prizes from its own funds.

The puy at Caen (1527-1792) was a simple annex of the university, modeled after that at Rouen. Guiot gives many samples of poetry crowned in the early period. The earliest printed collection dates from 1666, there being about eighty such pamphlets preserved at Caen.

Besides those at Rouen and Caen, there were puys in Abbeville, Amiens, Arras, Beauvais, Béthune, Cambrai, Dieppe, Douai, Evreux, Lille, Tournai, Valenciennes. Many isolated facts are known in regard to a number of these. The one at Amiens was especially important. Cf. Gröber, *Gr.* II, ind. s. v. *puy*. The *Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* has recently (1912) published a magnificent album giving reproductions of the very curious pictures painted for this puy and now preserved at Amiens.[4]

[4] I am indebted for this statement to M. Abel Lefranc, recently exchange professor at the University of Chicago, and to M. Emile Picot, who, in a private letter, gives me also many other important citations concerning the puys.

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XII.—A BYZANTINE SOURCE FOR GUILLAUME DE LORRIS'S *ROMAN DE LA ROSE*

The poet of the *Roman de la Rose* dreamed one May morning that he came to a park wall decorated with allegorical representations of vices and defects. And when he entered the park he found there a company of dancers, whose individual members also represented different human attributes. With this company was the God of Love, and his attendant who carried his bows and arrows. So that when the dances had ended and the poet went on to explore the park, the god and his squire followed him. They soon found a spring, bubbling up under a pine, with a curb on which was written: "Here the beautiful Narcissus died." In the spring's depths they could see two stones, like crystal, that changed their color under the sun's rays and reflected all the park round about. This was the water where Cupid had sowed the seeds of love, the famous Fountain of Love,

> Dont plusors ont en maint endroit
> Parlé, en romans et en livre. (ll. 1606, 1607)

This spring proved the undoing of the poet. For as he looked down into it, he saw mirrored there rose bushes surrounded by brambles, and when he saw them he felt at once that he must pluck at least one of the roses for its perfume's sake, one bud in particular, which tempted him because it was so pink and straight and fragrant. But when he went to get the bud he ran against its wall of thistles, nettles, thorns and briars.

Here was the god's opportunity. Seizing an arrow from his squire he shot it full at the poet. It pierced him to the heart, and he fell in a faint. Reviving, however,

he tried again to reach the bud. A second arrow hit him, and a third, but rallying from each wound he still struggled on. At last he could breathe in the fragrance of the flower, but only when his strength was spent, and he had been forced to yield to Cupid's power. So he surrendered his heart as a hostage, received the god's commands, and with them the solace granted to faithful lovers.

The commands given, the god vanished, and the poet turned once more toward the rose. The hedge parted before him, he was about to pull the bud even, when its warden rushed out at him and pushed him back. But he would not retreat, even though Reason plead with him. New friends came to his aid. Again he drew near the rose. Only Bel-Accueil's opposition prevented him from kissing it. But while they were arguing, Venus, with a torch,

> . . . dont la flame
> A eschauffée mainte dame, (ll. 3435, 3436)

so warmed Bel-Accueil that he gave way. The kiss was taken, and at once there entered the poet's body a perfume which drove away all grief.

Still the battle was not wholly won. The foes of true love rose against the lover. Dire was his strait for all the bud's sweetness. Worst of all, Jealousy now joined his enemies, had a moat dug about the bushes, a turreted bastion built, and within the bastion a tower, where he imprisoned Bel-Accueil, while the lover was left alone outside the gates to lament his friend's captivity and the new turn given to Fortune's wheel.

The essential features of this picture are evident: the wall with its personifications, the park with its flowers and birds, the Fountain of Love with its stones of different colors and its glassy depths, and the roses behind a thorny hedge, which holds the lover back from them. The God

of Love plays a leading part in the action, and the solution —a temporary one—is brought about by Venus's torch. Medieval symbolism and ancient mythology blend here in a most unexpected way.

And should we ask the question: Where did this blending take place? did Guillaume de Lorris make it or another?, we have in favor of Guillaume de Lorris his two lines:

> La matire en est bone et noeve, (l. 39)
> . . . .
> Et la matire en est novele, (l. 2096)

as well as the absence of such conceptions from French and Latin literature before his day. Against his claim to the making would stand the passage where he says that the Fountain of Love was already famous "en romans et en livre," and the metaphor of the hedge-protected rose maiden, which had already done service in Gautier of Arras's *Eracle*.

Another comparison comes to mind that may throw a little light on the matter. The company which was found dancing caroles by the poet was composed of abstractions and qualities. Yet it was dancing genuine dances, and with evolutions and songs which recall the movements and songs of the caroles described in *Guillaume de Dole,* some thirty years before. The dancers of this older poem were courtiers, their dances were the fashionable steps of the day, so that as far as fiction can be real what they executed was real. And yet their pastime resembles the pastime of the personifications of the *Roman de la Rose,* resembles it so strongly that we naturally wonder whether their story was not known to Guillaume de Lorris, and whether he was not making a clever adaptation of it at this point. A conjecture which gives rise to a second one. The court poem

of which we are speaking was not known to its hearers by the name of *Guillaume de Dole*. This title is recent. But the poem had a name of its own, one given it by its author, and which he took pains to weave into its lines, the name of *Roman de la Rose,* after a birthmark on its heroine.

So our dance scenes were not new, and perhaps the name was not new, and it may be that the "matire," of which Guillaume de Lorris boasts, refers not to this novel adaptation of court poetry, nor yet to his allegory, but to the way he handles the precepts of love which the God of Love lays down for the lover. These precepts were drawn from Ovid, with more or less elaboration, and may be new in that they appear in vernacular fiction for the first time, perhaps, and thus reach a wider audience than their sponsors of the schools had reached before. Or they may have been new in that they are put here in the mouth of the God of Love himself, instead of claiming the conventional authority of the Roman poet. But whatever the meaning of Guillaume de Lorris's words may be, we can feel assured that he is dealing fairly with his readers. His allusion to his indebtedness for the notion of the Fountain of Love should of itself establish his reputation for honesty. Of this fountain no critics yet have found a trace, and his confession of borrowing, therefore, seems to us entirely gratuitous, though of course his immediate readers may have understood the reference.

But would they be conscious of any dissimulation in regard to the central idea of the *Roman de la Rose,* the notion of a rose maiden protected against enterprising suitors by a paling or hedge? This metaphor had been already used in French poetry, though only incidentally, and it had been enforced by the subsidiary conceit of comparing maidens to roses. Why then did not Guillaume de Lorris mention this use? Undoubtedly because he was

ignorant of it. Sixty years had surely passed since Gautier of Arras had written his *Eracle,* and the literary public he addressed at that time may have had no relation at all to the later public of Guillaume de Lorris.[1] And the same assumption is probably true of the reference made to the perfume of a rose, which might have been also found in *Guillaume de Palerne,* of the last decade of the twelfth century. There the lover sees his mistress coming to him in a dream and giving him a rose, the odor of which banishes all his care.[2]

To other striking features of the *Roman de la Rose,* however, such as the park wall with its allegorical features and the hunting down of the lover by the God of Love, the literature of the West had not made any reference. Before Guillaume de Lorris they are not so much as hinted at. Yet they had their being, had indeed already attained expression in romantic composition, in the East and in the Greek tongue.

[1] It may be well to quote Gautier's metaphor again:

> Je ne vi onques nule tour
> Rendre sanz plait et sanz estour.
> Eracles voit bien que li rose
> N'est pas de tel paliz enclose
> Qu'il s'en fust pour fol tenuz
> Teus qui peust estre venuz. (*Éracle,* ll. 2394-99)

And his comparisons:

> Mais que l'ortie est od le rose. (do., l. 2508)
> N'affert pas a l'empereur
> Qu'il ait l'ortie entour la fleur. (do., ll. 2510, 2511)
> Sire, ne malmetez le rose. (do., l. 3136)

Cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXIII (1908), pp. 278-283.

[2]

> Tantost com recevoit la flor,
> Ne sentoit paine ne dolor,
> Travail, grevance ne dehait.
> (*Guillaume de Palerne,* ll. 1455-57)

Cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn., loc. cit.*, p. 282, n.

In the last quarter of the twelfth century a Byzantine writer, Eustathius Macrembolites, had tempted fame with his novel of *Hysmene and Hysmenias.*[3] The story, as a whole, is a fairly close imitation of Achilles Tatius's *Clitophon and Leucippe,* but other influences were at work on its author, and prompted him to introduce into the first part of his romance material which was quite foreign to the traditional Greek tale of love and adventure.[4] He followed Achilles Tatius's example, however, in making his hero the spokesman of his experiences from the beginning.

He, Hysmenias, had been sent to the city of Aulicomis as a herald of Zeus, and was entertained at the house of Hysmene's father, Sosthenes, during his stay. A beautiful park adjoined the house, and in the park was an elaborately carved stone fountain. One of its ornaments was a pillar of many colored stone, forming its center. The bottom of the fountain was so cut as to give the appearance of constant motion to its water.[5] Ivory couches had been set near it, where the meals were served, with Hysmene acting as cup-bearer.

Hysmenias's first visit, the morning after his arrival, was to the park. He found it inclosed by a wall decorated with allegorical personages. There were four virgins, in symbolical dress, and having symbolical attributes, above whose heads were written the names: Prudence, Valor, Temperance, Justice. After them came a chariot bearing

[3] Cf. R. Hercher's edition in his *Erotici Scriptores Graeci*, vol. II, pp. 161-286. A document of 1186 may refer to this Eustathius (K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, pp. 764-766).

[4] This material lasts through half of the story, to the eighth chapter of the Sixth Book, or to page 219 of Hercher's edition.

[5] A poem of Nicetas Euganianus, who was a contemporary of Eustathius, but somewhat his senior, furnishes the direct model for this fountain, without much doubt, but both park and spring go back to Achilles Tatius. (*Clitophon and Leucippe*, Book I, c. 15)

a naked winged boy. In one hand he held a bow, in the other a torch. At his side he carried a quiver and a sword. About him all people and nations were gathered adoring, and also two women, one in white, the other in black. Behind the people came all kinds of fishes, birds, and animals, and one and all, man and beast, did homage to the boy. For he was Eros, whom all creatures serve, who conquers men by weapons, women by flame, birds by arrows, and through his nakedness rules the sea. The two women typified day and night.[6]

The day passed. That night, the second of his visit, Hysmenias had a dream. Before him stood the naked boy, heaping reproaches on him for scorning his power and proving insensible to the charms of his servant, Hysmene. But while the god was speaking Hysmene herself appeared, with a rose in her hand. She begged Eros to spare Hysmenias for her sake, and the god yielded after much entreaty, dropped a rose on the dreamer and vanished. So the vision ended.

Hysmenias, now wide awake, lost no time in seeking out his friend, Kratisthenes, and telling him what he had seen. Eros, he said, had emptied his quiver into him, and had burned his heart with flame (important incidents, which Eustathius had not mentioned before in the account of the

[6] The immediate source of these ideas—nonsensical in some of their explanations—I have not found. Eros's emblems, less the sword, could derive from *Clitophon and Leucippe* (II, c. 4, 5), which also attributes Eros's power over birds to his wings (possibly the starting-point of his power over fishes in Eustathius), and vaunts his sway over animals, plants, and even over stones and streams (I, c. 17). Among the paintings described by Achilles Tatius is a portrait of Eros. Yet he does not attempt allegory, however well some of his pages might lend themselves to it. Perhaps some allegorized revision of *Clitophon and Leucippe* underlies Eustathius's bewildering conceptions.

dream). Eros had even overcome Zeus in him. Eros had besieged and taken him. "Once I was the fountain of Zeus," he declared, "full of virgin graces, but now Eros is making me flow away into the fountain of Aphrodite . . . . Once my head was crowned with laurel, but now with roses." [7]

Subsequent nights brought new visions. In his waking hours Hysmenias would ever return to the wall and worship Eros's image there. And as he worshipped he became aware of additional devotees of the god, all in symbolical attire, the twelve calendar months, for instance, each represented with its proper attributes, according to its season.[8] One night a sound from the park awoke him. He went out and found Hysmene by the spring. Emboldened by the hour, he kissed her, and embraced her with such sighing that she asked: "Do your lips give you pain?" And he, "Though you sting me like a bee, and though you protect the hive and wound the harvester of the honey, still shall I press on to the hive, enduring the pain, and garner in the honey harvest. For the sting will no more rob me of the sweetness than the rose's thorn will keep me away from the rose." [9]

[7] Eustathius's text for the first section of our quotation reads: Διὸς ἐγὼ πηγὴ μεστὴ χαρίτων παρθενικῶν · ἀλλ' Ἔρως πρὸς πηγὴν Ἀφροδίτης μετοχετεύει με. Book III, c. 2 (Hercher's edition, p. 180, ll. 23, 24).

[8] Here we reach solid ground. Allegorical treatment of the months of the year was a favorite theme among the Byzantines. Theodorus Prodomos (†a. 1159) had recently attempted it. It arrives in our romance quite belated, as we see, coming in long after the other descriptions and in no way connected with them. So we would assume that the presence of the months is due to Eustathius's desire to make the list of his personifications complete.—For the months in Byzantine literature, see Krumbaeher, *op. cit.*, pp. 753, 754.

[9] *Op. cit.*, Book IV, c. 22 (Hercher's edition, p. 200, ll. 9, 10).

5₂

Another night Hysmenias could not sleep for love. Hysmene's couch was near, and he went to it. She permitted his fondling but resisted his desire, begging him to spare her, lest he "pluck the ears before harvest time," lest he "pull the rose before it peeps out of its calyx." "For when the crop is whitening," she added, "then you may pluck the ears, and when the rose peeps from its calyx then you may pull it . . . . Toward you I am a sleepless warden, a wall of stone not to be attempted, a paling not to be scaled." [10] And the metaphor once broached, Hysmene does not fail to return to it, as in the stolen interview, where she says: "Hysmenias, you have lovingly cherished me, this Hysmene of yours, like a garden, and you have put around me, the garden, a paling, lest the hand of the wayfarer pluck me." [11]

Both metaphor and allegory suddenly stop here. The remainder of the romance tells of nothing but the risks which the lovers run after their inevitable separation. All notion of personification or symbolism seems wholly forgotten. Even when Hysmene and Hysmenias successfully triumph over all those perils which the Greek novel of antiquity took delight in enumerating, and at last find themselves safe and sound in Aulicomis again, to be married in that park where they first met, even then Eustathius does not yield to the temptation of rounding out his abandoned imagery with the winding-up of his love story. A curious neglect and one that does not give us a high appreciation of the author's mental and literary endowments.

[10] *Op. cit.*, Book v, c. 17 (Hercher, p. 212). The original for the last sentence quoted above is: *Ἐγώ σοι φύλαξ ἀκοίμητος, ἀπαρεγχείρητος αἱμασιὰ καὶ φραγμὸς ἀνεπίβατος* (ll. 21, 22).

[11] . . *σὺ τὴν σὴν ταύτην Ὑσμίνην ἐρωτικῶς κατεκήπευσας · σύ μοι καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθου τῷ κήπῳ, μὴ χεὶρ ὁδοιποροῦντος τρυγήσῃ με.* *Op. cit.*, Book VI, c. 8 (Hercher's edition, p. 218, ll. 30-32).

Yet this negligence helps us somewhat in divining Eustathius's plan for the first part of his novel. Allegory was fashionable in his day. He would seek popular favor by fusing it with a romantic narrative of the accepted kind, and thus heighten interest in his story. He borrowed the description of the calendar months, as we have seen. The inference is wholly warranted that the main body of his symbolism was borrowed too. But he grew tired of this departure from the beaten path. It involved too much planning on his part to carry it through, and so he dropped it when the action required the separation of the lovers and their departure from the park. Consequently, did we know the allegorical literature of Byzantium of the twelfth century, we might expect to find there in full the images and metaphors of *Hysmene and Hysmenias,* and probably within the limits of one and the same composition too—always excepting the picture of the months. And we might almost feel assured that the park wall with its personifications, the God of Love in pursuit of his victims, the fountain of Venus, and a rose maiden protected by a paling, were figures already familiar to the literary public of the Eastern Empire.

That the allegorical element in Eustathius enjoyed an existence apart from the narrative seems to result also from an analysis of Guillaume de Lorris's poem. Nowhere in the incidents of the *Roman de la Rose* can the slightest trace of the notions of the Greek novel be detected. The similarity between the two compositions begins and ends with their images. Therefore Guillaume de Lorris would not have taken these images from *Hysmene and Hysmenias.* He simply followed a source which Eustathius had used many years before. If we do not admit this solution, we must suppose that these peculiar ideas and conceits were twice invented independently at approximately the same

time. A common model for the two authors is clearly the more reasonable conclusion.

Now in its broader lines, the interpretation of this model by our two imitators, or the copy of it made by each—however we may prefer to put it—is fairly identical. In their treatment of the theme of the park wall, of the acts of the God of Love, or the defense of the rose maiden, they differ but little. The defense, in the one case, to be sure, is in words, in the other in material, but the symbols are the same. In other features, less essential to the action, they sometimes disagree. We can hardly reconcile Eustathius's Fountain of Aphrodite with Guillaume de Lorris's Fountain of Love. For the latter means a real spring, bearing that name, while the former is a purely rhetorical phrase, to represent Hysmenias's change of purpose. Could these terms be discovered elsewhere in literature, whether of the East or West, we should not be so tempted to connect them here. Guillaume de Lorris's phrase is perfectly natural, requiring no explanation. Eustathius's is entirely artificial. It is possible that he also had a spring before him, but he rejected the substance to retain only the symbolical meaning.

For Eustathius has a real spring in his park to which he does not give a name but which he describes with considerable detail. One of its features is a pillar of variegated stone. Now Guillaume de Lorris saw in the bottom of the Fountain of Love two stones which changed color in the sunlight. The same idea, you say. Yet Guillaume de Lorris adds that this fountain reflected the park around it, while no such property is attributed to the spring of Eustathius. But if you turn to Achilles Tatius, who at this place is the ultimate original for *Hysmene and Hysmenias,* you will find that the spring he describes does

possess this power.[12] On the other hand, he does not mention that its stone work could change color. So in one interesting attribute of the fountain the older Greek novelist agrees with the French poet against his own descendant, while in another the medieval authors agree with each other against the ancient.

It is much more easy to harmonize the different versions of the pursuit of the heroes by the God of Love. In Eustathius the god is a mural painting, endowed with life only in Hysmenias's dreams. For Guillaume de Lorris he is always alive, and he plays an important part in the action. In either story he subdues the hero. His arrows wound Hysmenias, his torch burns him.[13] The lover of the *Roman de la Rose* falls under Cupid's darts also, but he is not burned by Cupid's torch, because that god does not carry a torch. The torch is there, however, in Venus's hands, and it decides the wooing, not by burning the lover but the lover's friend, Bel-Accueil, who had been opposing the lover's desire for a kiss. This transfer of Cupid's attribute to his mother, and the test of that attribute on some one who is neither the lover nor the loved one, are not explained. Guillaume de Lorris knew, as well as any one, that all tradition was against him in both instances. Why he violated that tradition we do not know, but it may be permissible to suppose that the error came to him from his source and, like the average poet in the vernacular, he dared not change what he had received. Now if this supposition is tenable it might indicate the nature of his source as oral rather

[12] *Clitophon and Leucippe*, Book I, c. 15, ¶6. Cf. *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 1557-60.

[13] These details appear only in Hysmenias's account of his dream, as we have seen, but must have been given at length in Eustathius's source, here very clumsily abridged.

than written, for such a glaring error would hardly have remained uncorrected in a written text.

Still, whatever its form may have been for Guillaume de Lorris, he must have reproduced his source with greater fidelity in some important particulars than Eustathius had done. The latter almost wrecks his allegory by proportioning it among the sleeping and waking hours of Hysmenias. There results a division of the subject which does not make for clarity. Guillaume de Lorris, on the other hand, continues his dream from beginning to end, making his allegory hold in one uninterrupted vision. This arrangement seems much the more natural. It is also the manner of the regular vision literature of the Middle Ages. So that the burden of proof for violating it rests on Eustathius. And here we must not forget that the Greek author was trying to bend his images to the requirements of an established style of composition, a conventional romantic narrative. Consequently he was often obliged to weigh his course. He had no desire to teach, to point a moral. He felt compelled to lend his story as life-like a color as the novelists who had preceded him. The allegory for him was a pure embellishment. He could not allow it to affect the tenor of his substance. Therefore he would divide it among alternating periods of dream and dialogue, a procedure more vivid, more real than the form of a continuous vision. And, as we have seen, he wearied of this gratuitous task, to revert to the simple novelistic standard.

He not only wearied of his symbolism, he handled it badly. Take the rose scene in Hysmenias's first dream. Eros is upbraiding the dreamer when Hysmene appears with a rose. She defends him to the god, who gives way to her entreaties, and vanishes. But as he vanishes he drops a rose on the sleeper. Of Hysmene no further men-

tion. There is no reason in this solution. Hysmene should have bestowed the rose. The true version comes out in *Guillaume de Palerne,* where the mistress gives the rose to her suitor, whose grief is assuaged by its perfume. And this version is indirectly confirmed by the account of how the bud's perfume soothes the lover in the *Roman de la Rose.*

Yet for all his bungling Eustathius has done the important service of indicating quite definitely the scenery and leading conceits of Guillaume de Lorris's poem. In some particulars the identification is unmistakable. In others, as the spring in the park and the metaphor of the rose maiden, we feel that Eustathius has transformed concrete images, objective if you will, into empty rhetoric. But he affords us, even here, an intelligible glimpse of his pattern, the pattern to be of Guillaume de Lorris. And through what he has borrowed from it for the ornamentation of his novel, we are enabled to determine the approximate date as well as the probable content of that pattern.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that shortly after the middle of the twelfth century this allegory of a park, with its wall of personifications, its Fountain of Love, its description of the pursuit of the lover by the God of Love, and its rose of a maiden protected by a paling, or thorns, travelled from East to West and became known to court poets of France. From it Gautier of Arras drew his picture of the rose maiden, and drew directly, if we may give any heed to his agreement with Eustathius on the word "paling," as against Guillaume de Lorris's hedge.[14] From it too the poet of *Guillaume de Palerne* drew his scene of the gift of the rose, where he also agrees with Eustathius

[14] Yet Gautier also speaks of the nettle with the rose. See note 1 above.

as to the incidents of the gift, but with Guillaume de Lorris as to its effect.

However, had Guillaume de Lorris not incorporated the larger part, perhaps the whole, of this allegory into his poem, these minor loans of his older colleagues would have stood for individual fancies solely, and received only a passing comment. Even more, Eustathius's labored efforts to put life into the traditional Greek romance by his borrowed imagery would have escaped serious notice.[15] It was Guillaume de Lorris who rescued the fading story from oblivion. And he did not simply rescue it. He restored it. He created it again. By using it as a frame and support for the analysis of those emotions which speed up or retard the progress of love, he won for it a larger public and assured for it a far-reaching career.

F. M. Warren.

[15] Dunlop and his reviser are hardly conscious of them (*History of Fiction*, new edition, London, 1888, vol. I, p. 80).

XIII.—SWIFT AND THE STAMP ACT OF 1712

In a debate, December 22, 1819, in the House of Commons on the Newspaper Stamp Duties Bill, Sir James Mackintosh, speaking of the passage of the original act of 1712, said: "Swift—being then a distinguished Tory, suggested the first idea of a stamp duty for the avowed purpose of preventing publications against the government,—Swift, that parricide who endeavored to destroy that very press to which he owed so much, to which he owed all his fame, and at that very moment all his preferment." [1]

The charge thus brought against Swift has been reiterated by writers on the history of journalism such as Andrews,[2] Grant,[3] and Bourne; [4] by Cooke in his *Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke,*[5] and implicitly, if not openly, by others.[6] Swift's unamiable personality, his satiric point of view, his avowed partisanship in so much of his writing, and that "inverted hypocrisy" which caused him to present his own actions in their worse rather than their better light, have led many to accept the accusations against him without careful scrutiny of the grounds on which they are based.

The fact that the Stamp Act is generally believed to

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. XLI, p. 1479.

[2] Alexander Andrews, *The History of British Journalism*, London, 1859.

[3] James Grant, *The Newspaper Press*, Tinsley Bros., London, 1871.

[4] H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, London, 1887.

[5] George Wingrove Cooke, *Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke*, Richard Bentley, London, 1835.

[6] John Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*, London, 1882.

have been the cause of the suspension of *The Spectator*[7] and other contemporary publications makes it of unusual importance to students of literary history. Moreover, it continued in operation until 1855, and the tax was increased by various enactments until it reached a maximum of four pence on all newspapers, and of three shillings and sixpence on all advertisements.[8] For nearly a century and a half it was the most important restriction on the liberty of the press. The far-reaching effect of this measure lends added interest to the question as to what was Swift's share of the responsibility for its enactment.

There are a number of charges brought against Swift in connection with it. First, that Swift "suggested the first idea of a stamp duty."[9] Second, that the government kept secret its intention to pass the measure and that "it was smuggled at last into 10th Anne, Cap. 19, and fairly hidden among the duties on soap, paper, silk, linens, hackney chairs, cards, marriage licenses, etc."[10] Third, that as the Stamp Act was not enacted until June 10, 1712, and as Swift referred to such a proposal in *The Journal to Stella* under date of January 31, 1710-11, he "seems to have been among the first to have had private information as to the intended measure."[11] Fourth, that Swift "seems not only to have approved, but to have urged this severity."[12] Fifth, that he showed "an ill-natured exultation" instead of regret over the imposition of the tax.[13]

It is a noteworthy fact that the only evidence advanced

[7] L. Lewis, *The Advertisements of the Spectator*, Boston, 1909.
[8] Grant, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 299.
[9] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
[10] Ashton, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 77; Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[11] Grant, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 100; Cooke, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 221.
[12] Cooke, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 222.
[13] Grant, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 100; Ashton, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

by his critics is taken from Swift's own writings. The four following entries from *The Journal to Stella* are often quoted: Under date of January 31, 1710-1711 Swift writes: "They are here intending to tax all little printed penny papers a half-penny every sheet, which will utterly ruin Grub Street, and I am endeavoring to prevent it." October 10, 1711: "A rogue that writes a newspaper called The Protestant Post Boy has reflected on me in one of his papers, but the Secretary has taken him up, and he shall have a squeeze extraordinary,—I'll tantivy him with a vengeance." July 19, 1712: "Grub Street has but ten days to live; then an Act of Parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every half-sheet a half-penny." August 7, 1712: "Do you know that Grub Street is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money."

In answer to the charge that Swift approved this measure and urged its adoption we have his own words that he endeavored to prevent it. His critics very cavalierly dismiss this statement. Bourne says, "Swift's endeavors appear to have been in the opposite direction." [14] Andrews writes as follows: "We should not be surprised if Swift also suggested to the government the imposition of a tax upon the press. He was so insincere that we do not believe him when he asserts the contrary.—There is something strangely confirmatory of our suspicions in the tone in which Swift predicts and gloats over the havoc which the act made among the smaller fry." [15] Austin Dobson is the only author I have read who credits Swift with sincerity in this statement.[16]

[14] Bourne, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[15] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[16] Austin Dobson, *Richard Steele, A Biography*, English Worthies series, Longmans, London, 1886: "The baleful Stamp Act, which

As long as Swift's critics question his honesty, we shall have to seek other evidence to settle the issue. Before leaving this phase of the subject, however, it may be well to quote from Swift's *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen,* which he prepared for publication in 1737. In speaking of the Act, he says: "But as the person [Mr. Secretary St. John, now Lord Viscount Bolingbroke (original note)] who advised the Queen in that part of her message, had only then in his thoughts the redressing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the House, to have proposed some ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreseen by many persons and hath since been found true by experience." [17]

There is what may be called negative evidence that Swift's contemporaries did not hold him responsible for the Act. A careful search of his own correspondence [18]

Swift had foreseen a year earlier, and had vainly endeavored to avert" (p. 143).

[17] *Works,* edited by Temple Scott, George Bell & Sons, London, 1902, vol. x, pp. 124-125. In the sentences immediately preceding Swift says, "Among the matters of importance during this session, we may justly number the proceedings of the House of Commons with relation to the press, since Her Majesty's message to the House, of January the seventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, representing the great licences taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The meaning of these words in the message, seems to be confined to these weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the persons and the management of the ministry. But the House of Commons, in their address, which answers this message, makes an addition of the blasphemies against God and religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the honour of the legislature, than some effectual law for putting a stop to this universal mischief."

For historical reasons given below, I am compelled to believe that the interpretation put by the House on the Queen's words is far more reasonable and accurate than that of Swift.

[18] F. E. Ball, ed., *The Correspondence of Swift,* London, 1910-1914.

as well as that of Steele,[19] Pope,[20] and Bolingbroke,[21] does not reveal a single reference to it. Further, if Swift had been so accused, he would not have remained silent. Controversial writing would have been augmented by a lively piece of invective, we may be sure, had there been any occasion for it. Moreover, I examined the papers of the period available in the Burney collection of the British Museum for any possible expression of such feeling by the editors. As the papers were prohibited from printing even the votes in parliament, one cannot expect to find them discussing even a measure of such immediate importance to them as the Stamp Act. The only article was in *The Protestant Post Boy* for May 10, 1712. This ardent opponent of Swift would not have spared him had there been any general belief that he was responsible for the Act. Instead we find the following: "For the poor broken Stationer that was resolved to be revenged on the whole Trade by this Project, because he could not live by it, even without such Taxes, may assure himself that he is out of his calculation. . . ."

Evidence of an impersonal and objective kind in regard to the first three charges, that Swift was the first to suggest such a tax, that the act was passed surreptitiously, and that Swift was one of the first to know of it, if he did not actually suggest it, may be found in the history of the efforts to restrict the press during the reign of Anne and in the events immediately connected with the passage of the Stamp Act itself.

On April 18, 1695 the House of Commons refused to

[19] J. Nichols, ed., *Epistolary Correspondence of Sir Richard Steele*, 2 vols., London, 1809.

[20] Whitwell Elwin, *The Correspondence of Pope.*

[21] Gilbert Parke, *Letters and Correspondence of Viscount Bolingbroke*, 4 vols., London, 1798.

agree to a further continuance of the Licensing Act. They said it was "a Law which in no Wise answered the End for which it was made. . . . But there is no Penalty appointed for Offenders therein, they being left to be punished at Common Law (as they may be) without that act, whereas there are great and grievous Penalties imposed by that Act, for Matters wherein neither Church nor State is in any ways concerned." [22]

In January, 1698-1699 the House of Lords passed a "Printing Regulation" bill which contained provisions for requiring authors and printers to register their names.[23] The House of Commons refused to concur.[24] January 22, 1701-1702 the same bill was again introduced in the Lords but was voted down on the third reading.[25] These actions are of interest for two reasons. This proposal to require authors and printers to register their names keeps recurring throughout the period, and, as I shall show later, it was only when this was found impracticable, that the Stamp duty was passed as an alternative measure.

In the second place, it is of immediate interest, because on January 21, 1701-1702 the Commons, "Ordered, That a Committee be appointed to consider of Methods for preventing Libels and Scandalous Papers; and report the same to the House." Fifty-seven members were named, including Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Harley, Mr. Walpole, "and they are to meet this afternoon at Five a Clock in the Speaker's Chambers." [26]

There is no entry of any report of this committee. But

[22] *Lords Journals*, vol. XV, p. 545.
[23] *Lords Journals*, vol. XVI, p. 368.
[24] *Commons Journals*, vol. XII, p. 468.
[25] *Lords Journals*, vol. XVII, p. 22.
[26] *Commons Journals*, vol. XIII, p. 699.

Andrews in *The History of British Journalism* says: "It was now for the first time that it struck the legislature that what it could not suppress, it could, at all events *tax,* and by putting a stamp of one penny on every newspaper containing a whole sheet, and of one half-penny on every half-sheet raise a not inconsiderable revenue. A project to this effect was brought forward but abandoned." [27] He gives no authority for this statement except to say that it elicited a pamphlet entitled: "Reasons humbly Offered to the Parliament, in behalf of several Persons concerned in Paper Making, Printing and Publishing the Half penny News Papers against the Bill now Depending for laying a Penny Stamp upon every half Sheet of All News-papers." [28] This pamphlet is undated and there is nothing to warrant its being placed definitely in 1701-1702. It is certain, however, that it could not refer to the legislation of 1712, as no such bill was framed, and one phrase places it fairly early in the period: "That the Paper Trade hath of late Years (since the Revolution). . . ."

There are in the British Museum five pamphlets of from fifteen to sixty-seven pages in length, dated from 1698 to 1704,[29] discussing the necessity of restraining the press for the protection of the Established Church. In

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

[28] Press Mark, 816. m. 12 (38).

[29] A Letter to a Member of Parliament, Showing, that a Restraint on the press is Inconsistent with the Protestant Religion, and dangerous to the Liberties of the nation, 1698 (32 pp.).

A Modest Plea for the Due Regulation of the Press, In Answer to several Reasons lately Printed against it. By Francis Gregory, D. D., 1698, (46 pp.). A Letter to a Member of Parliament, Showing the Necessity of Regulating the Press: Chiefly from the Necessity of Publick Establishments in Religion From the Rights and Immunities of a National Church, and the Trust reposed in the Christian Magistrate to Protect and Defend Them. 1699, (67 pp.).

Reasons against Restraining the Press, 1704, (15 pp.).

1702 Queen Anne issued a proclamation against the increase of "heretical, blasphemous, irreligious, treasonable, and seditious books, pamphlets, papers" since the expiration of the Licensing Act.

We have in this royal proclamation and these pamphlets the first expression of the desire to protect the Established Church from attacks by dissenters, free-thinkers, and atheists, which became such a strong motive for urging restrictions upon the press.

In the Duke of Portland's Manuscripts there is a letter from Abigail Harley to Edward Harley dated March 7, 1709-1710, which contains the following passage:

"Yesterday was taken up by the Doctor's (Sacheverell) counsel in reading passages out of several books full of the horridest blasphemy that ever was vented among those called Christians, others full of base reflections upon the Queen and her family, one passage that she had no more title to the Crown than my Lord Mayor's horse, Defoe's wet and dry Martyrdom was not forgot: none of common understanding but must think the Church and State too in danger from such christened heathens if suffered to go on without notice taken of them. The Queen heard all this yesterday." [30]

It may have been the intense bitterness of the sectarian controversy caused by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell which prompted the Queen to summon a convocation of the clergy on December 12, 1710. In her letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury she said:

"It is with great Grief of Heart, we observe the scandalous attempts which of late years have been made to infect the minds of our good Subjects, by loose and Prophane Principles, openly scattered and propagated among them.

[30] Historical MSS. Commission, Report 15, App. IV, *Mss. of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey*, vol. IV, p. 534.

"We think the Consultation of the Clergy particularly requisite to repress these daring Attempts, and to prevent the like for the future." [31]

On January 31, 1710-1711, Queen Anne sent a second letter to Convocation conveying matters for its consideration. The first was, "The Drawing up a Representation of the present State of Religion among us, with regard to the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness." [32]

Each house of Convocation appointed a committee for this purpose. The two houses were unable to agree on the form of the representation, and after about four months of controversy a deadlock resulted.[33] Each house, however, adopted its own representation, so that there were two documents in place of any official statement. In that of the lower house occur the following passages:

"However, neither these, nor any other wicked Arts and Methods, how craftily soever pursued, would have met with so remarkable Success, had not other CAUSES and circumstances occurred to help forward the event, and favour the Growth of irreligious Opinions.

"Among the chief of these, we reckon, the Removal of that Restraint, which the Wisdom of former Times had laid upon the Press; and which no sooner ceas'd than those pernicious Principles, that before had been whisper'd only in Corners, among the Dissolute and Lawless, were now proclaim'd in our Streets, and sent abroad to pollute the Minds of Your Majesty's Subjects, in all Parts of your Dominions."

[31] *The History of the Present Parliament and Convocation.* Printed for John Baker at the Black-Boy in Pater-Noster Row M D CCXI. Pp. 113-114.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *Ibid.* Also Abel Boyer, *Political State of Great Britain from 1711 to 1739*, London, 1739. Pp. 485-486.

The concluding paragraph:

"That, for which we at present, in most earnest, and most humble Manner, address ourselves to your Majesty, is, That by your Royal Interposition, An Act may be obtain'd for Restraining the present excessive and Scandalous Liberty of Printing Wicked Books at Home, or Importing the like from abroad, in such Manner, as to the Wisdom of Your Majesty and Your Parliament shall seem the most expedient. For as we take this to have been the chief Source and Cause of these Evils Whereof we now Complain: so we Question not, but the Removal of it would be the most speedy and effectual cure of them." [34]

The concluding paragraph of the representation of the upper house is the same in substance and almost identical in wording.[35]

These representations were printed in a pamphlet issued by John Morphew under date of 1711.[36] This evoked a number of other pamphlets under date of 1711 and 1712 in reply to the charges of Convocation.[37] In one of these occurs the following significant passage: "'Twill be difficult to get a Protestant British Parliament into your measures, of taking away the Liberty of the Press. 'Twas the Invention of Printing which dispel'd the Darkness of Popery, and brought Truth and the Gospel it self to light." [38]

During this time that the religious or ecclesiastical phase of the question was receiving so much attention, the economic and political aspects were not ignored. In the Treasury Papers, CXXIX, there is an undated document,

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 262-272.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[36] Press mark, 4105, CC. 3.

[37] Press mark, 698. l. 13.

[38] *Some Thoughts on the Representation of the Lower House of Convocation In a Letter to the Reverend Dr. Atterbury, Prolocutor*, London. Printed for J. Baker at the Black-Boy in Pater-Noster Row, 1711.

calendared as 1709 or 1710, entitled "A Proposal to increase the Revenue of the Stamp Office." It says, "There are published every Weekly [*sic*] about Forty-five thousand News Papers. . . . If a Duty was laid upon these Papers, 'tis very Probable that not above Thirty Thousand would be published Weekly. Yet allowing this Decrease: If the Thirty Thousand were mark'd with the Penny Stamp; The Stamp office would produce more then it now does 125 per week which is per Ann 6500." Later sections propose a similar duty on "Advertisements, Play House Bills, News Letters, Pamphlets, Almanacks," and also a tax of two pence per sheet on every book entered for copyright.

More significant, however, than this unsigned proposal is an entry in the diary of Narcissus Luttrell, which is the most complete and is apparently the most authentic source of information, except the journals of the houses of parliament, on state affairs for this period. On Saturday, January 20, 1710-1711 appears the following: "A motion was made for laying 1 d per pound on English hopps, a 2 d upon Flemish: and a stamp upon printed papers." [39] The Journal of the House for January 19, 1710-1711 states "The House (according to Order) resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole House to consider farther Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to her Majesty." [40] There is, unfortunately, no source of information in regard to the action of the committees or debates in committees for this particular period.

If Luttrell can be relied on, we have here an explanation of Swift's statement of January 31, 1710-1711 "They

[39] Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*. 6 vols., Oxford University Press, 1858, vol. VI, p. 680.

[40] *Commons Journals*, vol. XVI, p. 462.

are here intending to tax all little printed penny papers a half-penny every sheet, which will utterly ruin Grub Street, and I am endeavoring to prevent it." It is this which caused Swift's critics to say that he had secret information in advance of the intention of the government to pass the Stamp Act. There must at least have been something more than a secret intention, if a private gentleman like Narcissus Luttrell, who gathered his information from the gossip and the news-letters of his day, knew that such a measure had been proposed in parliament.

The same idea of taxing the papers is advanced in another pamphlet entitled "A Proposal for a Fund for the Use of the Government. Proposed by Mr. Thomas Hoskins, and Mr. George Osmond."[41] It bears the date 1711. The authors advocate, "That one shilling be paid on every Original Copy, of all Pamphlets, Newspapers and News Letters, and Six-pence a Sheet for the Original Copy of all Pamphlets and Books of all sorts, . . . and Six-pence for every advertisement."

The charge that there was unusual secrecy about the passage of the Stamp Act and that it was smuggled into other legislation can best be investigated by a survey of the legislative process leading to its enactment.

The first step was a message from Queen Anne to Parliament dated January 17, 1711-1712. The Queen was, undoubtedly, following the recommendations of the Convocation to which she had referred the general question over a year before. The concluding paragraph of her message is as follows: "Her Majesty finds it necessary to observe how great licence is taken in publishing false and scandalous Libels, such as are a reproach to any government. This Evil seems to be too strong for the Laws now

[41] Press mark 8223. c. 9. (76).

in force: it is therefore recommended to you to find a Remedy equal to the Mischief." [42]

A committee appointed to draw up an address, reported on the following day. "We are very sensible how much the Liberty of the Press is abused, by turning it into such a Licentiousness as is a just Reproach to the Nation: since not only false and scandalous Libels are printed and published against your Majesty's Government, but the most horrid Blasphemies against God and Religion; and we beg leave humbly to assure Your Majesty, that we will do our utmost to find out a Remedy equal to this Mischief, and that may effectually cure it." [43]

On February 12th it was resolved that the matter should be considered in a committee of the whole house on February 19th.[44] Action was postponed from time to time until a flagrant violation of the privilege of the press occurred. On April 7th Samuel Buckley published in the *Daily Courant* a Memorial of the States General in answer to the Resolutions of the House reflecting on the conduct of the Dutch in the war. The article was declared to be a "false scandalous and mischievous libel . . . in breach of the privilege of the house," and Samuel Buckley was taken into the custody of the Sergeant at Arms.[45] On April 12th, the House was resolved into a committee of the whole house to consider this licence of the press, and agreed on the following resolutions, "That all Printing Presses be registered with the Names of the Owners and Places of Abodes and that the Author, Printer, and Publisher of every Book, set his Name and Place of abode thereto." [46]

[42] *Commons Journals*, vol. XVIII, p. 28.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[44] Abel Boyer, *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Digested into Annals*, 1703-1712, vol. X, p. 147.

[45] *Ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 9.

[46] *The History of the Proceedings of the Second Session of this*

When this committee of the whole house reported on April 22nd, this resolution was omitted, and instead a series of twelve resolutions embodying the provisions of the Stamp Act as finally passed were substituted.[47] How or why this change was made I have been unable to determine. Cobbett in his *Parliamentary History* says, "Some members having, in the grand committee on ways and means, suggested a more effectual way for suppressing libels, viz., the laying a great duty on all newspapers and pamphlets." [48] This statement is taken *verbatim* from a contemporary pamphlet, "The History of the Proceedings of the Second Session of this Present Parliament." [49] Another pamphlet historian gives the following amusing explanation: "So many Difficulties arose in this affair, that it was thought fit to leave it as they found it, only a good Tax was laid on all Paper, Pamphlets and Newspapers, to punish the Licence of the Proprietors." [50]

On a motion to incorporate in the general revenue bill the clauses necessary to carry out these resolutions, there was considerable debate and the House adjourned without action. On April 24th it was ordered that a bill or bills be brought in upon the resolution agreed to on the 22nd. On April 29th they were ordered to be made a part of the general revenue bill. On May 6th a further order was passed in regard to the consolidation of various revenue items into one bill. The bill was considered further on May 9th, 11th, 12th, and 15th, and various minor amend-

Present Parliament. London. Printed: and Sold by John Baker, pp. 82-84. Press Mark 8132 d. 65 (2); Cobbett, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 1125.

[47] *Commons Journals*, vol. XVIII, p. 196.

[48] *Op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 1125. [49] *Vide supra*, No. 46.

[50] *The History and Defense of the Last Parliament*. Printed for A. Baldwin at the Oxford-Arms in Warwick Lane. 1713. (Press Mark 809, p. 3).

ments were made. On May 16th it was finally passed, apparently unanimously, or at least without any division of the House, as there is no record of the vote. On May 22nd a message was received from the House of Lords that they had agreed to the bill without any amendment.[51]

I have given this detailed account of the passage of the "Stamp Act" to show that it was far from having been secretly and hurriedly passed, but rather received extended consideration, and further that in making this measure a part of the general revenue bill, the House acted in the regular manner. The Act, 10 Anne, Cap. 19 fills sixty-seven pages of fine print in the collected statutes. A comparison of this Act with others of the same period, notably 10 Anne, Cap. 26, shows that it is rather less heterogeneous in its items than many others.[52]

[51] *Commons Journals*, vol. XVII, pp. 196, 198, 200, 203, 212, 217, 218, 226, 227, 234.

[52] A comparison of the titles of these two acts will perhaps make this evident.

10th Anne Cap. XIX (Stamp Act): "For laying several duties upon all soap and paper made in *Great Britain*, or imported into the same; and upon chequered and striped linens imported; and upon certain silks, callicoes, linens, and stuffs printed, painted, or stained; and upon several kinds of stamped vellum, parchment, and paper; and upon certain printed papers, pamphlets and advertisements, for raising the sum of 1,800,000 pounds, by way of lottery towards her Majesty's supply; and for licensing an additional number of hackney chairs; and for charging certain stocks of cards and dice; and for better securing her Majesty's duties to arise in the office of the stamp duties by licenses for marriages and otherwise; and for relief of persons who have not claimed their lottery tickets in due time, or have lost Exchequer bills, or lottery tickets; and for borrowing money upon stock, part of the capital of the *South Sea* company for the use of the publick."

10th Anne Cap. XXVI: "For laying additional duties on hides and skins, vellum and parchment, and new duties on starch, coffee, tea, drugs, gilt and silver wire, and policies of insurance, to secure a yearly fund for satisfaction of orders to the contributors of a further sum of 1,800,000 pounds toward her Majesty's supply; and for the

Further light is thrown on the charge of secrecy by the fact that a number of petitions, copies of which are preserved, were presented to the House while the measure was under consideration. These are "The Case of the Manufacturers of Paper, the Stationers, Printers . . ."; "The Case of the Company of Parish-Clerks, Relating to the Duties on Pamphlets"; "The Case of the Members of the Sun-Fire-Office, London"; "Reasons Humbly submitted to the Honourable House of Commons against laying a Duty on Newspapers and Pamphlets"; "The Case of the poor Paper-Makers and Printers farther stated."[53]

There is one further fact which seems to me especially significant in regard to the intention of those who passed the Stamp Act. It is quite obvious that it was expected to check the publication not of all papers and pamphlets but only of those which depended for their sale on their cheapness and sensationalism. On June 3rd, before the Stamp Act had received the royal sanction, the resolutions, mentioned above, which required the author, printer, and publisher of any pamphlet or paper to place his name and address thereon were reported to the House, and a bill was ordered to be drawn up embodying them.[54] As Swift says in his *History of the Four Last Years of the Queen,* the bill was brought into the House so late in the session that there was no time to pass it.[55]

better securing the duties on candles; and for obviating doubts concerning certain payments in *Scotland;* and for suppressing unlawful lotteries, and other devices of the same kind; and concerning cake soap: and for the relief of *Mary Ravenal,* in relation to an annuity of 18 pounds per annum; and concerning prize cocoanuts brought from America; and certain tickets which were intended to be subscribed into the stock of the *South Sea* company; and for appropriating the moneys granted in this session of parliament." (The act itself occupies 47 pages.)

[53] Press mark 8223 c. 9 (77, 78, 79, 85, 86).

[54] *Commons Journals,* vol. XVII, p. 251. [55] *Op. cit.,* p. 126.

Although the facts which I have here gathered are not conclusive proof, it seems to me fairly evident that the following statements may be made with reasonable assurance: (1) The proposal to tax papers and pamphlets was not new in 1712. It had been made many times in pamphlets and had been introduced in parliament at least once and possibly twice before that time. (2) So far as we are able to determine, Swift had no information other than that of well-informed people, that such a measure was being considered. (3) The act was not secretly passed. (4) There was no departure from normal procedure in making the measure part of a general taxing bill. (5) The strongest incentive to enact some restriction on the press came from those who desired to protect the Established Church. It was primarily a religious or ecclesiastical movement rather than political,[56] and the Queen herself was its leading proponent.

As Swift left the Whigs and became a Tory because the Tories were the supporters of the Church of England, it would be safe to assume that he sympathized with the general purpose. He himself says so thirty-five years later.[57] We have, moreover, his own words that he did not approve of the means devised to carry out this purpose. There is to offset this no evidence that he suggested the scheme of taxing papers and pamphlets or urged the adoption of the measure.

JOSEPH M. THOMAS.

[56] The following comment in *The Observator*, vol. XI, numb. 38, from Wed. May 7 to Sat. May 12, 1712, will show the feeling at the time in regard to the measure:

"If your Honours think such an Exemption will be too partial and open, we humbly propose an Expedient, that it may be handsomely couch'd in a General Clause for exempting all that is Writ by High Church Authors, *ad propagandam fidem*, especially if it be done on *French* paper, for we're willing to damn all that's Dutch."

[57] *Vide supra*, No. 17.

XIV.—SHAFTESBURY AND THE ETHICAL POETS IN ENGLAND, 1700-1760

One of the notable changes in English literature during the eighteenth century is a growth in altruism. It is a change which involves not only a breaking down of the old aristocratic indifference to the lower classes of society during the Restoration, but the establishment of a new ethical theory; literature displayed a broader human interest and assigned a new reason for its sympathy. It is usually assumed that the difference is due principally to the influx of French philosophy. This assumption at least minimizes the importance of a development which had taken place in the literature of England itself before the general interest in Rousseau. The change, especially in poetry, is to be traced largely, I think, to the *Characteristics* (1711) of Lord Shaftesbury, whose importance as a literary influence in England has never been duly recognized.[1] It has long since been established that his system of philosophy constitutes a turning-point in the history of pure speculation, especially in ethics; it has more recently been shown also that he is responsible for many of the moral ideas which inform the popular literature of Ger-

[1] The ethical works of Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713), which were known to the eighteenth century were first published in the following order: (1) *Inquiry Concerning Virtue*, published without authority by John Toland, 1699; (2) *A Letter Concerning Enthusiasm*, 1708; (3) *The Moralists: A Philosophical Rhapsody*, 1709; (4) *Sensus Communis, an Essay upon the Freedom of Wit and Humour*, 1709; (5) *Soliloquy, or Advice to an Author*, 1710; (6) *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times*, 1711. This contains the previous essays and also *Miscellaneous Reflections*.

many from Haller to Herder.[2] But his influence upon the popular writers of his own country has received scant notice.

The purpose of the present investigation is to show that the adoption of his ideas by popular writers in England was actually widespread, and that, since theology and ethics were subjects of vital interest, the *Characteristics* had a large part in determining the content of English literature. In general, popular works were affected very much as the more formal treatises of philosophy were; various writers reproduced most of Shaftesbury's tenets, but collectively they were indebted to him chiefly for a new standard of morals. Their response, like that of the philosophers, was due primarily to his virtuoso theory of benevolence. Through the constant repetition of this doctrine by his imitators, the "founder of the benevolent school of philosophy" became largely responsible for the vigorous literary interest in philanthropy which characterizes all English literature of the mid-century. Previously neither society nor literature had been indifferent to social evils, as the early work of Defoe and the essays of Addison and Steele testify; but the essayists were proceeding upon a *rationale* which was already weakening under the attacks of deism, and which could never have

[2] Adolph Frey, *Albrecht von Haller und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 19 ff.; H. Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, I. *Teil*, 5. *Aufl.*, Braunschweig, 1894; I. C. Hatch, *Der Einfluss Shaftesburys auf Herder, St. zur vergl. Lit.-gesch.*, I, pp. 68 ff. (1901); O. F. Walzel, *Shaftesbury und das deutsche Geistesleben des 18. Jahrhunderts*, G R M, I, pp. 416 ff. (1909); K. Berger, *Schiller, Werke*, München, 1910, I, p. 106; Charles Elson, *Wieland and Shaftesbury*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1913; Herbert Grudzinski, *Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Ch. M. Wieland. Mit einer Einleitung über den Einfluss Shaftesburys auf die deutsche Literatur bis 1760*, Stuttgart, 1913.

engaged the lively interests of literature. Shaftesbury's scheme of the social affections infused a new vigor into the cause and established philanthropy upon a basis which allowed a larger play of sentiment. The quickening of literary interest which resulted is especially evident in poetry; versified "benevolence" was a literary innovation that sprang directly from the new and fashionable ethics of the *Characteristics.* Largely for this reason, I have confined myself here to a special study of verse only.

An exhaustive treatment of the subject would demand as a preliminary to the study of the poetry itself a detailed examination of Shaftesbury's system and its relation to current theory and practice. Such an examination would show clearly why his popularity was delayed until several years after his death and then became general. But it must suffice here to deal with his philosophy and these historical conditions in mere outline.

I

Aside from the attractiveness of his style, Shaftesbury appealed to his age chiefly because he effectually antagonized two schools of thought out of harmony with growing tendencies of the time—the strict orthodoxy of the Church and the egoistic philosophy of Hobbes. These themselves were in open strife on various fundamental questions, and Shaftesbury was quite as much opposed to one as to the other. In his own system there is little that is strictly original; most of it is merely the assimilation and perfected statement of ideas which the Cambridge Platonists, Cumberland, and other Latitudinarians had imported from Greek philosophy.[1] The views he advanced in oppo-

[1] Shaftesbury edited Whichcote's sermons in 1698. For references to Cudworth, see *Characteristics*, ed. J. M. Robertson, 2 vols., New

sition to both Hobbes and the Church met with a favorable response because they satisfied an inclination of the age that needed only an authoritative direction.

His system of benevolence, formulated in opposition to Hobbes, rests upon a theology which was then dangerous heresy. The starting point is the deistic conception which in its full development assumes that the Deity is sufficiently revealed through natural phenomena, and that human reason unaided is capable of forming an adequate notion of God. Revelation, therefore, and all miraculous intervention it sets aside as not only superfluous but derogatory to the character of the Deity.[2] The "free thinkers" found their chief inspiration in the regularity and harmony of the physical universe; to them nature was literally the open Bible, and the contemplation and worship of it supplied the place of more formal religious devotion. Shaftesbury, for example, calls it the "wise Substitute of Providence." This is a conception more poetic than the one which it opposed, and it had the additional advantage of satisfying the growing interest in natural science. While the orthodox found difficulty in adjusting the biblical account to recent discoveries in chemistry, physics, and astronomy, especially those of Newton, the deists hailed in all these marvels the appropriate marks of the Creator with whom they had replaced the provincial God of the Hebrews. Associated with this conception of God as a being of unlimited power and majesty worthy

York, 1900 (to which all references below) II, pp. 50, 196, and Letter to Jean Le Clerc, March 6, 1705-6, in *Life, Unpublished Letters, and Philosophical Regimen*, ed. Benjamin Rand, London, 1900 (referred to hereafter as *Regimen*) p. 352; for More's influence, *Characteristics*, II, pp. 197-9, and Editor's note, I, p. 5. Robertson's novel view (I, pp. xxxix ff. and notes) that Shaftesbury was indebted mainly to Spinoza is unconvincing.

[2] *Characteristics*, II, pp. 89-95.

Tone? in what way is Yahweh "provincial"?

of the physical universe he had created was the complementary moral view that he was the embodiment of supreme goodness. In the process of rehabilitation the ancient Deity was rapidly stripped of such stern attributes as vengeance, if not justice, and regarded merely as the Spirit of Benevolence. Out of this conception grows naturally the Platonic idea that the Creator acted for the happiness of man and placed him in the best possible of all worlds. The apparent ill of the individual part is necessary to the system of the universe as a whole; our view is limited, and "a mind which sees not infinitely can see nothing fully, and must therefore frequently see that as imperfect which in itself is really perfect."[3] A mere link in the vast chain of being, man is guilty of sheer folly when he laments his physical weakness or otherwise complains of the economy of nature.[4] This conclusion, which we instantly associate with Pope's *Essay on Man*, represents the popular theology that underlies most of the poetry to be examined; it gave rise to a pseudo-science and an optimism inseparably connected with the ethical ideas of the entire school. Such theology was, of course, not confined to Shaftesbury or even to the deists; but the *Characteristics* apparently did more to popularize it than all the other philosophical works combined.

Shaftesbury's ethical theory is the direct result of this theology, which, by undermining faith in the Scriptures, destroyed the force of biblical precept as a guide in conduct. In his protest against various harsh views of the Christian dogma and the egoism of Hobbes, he anticipated much of Rousseau's respect for natural man. On the theoretic side his system derives largely from Plato and

[3] *Characteristics*, II, p. 108.

[4] *Idem*, II, pp. 22, 73, 74.

Plato's imitators; [5] but for the practical part it is indebted even more to Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.[6] The essence of it, so far as it affected poetry, is comprehended under the following views:

(1) Man is naturally a virtuous being, and is endowed with a "moral sense" which distinguishes good from evil as spontaneously as the ear distinguishes between harmony and discord. Although the "moral sense," in common with all other endowments, requires cultivation, man becomes virtuous merely by following the preferences of this instinct. To be good he needs only to be natural.[7]

(2) Just as the "moral sense" is independent "even of any settled notion of God" or any other idea acquired by experience, Virtue itself is an independent good, immutable and eternal. It is to be sought, therefore, for its own intrinsic beauty—what Plato calls Τὸ Καλόν and Horace the *dulce et decorum* of virtue—regardless of all considerations of future reward and punishment.[8] This doctrine gave immediate offense to the Church, which, according to Shaftesbury, was employing a method of "the rod and sweetmeat" that destroyed the natural relish for goodness itself and reduced virtue to a mercenary consideration.[9] Instead of the sordid utilitarianism of the ortho-

[5] It is inaccurate to speak of his entire system as Platonism, though this was the practice in the eighteenth century. In my own use of the term I have tried to confine it to ideas of Shaftesbury's which are to be found in Plato.

[6] *Regimen, passim.* He derived much also from Horace (see Letter to Pierre Costé, Oct. 1, 1706, *idem*, p. 355).

[7] *Characteristics,* I, pp. 251-66. Cf. II, pp. 135-41; also *Regimen,* pp. 403-5, 413-7. Shaftesbury is supposed to have invented the phrase "moral sense"; but see More's *Divine Dialogues,* Dial. II, Sec. xviii.

[8] He would retain the ancient doctrine of the Church only to terrify the ignorant and depraved (*Characteristics,* II, p. 265).

[9] *Characteristics,* II, p. 41. Cf. I, pp. 66, 287.

dox, Shaftesbury proposed as the only reward of virtuous conduct the immediate satisfaction it produces, which is the only genuine happiness to be attained by man.[10]

(3) The natural beauty of virtue was further recommended to the smart set of "free thinkers" by his "virtuoso" identification of the Good and the Beautiful. To him virtue meant merely a perfect development of æsthetic sensibility. It is, therefore, the mark *par excellence* of a gentleman. There is, he said, a harmony of "inward numbers" as of outward, an observance of symmetry and proportion in morality as in architecture. The moral world as a whole is but another manifestation of the beauty which pervades and harmonizes the "bright, outward and visible world." In it also appears imperfection of detail; but in spite of apparent confusion, if apprehended "the order of the moral world would equal that of the natural." [11] Goodness, then, is harmony with nature; "knavery is mere dissonance and disproportion." [12] Man should cultivate his taste in morality as in any other fine art.[13]

(4) In opposition to Hobbes's view that man is by nature wholly selfish, and that compassion is a sign of weakness, Shaftesbury asserted that compassion, or benevolence, is not only instinctive in man, but is the highest virtue to which he attains. Man is provided, said Shaftesbury, with two sets of affection—the selfish and the social passions—both instinctive and both necessary for the preservation of the race.[14] To resolve all human motive into selfishness and deny the naturalness of the unselfish

[10] *Idem*, I, p. 294. [11] *Idem*, II, p. 69. [12] *Idem*, I, p. 136.

[13] See M. F. Libby, *Influence of the Idea of Aesthetic Proportion in the Ethics of Shaftesbury*, Worcester, Mass., 1901; W. G. Howard, *Good Taste and Conscience, Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXV, pp. 486 ff.

[14] He includes also a third, the "unnatural affections" (I, p. 286).

propensities, as Hobbes and the other egoists had done, was to contradict the palpable facts of nature. Moreover, there is no conflict between the two sets of instinct; for the good of the individual can be secured only by promoting the welfare of society.[15] The very fact that man is born helpless is an indication that he was intended never to exist out of the social state; Hobbes's theory of a " state of nature " and a " social compact " is a mere figment, for unsocial man is inconceivable.[16] In defining the conduct which leads to the perfection and happiness incident to virtue, Shaftesbury has, therefore, remarkably little to say concerning those acts which spring from the selfish motive and apply to man as he is considered apart from his fellows; the whole force of his teaching is to exalt the naturalness and beauty of universal benevolence,[17] which he calls the perfection of the " natural temper." Since compassion is the supreme form of moral beauty, the neglect of it is the greatest of all offenses against nature's ordained harmony. While the Church was urging that charity returns to the donor a hundredfold, Shaftesbury appealed to the well-bred by representing the compassionate man as the perfection of human nature, and the selfish man as an unnatural monster. He accused the Church of destroying virtue in the interest of religion; forty years later Warburton in turn condemned the *Characteristics* as a " Scheme of Virtue without Religion." [18]

The fact that this genial theory did not secure literary adoption in Anne's reign is readily explained. Although deism had infected a large proportion of the upper classes, the Queen's zealous protection of the Established Church

[15] *Idem*, I, pp. 243, 274.
[16] *Idem*, I, pp. 73-85; II, pp. 77-84.
[17] *Idem*, I, pp. 293, 299, 304; II, pp. 36-41, 201.
[18] *A Vindication*, etc., ed. 1740, p. 12.

and the machinery of the law against heresy (1697) deterred most of the recalcitrant spirits from championing a belief that banished Collins in 1713, and threatened the position of Shaftesbury himself.[19] Outwardly the Church was at the height of power.[20] It was also the golden age of ecclesiastical charity, most of it being conducted through the agency of the Religious Societies and preached on the basis which provoked Shaftesbury's contemptuous reference to the "rod and sweetmeat." It is a significant fact that the word "benevolence" had not come into general use, and in spite of the actual relief afforded and the excellent character of men like Robert Nelson who were engaged in the undertaking, there is undoubtedly some truth in Shaftesbury's contention that such charity was a mere bargaining with God. The persuasive used is typified by one of Nelson's own appeals: "God returns to us a hundred-fold, even by open and glaring methods, that which charity hath secretly slided into the hands of the poor. An unexpected inheritance, the determination of a law-suit in our favour, the success of a great adventure, an advantageous match, are sometimes the recompenses of charity in this world." [21] To poetry the *régime* offered at most the possibility of describing with conventional imagery the dread occasion of the final judgment, when rewards and punishments would be dealt out. It was evident, too, that such a *rationale* could not defend its philanthropy against the obnoxious doctrine of the egoists;

[19] See *Regimen*, pp. 369, 371, 384. Shaftesbury's birth was one protection, yet he probably would have suffered but for the interposition of his friend Lord Somers (*Regimen*, pp. 400-2, 420-1).

[20] See F. W. Wilson, *The Importance of the Reign of Queen Anne in Church History*, 1911.

[21] *An Address to Persons of Quality*, etc., London, 1715, pp. 254-5; cf. pp. 102-4.

the Church was, in fact, utilizing the very doctrine it professed to abhor. A vague uneasiness on this account is discernible in some of the essays of Addison and Steele which recommend the cause of the poor; they gradually abandoned the traditional formula, but were too much concerned for their own standing to employ any of Shaftesbury's argument. The only evidence of his theory in any of their publications is to be found in two numbers of the *Spectator* (588, 601) contributed by the dissenter Henry Grove, and published after the Queen's death (1714).

The new conditions ushered in by the accession of George I., however, produced a variety of effects that eventually cleared the way for Shaftesbury's reception. The authority of the Church suddenly declined. The foreign sovereign's indifference to matters of religion, Walpole's conversion of the Church into an instrument of state policy, the Whig suspicion of all ecclesiastical measures fostered by the Tories of the previous reign, and the internal dissensions which had long been brewing in the Church resulted in a collapse of the old hierarchy and its dependent charities,[22] a loss of prestige which the Estab-

[22] The most popular philanthropy during Anne's reign was the Charity School (see *An Account of Charity Schools lately erected in England, Wales, and Ireland,* Ann. Pub. London, 1707; *Tatler,* 138, 261, 372; *British Apollo,* vol. II, 1, 15; *Spectator,* 294, 380, 430; *Guardian,* 105; Robert Nelson, *op. cit.,* p. 183 and appendix). These schools were distrusted by the victorious Whig party under George I. as hotbeds of Jacobitism and discountenanced (see *Charity still a Christian Virtue,* a pamphlet of 1719 formerly attributed to Defoe; footnote to a *Poem humbly inscribed to . . . the Oxfordshire Society,* anonymous, 1723). For other failures of the church program, see Overton and Relton, *History of the English Church,* etc., p. 20. On the general decay of the church, see J. H. Overton, *The Evangelical Revival,* etc., Introd.; Sir R. J. Phillimore, *Memoirs of Lord Lyttelton,* I, pp. 354-63; and Addison's *Drummer* (1716).

lished Church has never succeeded in fully restoring. The chief of these causes was the open fight between the deists and the orthodox. When the conflict began to subside, without definite victory for either party, the most tangible results of the fray were a liberty of thought which had been questioned under Anne and a freedom of social reform from the exclusive control of theological dogmatism. Temporarily the distintegration resulted in widespread immorality and a general indifference to questions of philanthropy; but it afforded the necessary transition from the prudential motives of the dogmatists to the safe adoption of Shaftesbury's more liberal views.

The one additional impulse needed for his triumph was furnished by his bitterest opponent, Bernard de Mandeville, whose *Fable of the Bees* (1723) was a coarse attack on the *Characteristics*.[23] While opposing Shaftesbury's theory of benevolence, Mandeville gave the cynical doctrine of Epicurus, Hobbes, and La Rochefoucauld such literal application in his attack on charities and so openly justified the grossness of the time that he offended the self-respect of the better classes.[24] In this way he drove

[23] The earlier edition (1714) is merely the *Grumbling Hive* (1705), a doggerel poem, supplemented by copious notes, and is primarily economic in purpose; the edition of 1723 added *An Essay on Charity Schools and a Search into the Nature of Society.* After a severe reprimand by the Grand Jury of Middlesex, the author published a vindication in the *London Journal* for Aug. 10, 1723, and in 1728 added to the *Fable* a second part. For comments, see *Tea Table* 25 (1724) and *Comedian* 9 (1733). The book went into a sixth English edition in 1729, and a ninth in 1755.

[24] The *Fable* provoked the following replies: John Dennis, *Vice and Luxury Public Mischiefs*, etc. (1724); William Law, *Remarks on the Fable of the Bees* (1724); Richard Fiddes, *A General Treatise of Morality*, etc. (1724); Francis Hutcheson, *Essays* (1725), and *Observations on the Fable of the Bees* (1725-7); Archibald Campbell, *Aretelogia* (1728); George Berkeley, *Alciphron*, Dial. II (1732);

to the defense of "benevolence" men of the most divergent views, who found in the *Characteristics* a common rallying-ground. The most important of Shaftesbury's champions among the philosophers was the deist Francis Hutcheson; his influence in the spread of the benevolent theory was second only to that of Shaftesbury himself. It is still more significant, perhaps, that even the orthodox thinkers began slowly to perceive that much of Shaftesbury's ethical system, when "abstracted from the framework of its theology," could be used against Mandeville by the Church as well as by the "free-thinkers." And it will be found that most of the philosophers who afterwards opposed him did so on some ground other than that of his ethics.[25]

An idea of his vogue thereafter is to be had from general testimony of various kinds. The *Characteristics* went into a fourth English edition in 1727, a fifth in 1732, and by 1790 reached the eleventh.[26] It was translated into French and German,[27] and was referred to constantly by English and European writers. The fascination of what Lamb calls the "genteel style" of the author led Goldsmith to observe, in 1759, that Shaftesbury had had "more imitators in Britain than any other writer" he knew; "all faithfully preserving his blemishes, but unhappily not one of his beauties." [28] Montesquieu went so

John Brown, *Essays on the Characteristics*, etc., Sects. IV, V (1751), and *An Estimate*, etc. (1757), ed. 1758, I, p. 190, II, p. 86. It was attacked also by Rousseau in the *Discours sur l'Inegalité* (1752).

[25] Berkeley is a conspicuous exception (see *Alciphron*, Dial. III).

[26] J. M. Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, p. xiv.

[27] *Idem.* See also T. Fowler, *Shaftesbury and Hutcheson*, pp. 136-7.

[28] "An Account of the Augustan Age in England," The *Bee*. Compare J. Leland, *View of the Principal Deistical Writers*, London, 1754, I, p. 71. In ridicule Berkeley rewrote some of the *Moralists* in blank verse (*Alciphron*, Dial. V, 22).

far as to call him one of the four great poets of the world.[29] Even Warburton, who was moved to righteous indignation by the theology of the *Characteristics*, could not entirely withhold his praise: "In his writings he hath shown how largely he had imbibed the deep sense, and how naturally he could copy the gracious manner of Plato." [30] Bishop Hurd was of the opinion that one of the only three dialogues in English that deserved commendation was the *Moralists* of Lord Shaftesbury.[31] John Byrom's *Enthusiasm* (1752) gives a more specific reason for his popularity:

> The Mercer, Tailor, Bookseller, grows rich,
> Because fine clothes, fine Writings can bewitch.
> A Cicero, a Shaftesbury, a Bayle—
> How quickly would they diminish in their Sale!
> Four-fifths of all their Beauties who would heed,
> Had they not keen *Enthusiasts* to read?

The Preface to the edition of 1733 asserts triumphantly, "All the best judges are agreed that we never had any work in the English language so beautiful, so delightful, and so instructive as these *Characteristics*." Through Warburton we have Pope's testimony that "to his knowledge the *Characteristics* had done more harm to revealed religion in England than all the works of infidelity put together." [32] Herder, one of Shaftesbury's devoted followers, thinking of the æsthetic system of ethics proposed

[29] *Pensées Diverses*, Œuv. Comp., Paris, 1838, p. 626.

[30] Dedication of *The Divine Legation* (1738). Cited by T. Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[31] *Moral and Political Dialogues*, Preface. Quoted by J. Warton, *Essay on Pope*, London, 1806, II, p. 198. Note also Hurd's *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel . . . Considered as a Part of an English Gentleman's Education: between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Locke*, etc., London, 1764.

[32] Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.*, art. John Brown.

by him, declared in 1794 that this "virtuoso of humanity" had contributed much to the philosophy of Leibnitz, Diderot, Lessing, and Mendelssohn, and indeed had "exercised a marked influence upon the best heads of the century, upon men who with resolute honesty concerned themselves with the True, the Beautiful, and the Good."[33] Shaftesbury's countryman, John Armstrong, who was not so friendly to his philosophy, gave similar, but less elegant, testimony by admitting in *Taste* (1753) that "Ashley turned more solid heads than one." It is safe to assert that, with the possible exception of John Locke, Shaftesbury was more generally known in the mid-century than any other English philosopher.

II

These various conditions indicate why Shaftesbury's vogue in popular literature was delayed until the closing years of George I.'s reign and then suddenly became general.

In the earlier period I have already noted a faint reflection of his influence on Henry Grove's essays in the *Spectator;* but it is a very general resemblance and cautiously avoids any possibility of offense to the Church. Apparently the first actual literary follower of Shaftesbury was the obscure poet Henry Needler (1690-1718). In a thin volume of verse and prose, original date of publication unknown, there is a letter of December 3, 1711, in which he thanks a correspondent for a copy of the *Characteristics* (published in that year). As a token of

[33] ***Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität,*** **Brief 33. See also Brief 32; *Fragmente, Zweite Sammlung,* "Von der griechischen Litteratur in Deutschland;" and *Adrastea,* I, 14: "Shaftesburi, Geist und Frohsinn."**

his appreciation, he attempted a prose imitation of Shaftesbury's apostrophe to nature in the *Moralists,* and used the same material for a *Poem in blank verse, proving the Being of a God from the Works of Creation. And some brief Remarks on the Folly of Discontent.* These puerile performances assemble all the propositions of Natural Religion: the Deity reveals himself through his works; the revelation of his character is made clear to his creatures, who are endowed with an all-sufficient reason; and the only legitimate attitude of man is the assurance that this scheme of nature is unexceptionable. Other resemblances to Shaftesbury are evident in Needler's prose essay *On the Beauty of the Universe* and his poems *On the True Cause of Natural Effects* and *A Vernal Hymn in Praise of the Creator.* I suspect Needler's fate served for a time to deter further experiments of the kind; there seems to be no trace of his first edition; he committed suicide, and the editor of the second edition was much concerned to vindicate the "extreme piety" of the poet. Although his entire work is feeble and makes relatively little of Shaftesbury except as to theology, it is important as an index. In spite of the danger which almost certainly attended the adoption of deism, he could not resist the appeal of Shaftesbury's poetical treatment of nature. At the time of the second edition (1728), such ideas were no longer contraband, and poetry was already flooded with a more or less scientific study of universal harmony. Needler's explicit reference of these views to Shaftesbury is in itself a good reason for supposing that, although some of the later poets do not acknowledge the indebtedness, the entire school derived much of its inspiration from the same source. It is probable, too, that the following publisher's Advertisement included in the 1728 edition of Needler stimulated productivity: "The Essay on the

Beauty of the Universe, though very just and rational, is but a sketch (as Mr. Needler himself owns) . . . I wish it may incite some able hand to treat more amply so useful and entertaining a Subject."

Shaftesbury's popularity, however, was to depend primarily on his ethical teaching, for which this theology served merely as a poetical background. Popular writers, like the philosophers, turned to him in the late twenties as a refuge from the nightmare occasioned by Mandeville's doctrine, which in view of contemporary selfishness was disconcertingly plausible, and therefore all the more distressing to national pride. A good general impression of the popular attitude is afforded by extracts from two poems that came somewhat late in the movement. In *Honour, a Poem* (1743), which denounces various pests of society, John Brown bestows chief place upon Hobbes and Mandeville:

> Errour in vain attempts the foul disguise
> Still tasted in the bitter wave of vice;
> Drawn from the springs of Falsehood all confess
> Each baneful drop that poisons happiness;
> Gordon's thin shallows, Tindale's muddy page,
> And Morgan's gall, and Woolston's furious rage;
> Th' envenom'd stream that flows from Toland's quill,
> And the rank dregs of Hobbes and Mandeville.
> Detested names! yet sentenc'd ne'er to die;
> Snatch'd from oblivion's grave by infamy.[1]

The author adds, in a footnote to the passage, " The reader who is acquainted with the writings of these gentlemen will probably observe a kind of climax in this place; ascending from those who attempt to destroy the several

[1] Similar attacks on the egoists are contained in James Bramston's *The Man of Taste* (1733); David Mallet's *Tyburn: To the Marine Society* (1762); Samuel Wesley, Jr.'s *On Mr. Hobbes;* William Dobson's *Translation of Anti-Lucretius, Of God and Nature* (1757).

fences of virtue, to the wild boars of the wood that root it up." Shaftesbury, on the other hand, was hailed as the champion of moral rule. In a poem of 1735, referring to Newton's discoveries, is the following tribute by William Melmoth:[2]

> Order *without* us, what imports it seen,
> If all is restless anarchy *within?*
> Fired with this thought great Ashley, gen'rous sage,
> Plan'd [*sic*] in sweet leisure his instructive page.
> Not orbs he weighs, but marks with happier skill
> The scope of *action* and the poise of *will;*
> In fair proportion here described we trace
> Each *mental* beauty, and each moral grace,
> Each useful passion taught its tone designed
> In the nice concord of a well tun'd mind.
> Does mean self-love contract each social aim?
> Here publick transports shall thy soul inflame,
> Virtue and Deity supremely fair,
> Too oft delineated with looks severe,
> Resume their native smiles and graces here.

The moral question at issue between these two systems of philosophy—the egoistic and the benevolent—became soon after the publication of the *Fable* the most absorbing topic of public discussion. Apparently no poet had the courage to support Mandeville's entire theory.[3] Naturally Shaftesbury's most ardent defenders were deists who accepted the doctrine of the *Characteristics* entire. It was therefore due principally to the deists that "benevolence" became the most fashionable topic of poetry; but their view gradually spread. The result was not merely a re-

[2] *Of Active and Retired Life, an Epistle to Henry Coventry, Esq.* (1735).

[3] Lord Paget's *An Essay on Human Life* (1734), which according to Horace Walpole was written in imitation of Pope, is probably to be excepted; there is one passage which adopts Mandeville's view in explicit terms. Later, however, the author apparently contradicts himself.

vival of social and literary interest in philanthropy, and a revulsion from the moral coarseness of the time, but the replacing of the old prudential argument by a more disinterested motive that lent itself to the sentimental belief in natural goodness. The change meant a break with theological dogma and a definite step towards the naturalism of Rousseau.

In poetry the beginning of this ethical movement is to be assigned definitely to James Thomson. By adopting the theory of the social affections, he became the first important humanitarian poet in English. When the original edition of *Winter* appeared (1726), Thomson was not sufficiently in touch with English social problems to deal with them; his first utterance on the subject is in *Summer* (1727), and it is stated in the most general terms. After upbraiding the cruelty of those who neglect charitable offices, he adds:

> But to the generous still-improving mind,
> That gives the hopeless heart to sing for joy,
> Diffusing kind beneficence around,
> Boastless, as now descends the silent dew—
> To him the long review of ordered life
> Is inward rapture only to be felt. (1641-6)

Simple, and even commonplace, as this passage is, it sounds a new note in English poetry. From this time forward Thomson himself was continually pleading, not merely for the spirit of benevolence, but for every special humane movement of his day. Most of such comment in the *Seasons*[4] is in passages supplementary to the original content

[4] The chief passages are: *Spring*, 867-962 (904-62 added 1738); *Summer*, 1013-25, 1630-46; *Autumn*, 95-150, 169-76, 350-9, 1020-9; *Winter*, 276-388, 1050-69. Some of these are discussed briefly by Léon Morel, *James Thomson, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1895, p. 388. See also *To the Memory of . . . Talbot*, 117-29, 270-82, 352-62; *Liberty*, III, 32-70, IV, 322-43, 479-573, 746-62, 1157-76, V, 235-61,

of the poems,[5] the chief additions being made to *Winter:* the first edition, the second, and the final contain, respectively, 405, 781, and 1069 lines, and the increase is due principally to the insertion of humanitarian passages. Among the special philanthropies he encouraged in the *Seasons* and elsewhere are Oglethorpe's prison reforms,[6] the founding of Georgia for debtors,[7] and the erection of the Foundling Hospital.[8] In no poet before Thomson, and in few poets since, have social duties held so large a place in comparison with other literary interests; moreover, in no popular writing had the cause of social reform been argued on the basis adopted by him.

Thomson was regarded by Voltaire [9] as "a true philosophical poet," and that he drew his inspiration largely from the *Characteristics* was recognized by Herder,[10] whose own reproduction of Shaftesbury's ideas in both prose [11] and verse [12] establishes his competency as a critic in the matter. One of Thomson's recent biographers, however, is disturbed by what he considers a modern tendency to associate the poet with the philosophers. "To represent him as primarily a 'philosophical poet' is," says G. C. Macaulay,[13] "a strange aberration of criticism which has

277-303, 471-83, 638-66; *Castle of Indolence,* Canto II, stanzas lxxiv, lxxv (Aldine ed., 2 vols., 1897).

[5] For the various texts, see O. Zippel, ed. *Seasons,* Berlin, 1908.

[6] *Winter,* 359-88.

[7] *Liberty,* Part V, 638-46.

[8] *Idem,* 471-83, 647-66.

[9] From Voltaire's letter to Lyttelton, May 17, 1750. Cf. R. J. Phillimore, *op. cit.,* I, p. 323.

[10] *Adrastea,* I, 14: "Shaftesburi, Geist und Frohsinn." Cited by T. Fowler, *op. cit.,* p. 161.

[11] *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität,* Brief 32.

[12] *Naturhymnus von Shaftesburi* (1800).

[13] *James Thomson* (English Men of Letters), p. 96. But see W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry,* V, pp. 305-12; Morel, *op cit.,* Ch. VI, Sect. iv.

been reserved for our own times." The truth is, it would be a strange oversight in criticism not to do so. If in a period when most of the literature was didactic there is any poet more frankly committed to philosophy than Mark Akenside, it is James Thomson. In a juvenile lay he laments his philosophic inability:

> Ah! my loved God! in vain a tender youth
> Unskilled in arts of deep philosophy,
> Attempts to search the bulky mass of matter,
> To trace the rules of motion; and pursue
> The phantom Time, too subtle for his grasp.[14]

In a later poem he indicates that he has supplied the deficiency:

> With thee, serene Philosophy, with thee,
> And thy bright garland, let me crown my song!
> Effusive source of evidence and truth!

And after explaining the nature of his philosophical conclusions, he adds:

> Tutored by thee, hence poetry exalts
> Her voice to ages; and informs the page
> With music, image, sentiment, and thought,
> Never to die; the treasure of mankind,
> Their highest honour, and their truest joy.[15]

There are few pages in his poems which will not furnish further evidence, including the mention and reproduction of various philosophers, ancient and modern. What Macaulay probably meant is that Thomson does not expound any particular system of philosophy in dry detail, that he is not a mere versifying philosopher. This statement, however, is true only in the sense that his philosophy is not

[14] *Fragment of a Poem on the Works and Wonders of Almighty Power.* Pub. in *Plain Dealer*, 46.

[15] See entire passage, *Summer*, 1730-1805.

collected in one continuous passage, but is relieved and illustrated by many devices of poetic art; the entire *corpus* of his verse is pervaded by philosophic assumptions frequently stated and maintained with as great consistence as one finds in most speculation of the period.[16]

That Thomson accepted the theology of deism is established by the testimony of his poetry and his contemporaries. Macaulay cited the latter class of evidence, but made little account of the former. Negatively, Thomson's deism is indicated by the fact that, after he came to England, he expressed no belief in Christ or in revelation—an omission of some consequence when we recall that the religious controversy was then intense, that he was constantly dealing with questions immediately related to theological belief, and that in his early life he had written poems on the orthodox pattern. Positively, it is indicated by his insistence on the sufficiency of reason.[17] His friend Lord Lyttelton lamented his heresy and hoped that he would retract it publicly; but Lyttelton's only satisfaction was that Thomson on his death-bed made a vague profession of Christianity to one or two personal friends.[18] To shield the poet's reputation after his death, Lyttelton omitted from the collected edition of Thomson's work the *Hymn* which concludes the *Seasons;* but Murdoch reinstated it, claiming that "the theology of it, allowance being made

[16] Pope's contradictions are notorious. Thomson vacillates between pantheism and a belief in the personality of God (Morel, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-9); the same inconsistence runs throughout Shaftesbury's philosophy. Their pantheism is a matter largely of poetic phrasing; but the orthodox found in these deistic expressions grounds for identifying deists and atheists.

[17] There is more than a hint of his theology in *Liberty*, Part IV, 561-73.

[18] Lyttelton's Letter to Doddridge, R. J. Phillimore, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 306-8, 407-9. See also Morel, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-7, 359-60.

for poetical expression, is orthodox." On this particular point Lyttelton's judgment was obviously sound; but this one omission would have had slight effect, for the deistic presupposition is at the root of all Thomson's verse.

It is highly probable, too, that the poet took his theology, as Needler did, directly from Shaftesbury. The fundamental principle he might have had from various sources, for it was by this time a commonplace. The literature and coffee-house discussions which carried on the "learned scuffle," during the reign of George I., however, were strictly polemical and usually very coarse. Shaftesbury had, on the other hand, quietly assumed the doctrine, and as a theologian had devoted his main energy to giving it poetic application in his impassioned treatment of the Deity and Nature. An equally æsthetic and insidious presentation is not to be found in any of the argumentative deists who followed him. Thomson's theology is of the same unobtrusive, artistic kind. The similarity between the nature-worship in the *Seasons* and in the *Characteristics,* especially between the *Hymn* and the apostrophe in the *Moralists,* is too obvious to require more than a statement; but it will become still more impressive if these two pieces are studied in connection with Herder's *Naturhymnus von Shaftesburi* (1800). The indebtedness is particularly evident in Thomson's virtual identification of God and Nature in such passages as the following which occur frequently:

> Hail, Source of Beings, Universal Soul
> Of heaven and earth! Essential Presence, hail! [19]
>
> O Nature! all-sufficient! over all! [20]
>
> These, as they change, Almighty Father, these
> Are but the varied God. The rolling year
> Is full of Thee.[21]

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[19] *Spring,* 556 ff. [20] *Autumn,* 1351. [21] *Hymn.*

The dependence upon the *Characteristics* manifests itself still more clearly in passages like the following from *Summer,* which repeats Shaftesbury's protest against the short-sighted vanity of man in questioning the perfect ends of nature:

> Let no presuming impious railer tax
> Creative Wisdom, as if aught was formed
> In vain, or not for admirable ends.[22]

The most connected discourse in the manner of the *Characteristics* is the treatment of the thesis already noted in the study of Shaftesbury—that the physical and moral world are but two expressions of the same cosmic order. Thomson would study with his friends the world of physical nature—

> Its life, its laws, its progress, and its end,

and adds in continuation:

> Then would we try to scan the moral world,
> Which, though to us it seems embroiled, moves on
> In high order; fitted and impelled
> By wisdom's firmest hand, and issuing all
> In general good.[23]

This agreement in theology, however, has for the present purpose only the secondary importance of confirming Thomson's debt to the *Characteristics* for his system of morality. On this purely ethical ground the relation between the two can hardly be questioned, although it has been disregarded by such a thorough student as Morel.[24] The main business of Thomson as well as Shaftesbury was

[22] Ll. 318-20.

[23] *Winter,* 572-616.

[24] There is a slight reference to Shaftesbury and Thomson's tribute to him, p. 399, and note. Grudzinski, in the introduction to his inaugural dissertation (*op. cit.*, pp. 7-8), adopts Herder's view.

to make his entire speculation subservient to virtuous practice: in each case theology was important only as a starting-point for ethics. In his statement of man's moral obligations the poet's indebtedness to the philosopher would be sufficiently clear from internal evidence; it is, moreover, explicitly acknowledged by Thomson. In a long catalogue of illustrious philosophers, statesmen, and poets of England, Shaftesbury is the only one commended for his moral teaching:

> The generous Ashley, thine, the friend of man;
> Who scanned his nature with a brother's eye,
> His weakness prompt to shade, to raise his aim,
> To touch the finer movements of the mind,
> And with the moral beauty charm the heart.[25]

The end of all Shaftesbury's theology and ethics is the "moral beauty" which entitles man "to be justly styled the friend of mankind"; the moral purpose which invigorates and unifies all of Thomson's poetry is the same universal benevolence. In strict accord with Shaftesbury's theory of natural virtue, Thomson urges as the sole persuasive of all humanitarian conduct the "moral beauty" of goodness. He makes even slighter concession to the orthodox notion of future reward and punishment than Shaftesbury does; the conclusion of *Winter,* altered as it now stands, allows a life of bliss to compensate the evils endured by the virtuous in this world, but Thomson makes no attempt to enforce morality by reference to a future life. The orthodox poets of a slightly earlier period, and a few in his time, recommend social duties by depicting the awful scenes of the Judgment Day, when the charitable will be given eternal happiness with God, and the uncharitable will be consigned to everlasting fire;

[25] *Summer,* 1550-5.

Thomson regularly proposes as the ultimate reward of generous aid the "inward rapture only to be felt." His belief in the sufficiency of virtue is contained in this prayer:—

> Father of light and life! thou Good Supreme!
> O teach me what is good! teach me thyself!
> Save me from folly, vanity, and vice,
> From every low pursuit; and feed my soul
> With knowledge, conscious peace, and virtue pure,
> Sacred, substantial, never-fading bliss! [28]

It may be objected that the present argument exaggerates the evidence of internal resemblance and of Thomson's own statement of discipleship by attributing to Shaftesbury's suggestion many ideas that are commonplaces in philosophy and poetry. The very fact that they are commonplaces is due largely to these two writers. Before Thomson's time there is no popular writer who exhibits his system in its entirety or even the full statement of his moral doctrine. It is equally true that he himself could have borrowed his main assumptions *in toto* only from Shaftesbury. His theology he might have had from anywhere, but in a very dessicated form. Some details of his ethics he might have had from early philosophers. But the pagan moralists whom he mentions are the very writers whose doctrines inform the *Characteristics;* and among Shaftesbury's successors the only moral philosopher who could have contributed directly to Thomson's special view of benevolence was Francis Hutcheson, who began his defense of the *Characteristics* the year Thomson came to London, and whose influence, if proved, would be merely additional. The argument of relation between Shaftesbury and Thomson is further confirmed by their agreement

[28] *Winter*, 217-22.

on matters extraneous to the subject of this study—including their critical utterances on literature, politics, and the connection between the arts and social progress. In the *Advice to an Author*, an essay recommended to struggling writers by its eloquent plea for literary patronage, Shaftesbury urges particularly the employment of blank verse and the conversion of all poetry into a medium for moral instruction. Thomson's conformity with these views and the defence of his practice, set forth in the prose dedications and the poetry itself, may be accidental; at any rate, the coincidence adds another link to the chain of association. Possibly a greater significance attaches to the fact that Thomson's defense of the Whigs, his unhappy efforts to trace the genesis and progress of society, his treatment of the connection between culture and freedom, and various other enthusiastic ideas of *Liberty* are faithful in spirit to the earlier statements of the more practical Whig philosopher.[27] If we take into account at one view this general agreement on the incidental matters discussed by the two writers, the widespread interest in the Shaftesbury-Mandeville dispute, Thomson's evident imitation of Shaftesbury's theological and ethical doctrine, and his own acknowledgment of his indebtedness, there is no reason for rejecting Herder's opinion or for denying to Shaftesbury's influence the moral system which underlies all of Thomson's benevolent poetry. To do so would be to assume that the poet Thomson evolved a theory of ethics which the philosophers themselves, Hutcheson and others, were copying from Shaftesbury.

[27] The following passages in the *Characteristics* reflect the author's political views: I, pp. 73, 141-6, 153-5; II, pp. 45-6. For further evidence see *Regimen*, Letter to Thomas Stringer, Feb. 15, 1695-6, p. 300; to Sir Rowland Gwinn, Jan. 23, 1704, pp. 318-20; to Mr. Van Twedde, Jan. 17, 1705-6, pp. 347-352; to Tiresias, Nov. 29, 1706, pp. 367-8.

This is a matter of the first importance in defining the effect of the *Characteristics* upon popular literature. This relation once admitted, it follows that "the founder of the benevolent school of philosophy" exerted through the *Seasons* an indirect influence upon many other poets, great and small, who were immediately fired by the reception of Thomson, but did not always refer their ideas to Shaftesbury as the original source. It was due largely to Thomson's example that "benevolence" and "good-nature" stamped themselves on all English literature. In a biography prefixed to the 1740 edition of his poems, Thomas Murdoch explains the poet's popularity on two grounds: "In a short time the applause became unanimous; everyone wondering how so many pictures, and pictures so familiar, should have moved them but faintly to what they felt in his descriptions. His digressions, too, the overflowings of a tender benevolent heart, charmed the reader no less; leaving him in doubt, whether he should more admire the Poet or love the Man." Lord Lyttelton referred to Thomson as one who taught "fair Virtue's purest laws," [28] and paid a compliment to his "fine and delicate sentiments of a most tender and benevolent heart." [29] Shiels's *Musidorus* (1748)[30] commended Thomson's humanity. David Mallet addressed him as a benefactor who "dared to embrace the general welfare of thy kind." [31] Similar praise is to be found in Shenstone's *Verses Written towards the close of* 1748, *Elegy* XIV, XXIII, and *Pastoral Ode to Richard Lyttelton;* Richard Savage's *Of Public*

[28] Prologue to *Coriolanus* (1749).

[29] *Dialogues of the Dead,* XIV.

[30] *A Poem Sacred to the Memory of Mr. James Thomson,* London, 1748. Published anonymously; for authorship of Shiels, see Morel, *op. cit.,* p. 379, note.

[31] *To Mr. Thomson* (on the publication of the second edition of *Winter*), 1726. There were four editions of *Winter* in this year.

Spirit; Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe's *To Mr. Thomson;* Joseph Giles's *The Leasowes;* Joseph Mitchell's *To Mr. Thomson;* and the anonymous *On Beneficence.*[32] The encouragement of the poetasters to imitate Thomson's benevolent writing and also to capitalize his example is seen in the following passage from James Ralph's Preface to a volume of poetry (1729) including *Night,* which was written in imitation of Thomson's *Winter:* "Poetry is at once intended for our delight, and instruction; but a vicious fancy of amusing the world with trifles in lieu of such subjects as are in themselves truly noble and sublime, has of late been too much indulg'd; for which reason, I hope, 'twill be equally needless, to make any excuse for my choice of so grave a subject, or use any persuasives to influence its success; especially if the dress it appears in should prove any way becoming to its dignity; and 'tis consider'd with what applause Mr. Thomson's admirable poems were generally received by the favorers of learning and good sense; an undeniable argument, that if the 'Muse' is really the inspirer, the world, even to a serious author, will not be wholly ungrateful." [33]

Of Mark Akenside's direct indebtedness to the *Characteristics* there is abundant evidence. He himself speaks of Shaftesbury as "the noble restorer of ancient philosophy." [34] According to Gray, *The Pleasures of the Imagi-*

[32] Second ed., London, 1764.

[33] Compare Thomson's Preface to the second, third, and fourth editions of *Winter,* Aldine ed., I, pp. cxi-cxvi.

[34] Author's note on *The Pleasures of the Imagination,* Bk. I, l. 374 ("Truth and Good are one"): he praises Hutcheson for the same doctrine. In note on Bk. III, l. 18, he connects Shaftesbury with Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus, and declares that in Shaftesbury "the stoical doctrine is embellished with all the elegance and grace of Plato." See also note on Bk. II, l. 325. For the suggestions of another kind derived from Addison, see Preface.

nation (1744) is "too much infected with the Hutchison jargon." [35] Warburton calls Akenside "a follower of Ld. S[haftesbury]." [36] John Gilbert Cooper regarded Shaftesbury's doctrine as best reproduced by Hutcheson and Akenside.[37] The *Pleasures of the Imagination* versifies not only the incidental theology of the *Characteristics,* but the attacks on superstition and the defense of ridicule as a corrective in all religious discussion.[38] It is least poetic in those parts which discuss the harmony of the physical universe discovered by Newton; Akenside attempts to illustrate the general truth by minute details, and turns out a product frequently neither scientific nor poetic. Thomson had exhibited the same fault, but less extensively. Although Akenside devotes much more of his time to these dry details than to the moral ideas and practical lessons arising from his system of nature, there are some passages which reproduce very accurately Shaftesbury's theory of innate benevolence. In the following passage Akenside takes issue with the cynicism of Hobbes and Mandeville:

> Dost thou aspire to judge between the Lord
> Of Nature and His works? To lift thy voice
> Against the sovereign order He decreed,
> All good and lovely? To blaspheme the bonds
> Of tenderness innate and social love,
> Holiest of things! by which the general orb
> Of being, as by adamantine links,
> Was drawn to perfect union and sustain'd
> From everlasting? Hast thou felt the pangs

[35] *Letters,* ed. D. C. Tovey, 3 vols., London, 1900, I, p. 119.

[36] *Remarks on Several Occasional Observations,* etc.

[37] Author's note on *The Power of Harmony.*

[38] This view of Shaftesbury's was especially irritating to the orthodox, and was constantly attacked by them. For a similar protest in verse, see W. Whitehead, *On Ridicule* (1743).

> Of softening sorrow, of indignant zeal
> So grievous to the soul, as thence to wish
> The ties of Nature broken from thy frame;
> That so thy selfish, unrelenting heart
> Might cease to mourn its lot, no longer then
> The wretched heir of evils not its own?
> O fair benevolence of generous minds!
> O man by Nature form'd for all mankind! [39]

In another passage he is equally pointed in his attack on the assertion of the egoists that all pity is to be resolved into selfishness. Mandeville had illustrated the point by saying that if a man rescues a baby from falling into the fire, he acts, not out of compassion for the baby, but out of the selfish desire to save himself from an unpleasant feeling. Akenside's counter illustration is as follows:

> Ask the crowd
> Which flies impatient from the village walk
> To climb the neighboring cliffs, when far below
> The cruel winds have hurl'd upon the coast
> Some helpless bark; while sacred Pity melts
> The general eye, or Terror's icy hand
> Smites, every mother closer to her breast
> Catches her child, and, pointing where the waves
> Foam through the shatter'd vessel, shrieks aloud
> As one poor wretch that spreads his piteous arms,
> For succour, swallow'd by the roaring surge,
> As now another, dash'd against the rock,
> Drops lifeless down: O! deemst thou indeed
> No kind endearment here by Nature given
> To mutual terror and compassion's tears?
> No sweetly melting softness which attracts,
> O'er all that edge of pain, the social powers
> To this their proper action and their end? [40]

The closest rendering of Shaftesbury's theory is found in *Concord* (1751), a poem written by his nephew James

[39] Bk. II, 246-62.
[40] Revised ed., 1765, Bk. II, 624-42.

Harris.[41] The general resemblance is indicated by the opening lines:

> The deeds of discord, or in prose or rhyme,
> Let others tell. 'Tis mine (the better theme)
> Concord to sing; and thus begins the song:
> Congenial things to things congenial tend:
> So rivulets their little waters join
> To form one river's greater stream: so haste
> The rivers, from their different climes, to meet,
> And kindly mix, in the vast ocean's bed;
> To fires etherial, each terrestrial blaze,
> Such elemental Concord. Yet not here
> Confin'd the sacred sympathy, but wide
> Thro' plant and animal diffusely spread.
> How many myriads of the grassy blade
> Assemble, to create one verdant plain?
> How many cedars' towering heights conspire,
> Thy tops, O cloud-capt Lebanon! to deck?
> Life-animal still more conspicuous gives
> Her fair example. Here the social tie
> We trace, ascending from th' ignoble swarms
> Of insects, up to flocks and grazing herds;
> Thence to the polities of bees and ants,
> And honest beavers, bound by friendly league
> Of mutual help and interest. Cruel man!
> For love of gain, to persecute, to kill,
> This gentle, social, and ingenious race,
> That never did you wrong. But stop, my Muse,
> Stop this sad song, nor deviate to recount
> Man's more inhuman deeds; for man too feels
> Benign affection, nor dares disobey,
> Tho' oft reluctant, Nature's mighty voice,
> That summons all to harmony and love.
> Else would to Nature's Author foul impute
> Of negligence accrue, while baser things

[41] Not included in the ed. of Harris's works by his son, but assigned to him in *The Poetical Calendar*, F. Fawkes and W. Woty, London, 1763, XII, pp. 53-9. Johnson considered Harris "a prig, and a bad prig" (Boswell, ed. Morley, III, p. 206). In 1744 he published *Three Treatises, the first concerning Art, the second concerning Music, Painting, and Poetry, the third concerning Happiness;* the first of these, a dialogue, is dedicated to Shaftesbury.

He knits in holy friendship, thus to leave
His chief and last work void of sweet attract,
And tendence to its fellow.

The identity of the Good and Beautiful, one of the chief doctrines of the *Characteristics,* is stated thus:

And as the tuneful string spontaneous sounds
In answer to his kindred note; so he
The secret harmony within him feels,
When aught of beauty offers. This the joy,
While verdant plains and grazing herds we view,
Or ocean's mighty vastness; or the stars,
In midnight silence as along they roll.
Hence too the rapture, while the harmonious bard
Attunes his vocal sóng; and hence the joy,
While what the sculptor graves, the painter paints,
And all the pleasing mimickries of art
Strike our accordant minds. Yet chief by far,
Chief is man's joy, when, mixt with human kind,
He feels affection melt the social heart;
Feels friendship, lóve, and all the charities
Of father, son, and brother. Here the pure
Sincere congenial, free from all alloy,
With bliss he recognizes. For to man
What dearer is than man? Say you, who prove
The kindly call, the social sympathy,
What but this call, this social sympathy,
Tempers to standard due the vain exult
Of prosperous fortune? What but this refines
Soft pity's pain, and sweetens every care,
Each friendly care we feel for human kind?

The similar purport of *The Power of Harmony, In Two Books* (1745), by John Gilbert Cooper, one of the chief "benevolists," is indicated sufficiently by the concluding statement of the Design prefixed to the poem: "From what has been premised, it would be needless to explain the comprehensive meaning of the word harmony. For an explanation or a proof of the relation of the imitative arts to moral philosophy, the reader is referred to the dialogues of Plato, and the other philosophers of the academic school;

to lord Shaftesbury and Hutchison, their great disciples among the moderns." The authority of Shaftesbury is avowed also by the minor poet Andrews in *To the Late Lord Shaftesbury's Ghost,* printed as a conclusion to *Eidyllia* (1757) and the anonymous poems *An Ode on Benevolence* (1753) and *An Essay on Happiness, In Four Books* (1762).

The poetry so far cited, ranging in time from 1726 to 1762, represents a definite "school." Of the distinctive characteristics which these writers imitated from Shaftesbury the most common are a quasi-scientific theology and a moral system ending in the doctrine of universal benevolence. That many other writers, who do not state their authority, fell under the same influence would naturally follow from the evidence of Shaftesbury's popularity furnished by these poets and by the testimony of other writers cited in connection with various matters throughout this study. In view of such a vogue, it is clearly legitimate to refer to the same source contemporary poems exhibiting with minute precision the same characteristics. Whether they spring directly from Shaftesbury or his imitators is of small concern. Undoubtedly most of them were stimulated by Thomson's *Seasons.* The very titles of some indicate the nature of their contents: Henry Baker's *The Universe* (1727), Henry Brooke's *Universal Beauty* (1728, 1735),[42] Soame Jenyns's *An Essay on Virtue* (1734), and the anonymous

[42] According to the *Cambridge Hist. of Eng. Lit.,* vol. IX, p. 207, Brooke's poem is "by no means atheistic or even deistic"; but it has the characteristics of this school of deistic literature from Needler's *Essay on the Beauty of the Universe* to Pope's *Essay on Man,* to which Brooke refers, Bk. V, 60. Compare his pseudo-science with that of Shaftesbury, Thomson, and Akenside. Note also Bk. V, 1-32. Did the Advertisement attached to Needler's poem influence Brooke? (See *supra,* pp. 278-9.)

Order (1737), *Essay on Happiness* (1737), *On Beneficence* (1740), *Nature, A Poem* (1747), and *Poetic Essays on Nature, Men and Morals* (1750). There is further evidence of imitation in David Mallet's *The Excursion* (1728) and William Hamilton's *Contemplation, or The Triumph of Love* (1747). The allegiance to Hutcheson is acknowledged by Mrs. Constantia Grierson in a poem *To the Honourable Mrs. Percival* and by the anonymous author of *On Reading Hutchison.*[43]

Of this group, only two pieces call for discussion. Henry Baker's *The Universe* (1727), one of the first minor poems to indicate the movement, has intimations of both Shaftesbury and Needler. Moreover, crude as the following passage is, it looks forward to the *Essay on Man:*

> Alas! what's *Man* thus insolent and vain?
> One single link of Nature's mighty chain.
> Each hated toad, each crawling worm we see,
> Is needful to the Whole no less than he.

The passage immediately succeeding gives further evidence of relation to Shaftesbury and raises a point so far purposely ignored in the discussion of his philosophy and that of his imitators.

> Calmly consider wherefore gracious Heav'n
> To all these Creatures has existence giv'n.
> Eternal Goodness certainly design'd,
> That ev'ry one, according to its kind,
> Should happiness enjoy:—for God, all-just,
> Could ne'er intend His creatures to be curs'd.
> When life He gave, He meant that life should be
> A state productive of felicity.
> And, though to kill there may be some pretence,
> When raging hunger bids, or self-defence;
> No cause beside can justify the deed.
> 'Tis murder if not urg'd by real need.

[43] *Ladies' Mag.*, IV, p. 1 (1753).

> If the same Pow'r did ev'ry being give,
> If all for happiness did life receive,
> Then ev'ry thing has equal right to live.
> And how dares man, who's but himself a breath,
> Destroy through wantonness, and sport with Death!

That this particular form of humanity is an integral part of Shaftesbury's scheme is self-evident, for the social affections must of necessity include the lower animals as a part of universal nature. He specifically makes this application in opposition to Des Cartes,[44] and Needler develops the doctrine at some length.[45] Like all of Shaftesbury's program, this idea came largely from the seventeenth-century study of Greek philosophy. It is found repeatedly in the Cambridge Platonists,[46] who were indebted for it chiefly to the Pythagoreans.[47] On the other hand, the elaboration and widespread diffusion of it in eighteenth-century literature were due to so many contributory influences [48] besides Natural Religion that an adequate examination of it would require more space than can be given here. The movement was undoubtedly stimulated by de-

[44] *Characteristics*, II, p. 287. Cf. 120-1, 176, 315-6 and I, pp. 331-2.

[45] Letter to Mr. D., Dec. 3, 1711, *Works*, p. 216.

[46] For example, Cudworth, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 61, 357, III, pp. 307-8, 449-53, 469; Henry More, *A Collection of Several Philosophical Writings*, Bk. II, Ch. xii; *Divine Dialogues*, Dial. II, Sect. xi, Dial. III, Sects. iii, xxx. J. Maxwell, the translator of Cumberland's *De Legibus Naturae* (tr. 1727), regrets, in General Remarks on Ch. v, that the author did not include animals.

[47] A popular source for the Pythagorean doctrine was Dryden's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Bk. xv. Compare Thomson, *Spring*, 336-378.

[48] One of the most important was the *Turkish Spy*, by Giovanni Paolo Marana, which went through twenty-six English editions between 1687 and 1770, and was widely imitated (see Martha Pike Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England*, Appendix BI). Another was Montaigne's *Essays*, translated by Cotton 1685-6 (see Bk. I, Ch. xxii; Bk. II, Ch. xi and xii, especially pp. 135-75, Bohn's Library).

istic notions, and is represented most strikingly in deistic poets like Thomson.[49] It is cited here, however, merely to confirm the argument that Baker is quite in harmony with Shaftesbury and that he may be regarded, therefore, as an early member of the school.

Soame Jenyns's *An Essay on Virtue* (1734), written when deism was at its height, demands special mention because it is the most vicious of all this group of poems in its attack on Christian ethics. His principal grievance is the old charge of the deists, that so-called religion makes a man unnatural and therefore immoral. To be good, according to Jenyns as well as Shaftesbury, man needs only to follow the dictates of nature:—[50]

> How easy is our yoke! how light our load!
> Did we not strive to mend the laws of God!
> For his own sake no duty he can ask,
> The common welfare is our only task:
> For this sole end his precepts, kind and just,
> Forbid intemp'rance, murder, theft, and lust,
> With ev'ry act injurious to our own
> Or others' good, for such are crimes alone:
> For this are peace, love, charity, enjoin'd,
> With all that can secure and bless mankind.
> Thus is the public safety virtue's cause,
> And happiness the end of all her laws;
> For such by nature is the human frame,
> Our duty and our interest the same.
> "But hold," cries out some puritan divine,
> Whose well-stuffed cheeks with ease and plenty shine,

[49] See *Spring*, 236-41, 336-78, 387-93, 702-28; *Summer*, 220-40, 267-80, 416-22; *Autumn*, 359-457, 980-7, 1172-1207; *Winter*, 240-64, 788-93, 815-33; *Liberty* III, 32-70.

[50] "What Soame Jenyns says upon the subject is not to be minded; he is a wit. No, Sir; to act from pure benevolence is not possible for finite beings. Human benevolence is mingled with vanity, interest, or some other motive."—Dr. Johnson (Boswell, III, p. 40). Jenyns's view underwent a change (see *A Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil*, Letter V).

"Is this to fast, to mortify, refrain,
And work salvation out with fear and pain?"
We own the rigid lessons of their schools
Are widely diff'rent from these easy rules;
Virtue, with them, is only to abstain
From all that nature asks, and covet pain;
Pleasure and vice are ever near a-kin,
And, if we thirst, cold water is a sin;
Heaven's path is rough and intricate, they say,
Yet all are damn'd that trip, or miss their way;
God is a being cruel and severe,
And man a wretch, by his command plac'd here,
In sunshine for a while to take a turn,
Only to dry and make him fit to burn.

Pope's *Essay on Man* (1733-4) falls in the same category; it is a deistic poem evidently indebted to Shaftesbury, but there is no reference to him.[51] It raises a number of special considerations due to the additional influence of Bolingbroke and others; but fortunately, in order to come at Shaftesbury's effect on Pope's theory of benevolence, we may take for granted various facts which have become fully established. In the first place, it is certain that Bolingbroke, whom Pope cited as the sole authority for his ideas, drew much of his own system from Shaftesbury; but on account of a passage in the *Characteristics* which reflects on him for deserting the Whigs,[52] he deliberately omitted from his tedious review of philosophy all direct reference to Shaftesbury's system. J. M. Rob-

[51] Elsewhere Pope ridiculed the *Moralists*. "After borrowing so largely from this treatise, our author should not, methinks, have ridiculed it as he does, in the Fourth Book of the Dunciad, ver. 417" —J. Warton (*Essay on Pope*, 1806, II, p. 94, note). Without citing his evidence, Professor Fowler says that Pope did mention both the *Inquiry* and the *Moralists* as sources for the *Essay* (*op. cit.*, p. 152, note). Grudzinski makes the same unsupported assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 100).

[52] Vol. II, p. 262. Bolingbroke is not mentioned by name; but see Editor's note.

ertson asserts that the *Essay* is "in large part pure Shaftesbury filtered through Bolingbroke." [53] In the second place, it is known that Pope borrowed directly from various sources, and that one of the most important is the *Moralists*. This view, advanced by Voltaire,[54] Warton,[55] Warburton,[56] and others in the eighteenth century is not questioned.[57] That Pope elsewhere mentioned Shaftesbury only to ridicule him needs no further explanation than the attitude of his patron. In addition, there are two other important authorities cited for the *Essay:* King's *De Origine Mali* (1702) and Leibnitz's *Théodicée* (1710). The contribution of the latter is, I think, purely conjectural; but the insertion of neither King nor Leibnitz affects the main question under present consideration. The passages rightly or wrongly attributed to them relate only to details of theology, particularly to the question of God's providence; from the nature of their work they could have yielded no more. Pope's theory of benevolence is clearly due to Bolingbroke or Shaftesbury or both. Curiously enough, the commentators have confined themselves to the triangular agreement of the three; no attempt has been made to study Pope's views in the light of certain differences which distinguish Bolingbroke's theory of benevolence from Shaftesbury's. And the study of these at once explains some inconsistences of the *Essay* and demonstrates the hold which the *Characteristics* had established on the popular mind.

[53] *Characteristics*, I, p. xxv. Compare T. Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 151; Morel, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

[54] *Lettres sur les Anglais*, Let. XXII.

[55] *Essay on Pope*, Sect. ix. See also his ed. of Pope.

[56] *Vindication*, etc. and ed. of Pope.

[57] See Elwin's and Mark Pattison's notes on the *Essay* and Paul Vater, *Pope und Shaftesbury*, Halle, a. S., 1897.

Bolingbroke's suggestions were conveyed to Pope partly in conversations "often interrupted, often renewed" and partly in writing. Pope is said by Lord Bathurst to have had before him at the time of writing a special outline drawn up by Bolingbroke; [58] but the only record which we have of the instructions given is in the *Letters* and the *Fragments* which were "thrown upon paper in Mr. Pope's lifetime, and at his desire," and published for the first time in the posthumous edition of Bolingbroke's works (1754). There are in the *Fragments,* as the author admits, some alterations, and parts were written after what we have of the incomplete *Essay* had already been published; these were evidently for the further guidance of Pope, who planned originally to extend the poem. There is no reason for supposing that this printed material, which fills two huge volumes of the latest edition of Bolingbroke,[59] does not represent an accurate statement of his instructions; and it is on the basis of these that we must calculate the differences between the views of Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury.

There are differences in both theology and ethics, and in the main, though not consistently, Pope follows Bolingbroke. Theologically Shaftesbury would not have encouraged Pope's adoption of the very ancient view:

> Know then thyself. Presume not God to scan,
> The proper study of mankind is man.

He insisted constantly on the study of man; [60] but he had little or none of Bolingbroke's vicious contempt for the supposition that human reason is capable of arriving at a knowledge of the divine nature, a view which Boling-

[58] See Elwin's introductory remarks, II, pp. 261 ff.

[59] Four vols., Philadelphia, 1841 (to which all references below).

[60] *Characteristics,* I, pp. 90-4, 144, 185, 190-3; II, pp. 274-5, 286

broke attacked with wearisome frequency in his opposition to Clarke.[61] It will be observed that here, and wherever else the two differ, Shaftesbury is far more flattering to man's nature. Under this difference is comprehended all of Bolingbroke's covert attacks on the ethics of the *Characteristics.* He followed the Cambridge Platonists and Shaftesbury only to the extent of considering benevolence the supreme Law of Nature and the one possibility of human happiness; beyond this point he pursued a system at times almost in harmony with Hobbes and Mandeville. Allowing the desirability of benevolence, he makes it very difficult of attainment. With him it is not a matter of instinct. Bolingbroke had no greater tolerance for Shaftesbury's moral sense and intuitive benevolence than Mandeville had. These were mere "Platonic whimsies." "They affirm," he said, "that they have . . . . a moral sense, that is, an instinct by which they distinguish what is morally good from what is morally evil, and perceive an agreeable or disagreeable intellectual sensation accordingly, without the trouble of observation and reflection. They bid fair to be enthusiasts in ethics, and to make natural religion as ridiculous, as some of their brothers have made revealed religion, by insisting on the doctrine of an inward light." [62] Instead of the two sets of affections provided by Shaftesbury's formula, self-love and social, man has according to Bolingbroke only an instinctive self-love. This, he admitted, has a rudimentary social tendency in that it prompts man to associate with his fellows; but this instinct is no more than that of the lower animals and is limited to physical enjoyment. It not only fails to con-

[61] Vol. III, pp. 51, 52, 109, 116, 210, 324; IV, Frag. i, pp. 118-9, 131, Frag. ii, pp. 132-5, 137-8, Frag. vi, p. 166, Frag. viii, pp. 175-7, Frag. xx, p. 233, Frag. xli, pp. 319-22, Frag. xlvii, pp. 350-1, Frag. xlviii, pp. 355-6, Frag. xlix, pp. 356-60, Frag. l, pp. 360-3.

[62] Vol. IV, Frag. vi, pp. 167-8. Cf. Vol. III, pp. 396-401.

duct man beyond this embryonic social state, but is an active enemy to true social development. The virtue of benevolence, and indeed all virtue, is to be acquired only by means of the reason. There is an incessant conflict between the various passions arising from natural self-love, which seeks mere pleasure, and the dictates of reason, which seeks genuine happiness.[63] In this conflict the selfish passions have the advantage in that they act quickly under the influence of immediate pleasure, whereas the reason acts slowly under the influence of a greater but more remote good.[64] The sentimentalist Shaftesbury declares that goodness is the natural state of man; the rationalist Bolingbroke, that goodness results from a conquest of natural instinct by reason: they are the prototypes, respectively, of Rousseau and Voltaire.

In this difference is found the key to the most distinctive doctrine of Pope's ethical system. Warton's note to the contrary, Bolingbroke's theory is seen clearly in Pope's

> Two principles in human nature reign;
> Self-love, to urge, and reason, to restrain;
> Nor this a good, nor that a bad we call,
> Each works its end, to move or govern all:
> And to their proper operation still,
> Ascribe all good; to their improper, ill.
>
> . . . .
>
> Self-love still stronger, as its object's nigh;
> Reason's at distance, and in prospect lie:
> That sees immediate good by present sense;
> Reason, the future and the consequence.[65]

Nor is Pope guilty of inconsistence when he grafts upon this doctrine Mandeville's contention that the virtues them-

[63] Vol. IV, Frag. xxvi, p. 263; Frag. xxxiii, p. 290; Frag. li, pp. 369-72; Frag. lv, p. 390; Frag. lxiv, pp. 428-9.

[64] Vol. IV, Frag. lxv, pp. 432-3; Frag. lxvi, pp. 433-4.

[65] Second Epistle, 53-74. Both Bolingbroke and Pope were probably influenced by Bacon (see Bowles's note).

selves arise from vices properly controlled by reason.[66] Bolingbroke does not develop the thesis, but it is implied and thoroughly in keeping with his assumptions.

In the *Essay* and the *Epistles* Pope's occasional emphasis on the " ruling passion " as the source of the chief virtue or of the chief vice, according as it is or is not controlled by reason, is a faithful development of this rationalistic view of ethics as opposed to the sentimentalism of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. Like the old Calvinistic doctrine of man's depravity, it justifies Bolingbroke and Pope in their practical suspicion of human nature—a suspicion far more natural to them than Shaftesbury's genial flattery, and corroborated no doubt by their intimate knowledge of themselves. Thus it came that though both Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury attached supreme moral importance to nature's law of benevolence as the only means of happiness, the theory of intuitive social affection led Shaftesbury to regard the ideal of universal philanthropy a practical dream, while the insistence upon the conflict between instinct and reason led Bolingbroke to the gloomy conclusion that, since social virtue is pitted against great odds, at best our lot here will always be " a mixed happiness." In poetry Thomson reflects the first view and Pope, despite much criticism to the contrary, reflects the second. So far his teaching, which undoubtedly accords with his predilections, is consistent also with the philosophical tenets of his model.

He was unable, however, to maintain throughout the *Essay* the fine distinction involved, and his failure to do so explains one inconsistence of the poem which has never been assigned to its exact cause. Pope's awkwardness is

[66] See, however, a remark of Pope's quoted by Spence, *Anecdotes*, p. 9.

due largely to himself, for he was incapable of sustained logic; but partly also to Bolingbroke, whose phrasing at times obscures his original quarrel with the Platonists. For example, such sentences as the following read like Shaftesbury's formula: "Sociability is the great instinct, and benevolence the great law, of human nature, which no other law can repeal, or alter." [67] The fact is Bolingbroke found it a very delicate matter to represent natural instinct as being at once an embryonic social motive and also an impediment to genuine social development. Even if such a discrimination is valid, it is difficult to handle. To refute Hobbes, he needed the first assumption; to refute the Platonists, he needed the second. In his attempt to appropriate for his own purpose most of Shaftesbury's refutation of Hobbes, he came perilously near admitting the very doctrine of Shaftesbury which he was constantly denying. In the same manner his poetical disciple sets out boldly with self-love opposed to reason; but later, in his anxiety to emphasize the beauty of benevolence, he finds his hypothetical man duly equipped with self-love and social, both of which seem to be instinctive. For example, the third Epistle closes:

> So two consistent motions act the soul;
> And one regards itself, and one the whole.
> Thus God and Nature linked the general frame,
> And bade Self-love and Social be the same.[68]

The most illuminating comment on this passage is one made by Bolingbroke himself, who was quick to detect signs of Pope's defection from the cause of reason to that of moral instinct. "That true self-love and social are the same, as you have expressed a maxim, I have always

[67] Vol. IV, Frag. XXV, p. 297.

[68] Warton's note is clearly and radically wrong.

thought most undeniably evident; or that the author of nature has so constituted the human system, that they coincide in it, may be easily demonstrated to any one who is able to compare a very few clear and determinate ideas. But it will not follow, that he to whom this demonstration is made, nor even he who makes it, shall regulate his conduct according to it, nor reduce to practice what is true in speculation. We are so made, that a less immediate good will determine the generality of mankind, in opposition to one that is much greater, even according to our own measure of things, but more remote, and an agreeable momentary sensation will be preferred to any lasting and real advantage which *reason alone can hold out to us, and reflection alone can make us perceive. . . .* The influence of reason is slow and calm, that of the passions sudden and violent. Reason therefore might suggest the art that served to turn the passions on her side." [69]

Pope's *Essay on Man* thus becomes a conspicuous proof of the literary ascendency attained by the *Characteristics*. It is indebted to Shaftesbury in three ways: in the first place, many of the ideas contributed by Bolingbroke came originally from his opponent; in the second place, the phrasing of Pope indicates that he sometimes borrowed from Shaftesbury directly what he might have found also in Bolingbroke; and in the third place, Pope, who was under the special tutelage of his friend, could not wholly refrain from that particular aspect of Shaftesbury's theory which Bolingbroke endeavored to controvert. The extent to which he did actually succeed in applying Bolingbroke's theory of benevolence as opposed to Shaftesbury's is what differentiates the *Essay* from the other poems so far ex-

[69] Vol. III, Essay III, p. 224. The italics are not in the original. I am surprised that this passage has been neglected by commentators.

amined in this study. The other poets were not subjected to Bolingbroke's own statement until after the publication of his works by Mallet in 1754, and they seem in the meantime not to have been affected by Pope's vague and inconsistent reproduction.[70] Though his example must have encouraged the later productions of the "benevolists," it is significant that the small poets cite as their authority Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Thomson rather than Pope. Those who wrote after the publication of Bolingbroke showed no greater inclination to adopt him, and Isaac Hawkins Browne made a special point of attacking him.[71]

III

The poetry of benevolence so far considered, though not written necessarily by avowed deists, is based on the assumption of Natural Religion and antagonizes the old orthodox position. Since these deistical poems, however, represent by no means the whole output of poetry written under George II. to recommend benevolence, it remains now to be considered whether Shaftesbury probably influenced those poems which are less definitely associated with his peculiar theology.

His opposition to revealed religion continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the orthodox.[1] Naturally enough, some of them also attacked his system of independent ethics. Dr. Johnson's *Rasselas* introduces a philosopher whose moral code is summed up in "this simple and intel-

[70] Lord Paget's *An Essay on Human Life* (1734) is an exception.

[71] *Fragmentum, I. H. B. completum. Anti-Bolingbrokius,* etc., London, 1769.

[1] See *The Cure of Deism,* etc. (1736, 1737, 1739); *Deism Revealed,* etc. (1751); J. Ogilvie, D. D., *An Inquiry into the Causes of Infidelity . . . of the Times,* etc. (1783).

ligible maxim—that deviation from nature is deviation from happiness"; but after considerable explanation, the prince decided "that this was one of those sages whom he should understand less as he heard him longer." [2] Fielding ridiculed the doctrine of "the fitness of things" by assigning it to Square, and to the assertion that virtue produces happiness and vice, misery, he offered "but one objection, namely, that it is not true." [3] Smollett put "the greatest part of that frothy writer's rhapsody" in the mouth of the philosophical doctor in *Peregrine Pickle*,[4] and accounted for the ruin of Miss Williams in *Roderick Random* by making her a disciple of Shaftesbury, Tindal, and Hobbes.[5] Mrs. Mary Barber, a writer of temporary importance, vented her prejudice against deistical morality in the following passage from a poem inappropriately addressed *To Mr. Pope: Intreating him to write Verses to the Memory of Thomas, late Earl of Thanet* (pub. 1734):

> Ye vain pretenders to superior sense,
> Ye empty boasters of beneficence,
> Who, in the *scorners seat*, exulting, sit,
> And vaunt your impious raillery for wit,
> The Gospel-Rule defective you pretend,
> When you the social duties recommend:
> In Thanet see them heighten'd and refin'd;
> In Thanet see the friend of human kind;
> Heighten'd by Faith, see ev'ry virtue's force:
> By Faith, the surest sanction, noblest source.
>
> . . . .
>
> Free-thinkers, Moralists, on you I call,
> Can Thanet's worth be equall'd by you all?

Similar protests abound in the minor poetry of the period,[6] and a few of the small poets still persisted in recommend-

[2] Ch. xxii: "The Happiness of a Life Led according to Nature."
[3] *Tom Jones*, Bk. xv, Ch. i.
[4] Ch. xliii. Cf. Ch. xxiv, lvii, lxx. [5] Ch. xxii.
[6] See, for example, *To The Rev. Mr. Layng. Occasion'd by his*

ing social duties by means of the old-fashioned forecast of the day of judgment.[7] The most formidable opposition offered by poetry to deism in general is that of Edward Young, whose *Night Thoughts* (1742-5), written primarily to rebuke Pope's omission of immortality from the scheme of his *Essay,* was regarded as the official apology for Christianity. Admitting the force of reason in religion, the uselessness of miracles, and the eternal laws imprinted on nature, he contended that Christianity is as reasonable and natural as deism, but that the addition of faith is essential, and that mercy is not, as the deists implied, the sole attribute of God. In his ethical utterances he sternly denounced the theory of natural goodness; in fact, the orthodox could not maintain their opposition to Mandeville on this one point without doing violence to their accepted theology and probably their real conviction. Young's chief quarrel, however, was with the assumption of the Shaftesburian moralists that virtue is its own reward and not in need of future recompense.

> "Has virtue, then, no joys?"—Yes, joys dear bought.
> Talk ne'er so long, in this imperfect state,
> Virtue and vice are at eternal war,
> Virtue's a combat; and who fights for nought?
> Or for precarious, or for small reward?
> Who virtue's self-reward so loud resound,
> Would take degrees angelic here below,
> And virtue, while they compliment, betray,
> By feeble motives and unfaithful guards.
>
> . . . .

Sermon on Mutual Benevolence (Anonymous, 1746), Fawkes and Woty, *Poet. Cal.*, v, p. 118; Thomas Hobson, *Christianity the Light of the Moral World* (1745).

[7] In 1757 two poems entitled *The Day of Judgment* were presented for the Seatonian Prize at Cambridge, by G. Bally and R. Glynn. The first was published independently, London, 1757; the second appears in *Poet. Cal.*, XII, pp. 20-30.

Rewards and punishments make God ador'd;
And hopes and fears give conscience all her power.[8]

Opposing his orthodoxy to the special argument of intuitive social affection, Young declared,

Some we can't love, but for the Almighty's sake.

But such opposition was less thorough than these opponents themselves believed. That new ethical principles were invading the stronghold of the "Gospel-Rule" is evident from the examples of Butler and the other Christian moralists; without setting aside the authority of precept, they were giving ethics an independent foundation in nature. In taking this step, they were indebted chiefly to Shaftesbury, whose theology they abhorred. In the Preface to the 1729 edition of *Fifteen Sermons* (1726),[9] Butler, for example, acknowledged that, despite his exception to some details of Shaftesbury's system, it is in the main authoritative. Likewise "Estimate" Brown's review of the *Characteristics,* though at many points antagonistic, stoutly champions Shaftesbury's general conclusion against the doctrine of Mandeville.[10] Their example, which probably had no effect on literature, is symptomatic of Shaftesbury's gradual conversion of orthodoxy to independent ethics in general and to his special emphasis upon

[8] *Night* VII.

[9] Note the importance attached to Butler's statement by W. Hazlitt, "Self-Love and Benevolence," *New Monthly Mag.*, Oct. and Dec., 1828.

[10] *Essays on the Characteristics*, by John Brown, M. A., 1751. Those parts of his criticism which were unfavorable provoked three replies: Charles Bulkley, *A Vindication of Lord Shaftesbury on the Subject of Ridicule* (1751) and *A Vindication of Lord Shaftesbury on the Subjects of Morality and Religion* (1752); and *Animadversions on Mr. Brown's Three Essays on the Characteristics,* authorship unknown.

benevolence as a natural impulse. Just as the orthodox had all along endeavored to prove that the deists had no monopoly on reason, they were now equally determined to contest the superior claim of the deists to natural benevolence, and it was with particular reluctance that they mentioned Shaftesbury among the opponents of revealed religion.[11]

The resulting compromise so far obliterated the line between the ethical assumptions of the more liberal Christians and of the moderate deists that the poetry of benevolence came to be less distinctive of the author's religious affiliations. Many of the less specialized poems occupy this middle ground. To whichever party the writers adhered, whether they were deists or Christians or "Christian deists," they presented the beauty of benevolence, or "good-nature," in a manner different from the earlier orthodox formula, but confined themselves to a statement so general and so free from minute controversial details that, if we except a few old-fashioned sticklers for the unaided "Gospel-rule," their poems were now inoffensive to all parties. The volume of such poetry is immense and was written by men of the most varied beliefs. Some of the writers were in complete sympathy with Shaftesbury, some were skeptical of various details, and some were on occasion openly hostile to him. Acknowledged or not, however, their indebtedness to "the founder of the benevolent school of philosophy," at first hand or second, is obvious. In the first place, the fashion which they followed in poetry

[11] "It gives me a real concern, that among the writers who have appeared against revealed religion, I am obliged to take notice of the noble author of the *Characteristics*. Some indeed are not willing to allow that he is to be reckoned in this number . . . and yet it cannot be denied, that there are many things in his books, which seem to be evidently calculated to cast contempt upon Christianity and the holy Scriptures." J. Leland, *op. cit.*, I, Letter V (1754).

was popularized by Shaftesbury's deistical adherents; in the second place, their ability to adopt the fashion without giving open offense to the orthodox was due to his partial conquest of the traditional belief. The class is sufficiently illustrated by Henry Fielding's *Of Good Nature* (1743);[12] Lyttelton's *A Monody* (1747);[13] John Armstrong's *Of Benevolence* (1751); Christopher Smart's *On Good Nature* (1760); William Dodd's *Sacred to Humanity, The Man of Southgate,* and *An Hymn to Good Nature* (1760); William Stevenson's *On Riches,* and *The Progress of Evening, or The Power of Virtue* (1765); Sir Charles Hanbury Williams's *On Benevolence;* and Thomas Blacklock's *An Hymn to Benevolence* (1746). In some of these poems, as well as in those which are openly deistical, there are evidences of the *Characteristics* not only in idea, but also in phrasing. Even Young was not wholly immune. His designation of God as "the great Philanthropist" is, according to his editor, the Reverend J. Mitford, an example of very bad taste;[14] certainly it is a concession to deistic theology out of harmony with some of his strictures. With similar inconsistence, Young, in the following passage, recommends the natural impulse to benevolence exactly as the disciples of Shaftesbury were doing:

> Nothing in nature, much less conscious being,
> Was e'er created solely for itself:
> Thus man his sovereign duty learns in this
> Material picture of benevolence.
> And know, of all our supercilious race,

[12] One of a collection of poems published by Miller. Later the author spoke of them apologetically as "productions rather of the heart than of the head," and they have since been omitted from some of the best editions of Fielding's works.

[13] Ridiculed by Smollet in his *Burlesque Ode.*

[14] Young's *Poetical Works,* Aldine ed., I, pp. xxxix-xl.

> Thou most inflammable! thou wasp of men!
> Man's angry heart, inspected, would be found
> As rightly set, as are the starry spheres;
> 'Tis nature's structure, broke by stubborn will,
> Breathes all that uncelestial discord there.
> Wilt thou not feel the bias nature gave? [15]

Isaac Hawkins Browne's *De Animi Immortalite* (1754), written, like Young's *Night Thoughts,* to demonstrate Pope's error in omitting considerations of future reward and punishment, exhibits Young's tendency much more clearly. This was one of the most popular didactic poems of the time; there were three translations of it in the year of its publication,[16] and a fourth in 1765.[17] The fact that Soame Jenyns immediately translated it should have been enough to cast suspicion on its pure orthodoxy. The following passage coincides exactly with the fashionable doctrine of natural religion in its sanction of benevolence as a dictate of nature:

> The laws of life why need I call to mind,
> Obeyed by birds, and beasts of every kind;
> By all the sandy desert's savage brood,
> And all the numerous offspring of the flood;
> Of these none uncontroul'd and lawless rove,
> But to some destin'd end spontaneous move.
> Led by that instinct, heaven itself inspires,
> Or so much reason, as their state requires;
> See all with skill acquire their daily food,
> All use those arms, which Nature has bestow'd;
> Produce their tender progeny, and feed
> With care parental, whilst that care they need!
> In these lov'd offices completely blest,
> No hopes beyond them, nor vain fears molest.
> Man o'er a wider field extends his views;
> God through the wonders of his works pursues;
> Exploring thence His attributes and laws,

[15] *Night* IX.

[16] By Soame Jenyns, Richard Grey, William Hay.

[17] By J. Cromwell.

Adores, loves, imitates th' Eternal Cause;
For sure in nothing we approach so nigh
The great example of divinity,
As in benevolence: the patriot's soul
Knows not self-centered for itself to roll,
But warms, enlightens, animates the whole:
Its mighty orb embraces first his friends,
His country next, then man; nor here it ends,
But to the meanest animal descends.
Wise Nature has this social law confirm'd,
By forming man so helpless and unarmed;
His want of others' aid, and power of speech
T' implore that aid, this lesson daily teach.
Mankind with other animals compare,
Single how weak and impotent they are!
But, view them in their complicated state,
Their powers how wondrous, and their strength how great,
When social virtue individuals joins,
And in one solid mass, like gravity combines!
This then's the first great law by Nature giv'n,
Stamp'd on our souls, and ratify'd by Heav'n;
All from utility this law approve,
As every private bliss must spring from social love.

Moreover, the following extract from Grey's translation indicates that the author practically contradicts his main thesis of the necessity of future reward:

Base and mean
Is that man's virtue, who does therefore well
That after Death he may be paid for't. He
Is truly good, whom, future hopes apart,
Virtue's sweet charms, and Honesty's plain path,
Lead of themselves to what is fair and fit,
Superior to regard of every kind.

IV

An exhaustive study of benevolent theory in poetry would necessitate the further inclusion of poems on charity and social reform like those referred to in the discussion of Thomson; in these the same arguments for benevolence

are to be found, but the main object of the writers is to encourage and direct the practice itself. For the present purpose it is sufficient merely to intimate the extent of such literature and its possible effect on the moral conduct of the period. Malone expressed great contempt for the "benevolists" as men who talked much about virtue and did little to promote it.[1] As a general charge, this would be manifestly unjust. There was a very intimate contact between the ideals of literature and of society. The same writers who persistently lauded the benevolent disposition converted it into a practical force for the encouragement, if not the initiation, of all the numerous philanthropies of the day. These appeals are made, not only in literature professing such charitable purpose, but in the most unexpected connections, where frequently the moral lesson is at the sacrifice of artistic effect. They are to be found in the work of all versifiers, from Pope[2] and Thomson to the mere scribblers, some of the poets proposing charity on the old theological ground of future reward, but most of them on the more fashionable principle that active compassion is the perfection of the "natural temper." Some of this sentiment, was, of course, affected for literary pop-

[1] His opinion is quoted by Sir James Prior, *Life of Edmund Malone*, London, 1860, p. 427: "Mr. Gilbert Cooper was the last of the *benevolists*, or sentimentalists, who were much in vogue between 1750 and 1760, and dealt *in general* admiration of virtue. They were all tenderness in *words;* their finer feelings evaporated in the moment of expression, for they had no connection with their practice." A. W. Ward takes exception to this stricture (*The Poems of John Byrom*, Chetham Soc., I (2), 449).

[2] Pope's case is instructive; he was apparently following the example of Thomson. In his early poetry there is no plea for charity; but after he began to "moralise" his song, such passages became frequent (see *Moral Essays*, Epistles III, IV, and *Epilogue to the Satires*). Fielding praises these passages, especially the first, in *Joseph Andrews*, Bk. III, Ch. vi.

ularity; such imitation, however, is a tribute to the practical appeal and genuine motive of the movement as a whole, and the avidity with which the public read this versified philosophy indicates that the age found in such literature a faithful presentation of its chief social slogan. There is, moreover, a direct connection between this constant poetising of benevolence and charity and the extensive practical charity which signalized the reign of George II. In the *Champion* for February 16, 1740, Fielding says: "This virtue hath shone brighter in our time, than at any period which I remember in our annals." Johnson testifies similarly in the *Idler* for May 6, 1758: "But no sooner is a new species of misery brought to view, and a design of relieving it proposed than every hand is open to contribute something, every tongue is busied in solicitation and every art of pleasure is employed for a time in the interest of Virtue." Even John Brown's *Estimate,* which is pessimistic, concedes in 1757 that the charitable foundations recently established "are such indisputable proofs of a national humanity, as it were the highest injustice not to acknowledge and applaud." It is evident that charity was becoming, as a few writers of that period note,[3] a mere fashion. It was degenerating into sentimentalism unguided by discriminating judgment. To argue Shaftesbury's authority for either the good or the bad qualities of this sentimental program would be to repeat the evidence already adduced; if he stimulated many of the "benevolists" directly and most of them indirectly

[3] See T. W., Gent., *The Country Priest* (1746); Joseph Warton, *Fashion; a Satire;* William Kenrick, *On Moral Sentiment* (1768); Robert Lloyd, *Charity, A Fragment;* Christopher Smart, *Care and Generosity;* and the *Connoisseur* 98 (1755). Note also a pamphlet published anonymously, *Considerations on the Fatal Effects of the Present Excess of Public Charities*, etc., London, 1763.

through Hutcheson and through poetical followers, he had a proportionate share in determining the general preoccupation of these same writers and their public with the practical application of his theory.[4]

That the humanitarian program of Shaftesbury's school had its old-fashioned limitations is true. Most of the solid benefits acquired during the ascendency of his philosophy were confined to the accomplishment of private endeavor. The poets who followed him have been accused of hypocrisy for holding up a lofty ideal of individual benevolence and at the same time extolling a government which legalized abuses against the plainest dictates of humanity. This is notably the case of Thomson's *Liberty,* and the example was set by Shaftesbury himself. If this is a fault, however, it is a fault due, not to sentimental philosophy, but to Whiggism, which affected most of the poetry of the time. There was, in fact, some moral excuse for this loyalty: throughout much of this period the Act of Settlement was still contending with the Jacobite adherence to divine right, and certainly the future of social reform was safer in the hands of the Whigs than it would have been in those of the Stuarts. The Whig poets were justified also in praising British liberty at the expense of any previous *régime* in England and contemporary conditions in Europe. They were not wholly mistaken or insincere in defending Whig commercialism as a national philanthropy to relieve the distress of the lower classes. In supporting the Whig government they were fighting to hold the measure of individual right England had already acquired; [5] it is natural that the reforms proposed at this

[4] Dr. Rand discusses Shaftesbury's own philanthropy, private and public, *Regimen*, pp. vii, viii. Note particularly the Letter to John Wheelock (Shaftesbury's steward), Nov. 6, [1703], *idem,* p. 315.

[5] Of Shaftesbury, Dr. Rand says: "The political measures which

stage confined themselves principally to enlarging the sympathies of individual readers, and that literature, therefore, had more to say in favor of benevolence and charity than against legalized abuses. On these, however, the writers were not silent. Shaftesbury himself supported a successful bill for giving the accused right of counsel.[6] Thomson and his contemporaries protested against the inhumanity of prison laws, slavery, the criminal code, and various other evils; although they did not effect any material alterations in the law, they performed a practical service by educating the public conscience for the social reforms which logically followed—reforms with which we usually associate Howard, Wilberforce, Romilly, and others who perfected movements initiated long before. The agitation during the reign of George II. was not wholly new in literature, nor was it confined to the followers of Shaftesbury. But the revival of interest in such matters after the moral laxity under George I. was contemporaneous with the triumph of his sentimental benevolence; the interest displayed by poets, which was entirely new, was due chiefly to the example of Thomson; if we except the strictures of Defoe, the measures proposed were more openly critical of the law than any that had appeared before; and the still more radical agitation which followed, in and out of literature, derived its authority from the general belief in benevolence as the supreme virtue.

Against this conclusion, the popular view of deism im-

he most strongly supported at home were those which had for their aim the protection of the rights and liberty of the individual" (*Regimen*, pp. vii-viii). That he was not a dogmatist in politics is evident from the letter to Tiresias, Nov. 29, 1706, (*Regimen*, pp. 367-8); his defense of the British monarchy was based, not on theoretic grounds, but on the belief that no other form of government could subsist in England.

[6] *Regimen*, pp. xx, xxi. . . .

mediately urges the "shallow optimism" of Shaftesbury as an obstacle to reform. The objection is not without support from high authority; but that it is often exaggerated is so evident as hardly to deserve proof. By "Whatever is, is right" none of the deists meant more than to assert the goodness and providence of the Deity against the claims of grumbling atheists who, like Epicurus, saw in the evils and moral confusion of the world a negation of God. The assumption that this is "the best possible of all systems" is in its intent and application primarily theological and not political or social. Deists were not so besotted as to believe the details of human conduct and society literally in need of no alteration. They were, in fact, boastingly identified with the cause of social improvement; this claim was one of their chief weapons against the orthodox. Beyond this purely theological argument of God's providence, their views concerning the perfectibility of society represent all the various shades of confidence from optimism to pessimism. Relatively speaking, and in this sense, Shaftesbury was an optimist, and so were Thomson and various other poets of this school. We know that they underestimated the tenacity of evil and exaggerated man's instinctive response to the cause of suffering, but it was this optimism which gave the humanitarian movement in literature its real vigor. Those who cite deism as inefficient for the purposes of reform judge by an absolute rather than an historical standard. What is to be said of the traditional attitude of the Church with which deism came into open conflict? Far from trying to equalize the lot of human beings or to remove the abuses incident to the social system, the Church defended all inequalities as part of a divine dispensation which wisely subjects every soul to that particular influence best adapted to its spiritual development: the rich man's wealth affords

him an opportunity to cultivate the virtue of charity, and the poor man's poverty nurtures in him the fine flower of Christian resignation.[7] Such a view anticipated no real change of conditions; it contemplated merely the temporary assuagement of extreme suffering and complacently looked forward to a continuation of social evils predetermined by a wise Creator for the spiritual good of both victim and patron. The rectifying solvent was conveniently deferred to a future life. Christianity as it was then interpreted exerted a paralyzing influence on genuine reform, and real progress became possible only after deism had forced upon the dogmatists some of its more liberal ideas of human relations in this life.

The total evidence of Shaftesbury's influence would be greatly increased also by extending the study of literature beyond 1760; the selection of this year as a concluding date is largely arbitrary. In the later period his influence is slightly confused by the additional effect of Rousseau's example; but the general indications are that the popular appeal of the *Characteristics* continued unabated to the last decade of the century. It was supplemented, but not displaced, by more radical ideas of Rousseau's. A candid estimate of their relative influence would probably assign greater practical results to the Englishman: not only had he initiated the sentimental program which concluded with the violent performance of Rousseau, but he represented that degree of sentimentalism which satisfies the conservative bent of the average Britisher. The revolutionary doctrine superimposed by Rousseau affected, after all, no more than a small coterie, and for a brief period only. The case of Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*

[7] See Robert Nelson, *Address*, etc., pp. 78, 79; J. Balguy, *Divine Rectitude*, London, 1730, pp. 58-9; William Dodd, *Gratitude. An Ode* (1760).

is not an unfair example of English timidity in the presence of Rousseau's proposals. The ideal Henry Moreland begins life with a strong inclination to discard clothes and revolt against organized society, but terminates his career by attaching himself to the cause of the English throne and turning Methodist. The very fact, however, that the early school of humanitarians did not go to the extent of denouncing Society root and branch, as Rousseau did a little later, partly accounts for the neglect of Shaftesbury by critics. There is in Rousseau's doctrine a touch of audacity which distracts attention from the amateur lectures of the earlier benevolists. He was indirectly responsible also for the sudden termination of Shaftesbury's long ascendency: when the English perceived the revolutionary possibilities of sentimental benevolence, which had escaped Shaftesbury to be fully expounded by Rousseau and applied by the Revolutionists, their distrust extended to the comparatively innocuous doctrine of the *Characteristics.* Between 1711 and 1790 it commanded eleven English editions; after 1790 no new edition appeared for a century.[8]

V

Even if Shaftesbury had in 1760 suddenly yielded his position to the superior influence of French sentimentalism, he would still deserve more attention than is accorded him by the historians of English literature. His importance arises not so much from novel proposals advanced as from the sureness with which he interpreted the vague predisposition of the age towards new modes of thought and feeling. The evidence adduced in this study—includ-

[8] The Reverend Wm. M. Hatch planned a complete edition, but published only one volume of it (1871).

ing the undeniable fact of his general popularity, the explicit citation of his ethics by various writers, the minute agreement of others, and the reluctant adoption of the essentials by still others—leads directly to a conclusion that affects only so-called historical criticism of literature. It seems to evince unmistakably that in an early stage of English philanthropy when the orthodox conception of moral obligation was considered inadequate, Shaftesbury afforded a doctrine with which poetry, as well as philosophy, argued the cause of social reform against the egoism of Epicurus, Hobbes, La Rochefoucauld, and Mandeville; that by gradually ingratiating himself with all parties of benevolists, he became the main authority for English ideas of philanthropy during a period that witnessed a broadening of human sympathies, a preoccupation of society and literature with the cause of social amelioration, and the first general use of poetry as an organ of humanitarian theory. His connection with this change and its ultimate permanent effects on literature and society give additional weight to Dr. Rand's remark that the third Earl was "a most worthy predecessor to the noble and philanthropic seventh Earl of Shaftesbury."[1] If we confine ourselves wholly to his effect on literature, it may be well to recall that, whatever criticism may say about the strictly "literary" influences and changes, the fact of human moment in literature of the eighteenth century is that it became genuinely sympathetic.

This moral effect was not accomplished without some detriment to the literature which it humanized. Goldsmith's shrewd judgment concerning the injury to English prose through the continual but unsuccessful imitation of Shaftesbury's style notes one of the least faults which

[1] *Regimen*, p. vii.

followed in the wake of the *Characteristics*. The constant lauding of compassion and the apotheosis of benevolence resulted in a monotony of theme and phrase to be properly deprecated only by those who have read the minor verse of the mid-century. Although literary criticism has little or nothing to say on the subject, this influx of benevolence and charity was one of the principal causes for that excess of sentiment described by Sir Leslie Stephen as "a kind of mildew which spreads over the surface of literature at this period to denote a sickly constitution." What we condemn as sentimentalism in literature is the logical product of a society committed to the notion that God's one attribute is benevolence and man's chief perfection an imitation of it. The distinction between the humanitarian and the posturing sentimentalist is always difficult to define, for the enthusiastic preachments of the "benevolists" shade imperceptibly into the cant of mawkish sentiment. In the literature before Shaftesbury's vogue as well as in philosophy, there were already faint signs, especially in comedy, that public taste was moving towards a more sentimental interpretation of life; but unrestrained sentimentalism did not become a national characteristic until Shaftesbury's philosophy, which was itself merely one manifestation of the new ideal, had provided an authoritative defense of it. The habitual study and reproduction of this theory was at least a powerful agent in the formation of the popular temper which encouraged the flaccid emotionalism we find in most poetry of the period and in such prose fiction as *Pamela* [2] and *The Man of Feeling*. It is probable, indeed, that most humanitarian literature is too special and temporary in its appeal to be of per-

[2] See E. Schmidt, *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe*, Jena, 1875, *passim*.

manent significance, and the faults to which it is liable naturally manifested themselves strikingly in the first reaction against the harshness of the egoists and the traditional theology.

Whatever the literary gain or loss, the humanitarian thesis, inclining always to an unreflective sensibility and requiring the constant check of the judgment, has since occupied a large place among the interests of English poetry. If ethical instruction is conceded to be a legitimate function of poetical art, Shaftesbury and his school deserve unqualified praise for cementing a connection between poetry and social questions that has performed a recognized service in the reformation of English morals; and in whatever light the addition of this function may be viewed by the appreciative critic of literature, the historical fact remains that Shaftesbury's ethical theory was primarily responsible for a moral tone which is one of the chief distinctions between the literature before and after the adoption of him by English poets, and which with various modifications has persisted to our own time.

C. A. Moore.

XV.—COLLOQUIAL CONTRACTIONS IN BEAUMONT, FLETCHER, MASSINGER, AND SHAKESPEARE AS A TEST OF AUTHORSHIP

F. G. Fleay presented to the New Shakspere Society in 1874 his epoch-making paper *On Metrical Tests as Applied to Dramatic Poetry.* Many early investigations of authorship had been excellent, and some scholars looked askance at the utilization of cold statistics in literary criticism; but Fleay's methods, followed later by Boyle and others, have been vindicated. To Fleay and Boyle the fundamental idea of this paper, namely, that the work of the collaborating dramatists, Beaumont and Fletcher, and of Massinger and Shakespeare in the case of *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen,* may be tested by a consideration of colloquial contractions or elisions in words used by the authors, must acknowledge inspiration. The test will involve the use of statistical tables of colloquialisms which bear some resemblance to the metrical tables of Fleay and Boyle.

By this testing for colloquial contractions, the scope of which I shall later define, I shall try to show the following things:

I. Such a test is of use in distinguishing work by different authors and in furnishing strong evidences of authorship for the so-called "Third Author" passages in the Beaumont and Fletcher and Fletcher and Massinger plays, or, in other words, those passages which are almost certainly known not to be by any one of these three dramatists, but for which no author has been determined. To illustrate, I shall advance claims for Robert Davenport as the author in *The Captain,* Act v.

II. Such a test furnishes strong evidence that the non-Fletcherian parts of *Henry VIII* are not by Massinger, and that they are by Shakespeare.

III. Such a test furnishes equally strong evidence that the non-Fletcherian parts of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* are not by Massinger or Beaumont, and that they are by Shakespeare.

If in so doing I emphasize statistics of contractions, it is not that I am advocating the use of tabulated characteristics of authorship to the exclusion of more subtle considerations of peculiarities in style, or that I am maintaining for the test infallibility at all points.

In the search for tests of authorship colloquialisms have not been by any means all neglected.[1] But in view of the reception of Mr. Thorndike's "em-them" test by many critics, and in particular by the veteran Boyle, one would be pardoned some diffidence in pushing forward a new test depending on colloquialisms. Mr. Boyle thought Mr. Thorndike's test trivial and ludicrous.[2] I shall try to show

[1] R. B. McKerrow in the Variorum edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's works has noticed that Fletcher very frequently makes use of the colloquial form *ye* for *you*, but Massinger rarely (Vol. II, p. 104). In this particular instance he finds that the test bears out other critics in their division of *The Spanish Curate.* Ashley H. Thorndike in his *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare* (1901) proposed what he called the "em-them" test. In this work he finds that Fletcher uses the colloquial *em* for *them* in the great majority of cases, that Massinger uses not a single *em* so far as he has examined his works, and that Beaumont uses one form or the other indiscriminately. In an addendum to this monograph, however, Professor Thorndike withdraws arguments against the authorship of Massinger based on this test, after having examined original quartos of Massinger. He finds that modern editions do not follow the quartos, since Gifford in every case changes *'em* to *them,* and the Mermaid text follows his lead. Professor Thorndike lets his test stand so far as other authors are concerned.

[2] *Eng. Stud.,* XXXI (1902), pp. 420 ff.

that very often colloquialisms are not trivial, but that by them the dramatist who writes an essentially colloquial style may be distinguished from the dramatist who writes a style more exact and "literary."

The test to be used for this purpose takes into account contractions and elisions indicated by printing, which almost every reader must have noticed in Elizabethan and later dramatic poetry, whether or not he may have thought their character or quantity distinctive of an author. Contractions used much today in speech and colloquial writing, such as, for instance, *'tis* for *it is,* and *I'll* for *I shall,* are common in dramatists of the time, but I have regarded as more distinctive and better for testing purposes the following three groups:

I. What we may call t-contractions. These are formed by the clipping of the *i* from the word *it* and the connecting of the remaining *t* by an apostrophe to the preceding word.

Common examples, combinations with prepositions:

in't for *in it.*
to't for *to it.*
on't for *on it.*

Less common examples, combinations with verbs:

pour't for *pour it.*
knew't for *knew it.*
offer't for *offer it.*

II. What we may call the-contractions. Such are formed by the combination of the article *the* with a preceding preposition, which, when *in* or *of,* drops its last letter.

Common examples:

i'th or *i'th'* for *in the.*
o'th or *o'th'* for *of the.*

Less common:

to th' or *to'th'* for *to the.*
by th' or *by'th'* for *by the.*[3]

III. What we may call s-contractions. Such are formed by the combination of the words *his* or *us* with a preceding word, to which the *s* is joined by an apostrophe, as is the *t* in the t-contraction. One exception is made in this group in *let's* for *let us,* since this is rather common, and seems to be hardly distinctive.

Common examples, combinations with prepositions:

on's for *on us* or *on his.*
in's for *in us,* or *in his.*

Less common examples, combinations with verbs:

cram's for *cram us* or *cram his.*
make's for *make us* or *make his.*

These groups are given in the order of their most frequent occurrence. The s-contraction is the most uncommon of all and will for that reason play an important part in the test.

The question may well be asked, "Just how far does the use of such contractions in a play indicate the author's own feeling and custom in the matter, as distinguished from the usage of his printer?" The answer that the use of contractions seems almost certainly to have been due to the author and not the printer is supported by three considerations, the first of which will take us into matters of text.

In a consideration of text we should be greatly helped

[3] Modern editors show a tendency to spell the-contractions *i'the, o'the,* etc., and often to expand *to th'* and *by th'* into *to the* and *by the.* In comparing original folios and quartos with modern editions I have found only this one thoroughly systematic change of contractions.

if we could know that plays were set up by printers from the authors' manuscripts, or at least from copies of the manuscripts that were trustworthy. Naturally, if our plays were all or most of them pirated, being taken down by shorthand or carelessly copied, colloquial contractions could have little significance so far as the authors themselves were concerned.

A. W. Pollard argues for the general good condition and authenticity of the Shakespeare quartos that are not palpably bad copies, and maintains that no doubt good manuscripts, perhaps even Shakespeare's autograph, were at the disposal of the printers in many cases. He says: [4]

"We have no right whatever to assert that a single line of the Folio was set up from Shakespeare's autograph; but neither have we any right to exclude altogether the possibility of use having been made of his drafts."

He goes on to draw the conclusion:

"If instead of building theories upon fragments of evidence a whole generation out of date we let the Folio of 1623 speak for itself, we shall reach the conclusion that manuscript copies of the plays must have been easily procurable. As we have already seen, sixteen out of the thirty-six plays in the Folio were in print in earlier editions in quarto. Of exactly half of these no use whatever was made, the Folio editors preferring to print from manuscripts." [5]

Since we are to deal with Beaumont and Fletcher, it is interesting to note Mr. Pollard's conclusion that Humphrey Mosely's Beaumont and Fletcher folio was probably printed from original manuscripts and not from private transcripts. He says:

"So far as Mosely may be trusted, it is clear that no use was made in 1647 of private transcripts, as he claims most

[4] *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, London, 1909, p. 120.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-1.

positively to have 'had the Originalls from such as received them from the Authours themselves' (*i. e.*, from the players), and 'by those and none other' to have published this edition." [6]

There are difficulties to be encountered in the way of variations between different editions. However, after making use of the quartos and the Folio of 1623 for the plays of Shakespeare which I have studied, of the folios of Beaumont and Fletcher, and of several original quartos, including four for Massinger, I have come to the conclusion that variation in the matter of printing contractions is here at least slight, and that its total will affect figures for the plays to such a small extent that I have not tried to note every variation. For my counting I have gone directly to first printings in original or fac-simile where these were available, and in my tables I shall note the basis for my figures.

The second argument in favor of the author writing and intending his own contractions is the fact that in verse these appear incorporated into the metrical structure, so that a line often cannot be correctly scanned unless the elision is noticed. All the contractions grouped for study are, it will be remembered, formed of two or more syllables, and the elision clips one syllable. The following lines from *The Winter's Tale* will illustrate:

> Before her troth-plight: say't and justify't. (I, ii, 278)
> Forsake the court: to do't, or no, is certain. (I, ii, 362)

The third argument for contractions being consistently characteristic of an author's style at any one period in his writing is to be found in the plays done in collaboration. Tables which are to follow will show how one part of a play, which scholars agree is not by the same author as

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

the rest of the play, may be entirely different in respect to the number and character of contractions. This difference between parts of a play is too orderly to be ascribed to the vagaries of a printer.[7]

THE CAPTAIN

The Captain, which was acted at court, 1612-13, before King James by the King's men, is usually thought to be altered in the version we have. Fleay says, "Acts I to IV, iii are plainly enough by Fletcher, but the rest is not his as it stands, though probably altered from his work, as the Prologue (for Blackfriars, admission 12 d.) mentions 'the author'. . . . I suppose the alterations were made for the court performance, but by whom I know not. Was it Barnes?"[8] Boyle agrees with Fleay in assigning Acts I to IV, iii to Fletcher, but thinks Beaumont appears in IV, v, and that Fletcher appears again in V, i.[9] Otherwise Boyle agrees with Fleay in ascribing Act V to a Third Author, whom in his New Shakspere Society paper of 1886 he thinks Massinger. Oliphant divides Act V minutely between Fletcher and Beaumont, and Massinger and W. Rowley, Rowley being his suggestion for the unknown revising author.[10]

It is obvious that there is little agreement as to Act V. Assignments of authorship seem little more than guesses. An examination of the style in this act shows a much cruder hand than that which wrote the rest of the play.

[7] See Table I for *The Captain* and Tables III and VI for *The Spanish Curate* by Fletcher and Massinger.

[8] Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama* (1891), I, p. 195.

[9] Boyle, *Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger, Eng. Stud.*, V (1881), p. 78.

[10] Oliphant, *Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, Eng. Stud.*, XIV (1890), p. 93.

A table of contractions for *The Captain* indicates the difference between Act v and the other acts:

TABLE I

THE CAPTAIN [11]

Act	I	II	III	IV	V				
Scene					i	ii	iii	iv	v
Lines	534	506	594	620	132	98	27	135	136
t-contractions									
to't	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
on't	4	..	2	..	3	..	..	2	..
in't	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
for't	3	1	3	2	1	..	..	..	..
will't	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
if't	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
is't	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..
knew't	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
upon't	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
do't	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1
pour't	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
saw't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
offer't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sub-total	10	4	8	5	5	3	1	5	3
the-contractions									
i'th'	3	1	4	1	..	1	1	1	2
o'th'	1	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
to'th'	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
by'th'	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-total	4	3	7	4	..	1	1	1	2
s-contractions									
in's	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
on's	1	1	..	..	1	3	..	..	..
Sub-total	1	1	..	..	1	4	..	..	1
TOTAL	15	8	15	9	6	8	2	6	6
							28		

[11] The counting is based on the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio, 1647.

An examination of this table gives the following salient points:

I. There are many more contractions of all sorts in Act v than in any one of the first four acts, and Act v has about three-fifths as many as the first four acts together, twenty-eight as against forty-seven.

II. Among t-contractions we have only five verbs combined with *t* in the first four acts, whereas we have nine in the last act.

III. There are six s-contractions in Act v, whereas there are only two in the first four acts.

Perhaps these figures will have yet more significance when we study the use of contractions by Beaumont and Fletcher. I have taken three representative plays for each of these authors. For Beaumont I give figures for parts assigned without disagreement to that author in *The Maid's Tragedy, Philaster,* and *A King and No King.* Boyle speaks of "Beaumont's well ascertained style" in these plays.[12] For Fletcher I have taken *Monsieur Thomas,* wholly from his pen, and his shares in *The Beggar's Bush* and *The Spanish Curate.*

[12] *Eng. Stud.,* v, p. 84.

TABLE II

BEAUMONT[13]

	MAID'S T. (before 1611) B: all but II, ii; IV, i; V, i, ii, iii. 2,079 lines, 77 per cent. of total.	*PHILASTER* (before 1611) B: all but I, i; V, iii, iv. 1,936 lines, 73 per cent.	*K. and No K.* (Lic. 1611) B: all but IV, i, ii, iii; V, i, ii, iii. 2,392 lines 77 per cent.
t-contractions			
in't..............	2	1	1
is't..............	2	3	2
to't..............	2	..	..
if't..............	1	..	1
for't..............	..	1	1
on't..............	..	1	8
an't..............	..	..	5
o't..............	..	..	2
do't..............	4	..	2
was't..............	1	..	..
see't..............	1	..	1
be't..............	1	..	..
make't..............	1	..	..
deny't..............	1	..	..
done't..............	..	1	..
will't..............	..	..	1
know't..............	..	..	1
hear't..............	..	..	1
were't..............	..	1	..
Sub-total.......	16	8	26
the-contractions			
i'th'..............	1	1	4
o'th'..............	..	..	2
Sub-total.......	1	1	6
s-contractions			
in's..............	1	..	..
on's..............	..	..	1
Sub-total.......	1	..	1
TOTAL..........	18	9	33

[13] The basis for the counting is the Variorum, with the addition of Q, 1652, for *Philaster*.

TABLE III

FLETCHER[14]

	M. THOMAS (1609-14?) wholly F. 2,326 lines	*BEG. BUSH* (1615-22?) F: II, I, ii; III, i, ii, iii, iv. 554 lines, 25 per cent.	*SPAN. CURATE* (1622) F: II—all; III, i, ii, iv; IV, ii, iii, v, vi, vii; V, ii. 1,431 lines, 56 per cent.
t-contractions			
in't..............	4	1	..
on't..............	6	2	5
is't..............	4	6	1
for't.............	3	2	3
an't..............	2	..	..
to't..............	..	2	..
upon't............	1	..	..
if't..............	..	1	..
over't............	1	..	..
though't..........	1	..	..
will't............	1	..	..
speak't...........	1	..	..
indeed't..........	1	..	..
swear't...........	..	1	..
till't............	..	1	..
Sub-total.......	25	16	9
the-contractions			
i'th' or i'the......	9	8	8
o'th'.............	5	3	10
to'th' or to th'....	4	..	3
by'th' or by th'...	2	3	1
Sub-total.......	20	14	22
s-contractions			
in's..............	2	..	..
with's............	..	1	..
to's..............	1	..	..
on's..............	..	..	1
Sub-total.......	3	1	1
TOTAL..........	48	31	32

There is a consistency in these figures, though the totals for contractions vary for each author. Fletcher is more

[14] The basis of the counting is as follows: *Monsieur Thomas*, B. and F. Folio, 1679; *Beggar's Bush* and *Spanish Curate*, Folio, 1647. Here and in other tables scenes apportioned to authors are those given with little disagreement by Fleay, Boyle, and others.

colloquial than Beaumont, and from characteristics of style which have been noted by scholars for Fletcher we should expect to find this so. Fletcher's average of contractions in a play seems about 70, whereas Beaumont's would seem to be about 20 to 30, or very roughly less than half as much as Fletcher's. We must remember in approximating these averages that Beaumont is the author of the greater parts of the plays studied for him, Fletcher here only taking a few scenes, while for Fletcher *The Spanish Curate* is only about half written by him, and *The Beggar's Bush* one-fourth; so that here we have a smaller basis for judgment.

Distinctive about Fletcher when compared with Beaumont is his fondness for the-contractions in varied forms. He apparently averages over 30 to a play, while Beaumont is sparing in the use of the-contractions, there being only one in both *The Maid's Tragedy* and *Philaster* and six in *A King and No King.*

A recapitulation for Beaumont and Fletcher is:

BEAUMONT:

t-contractions used moderately,
the-contractions sparingly,
s-contractions very seldom.

FLETCHER:

t-contractions used more frequently,
the-contractions frequently.
s-contractions seldom.

We may now reconsider *The Captain.* Fletcher as we find him in the first four acts of the play is the same Fletcher, so far as contractions are concerned, that we find in Table III. The number and character of contractions are similar.

The unknown author in the last act remains to be found.

Beaumont has been suggested by Oliphant, as having a share in small parts of Act v. But Beaumont, with an essentially non-colloquial style, would be excluded by the contraction test from any great share in the work. Fletcher, colloquial as he is, is not colloquial enough to have written this act under usual circumstances. General opinion is, moreover, that if Beaumont or Fletcher do appear here, they appear in company with another author who must have tampered with their work.

Boyle, as has been noted, argues for Massinger as the unknown. I feel Massinger impossible so far as colloquial contractions go, because, as will appear in the comparison of Massinger and Shakespeare, Massinger *uses no s-contractions that I have found,* and the-contractions very seldom, at the time *The Captain* must have been written or even revised.[15] Fleay guesses Barnes as the author. Barnes writes verse that is crude enough at times to resemble that in the last act of *The Captain,* but I have been able to find very few contractions in his work. Oliphant's suggestion of Rowley seems better. Rowley uses contractions, but not in any great quantity. Very occasionally he uses an s-contraction. On the whole, Rowley might be a possibility, but he does not seem satisfactory.

How relatively uncommon the extensive use of the three sorts of contractions is by any author at this period may appear from the fact that I have examined for contractions Middleton, Dekker, Heywood, Day, Ford, and Brome in the hope of finding an author for *The Captain,* Act v. None seemed to be the man.

But the case is different with Robert Davenport, whose claims for authorship in the last act of *The Captain* I shall now present. Davenport is in every way a minor dramatic poet. The play selected for a representative study

[15] See Table VI.

of his style is *The City Nightcap,* which was licensed in 1624, though not printed until the year after the Restoration.

The following table compares the colloquial contractions in *The City Nightcap* and in the fifth act of *The Captain.*

TABLE IV

THE CITY NIGHTCAP[16] AND
THE CAPTAIN, ACT V

Lines	*C. N.* 2,530	*CAPTAIN, ACT V.* 575
t-contractions		
in't	3	1
on't	10	5
to't	4	..
for't	5	1
upon't	1	1
with't	1	..
do't	8	3
is't	5	2
was't	1	..
ha't	2	..
throw't	1	..
pour't	..	1
knew't	..	1
saw't	..	1
offer't	..	1
Sub-total	41	17
the-contractions		
i'th'	20	5
o'th'	3	..
to th'	7	..
Sub-total	30	5
s-contractions		
in's	5	2
to's	1	..
cut's	1	..
of's	1	..
out's	1	..
with's	1	..
on's	..	4
Sub-total	10	6
TOTAL	81	28

[16] Bullen, *Old Plays,* was used for counting in *The City Nightcap.*

The contractions are similar and are used with relative frequency. Though it is to be admitted that a single act furnishes small scope for study, yet for what it is worth attention should be called to the fact that *on't* and *do't* are the favorite t-contractions in both works, and that *i'th'* is the favorite the-contraction. Moreover, in *The City Nightcap* we find an author quite prone to the use of s-contractions, and the author of *The Captain,* Act v has the same tendency. It is true, however, that in *The Captain,* Act v, more contractions occur per line than occur in *The City Nightcap.*

There is other evidence for Robert Davenport besides his use of contractions.

The speeches in both works have a peculiar colloquial flavor, whether the characters are supposed to be serious or talking comedy.

There is a noticeable colloquial trick of expression in both. This is the use of incomplete and exclamatory sentences to express what may be called height of degree. For example:

hide yourself
And 'twill be the best sport!
(*Captain,* v, v)
Oh, Lord, sir, she is so pestered!
(*Captain,* v, v)
If I do not tell my Lord of this!
(*C. N.,* II, ii)
and she, poor soul,
came home so crush'd next morning.
(*C. N.,* IV, ii)

In both works the author is rough and ready in verse, style, and character delineation.

In both works there are mechanical and often obscene stage tricks, evidently intended to heighten the comedy, and not to play any very important part in the plot.

Boyle's verse tests for double-endings and run-on-lines

taken at random show a decided similarity in the style of the author of *The City Nightcap* and the author of *The Captain,* Act v, notably in the fact that each author uses nearly the same percentage of double-endings as he does run-on-lines, though the figure is somewhat higher in *The City Nightcap* than in *The Captain,* Act v. Roughly speaking, this is 30 per cent. for the former play and 23 per cent. for the latter, except in Scene i. I use Boyle's countings for *The Captain.*

But could Davenport, from external evidence, have had anything to do with *The Captain?* It does not seem impossible. Oliphant thinks *The Captain* altered at a late date, 1626.[17] This seems mere opinion, but let us suppose that the alteration was late. Davenport seems to have been more or less regularly employed as a writer for the Queen's company. At least his plays *King John and Matilda* and *The City Nightcap* both are declared to have been acted "with great applause" by Her Majesty's servants, and the theater in each case was the Cockpit. This company, which disbanded in 1623, left its actors unemployed, and it is within the realm of possibility that Davenport as a writer was among the jobless. Imagine Massinger perhaps with a desire or an order at this time to alter *The Captain* for a revival, and Davenport coming to the King's company in search of work, and the supposititious chain is complete. This bit of work may have been turned over to Davenport.

SHAKESPEARE AND MASSINGER

The question as to who wrote the non-Fletcherian parts of *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen,* for large parts of both plays are now acknowledged to be by Fletcher,

[17] *Eng. Stud.,* XIV, p. 93.

is much disputed, though Shakespeare is usually granted some share at least in *Henry VIII.* Before studying the plays we shall do well to investigate Shakespeare and Massinger for customary use of contractions. These authors will furnish better contrasts than any yet found.

Shakespeare is an interesting example to illustrate growth in the use of colloquialisms. It has been noticed that in his later plays he mellows into a more free-and-easy style, but his surprising growth in the use of colloquial contractions seems not to have been sufficiently emphasized.

I have chosen four representative plays to show the earlier and later style.

TABLE V

SHAKESPEARE[1]

	MERCH. OF VENICE (1594-6?)	*ROM. AND JULIET* 1595-6	*OTHELLO* (1604?)	*WIN. TALE* (1611?)
Lines	2,610	3,022	3,282	3,019
t-contractions				
an't..............	1	3	..	5
on't..............	1	2	6	10
for't.............	1	..	3	7
to't..............	..	3	7	12
as't..............	..	1	..	..
if't..............	..	..	2	1
in't..............	..	..	2	11
with't............	..	..	1	3

[1] Oxford (Craig) text was used in counting.
Merch. Venice, checked with Quarto 2.
Rom. Jul., checked with Q2.
Othello, variations:
Q1 *in his*, F *in's*, v, ii, 62.
Q1 *aclock*, F *o'the clock*, II, iii, 14.
Q1 *to it*, F *to't*, II, iii, 6.
Others due to omissions in Q1. F is usually followed. No attempt is made to list all possible variations.
Win. Tale, direct basis for counting, F, 1623.

TABLE V—Continued

	MERCH. OF VENICE	*ROM. AND JULIET*	*OTHELLO*	*WIN. TALE*
	(1594-6?)	1595-6	(1604?)	(1611?)
Lines	2,610	3,022	3,282	3,019
from't	..	..	..	1
upon't	..	..	1	3
is't	1	..	13	5
be't	..	..	1	4
do't	..	..	6	8
were't	..	..	2	..
give't	..	..	3	2
know't	..	..	4	3
lay't	..	..	1	..
hear't	..	..	1	..
fetch't	..	..	1	..
see't	..	..	3	1
shall't	..	..	2	1
keep't	..	..	1	..
leave't	..	..	1	..
took't	..	..	1	..
saw't	..	..	2	..
lose't	..	..	1	..
have't	..	..	2	1
think't	..	..	1	..
was't	..	..	..	2
may't	..	..	..	1
feel't	..	..	..	2
came't	..	..	..	1
say't	..	..	..	1
seen't	..	..	..	2
take't	..	..	..	2
done't	..	..	..	1
swear't	..	..	..	1
call't	..	..	..	1
carry't	..	..	1	..
bestow't	..	..	1	..
began't	..	..	1	..
justify't	..	..	..	1
forswear't	..	..	..	1
open't	..	..	..	2
Sub-total	4	9	71	96
the-contractions				
i'th'	1	..	8	17
o'th'	..	..	5	19
to th'	..	..	4	5
by th'	..	..	..	1
Sub-total	1	..	17	42

TABLE V—Continued

	MERCH. OF VENICE	*ROM. AND JULIET*	*OTHELLO*	*WIN. TALE*
	(1594-6?)	1595-6	(1604?)	(1611?)
Lines	2,610	3,022	3,283	3,019
s-contractions				
of's..............	..	..	..	1
in's..............	..	..	1	3
between's.........	..	..	..	2
for's.............	..	..	..	1
to's..............	..	..	..	2
on's..............	1	..	..	2
upon's............	..	..	..	1
cram's............	..	..	..	1
tell's............	..	..	1	1
make's............	..	..	..	1
ride's............	..	..	..	1
Sub-total.......	1	..	2	16
TOTAL..........	6	9	90	154

From *The Merchant of Venice* with a total of six contractions to *The Winter's Tale* with 154 is a far cry. How Shakespeare began some six or seven years before *The Winter's Tale* to use contractions freely is shown by *Othello.* The change in the character of contractions is just as noticeable. In *The Merchant of Venice* there is only one the-contraction, and only one s-contraction; in *Romeo and Juliet,* none of these. In *Othello* we find the-contractions growing frequent, and in *The Winter's Tale* the- and s-contractions are used very frequently.

Massinger will also show a change in style, though his is not so marked as Shakespeare's. As with Shakespeare, the plays chosen are intended to represent Massinger's career as a dramatist. *The Bashful Lover* is regarded as the latest work of Massinger's which has come down to us.

TABLE VI

MASSINGER[2]

	UNNATURAL COMBAT	*DUKE OF MILAN*	*SPANISH CURATE*	*CITY MADAM*	*BASHFUL LOVER*
	(Before 1620)	(Before 1620)	(1622)	(Acted 1632)	(Lic. 1636)
	M: all	M: all	M: I (all); III, iii; IV, i, iv; V, i, iii.	M: all	M: all
Lines	2,234	2,489	1,147 lines, 44 per cent.	2,175	2,332
t-contractions					
in't	2	3	1	4	4
on't	3	1	1	5	6
with't	1	..	..	..	1
for't	1	3	1	10	5
of't	1	3	1	3	5
upon't	1	1	..	2	1
to't	..	1	..	6	1
from't	..	1	..	..	..
by't	..	..	..	1	..
an't	..	..	..	1	4
is't	3	1	1	4	4
was't	1	..	1	..	..
were't	..	..	1	..	1
call't	..	..	..	..	1
provoking't	..	..	1	..	..
believe't	..	..	1	..	..
see't	1	..	..	..	..
do't	..	..	..	1	..
Sub-total	14	14	9	37	33
the-contractions					
i'th'	..	1	..	1	5
o'th'	..	..	..	..	1
Sub-total	0	1	0	1	6
s-contractions	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	14	15	9	37	39

[2] Because of the inaccuracies found by Professor Thorndike in the Gifford and Mermaid editions, I have been careful to make my count from quartos for the four whole plays. The basis is as follows:

Unnatural Combat, Q, 1639.

Duke of Milan, Q, 1638.

Significant things are the increase in number of contractions from 14 or 15 to 39, the lack of the-contractions in the first three plays, and the entire lack of s-contractions.

We get from this comparison the following points that may be used as evidence for Shakespeare and against Massinger in *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen:*

I. Any question of authorship between Shakespeare and Massinger will most probably be confined to work done in the *later* part of Shakespeare's career and the *earlier* part of Massinger's. Just when the non-Fletcherian parts of our two plays were written is a point over which there is some dispute. But the period from about 1608 to about 1622 should safely cover the possible time of writing.

II. After 1608 Shakespeare uses the-contractions freely and s-contractions often. His t-contractions are many and most decidedly varied, there being many contractions with verbs.

III. Before 1622 and during that year (the certain date of *The Spanish Curate*) Massinger uses the- and s-contractions extremely seldom, if at all. Since it is hard to prove the negative, I shall merely say that I have not found any of these contractions in Massinger before that date. Even t-contractions in the earlier plays are used sparingly and are almost confined to contractions made with prepositions.

Spanish Curate, B. and F. Folio, 1647.
City Madam, Q, 1659.
Bashful Lover, Q. 1655.

In making comparisons for these plays, I have found that the Gifford-Cunningham text changes only a few of the quarto contractions and these apparently not systematically.

IV. Shakespeare and Massinger are therefore almost at opposite extremes in their uses of contractions.

HENRY VIII

Fleay says: "This play (*Henry VIII*) is chiefly by Fletcher and Massinger, Shakespeare's share in it being only I, ii; II, iii; II, iv; while Massinger wrote I, i; III, ii, 1-193; V, i. It was not, however, written by these authors in conjunction. Shakespeare appears to have left it unfinished; his part is more like *The Winter's Tale* than any other play, and was probably written just before that comedy in 1609, during the prevalence of the plague."[1] Macaulay defines the authorship without division as "Shakespeare and Fletcher, perhaps revised by Massinger."[2] Boyle argues for Massinger's work as appearing with Fletcher's, though he admits that from the characteristics of metre alone "it would be difficult to decide whether a particular passage, or even play, was written by Shakspere or by Massinger, so similar is the latter's style to that of Shakspere's later dramas."[3]

Many think *Henry VIII* the play which was being acted in 1613, when the Globe was burned.

I give for this play a table of contractions by scenes, marking those scenes *F* which are assigned almost without disagreement to Fletcher.

[1] Fleay, *Life and Work of Shakespeare*, London, 1886, p. 251.

[2] *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.* (1910), VI, ii, p. 137.

[3] Boyle, *Henry VIII*, N. S. S. Trans., 1880-86, p. 445.

TABLE VII

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH[4]

Act	I				II				III		IV		V				
Scene	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	i	ii	i	ii	iii	iv	v
Lines	226	214	67	108	169	143	107	239	183	460	117	174	177	34	181	89	76
Author assigned			F	F	F	F			F	F ll. 204 to 460	F	F		F	F	F	F
t-contractions																	
on't	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
an't	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
and't	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
to't	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
for't	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
in't	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
upon't	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
as't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
by't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
from't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
is't	1	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
say't	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
seek't	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
were't	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
be't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
gave't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
take't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
perform't	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
open't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
unsay't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Sub-total	6	2	2	2	4	1	3	10	1	4	0	1	5	0	1	1	0

the-contractions																	
i'th'	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	4	..	3	1	1	2	..	1	1	..
o'th'	5	3	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	4	1	..	2	..	1	4	..
to th'	6	4	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	5	..	1	..	..	1	2	..
by th'	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Sub-total	12	9	1	1	2	1	1	9	0	12	2	2	4	0	3	9	0
s-contractions																	
in's	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
on's	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
nor's	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
to's	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-total	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	19	14	3	3	6	2	4	19	1	16	2	3	9	0	4	11	0

[4] Folio, 1623, is the basis for the counting.

Grouping in order and adding the sums of contractions in the scenes according to Fletcherian and non-Fletcherian authorship, we have:

Fletcherian: 3, 3, 6, 2, 1, 4, 2, 3, 0, 4, 11, 0 (1,597 lines).
Total, 39. Average per line, .024.
Non-Fletcherian: 19, 14, 4, 19, 12, 9 (1,166 lines).
Total, 77. Average per line, .066.

(At line 204 a division is made in III, ii between Fletcher and the non-Fletcherian author, Fletcher getting only four of the 16 contractions in the scene).

The author of the non-Fletcherian scenes shows a consistent use of a large number of contractions. By line averages contractions are almost three times as frequent here as in the Fletcherian scenes. In comparison Fletcher uses a small number of contractions. His total of 39 for over half the play agrees well with what was learned in the investigation of Fletcher.

Moreover, there is a great difference between the parts of the play in character of contractions. Only two s-contractions appear in the Fletcherian parts (*in's,* v, iv, and *to's,* III, ii), while seven appear in the non-Fletcherian parts. The non-Fletcherian hand uses s-contractions frequently. Fletcher, as was found, uses them infrequently, and again results agree. The non-Fletcherian scenes are more liberally sprinkled with the-contractions than the Fletcherian scenes. Finally, there are not only more t-contractions in the non-Fletcherian scenes than in the others, but these are more varied. T-contractions with verbs are apt to appear here.

If we characterize the non-Fletcherian hand as we see it here and put it beside a characterization of Massinger, we have:

Non-F.	Mass. (early).
t-conts.—Many and varied.	Rather few.
the-conts.—Many.	Very few.
s-conts.—Occasional use.	None.
A decidedly colloquial writer.	A decidedly un-colloquial writer.

We must conclude that Massinger, so far as the test goes, could not possibly have written *all* of the non-Fletcherian parts of *Henry VIII.*

But how about the parts Fleay assigns to Massinger? These are: I, i, with five the-contractions and an *in's;* III, i, 1-204, with varied t-contractions, three the-contractions, and three s-contractions; V, i, with varied t-contractions and three the-contractions. These scenes are as un-Massingerian as the rest of the non-Fletcherian scenes.

If Massinger did not write these scenes, did Shakespeare? The use of contractions here is later-Shakespearean, both in number and character, and this is evidence of some weight. A comparison of the contractions in the non-Fletcherian parts of *Henry VIII* with those in *Othello* or *The Winter's Tale* shows marked resemblance in character. Fleay has remarked, it will be remembered, that Shakespearean parts of *Henry VIII* are in the style of *The Winter's Tale.* On the whole, then, the test points to Shakespeare as the author of the non-Fletcherian scenes.

It is possible that Massinger revised Shakespeare in these scenes and did not revise away all the Shakespearean colloquialisms. This could not be shown by the test, and might account for impressions of Massinger which scholars have obtained.

THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN

Fleay assigns to Fletcher in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* II, ii, iii, iv, v; III, ii, iii, iv, v, vi; IV, i, ii; V, i, 1-17, ii. He speaks of this assignment as "now universally acknowledged." [1] Macaulay conservatively gives Fletcher II, iii, iv, v; III, iii, iv, v, vi; IV, i, ii; V, ii, "and parts of other scenes." [2] Boyle argues for Massinger as the author of most of the non-Fletcherian parts of the play. He says, "As between Shakspere and Massinger, the balance of metrical evidence in the non-Fletcher part of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* points to the latter from the high percentage of run-on lines and light and weak endings." [3] Boyle also uses other arguments for Massinger. Fleay thinks Beaumont a better guess for the non-Fletcherian part, but concludes that "if Beaumont did not write it, it is beyond the reach of anyone else but Shakespeare." [4]

The date is in dispute, but Fleay, who admits he has vacillated in his opinion greatly, seems finally to have concluded that for various reasons the date must be early, that is, c. 1611. He makes the point that the absence of the play in Herbert's licensing list implies a date before 1622, May.[5]

The table of contractions for the play follows (pages 354-355). To be on the safe side, I mark for Fletcher only these scenes which Macaulay gives him.

Grouping again the sums for Fletcherian and non-Fletcherian scenes, we have:

[1] *Chron. Eng. Dr.*, I, p. 190.
[2] *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VI, ii, p. 139.
[3] *N. S. S. Trans.*, 1880-86, p. 378.
[4] *Chron. Eng. Dr.*, I, p. 192.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, p. 190.

Fletcherian: 1, 1, 1, 6, 2, 6, 8, 8, 2, 9 (1,060 lines)
Total, 44. Average per line, .041.
Non-Fletcherian: 13, 11, 6, 5, 0, 11, 13, 6, 10, 7
(1,322 lines).
Total, 82. Average per line, .062.

(I omit II, ii, III, ii, and V, i as in dispute. All are short scenes).

The average for the non-Fletcherian scenes is strikingly close to that found for the same scenes in *Henry VIII,* which was .066, but the Fletcherian average is considerably higher, so that the difference between the two sets of scenes is not so great as in *Henry VIII.*

Just as in *Henry VIII* the most frequent and varied t-contractions, including those formed with verbs, appear in the non-Fletcherian scenes. Furthermore, only two s-contractions appear in the Fletcherian scenes, whereas eight appear in the other scenes.

The conclusions to be drawn are these. The non-Fletcherian author in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is just as prone to use colloquial contractions as the non-Fletcherian author in *Henry VIII,* whom he resembles in character of contractions. This is evidence on the side of their being identical. The average numbers of contractions per line we have seen to be .066 and .062. A computation from Table V will show Shakespeare's average for *The Winter's Tale* to be .051, and a computation from Table VI will show Massinger's average for all five plays given, early and late, to be only .01. Everything about the test is against Massinger and for Shakespeare as the author of the non-Fletcherian scenes in *The Two Noble Kinsmen,* as well as in *Henry VIII.*

Beaumont has been suggested by Fleay as the non-Fletcherian author, but Beaumont has been found to be

TABLE VIII

THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN [6]

Act	I					II					III						IV			V			
Scene	i	ii	iii	iv	v	i	ii	iii	iv	v	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	i	ii	iii	i	ii	iii	iv
Lines	261	132	110	52	16	411	99	33	85	39	141	38	71	26	175	372	196	177	117	179	161	166	155
Author assigned								F	F	F			F	F	F	F	F	F			F		
t-contractions																							
in't	2	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..
on't	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	1
an't	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
for't	..	..	1	..	..	3	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
to't	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
upon't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
from't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
by't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
if't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
is't	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	1	..	..
was't	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
will't	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
see't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
do't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
may't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
knew't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
were't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
speak't	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
dangle't	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
supply't	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
tickle't	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
carry't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
buckle't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
how't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
enjoy't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
with't	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-total	4	4	3	3	0	8	3	1	1	1	5	1	5	1	0	5	5	1	3	3	1	3	3

the-contractions.																							
i'th'	1	2	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	5	2	1
o'th'	5	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	1	1	1	3	1	..	..	..	2	1	3	2
to th'	3	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	1	..	1	2	1
by th'	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-total	9	6	2	1	0	3	2	0	0	0	6	1	1	1	6	3	3	0	2	3	7	7	4
s-contractions																							
on's	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
in's	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
upon's	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
between's	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
told's	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
tutor's	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
to's	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sub-total	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	13	11	6	5	0	11	7	1	1	1	13	2	6	2	6	8	8	2	6	6	9	10	7

* Q, 1634 as shown in C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, is the basis for the counting.

much less colloquial than Fletcher. The non-Fletcherian parts of this play are much more colloquial than the Fletcherian parts. The test would therefore exclude Beaumont.

Moreover, the contractions in the non-Fletcherian parts are, as has just been found, later-Shakespearean in number and character. No other dramatist of the time with the ability to write the non-Fletcherian passages seems to have used contractions of this number and character. Consequently the evidence points to Shakespeare more than to any other as the author of the non-Fletcherian scenes of *The Two Noble Kinsmen.*

A possible objection to the use of colloquialisms in determining authorship has not yet been considered. It might be said that the use or non-use of contractions depends upon subject matter and not upon an author's consistent like or dislike for contractions. Obviously, if subject matter is to influence colloquial contractions, it will be the colloquial scenes and colloquial characters which will show the most contractions. Under such a scheme the author will be trying to make his character talk *in character;* the low comedy character will use a sort of dialect speech full of contractions, and the noble character a speech relatively free from colloquialisms.

But is this the case in the authors we have just studied?

One needs, I think, but to read their plays with an eye to the contractions, to be convinced that it is not so. The most casual perusal will show king and clown, nobleman and artisan, using the same contractions; and, moreover, the contractions are easily found in tragic scenes in the midst of heightened poetry. Such is true to a marked degree in Shakespeare's *Othello* and in others of his later plays, where almost every character is made to use contractions in almost any situation. The colloquial contrac-

tion has by this time become an accepted poetical usage with Shakespeare, and is as much a characteristic of his development toward freedom in versification as the increase of run-on-lines.

To be more specific: The objection might be raised that the non-Fletcherian parts of *Henry VIII* have more contractions than the Fletcherian, because they are more colloquial. Leaving aside for the purposes of argument the fact that there is little chance for such a distinction in a play like *Henry VIII,* because of a scarcity of low characters, we may consider the scenes already set aside in Table VI as non-Fletcherian. The author of these scenes (whether or not we conclude him to be Shakespeare) gives 43 of his total 77 contractions to four characters, the King, the Queen, Wolsey, and Buckingham, certainly as noble as any characters in the play. The King himself has 18. Such contractions simply cannot be due to a colloquial characteristic in the scenes.

Fletcher seems to have felt some slight connection between low comedy and colloquial speech, and his low characters seem to use more contractions than his noble characters. Yet the difference is not at all so marked as it might be. For instance, we may take the play *Monsieur Thomas,* in which there are low comedy scenes with frequent contractions, and also scenes like III, iii, where in 146 lines of roaring comedy only two contractions are used, and these are in the mouths of Thomas and Mary, by no means true low characters. We also find Alice and Valentine, noble characters, using contractions.

Massinger, although much less colloquial than Shakespeare, seems to have been like him in distributing contractions to all characters. Beaumont does the same.

The explanation of the contraction would seem to rest, then, in the taste of the author and his willingness to intro-

duce into his poetry a usage of every-day speech which makes for a certain naturalness and a very definite freedom and flexibility in meter. Thus we may regard the use of contractions as a characteristic part of an author's literary habit.

A test based on this peculiarity of style, such as I have just outlined and applied to four of the greatest dramatic poets of their time, can only attain its full significance when its results are compared with the results of other tests that have done so much to distinguish Elizabethan dramatic authorship. Then at its humblest the test for colloquial contractions furnishes one more angle of observation for the verification of conclusions. Sometimes, as I have tried to show in comparing Shakespeare with Massinger, he who undertakes the irksome mechanical labor of counting contractions is rewarded by the discovery of literary habits of such an antithetical character that they furnish strong evidence toward the solving of a question which the application of other tests has only left in dispute.

WILLARD EDWARD FARNHAM.

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XVI.—THE CHIEF HISTORICAL ERROR IN BARBOUR'S *BRUCE*

When a poet has been convicted of sin against fact, we poor pedantic critics incline, merely on that account, to question his literary power. The chance, or the need, to display some superiority in knowledge to a writer whose work we undertake to discuss, is apt to inflate us with such an undue sense of our own importance that we unfairly minimize his merit.

The Bruce is a case in point. Hardly a single literary judgment has been passed on that well-known poem in which the author's departures from fact have not been dwelt upon out of all proportion to their artistic significance, and one supposed error in particular has been emphasized so much that it has become a serious detriment to Barbour's reputation, even as a poet. It stands at the very threshold of his work, and few have had occasion to mention the book at all without apparently feeling it a point of honour, if not of privilege, to call attention to it, with surprise or contempt, according to the individual's

temperament. The object of the present paper is to try to remove this stumbling-block to a generous appreciation of *The Bruce* by all.

I

"What is the precise historical value of Barbour's poem," wrote Professor Skeat, in his preface to the standard editions of the work,[1] "I leave it for historians to determine. . . . The most extraordinary of the author's errors is certainly that in which he confuses Robert Bruce the grandfather with Robert Bruce the grandson. . . . This is enough to render us cautious as to believing any of his statements without additional evidence; and it is clear that, with the usual license of a professed writer of Romance, he has embellished his stories whenever he thought he could do so effectively."

Professor Skeat's opinion naturally carried great weight, and has been frequently reiterated by other scholars.[2] Some have gone still farther than he in condemnation of the poet's "license." Thus Sir Herbert Maxwell, who deemed it of the utmost importance to ascertain what de-

[1] For the Early English Text Society, 1888, p. lvii; for the Scottish Text Society, 1898, p. lxii.

[2] James Moir, in his edition of *The Wallace* for the Scottish Text Society, 1889, Introd., p. xxxii; W. A. Craigie, *The Scottish Review*, July, 1893, p. 177; Henry Morley, *English Writers*, 1896, IV, p. 39; George Saintsbury, *Short History of English Literature*, p. 172; Aeneas Mackay, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under Barbour; A. H. Millar, *A Literary History of Scotland*, New York, 1903, p. 15; etc.

"Robert Bruce," wrote Professor Freeman, "has become so thoroughly mythical a being that it may be necessary to explain to many people who he was. One Scottish romance goes so far as to make him defeat Edward the First at Bannockburn! Another, of older date, identifies him with his own grandfather, makes him the competitor for the crown, but makes him also proudly refuse to do homage for it" (*Historical Essays*, 1st Series, 1896, p. 76—"The Relations between the Crowns of England and Scotland").

gree of reliance may be placed on Barbour's veracity, puts the case strongly: [3]

Unhappily, Barbour's poem, which is of the deepest interest to the philologer as the very earliest extant specimen of Scottish vernacular literature, has been almost irretrievably discredited as a chronicle by a monstrous liberty which the author takes in rolling three real personages into one ideal hero. In this way he has treated father, son and grandson, all of whom bore the name of Robert de Brus, and gravely presented them as one and the same individual. Barbour was at work on his poem, as he himself informs us, in 1375, forty-six years after the death of Robert I, and it is impossible to doubt that he deliberately and consciously perpetrated the fabrication whereby he made Robert de Brus, the 'competitor,' the same as his grandson, Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick, crowned King of Scots in 1306, and threw into the same personality the intermediate Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, who was King Edward's governor of Carlisle during John Balliol's brief war. Such a glaring figment placed in the forefront of an historical work, might render and, in the eyes of some people, has rendered, all that follows it of no historical importance. This great national epic has been denounced as of no more value to history than the romances of Walter Scott or Alexander Dumas. . . . But closer examination reveals that the cardinal falsehood is all disposed of in the first few cantos. . . . The verdict, therefore, on the value of Barbour's poem, as a contribution to history, must be that it is worthless as a record of events which led to the War of Independence, but of great merit as a narrative of the events of that war and of the conduct and acts of those who took part in it, and that it vividly reflects the social state of Scotland in the fourteenth century.

The supposed confusion has not gone without attempts at explanation, especially on the part of Scots. As early as 1856, Cosmo Innes advanced the idea [4] that it was not by heedlessness, but with deliberate intent, that Barbour joined the different figures. "His ideal Bruce," the critic thought, "was a personage mixed up of the grandfather and grandson"; the poet pictured "the ideal life of his

[3] *Robert the Bruce* (Heroes of the Nations Series), 1897, pp. 5 ff.

[4] In his edition of *The Bruce* for the Spalding Club, Preface, pp. ix-x.

family." "It suited Barbour's purpose to place Bruce altogether right, Edward outrageously wrong, in the first discussion of the disputed succession. It suited his views of poetical justice that Bruce, who had been so unjustly dealt with, should be the Bruce who took vengeance for that injustice at Bannockburn; though the former was the grandfather, the other the grandson. His hero is not to be degraded by announcing that he had once sworn fealty to Edward and once done homage to Baliol, or ever joined any party but that of his country and freedom."

"When we remember," wrote Dr. Ross later [5] in a similar strain, "that the author was a scholar and a dignitary of the Church, that he took a prominent part in public affairs, and was likely to be familiar with the most authentic traditions of the previous generation, we need experience little difficulty in accepting as substantially true a narrative that is intrinsically credible and, except in one point, in no way at variance with earlier authorities. The work is unquestionably a poem as well as a chronicle. When Barbour makes the Bruce who competed with Baliol for the crown, the victor of Bannockburn, it would be absurd to suppose him ignorant of the fact that the latter was the grandson of the former. He deliberately deviates from historical fact to enhance the glory of that national freedom whose praise he had so finely sung. He takes, in short, a poetic license in a somewhat hurried introduction, and avowedly begins his work with the covenant between Bruce and Comyn."

But recently two Scottish critics have tried to solve the difficulty in another way. Mr. T. F. Henderson patrioti-

[5] John M. Ross, *Scottish History and Literature*, Glasgow, 1884, pp. 53-54.

cally repudiates "Sir Herbert Maxwell's insinuation that Barbour, contrary to his strong professions of regard for 'suthfastness,' may have suppressed or modified the truth from mere sordid motives," but still is disinclined to accept Cosmo Innes's ingenious vindication of his intelligence, if not of his veracity. He says: [6]

No doubt this is a most plausible explanation, but is it the only possible one? And unless it be the only possible one, ought Barbour to be lightly credited with so glaring and deliberate, and at the same time with so foolish and vain, a falsehood? Is there not at least the faint chance that Barbour may have made an accidental slip, or that the error was the work of some copyist? This last alternative obtains some corroboration from the fact that in the portion of *The Bruce* preserved by Wyntoun, instead of the lines—

> This lord the Brwss, I spak of ayr,
> Saw all the kynryk swa forfayre,

we have

> Quhen all this sawe the Brwss Robert
> That bare the crowne soone efftirwart.

And even if Wyntoun has merely altered his copy of Barbour, the fact that Wyntoun has at least not accepted the accidental or intended fiction, indicates that there was no general desire among the Scots to bolster up either their cause or that of Bruce by such a stupid artifice. Further, Barbour has no need to have recourse to it, for his theme did not include the years in Bruce's life when, perhaps, his patriotism was stifled by his rivalry with Baliol; and to have introduced him simply as the grandson of him he "spak of ayr" would equally well have suited his purpose. Lastly,—and this seems conclusive,—if Barbour did wilfully falsify facts, how could he have set himself to expose his own falsification by compiling the genealogy of the Stewarts, ending with Robert II of Scotland?

These remarks of Mr. Henderson's were decidedly to the point, and immediately bore some fruit, though not probably just what he expected.

In his revolutionary book, *The Wallace and the Bruce*

[6] *Scottish Vernacular History,* London, 1898; 3rd rev. edition, Edinburgh, 1910, pp. 44 f.

Restudied,[7] Mr. J. T. T. Brown, properly impressed by the argument from Wyntoun's corroborative lines, took up the suggestion of a possible corruption in Barbour's text and used it for his own purposes.

"Both in *The Bruce* and in the long parallel passage of the *Cronykil,*" he wrote, "there is a mistake in designating the grandfather as Earl of Carrick, that title having been first borne by the son; but notwithstanding that slip, Wyntoun carefully distinguishes, as Professor Skeat remarks, 'between the three generations.' But, by the single line in *The Bruce*

Thys lord the Brwyss, I spak of ayr

the whole confusion is occasioned. . . . It is most noticeable, however, that the line in question is one of the variants between the poem and the *Cronykil,* and by preferring Wyntoun's text to the manuscripts the 'glaring figment' at once disappears."

Mr. Brown, assuming thus that the error must be due to the condition of the manuscripts, uses the assumption to fortify his sweeping contention that we have Barbour's text only in a greatly revised version made by the scribe John Ramsay, almost a century after Barbour wrote the original poem. "The mere suspicion" he maintains, "of contamination of the manuscripts in an all-important line should at any rate lead us to examine with greater vigilance all other lines that awaken doubts concerning their authenticity."

One would have thought that the arguments of Mr. Henderson and Mr. Brown were sufficiently cogent to prevent offhand reassertions of the old views they combated. But that has not proved to be the case. Dr. Peter Giles,

[7] *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik,* Bonn, 1900, pp. 92 ff.

writing about *The Bruce* in the recent *Cambridge History of English Literature,*[8] declares:

> It is in no real sense a history, for Barbour begins with the astounding confusion of Robert the Bruce with his grandfather, the rival of John Balliol in claiming the crown. As Barbour's own life overlapped that of King Robert, it is impossible to believe that this is an accidental oversight. The story is a romance, and the author treated it as such; though, strange to say, it has been regarded from his own time to this as, in all details, a trustworthy source for the history of the period.

Evidently, no real decision has as yet been come to in regard to the problem. It still vexes the critics.[9] We end our survey of opinion much as we began!

Personally, I quite agree with Mr. Henderson and Mr. Brown in their conviction that Barbour was neither so stupid nor so mendacious as to identify Bruce the grandfather with Bruce the grandson; but I believe they have

[8] London, 1908, II, p. 104.

[9] Mr. Eyre-Todd does not seem to know what to think. In his *Early Scottish Poetry* (Glasgow, 1891, p. 67), eager to defend Barbour, he caught willingly at Cosmo Innes's straw of poetic justice. "In one conspicuous instance only," he says, "did Barbour depart from actual fact. With true instinct he perceived the one possible exception which might be taken to his hero's history,—the fact that he, bred at Edward's court, had renounced his allegiance; and in order to display briefly the underlying right of Bruce's action, he took the liberty of attributing to the grandson the wrong which had been done to the grandfather by the English king. It made a point of poetic justice that the noble who had suffered the wrong should be he who finally took redress at the hands of fortune."

In the preface of his prose rendering of *The Bruce* (1907, p. ix) he appears to accept Mr. Brown's suggestion, remarking that "the whole mistake has arisen from a very slight corruption of the MSS. . . . . The same passage quoted in *Wyntoun's Cronykil,* from an older and fuller MS. of *The Bruce,* altogether avoids the mistake." But in his text (p. 12) he translates the disputed line: "This lord, the Bruce, of whom I spoke before," and comments in a note: "Barbour here, for epic purposes, uses a poetic license." Cf. W. MacNeile Dixon, *English Epic and Heroic Poetry,* 1912, p. 141.

not hit upon the root of the difficulty, the real meaning of the line supposed to contain the poet's "glaring error," his "cardinal falsehood." On closer examination of this line, it looks as if the whole hubbub raised on its account affords an unusually clear example of "much ado about nothing."

II

After a summary statement of the events that led up to Bruce's entrance upon his struggle for the throne, Barbour begins:

> Thys lord the Brwyss I spak of ayr
> Saw all the kynryk (kingdom) swa forfayr (go to ruin);
> And swa trowblyt the folk saw he,
> That he tharoff had gret pitte. (I, 477 ff.)

Now, the first line of this passage, which has caused all the trouble, has invariably been translated: "This lord the Bruce of whom I spake ere (before)." Such a translation is perfectly natural and reasonable. There are plenty of close parallels [10] in the poem to more than justify the interpretation of the last half of the line, where the difficulty lies, and two are identical:

> Quhar that the folk I spak of ere
> Preuely enbuschit were. (IV, 402)

> The Erische kyngis I spak of ar. (XIV, 123)

If the line, thus interpreted, stated a credible fact, no objection would be raised; but when the line, thus interpreted, occasions absurdity, we are justified in seeking to

[10] Cf. "Of stalwart folk that lywyt ar" (I, 19); "Off this twa that I tauld off ar" (I, 76); "As ȝe herd me deuiss it are" (IV, 569): "as I tald ȝow are" (V, 123); "of the bargane I tald of er" (IX, 542); "As I tald air" (XVI, 1); "as I said ere befor" (X, 432); "as said wes ar" (XII, 168); "as I said ar" (XII, 5, 335; XIII, 254, 501; XVIII, 211); "as to ȝow ere said I" (XIII, 449); etc.

interpret the words in another way, as it is quite possible to do.

It should be emphasized first that there is absolutely nothing, unless it be this line, which indicates on the poet's part any confusion, let alone any desire to deceive, in the matter of his hero's identity. Barbour was probably born some years before King Robert Bruce died, and must have known plenty of persons who had associated with him. The poet gathered information, he himself tells us, from followers of the valiant monarch, such as Sir Alan Cathcart, whom he mentions by name.[11] Barbour, moreover, was the "beloved clerk" of the then King of the Scots, and compiled the *Stewart's Original,* a genealogy of the rulers of Scotland down to his own time. He simply could not have identified grandfather and grandson Robert Bruce ignorantly or accidentally; and it is beyond belief that he would have made such a preposterous combination as is implied without some effort to draw advantage from it for his narrative.

Yet in his whole poem, after the prelude, the wars of the elder Bruce are not discussed, nor is he even mentioned again; in the prelude Barbour treated of one, the elder Bruce, only; afterwards of one, the younger Bruce; he never mixes in the slightest way the personalities, careers, or deeds of the two. It is hardly conceivable that even a writer of pure fiction (and Barbour, we remember, insisted on the truth of his narrative) would identify a grandfather and a grandson merely to bring obloquy upon himself. Everybody in Scotland in 1378 knew the difference between the two Bruces, and King Robert then would merely have laughed at Barbour, not given him a pension, for writing a "suthfast" book in which such a ridiculous

[11] *The Bruce,* IX, 575.

combination was made at the outset. It is certainly significant that such a mistake occurs nowhere else in any Scottish document and, so far as we can tell, no single reader of *The Bruce* in early times misunderstood Barbour's lines. Particularly should be noted the fact, as has already been pointed out, that the sober chronicler Wyntoun, with his eyes riveted on the lines, found no error there.

Wyntoun had such admiration for Barbour's poem that when (in 1420) he wrote his own account of the period, he openly borrowed large sections from it, and, as luck decreed, precisely the part of *The Bruce* here under discussion. Wyntoun knew well what the real situation with regard to Bruce's family was and set it forth most clearly in his own work, as follows:

> The Erle Dawy off Huntyngtown
> A lord commendyt of renown
> Ane other dochter had, I herd tell,
> That cald be name wes Ysabelle.
> Robert the Brus in till hys lyff
> Tuk that lady till hys wyff
> That Robert the Brus efftyr that
> On hym a sone cald Robert gat
> The Brus; and he efftyrwart
> Gat a sone, wes cald Robert
> The Brus, the quhilk in till his dayis
> Weddyt off Carryk the Countays.
> Swa wes he Erle and Lord all hale
> Off Carryk and off Annandyrdale;
> The Erle of Carryk, Schir Robert
> Gat on that lady efftyrwart
> Robert the Brus, that was our kyng
> That Scotland tuk in governyng. (VIII, 7)

It is obvious that Wyntoun could not have believed that Barbour had resorted to the device which modern critics have attributed to him, or he would have entered a protest. Wyntoun, however, does not give the slightest hint that

there was anything wrong with the text he was here, in the main, faithfully transcribing, and if he had not thought well to introduce into that text just as this place some lines on another subject, so that, as a result, he was obliged to make a new connection, he would probably have written the lines exactly as they now stand in *The Bruce.*[12] What he does write is perfectly straightforward and simple.

> Quhen all this sawe the Brwyss Robert,
> That bare the crowne swne efftyrwart,
> Gret pytte off the folk he had,
> Set (although) few wordis tharoff he mad.

Mr. Brown has hinted that we might correct Barbour's text (which is not preserved in any manuscript as old as some of Wyntoun) by introducing the latter's lines at this point. But Wyntoun's lines bear clearly his own trade-mark. At the end of his extracts from *The Bruce,* he introduces the following personal passage strongly reminis-

[12] Wyntoun, after skipping 58 lines of *The Bruce* (including the oft-quoted apostrophe to freedom), quotes the following six without change, but then introduces six of his own (hardly in Barbour's style) about the "tyrant" Edward, before he begins again with the words quoted above.

A comparison of Wyntoun's text with Barbour's in the parallel passages shows that Wyntoun departs frequently in minor details from *The Bruce,* which he was merely using for his own convenience, but never with any noteworthy change in the sense. Occasionally he tries to make things a little clearer, as when in the following passage he introduces the name Edward, which Barbour had not mentioned for 65 lines, thus necessitating other changes:

Messingeris till hym thar sent That was than in the haly land On Saracenys warrayand. (*Bruce,* I, 138 ff.)	And messengerys send till this Edwart That had his wayage tane onwart For till pass in the haly land On Sarracenys to be thare warrayand. (*Cronykil,* VIII, 223 ff.)

cent, at the beginning, of his paraphrase of Barbour's words under discussion:

> Quhat that efftyr this Brws Robert
> In all hys tyme dyde efftyrwart,
> The Archedene off Abbyrdene
> In Brwyss hys Buk has gert be sene,
> Mare wysly tretyde into wryt
> Than I can thynk with all my wyt.
> Tharefore I will now thus lychtly
> Oure at this tyme passe the story. (VIII, 2923 ff.) [13]

The "Robert: efftyrwart" rhyme, which satisfied Wyntoun, never occurs in *The Bruce.* We could not, therefore, introduce Wyntoun's lines, for they bear his stamp, without merely begging the issue. But we might justifiably amend Barbour's, like anyone else's, text, if a better sense were easily secured. Having before us such a line as the following from *The Bruce:*

> This gud knycht that I spek of heir (IX, 496)

and remembering that "er" and "her" ("heire") rhyme together,[14] we might conjecture that Barbour wrote:

> Thys lord the Brwyss I spek of hayr.[15]

---

[13] Wyntoun a little before had written of *The Bruce:*

> Quhat that folwyd efftyrwart,
> How Robert oure kyng recoweryd his land
> That occupyid wyth his fays he fand
> And it restoryd in all fredwyme
> Qwhyt till his *ayris* off all threldwme,
> Quha that lykis that for to wyt,
> To that Buke I tham remyt,
> Quhare Maystere Jhon Barbere, off Abbyrdene
> Archeden, as mony has sene,
> Hys dedis dyted mare wertusly
> Than I can thynk in all study,
> Haldand in all lele suthfastness,
> Set all he wrat noucht his prowes. (VIII, 970)

[14] Cf. VI, 443; XII, 505.

[15] Cf. "As I tald ȝow heir" (VI, 452); "In this tyme that I tell of her" (XIII, 225, 741).

The emendation would, on the whole, be slight, though it would require a double change. But, from the point of view of the context, it would not be very satisfactory, and, what is most important, it would not explain Wyntoun's paraphrase.

There is no need, however, to advance a conjectural emendation if no emendation is necessary, and I venture to suggest that that is the actual situation in the troublesome line before us. It looks as if we have all along simply misread the line, not recognizing in its correct sense there a little word which Barbour uses throughout his book in several senses. But, before discussing that point more definitely, let us look for a moment at the plan of his poem.

III

When King Alexander died, the poet briefly explains, a great dispute arose as to his successor. Some wanted Baliol, some Bruce. Edward I was called in to decide. He offered the crown first to Bruce:

> And to Robert the Brwyss said he,
> "Gyff thow will hald in cheyff off me,
> For euirmar, and thine ofspryng,
> I sall do swa thow sall be king."
> "Schyr," said he, "sa god me save
> The kynryk ȝharn (yearn) I nocht to have,
> Bot gyff it fall off rycht to me:
> And gyff god will that it sa be,
> I sall als frely in all thing
> Hold it, as it afferis to (behooves a) king;
> Or as myn eldirs forouch (before) me
> Held it in freyast reawte (royalty)!" (I, 153 ff.)

Edward, being wroth at this answer, decided in favour of Baliol; but soon after he degraded Baliol and mistreated the Scots. Sir William Douglas was imprisoned and slain, and his lands were given to Clifford. Sir William's son,

Sir James Douglas, then returned from Paris with the intent to "wyn agayn his heritage." The Bishop of St. Andrews took him to the king, stating the youth's desire:

> "Schyr, giff that it be ȝour liking
> He clemys the lordship off Douglas;
> For lord tharoff hys fadir was." (I, 422 ff.)

But Edward maintained that Sir William had died in his prison and was his enemy:

> "Tharfor hys ayr I aucht to be." (I, 431.)

Sir James, being then without power to contradict the king, must await a more favourable time to get back his land.

So far the prelude!

Barbour has openly declared that he had two heroes, King Robert Bruce and Sir James Douglas. "Off thaim," he says, "I thynk this buk to ma" (I, 33). In the prelude he has explained the grievances that led them to war. They both had been deprived of their rights of inheritance. Barbour's book was to tell how each recovered his own. After the prelude, we hear no more of the first Robert Bruce or of Sir William Douglas. The poet deals primarily with their *heirs.*

> The romanys now begynnys her
> Off men that war in gret distress,
> And assayit full gret hardynes,
> Or thai mycht cum till thar entent. (I, 446 ff.)

Almost directly after these words, separated only by a few lines of moralizing, the poet writes: "Thys lord the Brwyss I spak of ayr," etc. He naturally starts with the chief of his heroes, and stresses the point, which he was most anxious for his readers to see from the first, that that chief hero was the "heir" of the Bruce of whom he had already spoken.

I need hardly explain now that in my belief "ayr," the last word of the line under discussion, is not "ere" but "heir." Barbour uses the word "air" ("ar"), frequently in rhyme in his poem, with the various meanings of "ere," "are," "oar," "Ayr." But "ayr" ("air"), it should also be remembered, is the only form in which he writes the word "heir." Whenever it occurs in rhyme, it rhymes, as in the passage under dispute, with "fair" ("fayr").[16] For example:

> He callit his son till him in hy,
> The eldest and apperande *air,*
> A ȝoung bacheler, stark and fair,
> Schir Edward callit of Carnavirnane. (IV, 70 ff.)

> The kyngis douchter that was fair
> And was als his apperand *air.* (XIII, 689 f.)

The line "Thys lord the Brwyss I spak of ayr" then simply means: "The heir of this lord the Bruce of whom I spoke," "the aforesaid Lord Bruce's heir." The line is a bit awkward as it stands, but nothing more. Drop out the parenthetical "I spoke of," and it is as smooth as velvet. If we were writing today of the late Field Marshal of the English army, and discussing how his title might descend by special privilege through his daughter, nothing would be more natural than to write, "This Lord Roberts' heir," and in conversation we might easily say, "This Lord Roberts-I-spoke-of's heir." Of course, we should *write* rather: "The aforesaid Lord Roberts' heir." But Barbour was not so particular. He had a mania for inversions,[17] partly no doubt because he had a very limited

[16] The word "fair" is used by Barbour for "fare" in all senses, "welfare," "go," etc.

[17] Barbour uses constantly such constructions as: "Him that was off England king" (II, 132); "James alsua of Douglas" (II, 132); "Of Glasgow Byshop Robert" (IV, 13); "Of Vallanch schir Amery"

supply of rhymes. Regularly he twists his lines about to get convenient words at the ends.[18]

The following examples will suffice to illustrate his practice of awkward construction:

> And amang othir, off Douglass
> Put in presoun schir Wilȝam was,
> That off Douglas was lord and syr;
> Off him thai makyt a martyr. (I, 281 ff.)
>
> The lord of Lorne wonnyt thar-by
> That was capitale ennymy
> To the king, for his emys (uncle's) sak
> John Comyn. (III, 1 ff.)
>
> But the erll of Adell, Davy,
> His sone that was in Kyndromy,
> Com syne. (IX, 288.)
>
> He wan quytly (wholly) that cuntre
> Till his brothirs pees the kyng. (IX, 651-2.)
>
> The vardane saw how that it ȝeid,
> That callit was Gyllmyne de Feniss. (X, 455.)

No one, I think, will contend, in the light of such contorted passages (and they might be multiplied),[19] that the line under discussion is exceptionally peculiar. Nor is there any difficulty in the monosyllabic value of Bruce's

(VI, 457, 476, etc.); "Off Crauford als schyr Ranald" (IV, 38); "Off Strathern als the erll" (IX, 340); "Off Bonkill the lord" (IX, 691); "Schir Morisz alsua de Berclay" (XIII, 417).

[18] Here are characteristic inversions: "The quehethir with him dwell wald I" (II, 108); "The tothir part went in the toune is" (III, 240); "And bot eleven within war thai And a woman" (III, 444); "And with glaid hart it thaim gaiff he" (III, 538); "His sone syne eftir kyng he wes" (IV, 335); "Thai that enbuschit was thame saw" (IV, 412); "So did this kyng that I of reid" (IX, 100).

> "Bot he, that had his vachis ay
> On ilk syde, of thar commyng,
> Long or thai com, bad vittering." (VI, 44 ff.)

[19] Compare, e. g., in later books, XVI, 526 ff., XVII, 235, XIX, 263 ff.

name. The name is spelt in all sorts of ways in the unique manuscript, written about a hundred years after the poem was composed (*Bruce, Bruss, Brwyss, Brwce, Broiss, Broyss, Bryss*), and metrically, in the genitive, it is either a monosyllable or a dissyllable. An example of the former is: "An on schir Eduard the Brysis rout" (XIII, 311); an example of the latter: "The Bruysss folk full hardely" (II, 366).[20]

We must remember, moreover, that Barbour read and wrote Latin constantly, and that analytic constructions would seem much less odd to him than to us. In Latin the line might read without any confusion: "Hujus domini Bruys praedicti haeres."[21]

There is apparently nothing whatever, then, to interfere with the interpretation here offered. It makes perfect sense; it agrees fully with Wyntoun's reading; it provides just the word that Barbour wanted at the place to establish the assumption by which alone his chief hero's deeds were justified. Perhaps the poet put the word "ayr" at the end of the line expressly for emphasis.

A striking confirmation of the new interpretation may be found in Blind Harry's *Wallace,* which the author wrote with Barbour's poem in mind. The opening of both works, it will be remembered, covers the same ground, both telling of Edward I as arbiter in the contest for the throne, and of his efforts to make himself lord of Scotland.

[20] Compare: "To the byshop of Androwss towne" (II, 81): "and Dowglass baner saw planly" (XVI, 410); (with which cf. "sum of the lord Douglassis men" (XX, 481); cf. in *The Wallace:* "Off Wallace lyff rycht famous of renoun" (V, 541); "Himselff had seyn gret part off Wallace deid" (XL, 1420); "Off Wallace lyff quha has a forthar feill" (XI, 1410).

[21] For the form of the proper name, cf. "domini regis Robert Bruys," in the Exchequer Rolls, IV, p. 457 (quoted Skeat, Preface, p. xxvii); "ad supplicationem David de Bruys" (*Rolls,* I, p. 808).

According to Blind Harry, the English led away Robert Bruce and other "heirs"; he gave Bruce his father's heritage, but not his realm; he planned to keep him in "thraldom":

> Vij scor thai led off the gretast that thai fand
> Off *ayris* with thaim, and Bruce, out of Scotland,
> Eduuard gayf hym his fadir is heretage;
> But he thocht ay till hald hym in thrallage. (I, 133 ff.)

Blind Harry makes his hero resemble Bruce as Barbour describes him,—a man "wys and wicht," who had "gret pitte" when he saw his "kynryk" decay.[22] But when he compares the two patriots, it is openly to the disadvantage of Bruce, save in one important particular, which is strongly emphasized in the following lines:

> Perchance ye say, that Bruce he was none sik.
> He was also gud, quhat deid was to assaill,
> As of his handis, and bauldar in battaill.
> But *Bruce was knawin well ayr off this kynrik,*
> *For he had rycht, we call no man him lik.* (II, 353 ff.)

Again in a later passage, where Wallace is recounting to the English queen the grievances of Scotland "after the date of Alexander's reign," he says:

> Than your fals king, wndyr colour but mar
> Throuch hand he maid till *Bruce that is our ayr*
> Throuch all Scotland with gret power thai raid,
> Wynder that king quhilk he before had maid. (1341 ff.[23])

It is hard for us to understand how much importance was attached to the question as to who was the legitimate heir to the throne of Scotland. Arguments to and fro on the point were kept up for centuries. In 1521, Major, for example, went into the question at great length. "I state my conclusion thus," he says, "Robert Bruce alone *and*

[22] Cf. I, 181 ff., XI, 521.

[23] Cf. also VIII, 139 ff.; 1537 ff.; 1611 f.

his heirs had and have an indisputable claim to the kingdom of Scotland." [24]

Finally, it may be noted that in the first words uttered by Sir James Douglas after the "romance" begins, those to the Bishop of St. Andrews, he emphasizes, like Bruce, his similarly just cause for waging war:

> Schir, ȝe se
> How Inglishmen, throw thar powste (power)
> *Dysherysys me off my land.* (II, 99 ff.)

Each of the two Scots about whom Barbour declares he intended to make his book fought honourably for his heritage against the English, who sought dishonourably to deprive him of it. That is the fundamental theme of *The Bruce.* Barbour was clever enough not to let the king of the Scots forget the lesson of his own experience, but makes him bind himself, just before the final fight of Bannockburn, to "honour," as thus shown:

> And I hecht (promise) heir, in my lawte
> Gif ony deis in this battaill,
> *Hir air,* but (without) ward, releif, or (en)taill,
> On the first day, his land sall weild,
> All be he nevir so ȝhoung of eild (age). (XII, 318 ff.)

Justice to heirs! Barbour enforces strongly the contrast of Bruce to Edward in this, as in other respects. If the English king had been just to the heirs of the elder Bruce and the elder Douglas, Barbour would have had no reason to write. Most effectively he first mentions his chief hero as the "heir" of his grandfather, who, he has insisted, rightly claimed the throne.[25]

[24] Bk. IV, ch. XVII. Constable's translation, p. 213.

[25] At the close of his life, Bruce, still solicitous for his heritage, is represented as sending messengers to the English court to sue for peace,

> For the gud king had in entent,
> Sin god sa fair grace till him sent,

"Much ado about nothing!" So it seems. But Barbour has suffered sadly from no real fault of his own, and we owe him an apology for impugning his honesty without cause. Unwarranted conclusions as to the historical value of his work have been drawn by one generation after another down to the present, on the basis of our constant misreading of a single word. It is we who are responsible for the "glaring error" that we have long sneeringly attributed to the good Archdeacon of Aberdeen. Sneers have a way of coming home to roost.

W. H. Schofield.

> That he had wonnyn all his land,
> Throu strinth of armys till his hand,
> That he pess in his land wald ma,
> And all the landis stabill swa,
> *That his air aftir hym* suld be
> In peiss; gif me held thair laute. (xix, 133 ff.)

Eventually he provides that if his son David died without "air male of his body gotten," Robert Stewart should be king. (xx, 129 ff.)

XVII.—RELATIONS BETWEEN FRENCH PLAYS AND BALLETS FROM 1581 TO 1650

As there is abundant evidence, reliable though anonymous, that scholarly circles are not without special interest just now in the ballet, it may be the proper time to consider that form of art in some of its historical relations to the theater. A recent book by Henry Prunières, *le Ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully,*[1] gives us for the first time a thorough treatment of the ballet during one of its great periods, the first half of the seventeenth century. It is only now, therefore, that the relations which then existed between the ballets and the plays of France can be adequately discussed. A full treatment of the subject would require and may attract the labors of a doctor's dissertation, but the general relationships can be established from material we already possess and special cases can be pointed out in which one *genre* borrowed directly and indisputably from the other.

Prunières has shown how elements from medieval masquerades, danses, tourneys, were fused into an artistic whole under the influence of humanists who were seeking both in France and in Italy to reproduce the composite nature of Greek tragedy. The first work which represents this union of poetry, music, painting, dancing, acting, and the play of machines was the *Ballet comique de la reine,* performed at court in 1581.[2] Under the influence of this remarkable work there came into existence the *ballet dramatique,* characterized by a simple dramatic plot, which, made known to the spectators by pantomime and song or recitation, served as a pretext for a number of dances

[1] Paris, 1914.

[2] Cf. Prunières, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff.

ending in the grand ballet.[3] The dancers were members of the nobility, even of the royalty, masked and magnificently costumed. Very popular, but involving great expense, this type reached its highest development with such brilliant performances as the *Délivrance de Renaud* (1617) and the *Adventure de Tancrède* (1619), and disappeared upon the death of Luynes in 1621; for thereafter the royal treasury could not be so heavily taxed for court entertainments.[4]

Alongside of this form, *ballets-mascarades,* court spectacles without distinctly dramatic character, had continued to flourish, much less pretentious and on that account more widely produced. Towards 1624 this latter type gave birth to the *ballet à entrées,* consisting of a series of *ballets-mascarades* united only by a general idea. Thus, in the famous ballet of the *Douairière de Billebahaut* (1626) the four continents send representatives to the ball in honor of the Dowager's betrothal to the Fanfan of Sotteville. Each continent has a ballet preceded by an explanatory *récit* and divided into several entries, after which is introduced the grand ballet.[5] This form soon attained the popularity of the older *ballet dramatique* at the court of Louis XIII and continued to flourish under Louis XIV until it was gradually absorbed by Lulli into the opera and by Molière into the *comédie-ballet.* My study of the *genre* stops, as does that of Prunières, in 1650, when it is about to enter upon its last period, a period of decay, notwithstanding the cleverness of Benserade, during which its relations to other *genres* would take us far afield.

Now during the first period of the court ballet, from its origin in 1581 to the disappearance of the *ballet drama-*

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 119.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 124.
[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 125-128.

tique in 1621, there is some evidence of the influence of the ballet and play upon each other, but far less than in the succeeding period. The main theme of the *ballet dramatique* is the enchantment of certain persons by a magician, a theme found in the Classical story of Circe as well as in the Romantic legends of Renaud and Tancred. Similar themes are used by French dramatists of the period.[6] Classical mythology and Italian epics furnish plots for plays as well as for ballets.[7] Machines that are common in the ballet are occasionally found in the play.[8] The pastoral sometimes introduces songs and even *intermèdes*.[9] If Lanson is right in believing that the *Bradamante* represented at court by young children towards 1610 and said by Malherbe to have been taken from Garnier was not a play but a ballet, we have the case of a ballet's being derived directly from a French tragicomedy.[10]

Most of these resemblances were not primarily due to the influence of either *genre* upon the other, but to the fact

[6] Cf. N. de Montreux, *Arimène*, Paris, 1597; Poulet, *Clorinde*, Paris, 1598; Hardy, *Alphée;* Troterel, *Driade amoureuse*, Rouen, 1606, *Théocris*, Rouen, 1610; Bouchet, *Sidère*, 1609.

[7] Cf. Hardy, *Méléagre, Procris, Alceste*, etc.; Prévost, *Œdipe, Hercule*, Poitiers, 1614; Charles de L'Espine, *Descente d'Orphée aux enfers*, Louvain, 1614; Garnier, *Bradamante;* de Montreux, *Isabelle*, 1594; Bauter, *Rodomontade, Mort de Roger*, Paris, 1605; Billard, *Genèvre*, Paris, 1610; Aymard de Veins, *Clorinde*, Paris, 1599, *Sophronie*, Rouen, 1599.

[8] Certainly in the *Arimène* of Nicolas de Montreux; perhaps in *l'Heureux désespéré*, by C. A. de C., Paris, 1613, and in the plays dealing with Hercules by Prévost and Mainfray.

[9] Cf. Perrin, *Sichem*, Paris, 1589; Beliard, *Charlot*, Troyes, 1592; Bernier de la Brousse, *Bergerie*, Poitiers, 1618; Chrétien des Croix, *Amantes*, Rouen, 1613.

[10] See Malherbe, letter 98; Lanson, *Études sur les origines de la tragédie classique en France, Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1903, pp. 177 ff.

that both drew inspiration from Greek and Italian sources. The fact of a common origin, however, does not prove that the two forms were without influence upon each other. Doubtless the vogue of the ballet helped maintain the popularity of the French pastoral and the selecting of subjects from Classical mythology and Italian Romance, while the plays may have helped keep alive the demand that the ballet should retain its dramatic character and have suggested certain themes to its authors, even though these originated elsewhere. This reciprocal influence, however, was not yet considerable. The ballet was primarily the diversion of the great, who did not at this time concern themselves deeply with the play. The cost of production was enormous,[11] far too heavy to be borne by the slender resources of Valleran and other stage managers. Before 1622 I find no instance in which a ballet is given at the same entertainment with a play, and, with the possible exception of *Bradamante,* no ballet which is certainly derived from a play or play which makes use of a particular ballet. The influence of one type on the other is general and vague.

After the decay of the *ballet dramatique* there is a change. As in the case of many a more literary type, the influence is exerted after the period of highest development is past. With the more cheaply produced *ballet à entrées,* imitation of the ballet became easier, while plays, as they increased in worth and popularity, began more deeply to interest composers of ballets. For the first time [12] dramatic poets were employed to write the words of ballets. The names of Théophile, Boisrobert, Colletet,

[11] According to d'Aubigné the *Ballet comique de la reine* cost 400,000 écus; cf. Prunières, *op. cit.,* p. 89.

[12] Except for Théophile's ballets, some of which were written as early as 1618 or 1619, according to La Chèvre, *Le Procès du poète Théophile de Viau,* Paris, Champion, 1909, vol. I, p. 29.

L'Estoille, Baro, Corneille, d'Aubignac occur in the librettos of ballets as well as on the title-pages of plays. It was as a playwright that Benserade served his apprenticeship for ballet writing. Many dramatists, protected by lords whose chief diversion was the court ballet, must have felt that a way to their sympathies lay through giving to the play some characteristics of the rival form.

The same place now serves at times for the representation of both kinds. When the Jesuits, who had done much to cultivate the drama in their schools, gave a performance at Lyons before the king in 1622, the entertainment mingled scholarly and royal amusements. The tragedy of *Philippe Auguste donteur des rebelles en la journée de Bouvines* was followed by a *Ballet des chasseurs,* and a pastoral by an allegorical ballet called *l'Hercule gaulois.*[13] Toward the end of the year 1627 a troop of actors asked permission to perform "comedies, farces et ballets."[14] In 1634 Mondory's troop gave at the Arsenal a ballet along with *Mélite* and a comedy in prose.[15] In 1636 the troop of Bellerose danced a ballet at the Hôtel de Richelieu after giving a play by Baro.[16] A little later in the same year there is another notice of a play and ballet given as a part of the same entertainment.[17] The decorations of *Mirame* were subsequently used at the Palais Cardinal for the ballet called *la Prospérité des armes de la France.*[18] The dancer Daniel Mallet was engaged by Molière in 1644 to

[13] See Lanson, *loc. cit.*, under the year 1622.

[14] Cf. Rigal, *Le Théâtre français avant la période classique,* Paris, 1901, p. 68.

[15] See *Gazette,* 1634, p. 527 and de Beauchamps, *Recherches,* III, p. 49.

[16] See *Gazette,* 1636, p. 40. The play, called *Cleoreste* in the *Gazette,* is supposed to be Baro's *Clorise.*

[17] See de Beauchamps, *loc. cit.*

[18] See Marolles, *Mémoires,* edition of Amsterdam, 1755, p. 237.

perform "tant en comédie que ballets," [19] a fact which suggests that Molière had already begun the custom, found occasionally in the time of La Grange,[20] of accompanying a full length play by a ballet instead of a farce.

As a result of these arrangements the two *genres* came to be more alike in their spectators as well as in the places where they were performed. From the beginning ballets were often witnessed by the people, but they were written essentially for the court. Now the ballet, danced by the actors of the Parisian theaters, was at times intended for a more general audience, while the play attracted more and more the lords and ladies of the court. "La Comédie," says Tallemant,[21] "n'a esté en honneur que depuis que le cardinal de Richelieu en a pris soing, et avant cela, les honnestes femmes n'y alloient pas."

At first glance one is not struck by a corresponding *rapprochement* between the two types. In certain respects they follow opposite courses. The tendency to regularity of form, so obviously increasing in the tragedy, comedy, pastoral, even in the tragi-comedy, is wanting in the ballet. The *ballet à entrées* is far less homogeneous than was the *ballet dramatique* of an earlier generation. Again, while the tragedy becomes profounder and the comedy seeks to reproduce more exactly the life about it, the ballet is characterized by the grotesque. The spectacular is avoided in tragedy and comedy; it is the essential element in the ballet.

Nevertheless, if one looks more closely, one can perceive various similarities. The buffoonery of the ballet finds a parallel in the farce and at times in the comedy. Its

[19] See Soulié, *Recherches sur Molière*, p. 175, and Fournel, *Contemporains de Molière*, II, p. 185.

[20] Cf. his *Registre*, July 11 and 18, 1664.

[21] *Historiettes*, edition of Monmerqué and Paris, V, p. 487.

spectacular elements are echoed by the tragi-comedy. The use of machines is indicated for a number of plays in Mahelot's *Mémoire.* The heavens open, the gods descend, the sun shines, and artificial animals perform much as they did at an earlier date in the ballet. The fact that such devices may have been inherited from the middle ages or introduced from Italy does not preclude the possibility that the taste for such things, or even the immediate suggestion, may have come to author and audience from familiarity with the court ballet.

Despite its love of the grotesque, the ballet early shows a tendency to represent characters from the life of the day. Whereas the comedy imitated the stereotyped figures of Roman and Italian plays, the ballet introduced persons from ordinary trades as early as 1600, when parts of a ballet are danced by roofers and harvesters.[22] A ballet performed no later than 1612 represents an astrologer, an alchemist, flower sellers, a dentist, a cut-purse, a painter; in another ballet figure a tailor, an inn-keeper, a perfumer, a linendraper, a haberdasher, a dealer in old clothes.[23] Among the representatives of many trades brought into ballets during the third decade of the century are jugglers, sellers of spectacles, soldiers, peasants, porters, milkmaids, bakers, tailors, fencing-masters, tavern-keepers, chimney-sweeps.[24] In a ballet of 1627 a Modern Parnassus is represented with the muses replaced by nine washer-women.[25] The ballet called the *Bureau de rencontre* (1631) is danced by a usurer, gardeners, *distillateurs et vendeurs d'eau médicinale, renouvelleurs de vieilles modes,*

[22] Cf. Paul Lacroix, *Ballets et mascarades de Cour, de Henri III à Louis XIV*, Geneva and Turin, 1868-1870, I, p. 135.

[23] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 215 ff.

[24] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 213, 303 ff.; III, pp. 131, 250 ff.

[25] *Ibid.*, III, p. 296.

arracheurs de dents, porteur de gazette.[26] The *Ballet des cinq sens de nature* (1633) introduces a magician, a mid-wife, sellers of flowers and fruit.

Such a wealth of types suggests modern dramatic realism. The seventeenth-century playwright did not try to represent on so large a scale the occupations of his fellows. He was more interested in man's natural temperament than in characteristics resulting from his profession. Yet he did represent professions in many cases; nor do we have to wait for Molière's doctors, fencing-masters, and tailors to find them. Du Ryer, for instance, shows a butcher in his *Lisandre et Caliste,* a grape-gatherer in his *Vendanges de Suresnes.* Baro in a lost *Force du Destin,* known to us through Mahelot's *Mémoire,* puts on the stage a lawyer and a painter. In another lost play, the *Foire de Sainct-Germain,* La Pinelière seems to have exhibited a jeweller, a confectioner, a haberdasher, and the proprietor of an art store. Corneille, of course, gives in his *Galerie du palais* a similar group composed of a bookseller, a haberdasher, and the mistress of a linen shop. There is a coachman in Durval's *Agarite,* a poet in Desmaretz's *Visionnaires,* a financier in Maréchal's *Railleur,* a peddler and a boatman in Discret's *Alizon.* Thus there was in the thirties a realistic tendency to introduce characters who live according to the conditions of the time alongside of others who keep up the Roman or Italian tradition. It may well be that this important tendency was suggested to dramatists by the ballet.

A further parallel between the two *genres* can be established in the case of places and nations. Localities in or near Paris, such as Suresnes, Saint-Germain, the rue Saint Jacques, the Tuileries, the Place royale, are used in plays

[26] *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 155 ff.

of the thirties. As early as 1607 a ballet on the Foire Saint-Germain was danced before the king.[27] The youths of Chevilly and the maidens of Montrouge figure in a ballet of 1626;[28] the "Bailly de Saint-Denys,"[29] in one the following year. The most conspicuous case is that of the *Ballet des rues de Paris*,[30] in which the entries represent various streets of the capital. The introduction into the ballet of such representatives of foreign nations as the Grand Turc and Mahomet in the *Douairière de Billebahaut*,[31] and their speaking gibberish[32] anticipates not only the *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, but Rotrou's *Sœur*[33] and Poisson's *Faux Moscovites*. It may also explain the fondness for turbans in costuming, which causes Mahelot to disguise in this fashion the pirates of late Greek romances.[34] The grouping of the nations into a ballet may have suggested to Richelieu the idea of the tragi-comedy *Europe*, which represents various European countries.

Special instances of plays influenced by ballets are furnished by *Antioche*, in which are said to be found "des chœurs, de la musique, des ballets";[35] by *les Bocages* of La Charnays, in which Monsieur Emile Roy[36] notes a *Ballet des métamorphoses;* the *Comédie des chansons* and the *Comédie des proverbes*, whose form suggests that of

[27] *Ibid.*, I, p. 193.

[28] *Ibid.*, III, p. 245.

[29] *Ibid.*, III, p. 257.

[30] *Ibid.*, VI, p. 127. The ballet was published without date and is dated by Lacroix "vers 1647."

[31] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 163, 164.

[32] Cf. the speech of the inhabitants of northern lands in the same ballet and that of the Albanian in the *Vallée de Misère* (1633); Lacroix, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 253, 254.

[33] Act III, sc. iv.

[34] Cf. Mahelot, *Mémoire*, lists for *Leucosie* and *Clitophon*.

[35] Cf. *Bibliothèque du théâtre françois*, Dresden, 1768, I, p. 543.

[36] Cf. *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1915, p. 512.

the *ballet à entrées;* the *Comédie des comédies,* whose title may have been formed by analogy to that of the *Ballet des ballets.*[37] An undated ballet on Don Quichotte[38] recalls Pichou's play of that name, as the ballet called *Petites-Maisons*[39] suggests Beys's *Hôpital des fous.* Joan of Arc[40] figures in ballets as well as in plays.

Finally, I would call special attention to the introduction of a ballet entry into Durval's *Agarite.*[41] In this play Celidor, a favorite of the heroine's royal lover, plans to kill her prospective husband the evening of her wedding. For that purpose he arranges a ballet of the Quatre Vents, in which he plays the part of one of the winds. It is quite likely that this ballet was suggested by the *Ballet de l'Harmonie,* danced before the king in 1632, the third entry of which is described as follows:[42] "Æole, prince des Vents, sortant du milieu du theatre, en appellera quatre, qui en mesme temps s'eslanceront hors des grottes opposées pour representer l'air dont ils naissent et dans lequel ils se meuvent. . . . Ils danseront ensemble un Ballet." Among the articles designated by Mahelot for the representation of *Agarite* are "un moulin,[43] habits de ballet . . . , des aisles pour les vents, des perruques de filace, deux flambeaux de cire, quatre flambeaux d'etain garnis de lumieres." The ballet is danced on the wedding evening with music and the light of candelabra as at court.

[37] See Lacroix, *op. cit.*, III, p. 87.

[38] *Ibid.*, III, p. 59.

[39] *Ibid.*, V, p. 41.

[40] *Ibid.*, III, p. 295 and IV, p. 277.

[41] Privilege, March 13, 1635; acted as early as 1634. This play has been overlooked by students of the ballet.

[42] Lacroix, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 212.

[43] In the play there is a reference by the dancers to a "moulin qui nous resiste." Cf. the use of *moulinets* in a ballet of 1612; Lacroix, *op. cit.*, I, p. 205.

Lizene: Ie commence d'entendre
Le son des instrumens.
Medon: Prenons place mon gendre.
Corintie: Les voicy. I'entreuoy la clairté d'un flambeau.
Lizene: Chacun dit que la Cour n'a rien vu de si beau.[44]

When the ballet arrives, Lizene reads the following verses, evidently distributed in advance as was the custom:

Des quatre coins de l'Univers
Où chacun de nous quatre a choisi sa demeure,
D'habits tous differens et de plumes couuers,
Nous sommes venus dans une heure.

Then the ballet is danced with the lights out, and pistol shots, supposed to represent thunder and lightning, accomplish the death of the bride-groom.

Corresponding to this use of the ballet by the dramatist, there are cases in which plays furnish a theme to composers of ballets. Already in 1620 a ballet dancer refers to the celebrated farceurs of the Pont-Neuf: [45]

Et mes grains passent la science
De Mondor et de Tabarin.

A reference to the comedy is made in 1631, when its hall is mentioned among places where society assembles.[46] Two ballets representing Italian comedians [47] show the increasing importance of plays in court life. These players

[44] *Agarite,* Act III, sc. iii.

[45] Lacroix, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 217, 218.

[46] Lacroix, *op. cit.,* IV, p. 161.

[47] *Ibid.,* V, pp. 243-261. Neither is dated. Lacroix suggests 1636 as the probable year of their appearing, but the verses of the first are by Bordier, most of whose writing for ballets was done towards 1625-1630, and there are references in it to the country's being at peace and to the presence of the queen-mother. As Marie de Medici fled from court in 1631 and as there was little peace from that year till 1659, which seems too late for Bordier, the most probable time is the fall of 1630, a date that satisfies all requirements. The second ballet may have been written much later.

could be represented by the ballet dancers without difficulty, for the constantly repeated stock characters of the Italian plays were all well known in court circles. One is not surprised to find Harlequin, Pantaloon, the Doctor, the Captain, and several young lovers dancing the various entries. One of these ballets adds, as figures familiar to theater-goers, a door-keeper, a candle-snuffer, and a seller of lemons. A masquerade of carnival 1642 [48] introduces, along with revellers, two lackeys who go to bring in actors, a poster of play-bills, and finally the actors themselves.

The ballet in which French plays have the largest part is the *Boutade des comédiens,* which appeared towards 1647 [49] and was danced both at court and elsewhere, if we may take literally the statement

> Nous vous apportons de la cour
> Les miracles qu'elle idolâtre.

The entries are danced by representatives of eleven comedies and tragi-comedies and of seven tragedies. The plays were selected for their dramatic value or because they had recently appeared. In either case they must have had sufficient vogue for their characters to be recognized by the public. Many of the characters portrayed possess some peculiarity of appearance or manner that lends itself readily to imitation by the dancers. Their verses, however, sketch the character meagerly. For instance, Amidor, the belated imitator of Ronsard so vigorously characterized in the *Visionnaires,* speaks as follows:

[48] Lacroix, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 51, 52.

[49] *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 161-176. Lacroix dates "vers 1646." It must have appeared as late as the following year, for, among plays mentioned, *Héraclius* was first represented in December, 1646, or January, 1647, and the *Intrigue des Filoux* was given at Fontainebleau in October, 1647, probably for the first time; cf. Fournel, *Théâtre Français au XVI et au XVII siècle*, II, p. 511. It is improbable that the ballet was written much later.

> De toutes les expressions
> Qu'on vante dans la poesie,
> C'est l'adorable Iris qui dans ma fantaisie
> En forme les inventions.
> Sa grace n'a point de pareille,
> Son esprit, dont la terre admire la merveille,
> Me fait voir chaque jour un miracle nouveau;
> Beauté sans tache et sans seconde,
> Iris, si vous n'estiez au monde,
> Que pourrois-je dire de beau?

Evidently the emphasis here is on the love making rather than on Amidor's character. In almost every case, indeed, the dancer speaks lines that end in a declaration of love, whether or not the character he represents is a lover in the play. This declaration may be used for comic effect, as when Jodelet's lines to his mistress in the kitchen follow immediately upon the pompously amorous verses of the Illustre Bassa, much as the courtships succeed each other in the well-known scenes from the *Dépit amoureux.* Even Joan of Arc is treated from a sexual rather than a patriotic point of view, in a spirit, by the way, that already suggests Voltaire.

After the first entry, danced by the poster of play-bills, the entries are performed by persons representing the following characters: les Sozies et leurs maistresses; [50] la coiffeuse à la mode, Acaste, Dorotée; [51] l'Illustre Bassa and Isabelle; [52] Jodelet, maistre valet; [53] la belle Egyptienne and Dom Andrés; [54] three madmen from *l'Hospital*

[50] The introduction of these women and the existence of friendly relations between the men make it likely that Rotrou's *Ménechmes,* played about 1631, is intended rather than his *Sosies,* played in 1636, though the name is, of course, taken from the latter play.

[51] D'Ouville, *la Coiffeuse à la mode,* privilege, 1646.

[52] Scudéry, *l'Illustre Bassa,* printed in 1643.

[53] Scarron, *Jodelet ou le Maître valet,* played about 1645.

[54] Sallebray, *la Belle Egyptienne,* printed in 1642.

des fous,[55] of whom one is a chemist, another a musician, and a third believes himself to be the sun; la Pucelle d'Orleans;[56] le Docteur amoureux and Heleine;[57] un mercier, Lisandre, and Celidée from the *Galerie du palais;*[58] les filous and une receleuse from *l'Intrigue des filous;*[59] Artabaze and Amidor from the *Visionnaires.*[60] Then, after some verses from the director of the entertainment, the final entry is danced by persons representing the heroes and heroines of seven tragedies, Heraclius, Sigismond, Cinna, Rhodogune, Cléopâtre, Marianne, Sophonisbe.[61] It is noteworthy that four of the seven plays thus honored are by Corneille, all of whose then most recent tragedies are represented with the exception of *Polyeucte* and *Théodore,* omitted either for their lack of popularity or because their religious subjects rendered them unsuitable for the ballet.

I have discussed this ballet at some length because it has been neglected by historians of the French stage, be-

[55] By Beys, played about 1635.

[56] Benserade ou la Ménardière, *la Pucelle d'Orléans,* printed in 1642.

[57] Le Vert, *le Docteur amoureux,* printed in 1638, and not, as Lacroix believes, the farce played by Molière on his return to Paris in 1658.

[58] By Corneille, played in 1632.

[59] By L'Estoille, played in 1647.

[60] By Desmaretz, played in 1637.

[61] Corneille, *Héraclius,* played in 1646 or 1647; Gillet de la Tessonnerie, *Sigismond duc de Varsau* printed in 1646; Corneille, *Cinna,* played in 1640; probably Corneille's *Rodogune,* played in 1645 or 1646, rather than that of Gilbert, printed in 1646, although the cruel queen-mother, for whom the verses of the ballet are intended, is named Cléopâtre in Corneille's play, Rodogune in Gilbert's, the author of the ballet either confusing her with her daughter-in-law or deliberately changing her name because another Cléopâtre was to follow; Corneille's *Pompée* rather than the *Cléopâtre* of Mairet, played in 1635, or the *Cléopâtre* of Benserade, probably played in 1635; Tristan, *Marianne,* played in 1636; Mairet, *Sophonisbe,* played in 1634.

cause of the information it gives concerning the popularity of certain plays and characters, and because it marks the point at which the ballet draws its material directly from dramatic works. It must now be evident that there are various ways in which influence was exerted by one *genre* upon the other. There remains to be stated an important relation of another sort.

It is quite possible that these two varieties of artistic expression may have influenced each other not only by what they borrowed, but also by what they left behind. There is in literature a process of differentiation as well as of attraction. As authors and spectators who were interested in a serious study of passion or character and in the austere simplicity of the Classical type of play, turned to the theater and developed tragedy and comedy, others, who preferred music, spectacle, or a burlesque treatment of life, devoted themselves to the ballet. Plays became more profound as ballets lost their dramatic qualities, went for inspiration to music, and finally became merged into the opera. The existence of the ballet thus gave a form of expression to a type of mind which might, had it interested itself more largely in the stage, have delayed or prevented the establishment of the Classical drama.

This relationship suggests one thought more. How often have hostile or superficial critics decried the classical French tragedy as an artificial outgrowth of court circles. It is undoubtedly true that court influence was exerted on Corneille and Racine, but it never became dominant with either of them; for the chief amusement of the court was not the play, but the *ballet dramatique,* the *ballet à entrées,* the opera. Louis XIII composed ballets, Richelieu helped to write the tragi-comedy, *Mirame,* whose chief importance lay in its machines, Louis XIV preferred to Molière Lulli,

author of ballets and operas. It was the ballet and its successor, the opera, that remained primarily the affair of the court, while the tragedy and the comedy were chiefly patronized by the city. The ballet thus contributed a final service to the play in so reducing the interest devoted to it by the court that the tragedy and the comedy became a thoroughly national product, while the ballet remained chiefly the brilliant expression of a class.

H. Carrington Lancaster.

XVIII.—FOURTEEN UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY HENRY CRABB ROBINSON; A CHAPTER IN HIS APPRECIATION OF GOETHE

Henry Crabb Robinson [1] occupies a unique position in the history of literary relations between England and Germany. He exerted influence in both directions, tho his greatest service consisted in making Englishmen acquainted with German literature. While a student in Germany from 1800 to 1805, he interpreted English ideas diplomatically among the Germans, whenever the opportunity presented itself; and, after his return to England, he labored incessantly for the rest of his life, over sixty years, to create a more general taste for German works of art, especially for the works of Goethe, among his own countrymen. Indeed, he came to be considered by many literary men and women, both in England and on the Continent, as an oracle, well worth consulting on matters

[1] Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867): English diarist, journalist, conversationalist, translator, and barrister-at-law. He was one of the founders of the Athenæum Club and of University College, London. His *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence,* edited by Thomas Sadler, and first published in London in 1869, is his best known literary legacy and forms a most fascinating and valuable source of information for the student of contemporary English and German literature. There is an American edition published in Boston by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1877, to which references here are made. Cf. also the following articles by Jean-Marie Carré: *Quelques lettres inédites de William Taylor, Coleridge et Carlyle à Henry Crabb Robinson sur la littérature allemande, Revue Germanique* (1912), pp. 34-49; *Un ami et un défenseur de Goethe en Angleterre; H. C. Robinson,* pp. 385-415 of the same volume; *'The Characteristics of Goethe' de Sarah Austin et la collaboration de H. C. Robinson, Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen,* CXXXI, pp. 145-152; and, in the same volume, *William Whewell et H. C. Robinson,* pp. 425-427.

English or German, even on European affairs in general. It was Crabb Robinson who taught Madame de Staël her first lessons in German philosophy; and this same Robinson, during his third visit to Germany in 1829, astonished Goethe by his extraordinary knowledge of modern German literature and life.[2] On the other hand, Goethe was glad to hear him read Byron, Milton, and Coleridge in the original. In England his position was much the same. Not only many minor writers sought and obtained his aid, but both Coleridge and Carlyle, in their studies of German literature, obtained many helpful suggestions from Crabb Robinson. He was always ready to lend a helping hand to all who wanted it, and sometimes to those who did not. Robinson's influence was chiefly personal, to be sure; but the personal influence of a man who loved his subject was needed under the circumstances, and was salutary, even tho the man was somewhat importunate.[3]

Moreover, Robinson was not a mere enthusiast. He was blessed with a long, healthy life and a healthy mind; he possessed an unselfish and cosmopolitan character; tho not rich, he was a man of tolerably independent means, so

[2] Goethe writes to Zelter, Aug. 20, 1829: "Zu gleicher Zeit war ein Engländer bey uns, der zu Anfang des Jahrhunderts in Jena studirt hatte und seit der Zeit der deutschen Literatur gefolgt war, auf eine Weise von der man sich gar keinen Begriff machen konnte. Er war so recht in *merita causæ* unsrer Zustände initiirt, dasz ich ihm, wenn ich auch gewollt hätte, und wie man wohl gegen Fremde zu thun pflegt, keinen blauen phraseologischen Dunst vor die Augen bringen durfte."

[3] The unfavorable attitude of Walter Bagehot toward the personal influence of "old Crabb" is easily understood; he knew Robinson as an old man only. At the well-known breakfasts which Robinson often gave for his friends, there seems to have been very little breakfast served, according to Bagehot, but much Goethe and Schiller. Cf. Bagehot, *Henry Crabb Robinson*, *The Fortnightly Review*, XII (1869), pp. 179 ff.

that he could afford a happy combination of leisure and industry; he was an omnivorous reader in many subjects; he had a natural gift for languages, for the art of conversation, and for writing memoirs, and thru his extensive travels had acquired a large variety of experiences and made many intimate associations. In spite of his rather dispassionate mind, Robinson was a keen and sober judge of human character and an accurate observer, and was scrupulously careful in recording observations. The degree of his tolerance is almost incredible, and his simplicity, his objectivity in description, and, above all, his extraordinary wide circle of distinguished literary friends of all nations, gave his opinions exceptional value. In discussing a contemporary work of art, whether English or foreign, he could almost always claim first-hand acquaintance with both the work and the author; and there is no doubt that Robinson knew the Weimar group of poets better than any other Englishman.

In view of such facts we are not surprised to find the following entry in Robinson's *Reminiscences* for April, 1832:

> Early in April an occupation was found me, which lasted about a year, and which flattered me with the notion that I was not altogether useless. I received an application from William J. Fox, then editor of the *Monthly Repository*, now M. P. from Oldham in Lancashire, to furnish him with a paper on Goethe. I was flattered by the application, though accompanied by the intimation that the editor could not afford to pay. I gladly undertook the task, and made the offer, readily accepted on his part, to furnish a catalogue *raisonné* of all Goethe's works.[4]

Undoubtedly Crabb Robinson was the only man in England who was both able and willing to undertake a work of that kind as a pure labor of love.[5] To furnish to an

[4] Cf. *Diary*, II, p. 171.

[5] Whether Robinson later received any recompense for his labor, I have been unable to determine; it seems improbable.

English public of 1832 even a "catalogue" of all Goethe's works was not a small matter, and the task proved arduous. But Robinson did his best and "a paper on Goethe," dealing with his life, appeared in the *Monthly Repository* in May, 1832. It was followed by nine papers on Goethe's works (published in nine numbers of the periodical), the last in April, 1833. Then in the March number, 1834, Robinson reviewed Sarah Austin's *Characteristics of Goethe,* making eleven articles in all. The following fourteen letters by Robinson, now a part of the William A. Speck [6] collection of Goethiana in Yale University, are all addressed to Rev. William J. Fox [7] (Stamford Grove, Upper Clapton), editor of the *Monthly Repository,* and deal with the publication of the above-mentioned articles.

Even to-day the articles have more than a mere historical import, altho Robinson himself never pretended that they would have any great critical value; his sole intention was to arouse, if possible, more general interest in Goethe, by giving, as he said, a catalogue of his works. However, Robinson's letters dealing with this catalogue contain much that is worthy of note. The fact that they were written to a private individual allowed, of course, a freedom of speech which is not always found in articles written for publication. Besides what is explicit in these messages, much can be read between the lines. We learn not a little of Robinson himself, of his unbounded admiration for Goethe,

[6] Mr. William A. Speck, the present owner and curator of the collection which bears his name, has kindly placed these letters at my disposal and rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of this article.

[7] Fox was originally a Unitarian clergyman, his periodical was Unitarian in sympathy, and its readers were composed to a great extent of Unitarians. In 1832 the *Monthly Repository,* which had been both literary and theological from the beginning, had also assumed a political character.

and of the attitude of literary contemporaries in England toward German literature. But the dominant tone of them is this: it is a delicate problem to introduce Goethe's writings to a public which neither is prepared for Goethe nor cares for him. This is not astonishing, but it is significant, nevertheless, when one recalls what had been done, and what was being done at the time by a select few, to introduce German literature into England. I refer to William Taylor of Norwich, to Coleridge, Carlyle, Walter Scott, and to the various translators of *Faust*.

The letters follow in chronological order, and with all the peculiarities of the original form.

I

My dear Sir

I should have great pleasure indeed in writing about Göthe did I not feel most strongly that it is a task far above my strength,[8] nevertheless I will send you something that without pretending to be a *critical*[9] article may serve to gratify your readers. The appreciation of Göthe's poetical and philosophical character will be a problem on which the first spirits of the two or three next generations will delight to exercise themselves. It would be presumptuous in any living Englishman (except perhaps Coleridge) to attempt such a work. And Coleridge has not the requisite *love*. Carlyle would perhaps succeed better than any other. Our friend William Taylor will I hope abstain from the attempt.[10]

I am very truly yours

2 Plowden Buildings Temple H. C. Robinson.

5 April 1832.

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[8] Crabb Robinson was notoriously modest.

[9] Words in italics are underscored in the original.

[10] William Taylor of Norwich published in 1830 *Historic Survey of German Poetry* in three volumes. It was an important undertaking, historically, being the first of its kind in England, and it contained some good translations, but its intrinsic value, as a whole, was mediocre. Lack of sufficient knowledge, serious omissions, and poor critical judgment were the most common charges against the *Survey*. A disproportionately large amount of space is devoted to

This letter explains itself. In the next one we must assume that Robinson had written his article on the life of Goethe, which appeared, as stated above, in the May number of the *Monthly Repository,* and was busy writing his first article on Goethe's works for the following number. In the first paragraph, we get an insight into his practical turn of mind.

II

My dear Sir

I hope it will not annoy you, my writing on *slips.* I know it is a convenient mode for the printer if not the reader. It is the only way that I can write on account of my indolence. One can cut and change and put before and after which is a wonderful convenience.

I hope there is some matter not altogether bad and to the English reader certainly new in what I have written. It amounts to about 8 pages and therefore it may be as well not to insert the verses in this N[umber].[11] Tho' they would suit the present article very well. If however the copy be shorter than I suppose and you have room for them in this N[umber] I can send them with a simple sentence of introduction. I doubt very much whether what I write will be to the taste of your readers or any other readers, but when I have finished without going on with the same minuteness which the articles will not require, it will be a something which does not exist elsewhere. The subsequent numbers will be much more of a catalogue.

You must not forget at the end of the Volume to correct as an erratum—tho' I do not think it fair to ascribe it to the printer—*Philip August* which should be *Louis Philip!*[12] An unpardonable blunder. I am too apt to write A when I mean B. It is necessary to watch me closely.

Very truly yours,

19th May 1832 H. C. R.

Send me the proof sheets as before. I am always at home in the morning and I won't keep the Devil waiting if he comes between 9 and 11. Or they may be put in my letter box over night.

August von Kotzebue, whom Taylor believed to be greater than Goethe.

[11] That is, the *June* number, since this article is *printed* in the month following its composition. Sometimes, as in the account of *Faust,* there are two months between the date of writing and the

Robinson is as anxious about his readers as a modern stage manager is about his audience. He dares not hope for a very great success, but implies that the novelty of the undertaking will help the situation somewhat. This is also the tone of the next letter, plus another expression of Robinson's modesty. His second article on Goethe's works is now ready.

III

Dear Sir

I send you the article for this month [printed in July] very early that you may have time to consider one or two points. What say you to the printing the *text* of the first three poems? Prometheus, Ganymede and the Bounds of Humanity? In that case the article would not be longer as the original and translation [13] would be *be-*

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time of printing. The "verses" in question were poems by Goethe, with translations, and were inserted in the July number. See next letter.

[12] See *Monthly Repository* for 1832, p. 302.

[13] Concerning this translation we obtain some interesting information in the first sentence of Robinson's second article on Goethe's writings: "Our attempt to convey some idea of the nature of Goethe's poetry by an account of the contents of the first four volumes, is so unsatisfactory to ourselves, that we are desirous, before we proceed to another class of his writings, of presenting our readers with a few specimens of translation; and, for that purpose, with permission of the translator, we will reprint a few articles which appeared nearly thirty years ago, in a work of very confined circulation, and entirely forgotten now." See *Monthly Repository* for 1832, p. 460.

There is no doubt that the translator mentioned here is none other than Robinson himself, and that the "work of very confined circulation" was the *Monthly Register* to which Robinson had contributed about thirty years before. He writes to his brother Thomas, in 1802: "One of my employments during a part of 1802-3 was that of contributor to a magazine entitled the *Monthly Register*, and edited by my friend [J. D.] Collier. The subjects on which I wrote were German literature, the philosophy of Kant, etc. I also gave many translations from Goethe, Schiller, and others, in order to exemplify the German theory of versification." See *Diary*, I, p. 87.

side[14] each other. If you would like to do this I shall not mind the trouble of copying the original. I am surprised at the correctness of your [proof-]reader. There are no mistakes in the foreign words.

I have no wish to exceed the bounds of half a sheet[15] in each number but in the present number I hope you will let these 7 articles[16] appear. The *three* above-named *Mahomet's* Song, Cupid the *Landscape painter* and the *Wanderer.* Also the *drops of Nectar,* is a little gem.

I care less about the epigrams. If in fact the above did not exhaust the space to be filled in this number I should like to add a word or two on the Vols: 5 and 6.[17] In order that with number 4[18] may begin the Dramas. But this is of no consequence and therefore this part of the copy you will make either the end of the present number or the beginning of the next as you like. But it would not be worth while to continue the translations beyond the present number. Should I continue this catalogue thro' 3 or 4 further numbers, tho' no one can feel more strongly than I do how *mediocre* these things are, yet I think that there being nothing of the kind met with elsewhere, it ought to excite attention.

Your obliging direction to have some copies struck off for me has been probably misunderstood as they have not been sent me. I have written to your brother [Charles Fox, publisher] on the subject. If without trouble it could be done—(and the last number may be passed over)—it would enable me to send the whole article when complete to Mad. Göthe and one or two other German friends—in the form of a pamphlet.

I am very faithfully yours

12th June, 1832 H. C. Robinson.

Let me know in case you are willing to add[19] a few small articles, epigrams, etc. I do not wish you to be troubled with getting other poems copied. The Volume may be taken to the printing-house. But if you consent to any other translations besides the seven I should like to look at the magazine[20] for a single morning.

P. S. I have received the copies, many thanks.

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[14] They are so printed in the July number.

[15] That is, printer's sheet, signature.

[16] Poems, giving both text and translation.

[17] Volumes 5 and 6 of Goethe's works (*Vollständige Ausgabe letzter Hand,* in 40 volumes, the publication of which was begun in 1827). The second and third papers, the first and second on Goethe's works, dealt with the first four volumes, comprising Goethe's lyric poetry.

[18] The catalogue of the dramas began in the middle of the third

It is a matter of interest that Robinson knew not only Goethe himself but the members of his household as well. During his student days he had seen Christiane when he visited Goethe, and now he corresponded with Ottilie,[21] the widow of Goethe's son. This letter gives us additional evidence that Robinson intended to keep up his relation with Madame Goethe, even after the death of the poet, and keep her informed about his literary labors. For this reason, the following undated note by Robinson to Fox is introduced here. It corroborates what has been said by showing that Robinson made definite arrangements later to send a "parcel" to Ottilie, containing a literary "article." It is tolerably certain that the article mentioned is the one to which he refers in the preceding letter.

IV

My dear Sir

It happens singularly enough that a parcel is going off *Saturday afternoon* to Madame Göthe. And you will therefore oblige me much by letting me have two copies of the article, which I will send to her and Knebel[22] (who wrote me the letter you saw). It will be I should hope an acceptable present. I should be glad of it by 12 on Saturday morning.

In haste

Very truly yours

2 Plowden Buildings Temple H. C. Robinson.

Thursday morning.[23]

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article on Goethe's works; that is, in the fourth number of the whole series.

[19] That is, to print a few poems, etc., from Goethe's works.

[20] Possibly to determine what character of poems to select.

[21] In Robinson's *Diary* for April 2, 1832 (II, p. 170), for instance, we note the following: "My nephew called and brought the news of Goethe's death.—I had lying by me three letters for Weimar and Jena and resolved not to alter them, but put them in the post today. They were addressed to *Madame Goethe*, Voigt, and Knebel."

[22] Major Karl Ludwig von Knebel (1744-1834), lyric poet and

On the 12th of June, Robinson had sent his second article on Goethe's works to Mr. Fox, together with the text and translation of seven of Goethe's poems. Would Mr. Fox print them? We know the decision and attitude of the editor from the following significant letter by Robinson, written only four days later.

V

Dear Sir

I received your note just as I had finished an anecdotic note about Wieland which (if it ever see the light),[24] will be found I think interesting. Intending to travel this summer and calculating that my catalogue will extend through three or four further numbers of half a sheet each, I have gone on with the catalogue without any reference to the order of the volumes (Vols. 5 & 6 I have not in hand as it happens). I had made up my mind to suspend my Italian journey for the sake of reading some of Göthe's works with which I am not familiar, but your letter is calculated to make me abandon all thought of going on with my undertaking.

The poem on which you have passed sentence of condemnation was admired by Mrs. Barbauld[25] (or rather I should say, the original was admired by her)—you yourself say too that you like it.[26] I can

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translator. He was undoubtedly Robinson's most intimate German friend.

[23] It has proved impossible to determine the exact date of this note. Granting, however, that the "article" in the last two letters is the same, it follows from the P. S. in the preceding letter that the date is probably later than June, 1832; for Robinson had already received the June copies of his series and probably did not ask for any more until another monthly instalment had appeared. If Robinson actually waited until the "article" was complete, the parcel could not have been sent until after April, 1833, when the series of papers on Goethe was finished. However, the date is not important.

[24] A note by Crabb Robinson on Wieland did see the light two years later in *Characteristics of Goethe* by Sarah Austin. See vol. II, pp. 227 ff.

[25] Anna Letitia Barbauld, born Aikin (1743-1825). Robinson's diary contains numerous references to her.

[26] The condemned poem must have been *Cupid, the Landscape*

imagine but one reason why it should be left out. And that is that the inserting it will injure the Magazine with your readers. If so, and you are a much better judge on that point than I can be, you do quite right in rejecting it. But then you have done wrong in ever asking me to furnish and I should do wrong in a greater degree by continuing what must, I think, be equally unpleasant. No man who can not relish a poetical composition because it is written in a form of verse that he knows not how to read, being quite new,[27] and which at first may well appear to be no verse at all—ought to read foreign literature at all. There is a great difference between reading for pleasure, and reading in order to know of what kind a foreign work is. And this latter kind of translation is the only one I have thought myself capable of producing.[28]

I hope you will oblige me by granting a pardon to the condemned Article. I can put but one construction on your declining to print it, and that I have stated. A consciousness of that is quite enough to disable me from going on with my task. And this not from resentment or ill temper but really from incapacity. It is the same with me in company. I talk willingly in society, and if I am contradicted can carry on an argument polemically with pleasure. But if I see a smile or sneer of contempt, or a person, who I know does not respect me, comes into the room I am silenced at once.

I send the Vol: of Göthe with a reference to the papers from which the text may be copied. There will be less danger of a mistake in the copying.

I am very truly yours

16 June 1832 } H. C. Robinson
Plowden Buildings }

P: S: You would be more willing to print the 7 I have selected, if you saw the greater number which I have abstained from sending. The hexameters and pentameters I give up unwillingly.

I enclose the account of the *6 Vols:* I had written, which however you will send me back. I send them that you may be better able to judge of the expediency of going on with the Series. Do not fear declining the continuation of the articles on account of my feelings. I have been too much accustomed to find my taste on German literature opposed by my friends to be at all hurt by their rejection.

Painter (*Amor als Landschaftsmaler*), the only poem of the seven submitted which was not printed.

[27] *Amor als Landschaftsmaler* is written in the unrhymed trochaic pentameter.

[28] Another proof that Robinson did his own translating.

In spite of what Robinson says about personal incapacity, there is no doubt that he is now not only discouraged and well-nigh determined to give up the undertaking, but also indignant at conditions which prompted the editor to refuse a beautiful and inoffensive poem, admired by both Robinson and Fox. To condemn a bit of verse because its form was unknown [29]—and it seems inconceivable that it could have been for reasons of content [30]—appeared too conservative and trivial. But, on second thought, Robinson was not much astonished, thought better of the matter, and, altho Mr. Fox clung to his original decision, the difficulties were smoothed over and the series continued. A month later Robinson sends his next paper.

VI

16th July [1832]

Dear Sir

I send you an article [for August] which I hope will be acceptable, as I have devoted a good deal of time to it and it comprehends some of the most important of Göthe's works.[31] So that I have made in fact greater way than I appear to have made.

I cannot well calculate quantities. It is probable that I have sent you more than you will like to use in the present month. If so you will direct the unused copy to be sent back to me.

I hope you are not afraid of the Edinburg Review. I have introduced a pretty sharp attack on it in defence of our friend William

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[29] I learn that the trochaic pentameter was practically unknown in England in 1832.

[30] Could the last lines of *Amor als Landschaftsmaler* give offence, even to an English reader of 1832?

> Da nun alles, alles sich bewegte,
> Bäume, Flusz und Blumen und der Schleier
> Und der zarte Fusz der Allerschönsten;
> Glaubt ihr wohl, ich sei auf meinem Felsen,
> Wie ein Felsen, still und fest geblieben?

[31] Such as *Egmont* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

Taylor on behalf of whom you will be glad to have a kind word in the Mon[thly] Rep[ository] for he is a *friend* after all, though an odd one.[32] I have also expressed my love of Mrs. Barbauld which will be agreeable to most of—nay all your readers. It is one of the pleasures of writing these things that one has an opportunity of gratifying one's best feelings.

In haste

H. C. Robinson

P. S. Since writing the above, I have seen your brother. He tells me you will be glad of an opportunity of letting a kind word of W: Taylor appear in the Magazine. I have sent you all I have written, since the article certainly might end with Iphigenia.[33] It will be perhaps longer than I wish. But to close with Egmont would be perhaps too short.[34]

The following undated letter, judging from its contents, must have been written about the middle of August, 1832.

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[32] Robinson was not blind to the shortcomings of William Taylor as a critic, but was ever ready to do him justice for his pioneer work in German literature. Robinson's feeling toward Taylor can best be understood from the initial sentence of Robinson's "defence" (*Monthly Repository* for 1832, p. 517): "The writer of these remarks would deem it a neglect of duty were he to omit so fair an opportunity of expressing his gratitude to Mr. William Taylor of Norwich, who first opened to him the treasures of German literature. It is now nearly forty years since Mr. Taylor's excellent articles in the Appendices to the *Monthly Review*, and his admirable translations from Bürger, Wieland, and Goethe gave a direction to his vague studies, and turned the whole course of his future life. These various writings were a few years since collected by Mr. Taylor, and published under the title of an 'Historic Survey of German poetry,' on which an article appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for March, 1831, written in the bitterest spirit of that mordacious publication.

The author of this article was Thomas Carlyle. He called Taylor's *Survey* a huge, anomalous mass, no section of it like another, oriel-window alternating with rabbit-hole, wrought capital on pillar of dried mud; etc., etc.

[33] This suggestion was followed in the printing.

[34] The rest of the P. S. has no bearing on German literature.

VII

Dear Sir

I send you an ample portion for the next [September] number, but it is possible that I may send you some 5 or 6 more slips merely to finish the 11th Vol.[35] The 12th Vol. contains Faust. I may find it prudent to dismiss Faust with a line or two, but if I find after studying it that I can say anything tolerable I may make it the matter of an article alone. Göthe condensed all his poetry and all his philosophy in this unique work. There is hardly a topick of religion or philosophy which is not treated but in *such a way!* The Devil being the hero, the style is a sort of sublime burlesque quite inimitable and untranslatable so that I may after all not have the courage to do more than condense a characteristick of it in a few lines.

Perhaps I shall be in London in time to correct the proof for the next month. If so I will send you word. There is very little German luckily. I have written carefully.

If I should by any accident have nothing for you in October,[36] you may say in the notice to correspondents that the series will be continued.

By leaving out a part of the last article these two might have easily filled three numbers, but I think after all it is better to bring them within as few numbers as can be.[37] They interest more when read in immediate connection and therefore if I can complete what I have lying by me, I think it would be better to lay by a month altogether rather than divide the article into two portions.[38]

H. C. R.

I will send for the Copies a few days after the beginning of the month.

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[35] The paper for September, No. 4, as printed, contains only a part of Vol. 9, comprising *Tasso* and *Die natürliche Tochter.* The October number, No. 5, gives a catalogue of volumes 10 and 11. The November number contains *Faust.*

[36] Cf. preceding note.

[37] The exact references in the beginning of this sentence are not clear, but the general thought is plain.

[38] Evidently the portion sent at this time, however, plus an amount sent later "to finish the 11th Vol.," was finally divided into two parts and distributed between the September and October numbers (see note 35). There is no "laying by" until we get to the December number.

Soon "after the beginning of the month," however, there was more trouble pending. The length of the series was threatening to assume greater proportions than had been anticipated by either Robinson or Fox, and the editor, knowing the attitude of his readers, is beginning to feel concerned about the articles. Robinson is now working on *Faust*.

VIII

My dear Sir

Your letter perplexes me exceedingly. I must go down with [William] Pattison[39] to Witham tomorrow, and I shall remain there in the country, between Witham Bury and Norwich about a month. What is to be done I do not prophesy. One thing only is certain that it is quite impossible to complete the series in one number after the insertion of Faust. The idea might be abandoned altogether of completing the series within the year—you are master of the Magazine and I cannot possibly object to your saying in the next number to correspondents "The series entitled Göthe's works is at the request of some of your friends discontinued." But I cannot consent to this being done after the article on Faust.[40] I do not wish this to be done. I think the preferable course is to print nothing and say nothing this month. Such pauses are frequent in periodical work. There will then be time for our conferring together and my expectation of doing it agreeably to each others feelings is increased by the excellent article I have just been reading on *Subornation of insincerity*.[41] I have never read any thing from your pen to my knowledge, which I have so much enjoyed. Depend upon it I will not suborn you to insincerity by making you afraid of wounding my amour propre, of which I have far less than the unobserving think.

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[39] An old friend of Robinson, mentioned several times in his diary. In the reminiscences for 1794, "Will" Pattison is cited as a contributor to the *Cabinet*, to which Robinson had contributed his first essay. See *Diary*, I, pp. 15-16.

[40] Presumably, because it would appear then as if *Faust* were the cause of the discontinuance.

[41] Printed in the October number of the *Monthly Repository* for 1832, pp. 699-705. Since this is the beginning of September, it follows that, unless it was printed elsewhere first,—which is not probable—Robinson must have read it either in manuscript or in proof.

Whenever you favor me with an interview we can come to an understanding about the completion of the series which will I trust be as little injurious to your book as possible. I can shew you I trust that tho' I have miscalculated and certainly deceived myself I have not wilfully misled you.

I wish it was in my power to follow up your idea & by postponing both *Faust* & the *Series of Novels* till the end of the catalogue so finish that this year, and if possible I will do that.

In the meanwhile, send me the Ms: before One tomorrow. If I am not at home let the Ms: be taken to Mr Strutts[42] chambers above mine. At all events let me hear from you, by the first return of the daily post.

In great haste
Very truly yours
H. C. Robinson

2d Plowden's Buildings Temple
5th Sept. 1832

Mr. Naylor, if anything be done this month, will be a very good corrector of the proof—his address is S: Naylor Jun 4 Great Newport St. St. Martin's Lane.[43]

The situation now is somewhat as follows. Fox has urged Robinson to finish the catalogue of Goethe's works, but to do so before the end of the year, if possible. Robinson, realizing more and more the importance and magnitude of his task and the difficulty of greater condensation, sees only two possibilities open: either he must be given sufficient space in the periodical to do the work with some satisfaction, or he will discontinue the series entirely. At the time of writing it looked as tho it would take six numbers of the magazine to cover twelve volumes of Goethe's works, as proved later to be the case, and how were the remaining twenty-eight volumes to be covered in *one* number? But Robinson is willing to talk things over. He remains patient, tho perplexed, and despite a certain

[42] It is impossible to determine from the manuscript whether this name is *Strutt* or *Shutt*. Both names are mentioned in Robinson's *Diary*, but without the necessary particulars.

[43] Cf. next two letters. Samuel Naylor Jr. translated Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs* (1845).

attitude of mind, he caters, as always, to Mr. Fox. Ever ready to throw down his pen,if necessary, he is more ready to go on—for he loves his mission,—tho he does not receive a farthing for his efforts.

In the interim Robinson and Fox must have come to some sort of understanding, for Robinson labored on. On further thought he had decided to devote a whole paper to *Faust,* and on the 11th of September his analysis is ready and is sent to the editor.[44] But again Robinson hesitates. He thinks of himself, with his usual modesty, and of his uninformed readers, and again questions the advisability of continuing the series. In the beginning of October he urges that the paper on *Faust* be sent back to him.

IX

Dear Sir

If Faust be not already in the hands of the printer, would you not send me back the copy? I might make it shorter or we may postpone it a month. Or why not stop where we are? It is probable that few of your readers would inquire why the Series is discontinued. And they who know will be pleased with the discontinuance.

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[44] We know this from the extract of a letter, written Sept. 11, 1832. It has proved impossible thus far to procure or even locate this letter. The following quotation from its contents, however, taken from a catalogue of old manuscripts (No. 266, March 1911, p. 84), published by Maggs Brothers, London, when the letter was still for sale, will, in a measure, bridge the gap between No. VIII and No. IX:—
"Brighton, 11th Sept., 1832.

"I send you *Faust.* You may form some idea of the labour it has cost me, by the state of the copy, which however I trust I have left legible at least."

"*Faust* is so important that *dignitatis causa* I have thought it right to swell the article out so that it may fill up the requisite quantity alone. I was induced to strike out some impudent attacks on the Trinity, from fear of raising clamour against Göthe. What think you of the framing out of it 'The Witches' Multiplication Table' ! ! "

It would give me real concern to occasion injury to your publication by its containing what is not to their taste. And I very much regret having been drawn on to make the articles so much longer than I intended. The mistake I have fallen into is one too common in those who write to excite much surprise. I fear we have been both in error. You in not recollecting that the great mass of your readers care nothing about German literature; I in thinking myself capable of exciting curiosity, by giving an account of the greatest author of his age, and absolutely new information to the English reader concerning his work. For such a summary of Göthe's works exists nowhere. Your politeness may induce you to reply—" Such a summary may be good anywhere else, only it does not suit my readers." This is all true enough and the only thing to be done is the getting out of the scrape as gently as we can. If you will refer back to my letters you will find you have mistaken what I said about the probable extent of the series if continued. And if you will favour me with a call I will shew you what remains to be done, and the copy I have lying before me. You will then do precisely what you think the interest of your publication requires, which ought to be your only consideration. [After a note of a personal nature, Robinson goes on:]

Had we gone on with the Series, I had found out a friend, a German scholar who would have corrected the sheets. He lives in London and would have prevented the recurrence of such mistakes as have occurred in the two last numbers.[45] No blame to the corrector excepting in one ludicrous blunder which shews that he corrected without trying to understand the scope of the writing in the word *national* for *natural* l. 3, p. 686.[46] His name is W S: Naylor[47] No. 4, Great Newport St. (St. Martin's Lane).

I am very truly yours

2 Plowden Buildings H. C. Robinson

3rd Oct. 1832

I have written much more than I intended. My principal object being to request you would send me back the copy of the article about Faust.

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[45] Such as *das unsterbliche*, p. 598; *guschen* for *zu sehen*, p. 604; *Die Fischerinn*, p. 686; *Vorspeil*, p. 688.

[46] One would hardly call this blunder " ludicrous." Only a German scholar, I think, would ever suspect that *Die Fischerin*, an opera, was performed in the *natural* theater at Tiefurt instead of in the *national*.

[47] The initial " W " does not appear in the last letter, but there is no doubt about the identity of the man.

The nature of the dilemma is clear. The articles are not being received with any enthusiasm, and yet it seems a pity to stop them. Fox knows little of what remains to be done; but Robinson, with a delicate feeling of apprehension, does know. At first, however, even Robinson had never realized fully the practical difficulties of the undertaking. He had intended to emphasize certain phases of Goethe's writings, which he believed most acceptable to his readers—and to a large extent this plan was carried out—and then, if necessary, to dismiss other works, even masterpieces like *Faust,* "with a line or two." After he had begun work, however, we can easily understand the subsequent developments. Robinson disliked to omit anything entirely and was drawn on by deeper study of the subject-matter, by his own enthusiasm, and by an earnest desire to please all concerned, to "make the articles so much longer than . . . intended" in the beginning. By this time, also, Robinson had adopted a certain scale of relative values with respect to the amount of space to be devoted to the material in the summary. This scale of values ought to be followed in the future in order to give the whole series a certain balance and consistency. But could this same proportion be retained thru the remainder of the analysis without making it tiresome for the readers of the magazine?

However, "the copy of the article about Faust" was, evidently, not sent back; and, more than that, it was undoubtedly printed in its original form; for it occupies fifteen pages of the November number, an important concession to *one* German work by an English periodical of 1832, especially when we consider that the article was not penned by a Coleridge or a Carlyle. In addition, the Rev. Mr. Fox must have urged Robinson at once to proceed with

the catalogue, for the next letter, written only three days later, evinces greater pleasure and satisfaction.

X

My dear Sir

I shall have great pleasure in completing the series as you propose. Your suggestion about publishing in alternate N[umber]s I was about to make myself. Since the articles cannot be finished in one Volume [of the magazine] it will be better to distribute them as you propose.[48]

I shall have no objection before we print No. 7 [in February, 1833] to take your opinion upon the propriety of doing certain things. It shall depend entirely upon yourself whether we make three or six numbers.[49] Indeed as to the power of extension that is in its nature infinite. For if we include translations the matter is inexhaustible. My present impression is that it will be advisable to bring the matter to a close without inserting the articles on free will, on the Catholic Church, an apology for Göthe's want of patriotism, etc.[50]

Very truly yours
H. C. Robinson

2 Plowden Court Temple
6th October 1832

Mr Naylor has undertaken the correcting of the proofs.

Now there came a pause of several weeks, and for two months, as we have noted, no paper was published on Goethe. But in the beginning of January, in preparation for the February number of the periodical, the editorial see-saw of encouragement and discouragement again makes its appearance. In writing six articles, Robinson had disposed of twelve volumes of Goethe's works. The problem now was how to boil down the contents of the remaining

[48] This plan was not followed, however. Instead of that, the months of December and January are skipped entirely and the remaining three numbers are published, successively, in February, March, and April.

[49] Cf. preceding note. Only three numbers were made.

[50] We learn later that Robinson had written some extra articles during the summer, but by common consent they were not printed. See next letter.

twenty-eight volumes into three short papers. In answer to a suggestion by Mr. Fox, Robinson writes:

XI

Dear Sir

It shall be as you wish. Send me back the copy. I will shorten it,[51] so as to bring into the next No. [7], Vol. 17, the very curious and stimulating Elective Affinities. No. 8 [comprising volumes 18-36] shall consist [among other works] of the Wilhelm Meister and No. 9 of a catalogue of the remaining [4] vol[ume]s.

I own that it is rather unpleasant to throw away what I wrote in the summer, but it is my own fault. I ought to have been more fully aware of the very little there is in common between the Unitarians and Göthe's peculiar turn of mind.

My brother himself remarked that the catalogue was too short to be interesting, and yet long enough to tire. For persons who really care about German literature the catalogue as drawn up by me would be interesting, but I am aware that few of your readers belong to that class and you do right in consulting their taste.

One remark I must make in apology for the apparent length and that is that the length after all arises from the anecdotes, which unless I deceive myself are piquant and worth something, and the digressions which are, what they are—all these I will suppress.[52]

Perhaps when the catalogue is closed, a few independent and distinct articles might be acceptable to your theological and metaphysical readers but I am both too proud and too reasonable to permit you to insert any of these unless you yourself quite approve of them and wish for them.

Very truly yours
H. C. Robinson

11th Jan: 1833
2 Plowden Buildings Temple

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[51] Cf. the following extract from an undated, unpublished, supplementary letter which was written, it seems, immediately after this one. I am indebted to a Maggs Brothers catalogue for the extract. See Catalogue No. 269 (Summer, 1911), p. 116. "I [Robinson] sat down to look over my article for this month [February, 1833] with the intention to pare down what I had written, but I found it difficult."

"One long note on German and Italian politics, I could myself have been content to strike out, but was withheld by the reflection that

XII

Dear Sir

I shall have pleasure in writing an account of Mrs [Sarah] Austin's book,[53] which indeed comes à propos, just as the series will be closed. In fact, some detailed observations which I have thrown aside will come in here and seem to arise out of the book.

I fully understand and in a great measure concur in what you say about the analysis and catalogue [of Goethe's works]. You will have perceived how rapidly I have gone over the ground lately and I shall do the same in the concluding number. I have shortened by one half what I had written and have left scarcely anything that will not have an interest to all who delight in *moral speculations.*

Do not mistake what I said about G[oethe]'s posthumous writings.[54] I am too proud to wish that any thing should appear merely to gratify me. Indeed [John] Murray [the publisher] has asked me to supply him with another German article, and after all, I may be gone abroad again before the new books come over. I shall hardly have leisure to write more than two or three articles of any kind.[55]

Do you and do many of your readers read Italian? I was thinking of proposing to you to print with an illustrative commentary two

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your magazine, being now distinctly political this note, tho' it has little or nothing to do with G(oethe), may interest your readers."

"The next article for March will consist of two famous works [*Wilhelm Meister* and *Dichtung und Wahrheit*] and the rest may be rapidly got over" . . .

[52] Cf. preceding note.

[53] *Characteristics of Goethe* in three volumes, 1833. Cf. notes 1 and 24, also letter No. XIV.

[54] In an undated, unpublished letter to Fox from the latter part of February, 1833, Robinson had written: "When the (posthumous) works appear, I will, if you like it, give an account of them, but not unless you like it. For tho' it is unpleasant not to use any material already worked up for use, yet I have not the least care about writing. Unless you had asked me, I had never thought of exercising myself as I have done. But I have had a pleasure in doing it. Not having the ordinary motive for writing, and being little of a party man, I want a stimulus *ab contra* to do anything."

"In the next number 9 there will be an account of Winkelmann, the great Archaeologist"—(See Maggs Brothers catalogue for Oct., 1911, No. 270, p. 61).

[55] The remainder of the letter does not deal with Goethe, but a part of it is introduced to show Robinson's wide literary interest.

very curious religious ballads which I bought for a half penny off a string near the Vatican. One is a dialogue between Jesus and the woman of Samaria in which the whole Catholic faith nearly is brought out in the most familiar style. In the other, the Virgin Mary has her fortune told by a gypsy. If the Mon[thly] Rep[ository] had retained its theological character [56] I should have thought the articles very suitable. They are piquant and would be quite new. Tho' the Italian is the easiest imaginable yet I doubt whether you have readers enow for it without a translation. And both original, translation and commentary might be too much. Turn it over in your mind, if you would call on me any morning I would shew you the originals.

In haste

1st March 1833 H. C. Robinson

We see in this letter that Robinson's services were still in demand, in spite of the vicissitudes encountered while writing the articles on Goethe's works. Robinson's acquaintance with German affairs was still acknowledged by both editor and publisher, and since the papers on Goethe had, after all, been presented to the subscribers of the *Monthly Repository* with extraordinary tactfulness, the editor ventured to suggest another paper, a review of Mrs. Austin's book on Goethe. The original series is completed on March thirteenth.

XIII

My dear Sir

I send you the last number, which I have taken more pains with than with any other, and with difficulty reduced to less than a sheet. It contains more *glimpses* of curious and interesting literature [57] than have often been compressed within so few pages.

By the bye: Did I ever recommend to your particular attention the two works of the Schlegels mentioned in this number? [58] If not,

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[56] The periodical had by this time assumed a more distinct literary and political character. Cf. note 7.

[57] Such as *Hermann und Dorothea* and *Reineke Fuchs.*

[58] A. W. Schlegel, *Lectures on the Drama;* F. Schlegel, *Lectures on the History of Literature.* Cf. *Monthly Repository* for 1833, p. 281,

let me do so now. Ch[ief] Justice Gibbs, a medallist at Oxford, told me he had learned more from Schlegel about French literature than he had learned from all other books put together.

Truly yours,

13th March 1833 H. C. Robinson

2 Plowd[en] Buildings

In June of the same year we have further correspondence about Mrs. Austin's book.

XIV

Rydal Mount 18th June 1833.

My dear Sir

Your brother [Charles] must have forgotten or misunderstood my message when I called on him just before my departure for Scotland. I told him of my intended journcy. And that, therefore, if you wished for an immediate notice of Mrs Austin's book it would be necessary to apply to some other person.

It is true, I have a copy of the book here but that alone is not sufficient to enable me to write as I should wish upon it. As I cannot flatter myself with being able by mere observation and criticism to render my article interesting I must try to insert some *matter* into it which may supply the want of form and I particularly wish to connect this with the former articles. By the bye Mrs. A[ustin] would have avoided committing several errors of fact if she had had those articles before her when she wrote (I mean those which were already printed). There is a remarkable coincidence in sentiment and thought between the Monthly Repository writer[59] and the German essayists,[60] but this I must leave others to point out.[61] In other

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note. Robinson refers to these works as follows: "A. W. Schlegel's 'Lectures on the Drama,' which contain the most admirable development that has ever appeared of the excellences of Shakespeare. F. Schlegel's 'Lectures on the History of Literature,' a work more highly esteemed in Germany, but more metaphysical and less popular than the book of his brother."

[59] That is, Robinson.

[60] Presumably such men as Falk and von Müller, from whom Mrs. Austin procured most of her material.

[61] With the material in the last two sentences, compare the following extract from the first paragraph in Robinson's review: "We

respects, Mrs A[ustin]'s book forestalls me by having now given to the public the substance of what I had intended someway or other to promulgate. I should have preferred publishing all I had to say in the Mon[thly] Rep[ository] but that would have been an over-dose for your readers. So Mrs A[ustin] has had the overflowings.

On my return in Autumn, if then not too late I shall be happy to frame an article.[62] And I suggested to Mrs A[ustin] that possibly then it may serve to keep alive, tho within a small circle, attention to the book. Yet it may be doubted whether if *all* your readers relish the sentiments of Junius Redivivus[63]—whose last article on the Coronors Inquest is outrageous—it may not be expedient to decline altogether eulogizing the most conservative of poets.

Very truly yours,
H. C. Robinson

As we have seen, the review of Mrs. Austin's work was in due time written and published. This completed the papers on Goethe and made one strong, final appeal for the German poet, an appeal which in many respects was a eulogy. As in his correspondence with Fox, Robinson, in his review, is constantly harping on English ignorance of things German, and betrays the necessity of a cautious catering to the English public, which was characteristic of the time. The English are but "imperfectly acquainted" with Goethe's works, and if Mrs. Austin's book does not succeed, it is because of "the want of a prepared public." It is all new; Mrs. Austin must create a taste for the German poet; and it "requires courage and virtue

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shall practice the self-denial of leaving unnoticed the coincidences in opinion which we have had the pleasure of remarking, where there could have been no interchange of thought; and the few discrepancies of statement are not important enough to occupy space that may be more agreeably filled by extracts" (*Monthly Repository* for March, 1834, p. 177).

[62] It has proved impossible thus far to determine the exact date of composition, but it was printed the following March. Cf. preceding note.

[63] William Bridges Adams (1797-1872), a red-hot radical and writer on political subjects, evidently the polar-opposite of Goethe.

to write that which is known will not and cannot please the general reader." Robinson himself is both honest and diplomatic in calling attention to his great Weimar friend, and shows that he understood both the German poet and the English mind and temperament. Says Robinson in this review: "Goethe was neither a warrior nor an adventurer, but the first of German poets and thinkers." He called attention to the many-sidedness of Goethe and showed how he could not be patriotic in the narrow sense. Good permanent results, even in politics, must come from within and not by revolutionary violence; Goethe could not be "the mouth-piece of a party." And to make a good impression upon his readers, Robinson emphasizes the moral and religious speculations in Goethe's writings and incidentally discusses pre-existence and the transmigration of souls. Surely this ought to appeal even to the more Puritanic mind! To Robinson, Goethe was a plain, practical man who did not "fret at disappointments," but made the best of things as they were.

Thus Robinson labored, and he continued thereafter to labor, tho in a different way, for the cause of German literature in England. Surely, Germany owes much to Henry Crabb Robinson for his sincere and untiring efforts to make Goethe appreciated among Englishmen.

ADOLPH B. BENSON.

XIX.—NON-DRAMATIC PASTORAL IN EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Except incidentally, a treatment of pastoral does not form a considerable part of discussions upon eighteenth-century literature.[1] No doubt this is because the eighteenth century, for all the artificiality and futility that the term connotes, still is for us the period of revolutions; we desire to see in it first of all the beginning of the new order of social ideas; it is only natural that these ideas should be sought in those writings that would appear to be the farthest removed from literary tradition. But it is hardly reasonable to expect by this method to form a correct idea of the time; not only what *a priori* represents reaction, but also that which continues traditions soon to be entirely abondoned, must be studied, if we would form the right estimate, not only of the period as a whole, but even of those very ideas posited as *representative* of the trend of the time.

Thus, however ready one is to admit the relative unimportance of pastoral in this estimate, the history of pastoral will, nevertheless, reflect the ideas that were prevalent. My present purpose is not to seek these ideas, but to consider the non-dramatic pastoral, so far as possible,

[1] Aside from the special studies upon the principal writers to be mentioned here, the consideration of pastoral is to be found for the most part in general works upon the theatre in the various countries. Marsan and Greg, in special studies upon the pastoral drama in France and in England respectively, have dealt with that side of the subject very fully. Marsan, however, deals with the 16th and 17th centuries. Vernon Lee has written a pleasing account of the Roman Arcadia. The series known as the *Storia dei Generi letterari italiani*, published by Fr. Vallardi (Milan), contains a volume by Enrico Carrara on *La Poesia pastorale.*

from within, leaving the results to corroborate or to modify present opinions about the literature of the eighteenth century.

From antiquity down, the pastoral was commonly justified on ethical grounds: it was said to be particularly adapted, through a pleasing picture of the life of the most simple people, to offer a salutary example to the harrassed denizens of courts and cities. Whether the pastoral retained its popularity—if one may speak of popularity in connection with aristocratic circles—because it corrected the morals of those needing such occasional reminding; or whether, on the contrary, because in its frequently laudatory form, it flattered the vanity of those to whom it was addressed,—these are unnecessary questions. In its frequent form of dramatic entertainment it was certainly found diverting.

But the ethical justification was eternally repeated, and especially when the rather flagging interest in pastoral as a diversion necessitated more than ever the use of the prop that came nearest to hand. It will be evident that in the eighteenth century this very discussion about pastoral outweighed in importance the eclogue itself. The eclogue was dying at the beginning of the eighteenth century; many examples, it is true, are to be found, particularly in the preceding years; but, like "gentle Strephon" and his "dear Cosmelia," they seem only to be waiting "till death conveys them to the peaceful urn." [2] In the course of the quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns, in 1688, however, Fontenelle's *Essay on the Eclogue* made non-dramatic pastoral a subject of critical discussion and controversy in the succeeding years; and these contro-

[2] John Pomfret's *Pastoral Essay on the Death of Queen Mary, anno* 1694.

versies appear to have infused into the pastoral what new life it had. Fontenelle questioned the adaptability of the Theocritan and the Virgilian eclogue to the modern reading public. On the ground that human progress since antiquity had made men understand simplicity and virtue otherwise than they were then understood, he maintained that the shepherds of modern pastorals should be more cultivated and more gentle than their ancient prototypes.

Not that adherence to the old models had been the rule in France: Racan, the pastoral classic of the seventeenth century, appears to have studied Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée* far more than any other book, and in Fontenelle's own day Segrais was continuing along the same general lines; and Racan and Segrais seem to have maintained, the one or the other, a very high reputation in France as pastoral writers, all through the eighteenth century. But Fontenelle's importance comes from his having put the question of the relative worth of the ancient and modern literatures before his century. The Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns is, of course, very far from a purely literary debate: the moot-point was the superiority, from whatever angle, of the ancient over the modern age; literature was a convenient index. In other words, Fontenelle contended for the principle of human progress. Such a contention had to be sustained by a consideration of details; and the result was natural enough: the main principle was frequently ignored in the heat of discussion; so that the arguments seem often futile, as, in the course of the Pope-Philips quarrel, was the case in England twenty years after Fontenelle's *Essay*. Hairsplitting about the acclimatization of a certain literary form occupied more of the attention of the factions than the question whether the modern idea of simplicity showed anything as to the relative excellence of the modern age.

In the *Essay on the Eclogue,* indeed, Fontenelle does not insist on this idea of progress expressly, only maintaining that the shepherds of Theocritus and of Virgil do not correspond to the conception of ideal simplicity, such as his own contemporaries would imagine that of the Golden Age to have been; that, in other words, what was ideal for Bion and Moschus, or for Virgil, could no longer be so for the European of the last years of the seventeenth century.

Adopting a notion already current in the Renaissance, Fontenelle supposes pastoral poetry to have been the first sort of poetic composition, because man's first condition was that of a shepherd. We may notice at once that this supposition was too specious to fail of charming eighteenth-century critics, agog for attractive generalizations, and we find it constantly repeated during the whole first half of the period. However, Blair, in 1762, reminds us that pastoral was, as a matter of fact, probably the invention of an age too highly cultivated, too bustling and fatiguing; it was natural that men should then conceive of a Golden Age the very opposite in its characteristics. "Theocritus wrote at the court of King Ptolemy," says Blair, "and Virgil at that of Augustus." [3]

But Fontenelle does not imagine this poetry of the primitive age to have been charming if judged by moderns; those shepherds, he says, had not had the time to become at all polished; with the development of society their condition lost its early dignity, and they were reduced to a state so miserable as to preclude any pleasing inspiration. Thus, shepherds were never like those presented by Theocritus; yet even his, generally far more polished and refined than any we can conceive to have existed,

[3] In this detail Jovellanos follows Blair, or at least proposes this idea. In many respects Blair himself probably gleaned from Marmontel.

too often offend us by relapsing into a coarseness which may be rural, but which is uncouth. For what may have seemed refined enough to the contemporaries of Theocritus would appear coarse and crude to the more polished eighteenth century. Whether that period in France was really all that Fontenelle would have us infer, as compared with the court of Ptolemy, is beside the question. The trend of his discussion of what he conceived the ideal shepherd and the ideal pastoral life to be, it is not necesary to trace; his theory is already evident. The excuse for pastoral poetry, and the condition of its existence are that it depicts a life of ideal simplicity; however this life may change from age to age, the concern of the poet is not to picture it exactly, but to depict such a conception of it as will serve to charm, but never to shock or to distress. And with this we have the main outline of bucolic literature up to the very end of the eighteenth century, exception made for a few reactionary, or rather anti-pastoral writers such as Swift, and for the social writers like Collins, who preceded Crabbe.[4] For there were those who, like Pope, would hear of nothing but an imitation as close as might be of the ancient practice, and others, who, like Philips, or Florian, could see charm in a national setting and treatment; yet they all, even Pope, reduced their compositions to the modern standards of taste and of custom.

How much of eighteenth-century interest in pastoral can be attributed to Fontenelle it would be hard to determine,

[4] I refer to the *Oriental or Persian Eclogues* of William Collins (1742), and in particular to the fourth, *Agib and Secander; or, the Fugitives*. The second of the *Oriental Eclogues* (*Serim, or the Artificial Famine*) of John Scott of Amwell, is nearer the spirit of Crabbe. In both cases, the note is sounded but a moment, and it is after all true that Crabbe turned the tables against pastoral as a *genre* expressing at once an ideal and a reality.

especially since it had never been quite a dead subject in the preceding epoch. Nevertheless, it would appear that at the time of his essay the form was living rather upon the reputation and the tradition of Racan, so far as France was concerned, and that elsewhere in Europe it was chiefly of interest as a survival of antiquity; consequently, with the passing of those studies which had kept Latin almost a living tongue, and the masterpieces of the Greek literature fresh in the minds of most men of letters, it is fair to suppose that pastoral, without Fontenelle, would have died out in the very period in which we see it taking on new vigor.[5]

At any rate, Fontenelle started discussion. We find the eclogue soon occupying an important place in the transactions of the French Academy; as in 1707, when Genest was appointed to prepare a *Study on pastoral Poetry;* as in 1712, when Fénelon considers it in his *Letter to Dacier on the Occupations of the Academy;* and the London coffee-houses buzzed with the discussion of it from 1709 to 1713, when Pope and Philips and the *Guardian* were embroiled upon the subject.

With the attempts at regenerating the literary life of Spain, the eclogue takes a considerable place in the poetical production and in the criticism of all the academies: Luzán treated of it in his *Poetics* of 1737; Montiano y Luyando read an eclogue in 1747 before an admiring audience in the Spanish Academy, and in 1760 García de la Huerta read a piscatory eclogue in the Academy of San Fernando. This Spanish activity, although seeming out of place in a treatment of the first quarter of the

[5] Probably it would be going too far to ascribe a large place to the influence of Fontenelle in the popularity of the shepherd-masquerade among the Arcadians of the Roman Arcadia, incorporated two years after the appearance of his *Essay;* but the coincidence is interesting.

eighteenth century, is probably more immediately connected with that period of French, English, and Italian literary history than with the one more exactly corresponding in point of time. Spain was then only following in well-beaten paths.

As for Italy—particularly in the years following the foundation of the Arcadia—the eclogue was perhaps more written and less understood than any other form. There appears to have been little concern as to its real nature—in other words, the critical literature dealing with the form was relatively unimportant; and it follows that since the really enormous output of verse of a pastoral form was rarely excellent, the Arcadia was of the least importance in the history of the idea of eclogue. This is rather surprising in view of the enthusiasm in all Italy for the Arcadian masquerading.

In 1709 Houdard de Lamotte had composed a *Discourse on Poetry in General* in which, and in a *Discourse on the Eclogue,* he repeats approximately Fontenelle's ideas on pastoral. He fully admits that the conception is one not exactly founded upon historical probability: he knows that shepherds—how much more the shepherds of primitive times!—are not ideal from the point of view of his own contemporaries. They must be somewhat idealized in everything, and, along with the rest, in respect to love. For he could not be charmed by shepherds who are not virtuous; and he would surely be bored by them if their conversations did not contain a fair measure of wit, and even of gallantry. No doubt such terms as "gallantry" met with the disapproval of Pope, supposing that he was acquainted with this discourse; for "gallantry" would have had for him too modern a tone to be used in connection with pastoral. Yet in his *Essay* of the same year, he declares his preference for Virgil over Theocritus on

almost identical grounds. Lamotte says: "Is it not true . . . that, considering love only in itself, it is to degrade it to an instinct, to treat it with the simplicity of the Ancients, whereas with modern taste it acquires all the dignity of the reason and of the understanding?" Further: "Although nothing be pleasing but what is natural, it does not follow that all that is natural should please." But here indeed is the inevitable objection to pastoral as a representation of ideal simplicity. The eclogues of Ambrose Philips, published along with Pope's in Tonson's *Miscellany* for 1709, professedly imitations of Spenser, lack the charm of excellent poems, and accordingly fail to give the illusion that there could exist in England any rhyming shepherds in any Arcadian surroundings. But Gay's humorous *Shepherd's Week,* written at the instigation of Pope, in 1714, for the very purpose of ridiculing Philips's idea that the pastoral was possible in nationalized form, really has much national color. To create any real and pleasing illusion as to Arcadia existing at home, such a national pastoral must be either humorous, like the *Shepherd's Week,* or in prose, like Florian's *Stella.* The only composition of the first quarter of the eighteenth century that might disprove this is Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd* (1725).[6]

But this, in the form in which it attained popularity, is rather a dramatic composition. The whole carries out a rather long plot that requires dramatic form, and is thus not a mere putting together of separate eclogues, each depending on itself for its interest. The circumstances of its composition should, however, be mentioned as showing a development of the Pope-Philips quarrel.

[6] I desire to acknowledge indebtedness to Professor J. B. Fletcher, of Columbia University, for information about the English pastoral. He is not, however, responsible for the present interpretation.

Pope had been ignored, as a writer of pastoral, both by Philips in the preface to his own compositions of that kind, and by the writer of the *Guardian* articles of 1713. So when Gay's *Shepherd's Week* appeared, in 1714, those who knew the relations of Gay to these men could hardly have mistaken the *Shepherd's Week* for an entirely independent composition. No doubt all were amused by the merry progress of those eclogues, but the satiric edge had too evidently been whetted on Philips himself. The names given by Gay to his swains were so extremely countrified as to make any English reader sure from the first that shepherds with such names could by no means inhabit any other than an Arcadia of buffoons. But Ramsay, as it appears, not very well initiated into these London bickerings, wrote Gay an enthusiastic letter in verse, and went ahead to shape his *Gentle Shepherd*—quite a serious composition—full of the consoling security of one not walking on unbeaten paths. Accordingly, the form that Ramsay may be said to have nationalized and modernized was encouraged by a humorous but really controversial poem, written to discredit Ambrose Philips, the man who believed that the result really obtained by Ramsay was possible. Ramsay was understood and much appreciated, but one feels that his success in the writing of national pastoral is to be attributed, rather than to anything else, to the fact that he made an interesting plot. The element of interest was felt to be particularly feeble in most pastoral.

Florian expressed this opinion in the preface to his pastoral romance *Stella,* written about 1788—one of those works which, like Gessner's *Idyls* and the operas of Metastasio and of Zeno earlier in the century, enjoyed a popularity that was not limited to the learned. And this opinion is precisely the one that the typical reader of to-day would give. Florian says that pastoral in general is con-

sidered boresome, and insists that "there must be various reasons for tedium when everybody yawns." He does not deny the fair theory of the critics, that "the principal charm of pastoral should be, that it inspire virtue," but he says that "pastorals are faulty in that they have no interest . . . a collection of eclogues is like a collection of the first scenes of plays."

So much for the eclogue in contrast to the pastoral drama, the opera, the romance, the prose idyl; it was not, it could not be for the eighteenth century any more than it could be for us, a truly popular form. And there were those who understood this.

He who saw how Homer "took Perrault by mighty force out of his saddle, then hurled him at Fontenelle; with the same blow dashing out both their brains," wrote a British eclogue (*Dermot and Sheelah,* 1728). Swift's intention was here the same as Gay's had been—or should we say Pope's?—in the *Shepherd's Week;* only where Gay's eclogues, considered as an argument against pastoral, were unconvincing, on account of their merry charm and pretty touches of nature, Swift's eclogue, in its cold, hard coarseness, was capable of putting a damper upon enthusiasts for any modern adaptation of the form. He would have carried on a campaign like Pope's, and with the same John Gay as cat's-paw, to combat the idea that British pastoral could be a true, living form. Gay, however, appears not to have found an opportunity to comply with his wishes: Mr. Gosse tells us that "Swift proposed to Gay that he should write a Newgate pastoral in which the swains and nymphs should talk and warble in slang." Had Gay done so, it is probable that Swift would have been made acquainted with some very national characters whose possibilities he had not realized; for Gay is, after all, one of the first of the moderns in pastoral, and one of

those who have made country folk most alive, even though it be in caricature.

It seems, so far, that the principal concern of those who were interested in pastoral was to settle the question of whether the modern age could continue the eclogue form, and if so, what was to be its style: an imitation as exact as might be of the ancient form, as Pope desired, or a modern adaptation, after the manner of Fontenelle. The two schools agreed in desiring that the eclogue serve a moral purpose. The pastorals of Fontenelle would doubtless have inspired virtue, had they not inspired tedium; the coldness of his eclogues, like that of Pope's, was no good omen for the future vigor of the form they tried to revive. The appreciation of nature, as well as an understanding of the most simple people, are prerequisite to any success in this field, and the colorless swains of the modern Ancients are a pitiful contrast to the live creatures of Theocritus. With the exception of Ramsay, one can hardly recollect a single writer of eclogue of the eighteenth century,—and Gessner is not an exception to this generalization—who really represented country folk as they are; or rather, since the countryman is passing, as they were in that time. Pope's and Fontenelle's are colorless, Gay's are too near the clown, Ambrose Philips's are most unwittingly ridiculous; Gessner's and his follower Florian's live in an idealized state; and Crabbe, towards the end of the century, set forth a village life that was purposely darkened with the heaviest shadows, and for reasons that were other than literary.

But there was, beginning about 1725, a succession of pastoral compositions that had a clear right to be considered genuinely such, if not for their representation of shepherds, at least for the feeling and beauty of the descriptions of nature. Aside from those in Gay and in

Ramsay, there are but few good touches of nature in eighteenth-century eclogue before the date mentioned. Ambrose Philips evidently felt called upon to regale the readers of Tonson's *Miscellany* with descriptions of nature, and the effect of these passages is sometimes pleasing; only, neither he nor any other mortal ever saw what he describes; so that his false nature hardly survives a second reading.

The excellent dilettante Shenstone, who attempted to realize an ideal of nature on his estate of the Leasowes, might have been expected to put some of the true feeling, at least here and there, into his writing. For his ideal of nature appears to have been very much the pastoral ideal: the torrents and grottoes and groves of the "English garden," as the term was used, and, lost in this artificial but often pleasing wilderness, statues of the gods, and nymphs, and satyrs of antique tradition. He published his *Pastoral Ballad* in 1743, but unfortunately he was not a poet of much force, and one does not remember anything distinctive in him. Nevertheless he was typical of not a little of the middle eighteenth-century eclogue: considerable sensibility (his *Ballad* is in four parts, representing Corydon yearning for a glimpse of his mistress, hoping to receive her favors, solicitous about her every pleasure, and finally continuing her praises even when assured that she is faithless), no hidden sting of satire, as it seems:—a sort of passive delight in the antique form and in the antiquated names. It is not very interesting to us, but it is a relief, in its better forms, from the eclogue of the "Ancients and Moderns" controversy, where one constantly feels reminded that the author would have the excellence of his performance bear witness to the soundness of his theory. In fact, Shenstone is a good example of the average of pastoral spirit for the rest of the century: the quiet

sensibility, the indifference to place—one could conceive Gessner's shepherds, for instance, to be of any nation—an unalterable enjoyment in the old semi-classical shepherd-names of the Renaissance, and above all, of nature.

One feels that this is especially true of the Spanish eclogues of Iglesias de la Casa, of Alberto Lista, of Meléndez Valdés, of Salas—and that is, of those generally considered the leaders in the *genre* in Spain now and later; in all of these there is an extraordinary attention to nature and a charming portrayal of it.[7] One may say either that the Spanish eclogue has its excuse in the representation of nature, or that it fails of being true eclogue by over-emphasis on this side; but this depends upon the point of view. In any case, it is certain that the Spanish pastoral literature of the middle and of the latter half of the eighteenth century, compares, to say the least, not unfavorably with that of any other in this respect.

In mentioning this Spanish type of eclogue, with interest in nature as its principal feature, we think at once of an English poet whose work resembles it more than that of his countryman Shenstone, namely, John Cunningham,

[7] The sixth Idyl of Juan Meléndez Valdés, easily accessible in Rivadeneyra's *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (vol. LXIII, p. 129), is a fair example. His romance entitled *La Mañana* (*ib.*, p. 147) is somewhat more spontaneous. The fifth Eclogue of José Iglesias de la Casa (*ib.*, vol. LXI, p. 452), of a somewhat later period, and especially Alberto Lista's 20th *Lirica profana* (*ib.*, vol. LXVII, p. 295) of the end of the century, are typical of the same spirit. The imitation, if one will, in certain lines, of Latin poems, can not be denied; indeed, it may sometimes even seem to force and render unnatural certain of these lyrics. But underneath all that, it is too evident that in certain cases at least, as in the authors cited, the love of nature is very genuine indeed. If the Spanish authors sometimes imitated classical touches, they seem at any rate constantly to have gone on the belief that portrayal of nature was, for better or for worse, the criterion of pastoral.

certain lines of whose book called *Poems; chiefly Pastoral,* published in 1766, are superior to almost anything that can be found in this field.

Of course, it would not do to consider Shenstone, for all his considerable name in England at that time, as at all the leader of pastoral writing from 1740 to 1780: he is only a convenient type for the average of that time. The leader is Gessner, and his followers were in all Europe. Particularly was his reputation great in France; and though he had a conspicuous successor, Abbt, in Germany, his admirers were more numerous abroad, among them Girolamo Pompei, in Italy, and Florian in France. Gessner's indifference to time and place, so long as he can write of ideal shepherds, is notorious, and his name has now the virtue of evoking faces like those in the pictures of Greuze. For us, it may be that one of the principal charms of Gessner lies in the fact that his eclogues are in prose. It might be objected that this is purely a matter of individual taste; yet even lovers of verse,—above all, lovers of the most perfect poetic expression—will prefer poetic prose to labored rhythm and rhyme, and find in it a simplicity that is lacking in most verse, despite the courageous effort of most writers of eighteenth-century eclogue to force simplicity where they were not skillful enough to be naturally simple in verse. Yet Gessner merits no praise on this score, for we may almost say that he chose prose with reluctance, on account, as we hear, of his inability to make any presentable verse at all. . . But however his naturalness may appear to us, the admiration of his contemporaries appears not to have been due to that, but to his more genuine merits as a pastoral writer. The translations of his works were for the most part in verse. Berquin, writing in 1775, declares that Gessner is "equal in simplicity to the shepherd of Sicily, sensitive and affec-

tionate like Racan, without his tender expressions ever becoming languorous." And Professor Blair, in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres* delivered in 1762 (but not revised for publication until 1783), declares that, although, being ignorant of German, he cannot judge of the originals, he yet considers Gessner, "in the subject and conduct of his Pastorals . . . to have outdone all the moderns." A record of the praises of Gessner by his contemporaries abroad would require a longer paper than this, but not so much could be said of his reputation in Germany or in the German-speaking countries. J. J. Hottinger, in his life of Gessner of 1796, says that "in Germany, and in part also in Switzerland, he is still spoken of with suspicious reserve." This in connection with the Biblical pastoral *The Death of Abel,* but applicable likewise to his pastorals of the classical tradition. Hottinger contrasts the doubtful German attitude to the exuberantly enthusiastic reception of Gessner's works by French devotees to pastoral, as well as by the larger French public. He attributes the difference to the fact that, as he supposes, the French were a people formed in taste, not needing any other guide to the right appreciation of a masterpiece; whereas "with a public of uncultivated taste —and such the German still is—people make an effort to find that beautiful which is so judged by the critics, and begin to be ashamed of their approval so soon as the critics change the style." But it would seem that German critics still hesitate to accept Gessner as the great pastoral poet he was held to be in France—and the modern sentiment is no doubt on their side. All of which does something to prove the fragility of Fontenelle's theory: that the representation of virtue in ideally perfect samples of humanity is a spectacle capable of attracting . . . that other sample of humanity, the general reader.

The same objection applies to Florian. His adaptation of Cervantes's *Galatea* and his other more original works: *Stella, Ruth,* and *Numa,* as well as his essay on pastoral, stand for the romance or the dramatic form as against the eclogue. And doubtless the romance form made his pastorals far more interesting than they could otherwise have been. But the school of Gessner was possessed with the idea that to inspire virtue was the first concern of the pastoral writer; and the consequence of this ministerial attitude was to render tiresome what might otherwise have charmed. We can be sure that Gessner's and Florian's large popularity was due to what was found interesting in their plots and to their attractive narrative, rather than to the moral uplift of their works. For there never was more naïvely virtuous eclogue than that of Berquin, one of the most fervent admirers of Gessner (his *Idylles* are of 1775). But he won for his compositions the name of "berquinades" for his pains; which shows that the French were coming to demand something other than what he could give. This does not mean that his *Idylles* were not widely read—but, it seems, as moral examples for youth, rather than as pastoral for itself. Those were days when relief from a prevailing atmosphere of immorality and corruption was sought, not only in the theorizing of Rousseau, but also in any picture of a simpler and better society.

From this time on, the eclogue is, more often than not, a form for conveying some lesson, or for furthering some idea or making propaganda. The scientific eclogue of the "Arcadians," which continued to flourish during the greater part of the century in Italy, is at once the most uninteresting in itself and the most curious that could be imagined when considered in connection with the fundamental character of the form. Along with "scientific eclogue" we find, in the collection of *Poems of the Arca-*

dians [8] very frequent examples of the "laudatory eclogue." It was a type that had by no means died out with the Renaissance: it had been frequent in England before Pope, and Pope's own pastorals have a very laudatory atmosphere. John Pomfret's *Pastoral Essay on the Death of Queen Mary,* already cited, is a good example of the English laudatory eclogue. A more curious piece of the same nature—although here it is a living sovereign who is praised—is the *Piscatory Eclogue* composed by García de la Huerta in praise of Carlos III. It was read before the Academia de San Fernando in 1760; that it should have stood the test of recitation is no insignificant fact in the history of panegyric! Here, some fishermen, their boat capsized and cast on shore by a storm, halt the necessary repairs, in order to vie with each other in enumerating the means by which the glories of Carlos may be celebrated and perpetuated; they suggest the employment for this object of the resources of architecture, sculpture, coinage, painting, the efforts of the commanders of the navy, and of historians. . . All that results from noticing such aberrations is the fact that, wherever they appear, the interest in pastoral for its own sake is evidently not very vital.

Since Galland's French translation, in 1704, of those Oriental tales which we know, under one form or another, as the *Thousand and One Nights,* or the *Arabian Nights,* there was a steadily growing interest in the East. Of course, the long romances of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in France, in Germany, and elsewhere, had frequently an Oriental setting. But from Galland on there is—what had hardly existed before in the letters of west-

[8] *Rime degli Arcadi,* edited by Crescimbeni and others from 1716 to 1780.

ern Europe—an exact, or rather the striving after an exact representation of Oriental life and manners. No doubt the popularity of the *Thousand and One Nights* hastened by many years real understanding of the East. But the first effect of Galland's work was perhaps not so much to create a scholarly interest in Eastern institutions and literatures as to cause a hankering in the public for more of this exotic atmosphere, whether the true one, or only a delusion. There were innumerable stories and novels written with an Oriental setting, and, following the *Persian Letters* of Montesquieu about 1720, innumerable satires of society, couched in the form of wondering letters of travelling Turks, Chinese, or what not. As a matter of fact, however great the rôle of Galland's book may have been as the first to popularize Oriental literature—the Bible is of course excepted—it was not until the latter part of the century that the nations of Central Europe made any honest effort to become acquainted with those literatures that were not of their direct lineage. It is then that men like Mallet, with his *Northern Antiquities,* and Sir William Jones, with his studies on Oriental literatures and languages, began to mark an epoch.

But it was noted that the first use of the Oriental setting—as regards either characters or scene—was to form a background for romantic adventure or for satire or moralizing. The first well-known English Oriental eclogues are of this last nature: *Persian Eclogues* by Collins, of 1742. They are four moralizing pieces: on the misery of a life without virtue, on the folly of seeking riches through dangers, on the beauty of the life of a faithful sultan, on a shepherdess become a sultana, but remaining devoted to her native vales, on the misery to which a people is subjected by a sultan's neglect of his official duties. . . . In short, here is an inspiring of virtue that must have warmed

the cockles of Fontenelle's heart. For our part, however, we owe thanks to Collins for pigeon-holing these pieces as pastoral; they would otherwise be hard to identify: except that the majority of the speakers in these "eclogues" are of humble station, there is but little to ally them with pastoral writings in general.

In 1768 came the *Arabian Eclogue* of Sir William Jones. He speaks of it as a translation, but he does not indicate the original. In 1772 he published his *Arcadia,* an attractive versification of the allegory of Steele—or of the author of the article on pastoral in No. 32 of the *Guardian.* Likewise in 1772 appeared the most important article on pastoral of the latter part of the century: Jones's *Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations,* in which the form is again brought into a vital relation with literature. Jones says:

> Arabia, or that part of it which we call the Happy, and which the Asiatics know by the name of Yemen, seems the only country in the world, in which we can properly lay the scene of Pastoral Poetry, because no nation of this day, can vie with the Arabians in the delightfulness of their climate and the simplicity of their manners . . . as the Arabians are such admirers of beauty, and as they enjoy such ease and leisure, they must naturally be susceptible of that passion which is the true spring and source of agreeable poetry; and we find indeed that love has a greater share in their poems than any other passion; it seems to be always uppermost in their minds and there is hardly an elegy, a panegyric, or even a satire, which does not begin with the complaints of an unfortunate, or the exaltations of a successful lover.

He describes the wandering life of the Arab tribes with the consequent frequent separation of lovers, and the poetry that has grown up on this theme. Considering the character of this inspiration, the comparisons and the images drawn from nature and from the existing pastoral life, we find it not hard to feel the plausibility of his contention that pastoral poetry is more alive in Arabia than in Europe.

It is hardly in the field of the present paper—nor, in any event, within the competence of the writer—to discuss this fact, or theory as it may be. What is of particular interest to us, is that Sir William Jones sought to bring his contemporaries to a recognition of pastoral—even though it be in Arabia—as a living form, appealing by its simplicity to all. He does indeed put some emphasis in the essay, as in the *Arcadia,* upon the moral significance of pastoral, or rather its moral purpose; but he does this to a less extent than most who had treated of the form before him. His chief interest in it appears to be that felt by the writers of the village literature that was to come; the interest in the loves, the trials, and the triumphs of simple folk. On the other hand, it is not going too far to say that his intention in trying to revive the form was not humanitarian, but eminently literary. His translation of the fresh and living, but none too simple *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa, is typical of what he admired, if not of his own ability as a poet.

But the humanitarian interest is becoming general at this time, and the most striking example of its introduction into pastoral is likewise, I believe, to be sought for in England. It would not do to forget that representation of the country poor had long existed in what is pastoral literature in the broader sense. In 1773 and 1778 appeared the *Observations on the Present State of the Parochial and Vagrant Poor* and the four *Moral Eclogues* of John Scott of Amwell, who also, in conformity with the prevailing taste for the Oriental, wrote three eclogues at once Eastern in their setting and humanitarian in spirit. The pamphlet cited above is not the effusion of the faddist who leaves his study for "social work," but appears upon examination to be a painstaking investigation of one of England's most trying problems, at that time, as now.

And then again, the *Moral Eclogues* are not the heavy and tiresome lucubrations of the well-intentioned but plodding lover of mankind, who has been known to seek through verse to reach the sensibilities of lovers of poetry: they are more than ordinarily attractive pictures of nature, and more free than one would expect of excessive moralizing. The descriptions of plants and flowers are indeed so full of the real feeling that was more or less characteristic of the Spanish bucolic literature of the middle of the century, that one is sure, as in the case of those compositions, that the real interest of the writer was in nature rather than in the lives of shepherds or their like. This is simply a frank avowal of the impression which Scott's eclogues give, yet we know that none had a greater interest than John Scott in the country people of the time in England. His *Oriental Eclogues* are Arabian, Indian, and Chinese in setting, but are purely humanitarian in their purpose: an understanding of the special characteristics of the various Oriental peoples seems to have been quite lacking in our author. For example, the scene of *Serim, or the Artificial Famine* might as well have been China as Bengal—had English financiers been as powerful in China as they were in Bengal—; the scene of *Li-po, or the Good Governor* might as well have been Bengal as China. In short, the use of the Oriental setting seems to have been in deference to the mode.

One is at first a little nonplussed that the author of the *Moral Eclogues* should have written such a paper as that *On the State of the Parochial and Vagrant Poor;* at any rate, this pamphlet would have been expected rather in the output of Crabbe. But it shows that pastoral could still be of interest to thoughtful men as a relief from every-day life, or as a vehicle for propaganda or moralizing. Arcadia had not disappeared altogether. On the Continent, these

were the days of Berquin, of a renascent interest in Montesquieu's *Temple de Gnide;* [9] these were the days when Meléndez was crowned for an eclogue by the Spanish Academy; Gessnerism was in full flower in France, with Florian, and André Chénier was writing his *Idylles.*

But in England it is certain that after 1783, the date of Crabbe's *Village,* the eclogue was no longer to be in any sense a popular form. It is hard to see why the humanitarian interest, as expressed by Crabbe, should have had an immediate result in stopping the production of eclogues in England; whereas in France, the French Revolution, with all that it disclosed of misery, seems to have had no immediately deterrent effect on this form of literary production. It would hardly do to attribute this to Crabbe's direct onslaught against the form. It is certain that one carries away from a reading of the *Village* the impression that Crabbe had but little grudge against the pastoral as such; only, a real interest in the British poor, and a desire that a deceiving veil should no longer be stretched over their sufferings. His is the farthest remove from a purely literary stricture: were the shepherds, or villagers, only materially happy, one feels that he would not have made it his concern to quibble about whether they should be called Alexis or Meg, Palemon, or Hobbinol; or whether they should be represented with the colors of the conventional Arcadian painting, or as they might certainly have been seen, here and there in English countrysides, Arcadian enough, had he been interested in the exception and not the rule.

A realization that the shepherd of eclogue was hardly real fills all the pastoral criticism from Fontenelle and Pope to Marmontel and Gessner; and one of the most

[9] Colardeau's versification appeared in 1779.

widely read of English critics, Johnson, had long ago made pastoral idealization a theme for carping. Chapter XIX of *Rasselas,* called "A Glimpse of Pastoral Life," written in 1759, is the equally famous prototype of the criticism of Crabbe. Everywhere in *The Lives of the Poets* (1779-81), as for example in the life of Lyttleton, Johnson abuses the form. Of Lyttleton's *Progress of Love* he says: "It is sufficient blame to say that it is Pastoral." Boswell, under 1783, says that Johnson that year "revised *The Village,* an admirable poem by the Reverend Mr. Crabbe. Its sentiments as to the false notions of rustic happiness and rustic virtue were quite congenial with his own. . ." It seems that Johnson, in his character as a literary critic, —one surely not assumed by Crabbe—must have been a greater influence against pastoral than almost any other Englishman of the century, if we except Swift; therefore it would be better, perhaps, not to emphasize the influence of Crabbe in explaining the sudden cessation of the popularity of the form in England about 1783.

It will be noticed that the most important side of the history of the pastoral in the eighteenth century was the critical; not by reason of its bulk, but because of the merit of the works. Fontenelle, Lamotte, Marmontel, and Florian all wrote excellent expositions. Not that exceptions cannot be taken, as particularly in the case of Fontenelle; but it is a sort of criticism that is bound to interest, since the authors of it had ideas of their own to further. It would, therefore, in one sense, be more exact to say that this criticism is a body of controversial papers. But in any case, they are the most interesting side of the history of the pastoral in the eighteenth century; probably no one would question, indeed, that taken as a whole they are more important in literature than the eclogues and pastoral novels themselves.

It can not be said that criticism directed the course of original composition to any great attainment; the feeling for nature that lives in the best of the pastorals does not appear to have been a development brought about by former pastoral writing, but a new current of sentiment flowing from quite other sources. But neither the pastoral tradition nor the new love of nature found any great expression—if they were even understood—in the writings of Florian, or even in those of Saint-Lambert—who is not, however, to be judged harshly, but whose writings belong no more than those of Thomson to the narrow history of pastoral. Of Delille's Georgic rhymes far less can be said, although they have an indirect historical importance in connection with the eclogue.

At the close of the century came the three works which alone, of all those produced, seem likely to remain, or worthy to remain: André Chénier's *Idylles* (c. 1780, but not published until 1816), Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1788), and just over the border of the century, in 1803, *Les Déguisements de Vénus,* of Parny. It is not the fashion to speak highly of Parny; his doubtful moral influence makes him a sort of taboo; and it will readily be admitted that his work was only indirectly pastoral. He had no intention of representing an ideally innocent life—at least not in Fontenelle's acceptation of the word, nor in ours. But the spirit of the country is stronger in these poems, and the verse far more skillful than most that pastoral was clothed in. In relation to the literature of his day, he is the pastoral counterpart—so far as the eclogues are concerned—of the licentious novelists, but there is between him and the rakes of the novel all the difference that separates instinct from perversion. By the ancients, if one may be permitted the reflection, Parny would have been considered more truly

pastoral than most modern writers, and that on account of the very spontaneity whereby he contrasts with the rest, and gives a *raison d'être* to the setting, independent of any controversial intention.

Bernardin de Saint-Pierre is, of course, as far as possible from the eclogue, but far nearer than most others to the precepts of Fontenelle and his successors. If he felt himself allied to any of the writers of pastoral, it was certainly to Florian and to Gessner, not only in the form, which is in each case that of the prose story, but in that spirit of innocence and simplicity which is their common nature.

Chénier gives rise to another question. Of the modern writers of pastoral, he mentions, in one eclogue, only Segrais, and with the approval that was common in his time. In another of his eclogues he is said [10] to imitate Gessner. With one or two exceptions, his work could be used to illustrate the tenets of Marmontel. But it is to be doubted whether he ever attempted to put into practice what was taught in his day; we must leave him where his critics have decided he belongs—rather out of the main current of the French literature of his time. Nevertheless, in his eclogues or idyls we find the only reflections of the ideas of liberty that are evident in pastoral at that time in France.

Thus the eclogue, although in general preserving, and in some cases practically continuing, the tradition of the Renaissance, still lived the life of the eighteenth century, in respect to the trend of ideas. England and France, whether or not they produced the best in the kind, seem to have furnished the examples that were followed else-

[10] Note to the eighth Idyl, *Pannychis*, in *Poésies d' André Chénier*, edited by L. Becq de Fouquières (Paris, Charpentier, 1862), p. 99.

where. And if we take the most noted of all the pastoral writers of the time—the Swiss Gessner—as more French than German in his ideas (and there seems considerable plausibility in this, when we recall the reception his works met with in France as contrasted with Germany), then the generalization is even more valid.

However, the love of nature that seems to us so vital a quality in eclogues, was perhaps most evident in Spain,—possibly because there was so little else that the literati of that unfortunate land could approach with security. And again, it was not in France, but in the Arcadia of Italy, that the eighteenth-century mania for experiment and speculation was manifest in the so-called scientific eclogue, or that in which shepherds were made to discourse upon problems of physics or of chemistry. This question is not to be disposed of by any hasty consideration based on a high respect for French literary taste. It appears rather to have been at least partly occasioned, as was the nature-eclogue of Spain, by the peculiar political situation of the nation, which left the progressive aspirations of writers but a restricted road to travel. In this light it is possibly significant from the humanitarian point of view that the class of men chosen by the Arcadians to discuss scientific experiment should be precisely those heretofore generally supposed least to possess the requisite capabilities. Of course, it would not do to make too much of this supposition: the shepherd of eclogue was always an idealized being, although—and this is what might justify the foregoing remark—not in precisely this respect of intellect; rather in that of emotions, ideal instincts.

Again, it is to be explained why the humanitarian pastoral should arise in England. But it is at least curious that, excepting in Chénier's idyls on one or two occasions, no notable example of humanitarian pastoral should have

appeared in France; the more especially when we consider to what extent the French generation of the Revolution indulged in theoretical consideration of the natural rights and inherent qualities—if the term will be excused, for lack of a better—of the common man. The only explanation to be offered—and it seems insufficient enough—is, that the storm of the Revolution left too little repose and security for quiet versifying, or the writing of poems. With the immense production of a Jacques Delille before us, it is hard to believe that there must not have been other reasons for this apparent anomaly—other reasons that must have been more deeply rooted in the time, and that restrained true poetic expression.

HAROLD ELMER MANTZ.

XX.—THE MIRACLE PLAY IN ENGLAND—NOMENCLATURE[1]

It is the purpose of this paper to make a critical inquiry into the actual use of the term *Miracle Play* in England from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The present state of opinion among most historians of the English drama is that the term there during that period came to include all religious plays. The trend of this view during the last sixty or seventy years, as it develops from conservative statement to absolute, sweeping generalization, forms an interesting chapter in the history of critical nomenclature.

In 1843, Thomas Wright, in his introduction to an edition of the Chester Plays (p. vii), wrote:

> In France, the distinction between *miracles* and *mysteries* was carefully preserved to the latest times. In England, as early as the fourteenth century, there appears to have been some confusion in the application of these terms, and the name of *miracles* was given frequently to all kinds of scripture plays as well as to plays of saints' miracles.

Collier's statement a generation later is well generalized (*Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry,* 1879, II, p. 53):

> The dramatic productions of this country (England) exist in no more ancient form than that of plays founded upon the Old and New Testaments, with additions from the apocryphal gospels: the legends of the lives of saints and martyrs appear also to have afforded subjects for exhibitions of the same kind. Their proper designation is miracles or Plays of Miracles.

J. H. Wylie, though not primarily a historian of the

[1] It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Manly for the thesis of this paper and for many helpful suggestions in connection with it.

drama, in his history of England[2] adds the following passage to our chronological survey of material: "But the 'great miracles' were 'the Passion of our Lord and the

[2] J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1884-1898, 4 vols., vol. III, pp. 221-2. In support of his statement he gives, among others, from the cyclic plays two citations not mentioned by any of the other historians. So I take space to consider them here. The first is from the *Chester Plays* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 113-5), *The Salutation and Nativity Play*. The following is the situation: Salome, one of the two midwives who came at Joseph's call, appeared after Mary had given painless birth to Christ, refused to believe that there had been a miracle in the birth, and attempted to find out "whether shee be cleane maie." Her hand was miraculously made lifeless, but was healed again after she had done the bidding of an angel that appeared and told her to pray to Christ for forgiveness. The angel said:

> This mirackle nowe, that thou seeiste here
> Is of Godes owine power.

After this the Expositor spoke thus:

> Lo, lordinges all, of this mirackelle here
> Fre[r] Barthelemew, in good manere,
> Beareth wittnes without were,
> As plaied is you beforne;
> Another mirackle, yf I maie,
> I shall rehearse, or I goe awaie,
> That befell that same daie
> That Jesus Christe was borne.

Then he proceeded to *tell* of another that occurred at the time of Christ's birth.

The other passage cited by Wylie is from the *York Plays* (p. 362), the *Mortificacio Christi*. Caiphas mocks Jesus on the cross:

> I calle þe a coward to kenne,
> þat meruaylles and mirakills made,
> þou mustered enmange many menne,
> But, brothell, þou bourded to brede.

In both cases cited here, of course, the references are not to a type or dramatic form, but to the miraculous acts. For an analysis of this method in detail—with its attendant fallacies—as employed at length by another writer see my study, *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play* (Banta, 1914), chap. I.

Creation of the World,' etc. Such exhibitions were usually known in England as 'the miracles' or 'the marvels.'"

Chambers (*The Mediaeval Stage,* II, p. 108) in a brief statement assumes the inclusive usage:

> The English miracle play reaches its full development with the formation of the great processional cycles almost immediately after the establishment of the Corpus Christi festival in 1311.

But Gayley's definition permits no play of a religious nature to escape:

> All religious historical plays, biblical or legendary, cyclic or independent, of events contemporaneous with, or subsequent to, the Scriptural, were miracles, properly so called by our forefathers.[3]

So much for the present state of opinion.

Now the evidence as to the actual usage is of two kinds: that given by churchmen and others whose interests were not primarily in the drama, and whose point of view would, therefore, be popular and uncritical; and that found in town and corporation records, in similar documents, and in MSS. of preserved plays; in short, the evidence of those who had some official connection with the drama and whose point of view, as a result, would be more critical and intelligent than that of the layman.[4]

An examination of these two kinds of evidence shows (1) that even records of popular usage do not justify the

[3] C. M. Gayley, *Representative English Comedy* (1907), p. xviii. Cf. also, among others, A. W. Ward, *Hist. Eng. Dram. Lit. etc.,* (1899) I, p. 57; A. H. Thorndike, *Tragedy* (1908), p. 23; F. E. Schelling, *The Elizabethan Drama,* (1908), I, p. 10.

[4] Relative to the point of view of the playwright, the words of Brander Matthews are apt here (*A Study of the Drama,* p. 112): "Every student . . . must remember always that we have no right to assume that the author ever gave a thought to the specific name the historians of literature might one day bestow on his masterpiece."

sweeping statements of modern historians of the drama, and (2) that the official records never employ the term miracle play in their references to cyclic plays or to independent religious plays of any kind.

That the Miracle Play in its origin was a distinct type is a view pretty generally accepted; and such a statement need not be defended here.[5]

The (quem miracula *vulgariter* appellamus) of Matthew Paris, who wrote about the middle of the thirteenth century, in his reference to the St. Catherine play[6] indicates that the type was commonly known by that time.[7] A con-

[5] See, *A New Theory*, etc., *passim*. Richard Garnett (*Eng. Lit., An Illustrated Record*, I, p. 223) does state that the distinction, mysteries and miracle plays, made by historians of the drama is practically unimportant.

[6] *Vitae Abbatum St. Albani* (London, 1684), p. 1007.

[7] In this connection I give two other interesting references. The first is found in *A Selection of Latin Stories* from MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Percy Society (London, 1842), vol. VIII, pp. 99-100: "Anno Domini circiter millesimo cc° 66° apud Corinthum, metropolum Graeciae inferioris, quae Gallograecia dicitur, contigit in festo beatae Mariae Magdalenae, duos fratres minores de conventu supradicto post dormitionem meridianam exire in patriam, pro quibusdam expediendis, et dum in prato longissimo super fluvium elongati essent a civitate per duo miliaria, viderunt ante se in eodem prato maximam multitudinem hominum congregatam, quos nunc silentes, nunc acclamantes, nunc cachinnantes audiebant. Admirantes igitur quare in loco tali tanta esse hominum adunatio, estimabant ibi spectacula celebrare quae nos miracula appellare consuevimus." The other reference is from a letter of Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln written to his archdeacons on the conduct of his priests. See *Epistles of Robert Grosseteste* (Rolls Series), epistle CVII, p. 317, under the date 1244: "Faciunt etiam, ut audivimus, clerici ludos quos vocant miracula, et alios ludos quos vocant Inductionem Maii, sive Autumni; et laici scotales; quod nullo modo vos latere posset, si vestra prudentia super his diligenter inquireret." It should be mentioned here that the word *miracula* is missing in two of the three manuscripts of this letter. All the MSS. are of the fifteenth century.

cise wording of the definition is that by Mr. Manly: "The miracle play is the dramatization of a legend setting forth the life or the martyrdom or the miracles of a saint." [8]

The principal authorities on the use of the term from a popular point of view are well known from the frequent references to them by the modern historians of the drama: *Manuel de Pechiez, Handlyng Synne, A Treatise on Myraclis Pleyinge,* and *A Survey of Cornwall.* Chaucer, the author of *Piers Plowman's Crede,* and a few others make very general and cursory mention of the term. I shall now proceed to examine somewhat in detail the principal authorities just named.

The first of these chronologically are William of Wadington's *Manuel de Pechiez* and Robert Manning of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne,* a Middle-English translation of the *Manuel.*[9]

The *Handlyng,* by Manning's own statement in his autobiographical introduction to the poem, dates from the year 1303.[10] And the *Manuel* was probably written only a few years earlier.[11]

From the same autobiographical passage to which I have

[8] *Mod. Phil.,* IV (1906-7), p. 585.

[9] Ed. F. J. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club (London, 1862). Later ed., E. E. T. S., Original Series, Vols. 119, 123. I have not had access to the E. E. T. S. edition.

[10] *Op. cit.,* p. 3, ll. 56-75, esp. ll. 72-5, where he refers to the monastery at which he was staying when he made the translation:

> Dane Felyp was mayster þat tyme
> þat y began þys englyssh ryme
> þe yeres of grace fyl þan to be
> A þousand and þre hundred and þre.

[11] I take here the statement of Creizenach (*Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.,* V, pt. I, p. 45). The *Manuel de Pechiez* by Wadington was "composed, probably, about the end of the thirteenth century."

referred we know that Manning of Brunne was a monk; and from the nature of William of Wadington's treatise it is safe to assume that he was a churchman of some kind. The passages follow:

Manuel

Vn autre folie apert 4254
Vnt les fols clercs cuntroue,
Qe 'miracles' sunt apele;
Lur faces vnt la deguise
Par visers, li forsene,—
Qe est defendu en decree;
Tant est plus grant lur peche.
Fere poent representement,—
mes qe ceo seit chastement
En office de seint eglise
Quant hom fet la deu seruise,—
Cum iesu crist le fiz dee
En sepulcre esteit pose,
E la resurrectiun,
Pur plus auer deuociun.
Mes, fere foles assemblez
En les rues des citez,
Ou en cymiters apres mangers,
Quant venunt les fols volunters,—
Tut dient qe il le funt pur bien,—
Crere ne les deuez pur rien
Qe fet seit pur le honur de dee,
Einz del deable, pur verite,
Seint ysidre me ad testimone
Qe fu si bon clerc lettre;
Il dist qe cil qe funt spectacles
cume lem fet en miracles,
Ou ius qe nus nomames einz—
Burdiz ou turneineins,—
Lur baptesme unt refusez,
E deu de ciel reneiez." 4283 [12]

Handlyng

Hyt is forbode hym yn þe decre, 4640
Myrácles for to make or se;
For myrácles yf þou bygynne,
Hyt ys a gaderyng, a syghte of synne,
He may yn þe cherche þurghe þys resun
Pley þe resurreccyun,—
þat ys to seyë, how Gode ros,—
God and man yn myȝt and los,—
To make man be yn beleuë gode
þat he has rose wyþ flesshe and blode
And he may pleye wyþoutyn plyghte
Howe god was bore yn ȝolë nyghte.
To make men to beleue stedfastly
þat he lyghte yn þe vyrgyne Mary.
ȝuf þou do hyt yn weyys or greuys,
A syghte of synne truly hyt semys.
Seynt Ysodre, y take to wytnes,
For he hyt seyþ þat soþ hyt es;
þus hyt seyþ yn hys boke
þey forsakë þat þey toke—
God and herë crystendom—
þat make swiche pleyys to any man
As myracles and bourdys,
Or tournamentys of grete prys. 4663

[12] An Old French scholar to whom I took this passage several years ago began at once pointing out errors in the text and correcting them.

We turn to William of Wadington first. In this passage he uses two technical terms for plays. The first, *miracles,* is the open folly which foolish clerks have contrived: "Qe 'miracles' sunt apele"; and the other, referring to religious plays acted within the church, is called *representement,* the regular Latin *repraesentatio.* A clear distinction is made between the two. The fact that the two types are thrown in juxtaposition is no reason why we should confuse them and call them one and the same. He tells us exactly what he means by *representement:*

> Cum iesu crist le fiz dee
> En sepulcre esteit pose,
> E la resurrection;

but, though he suggests the costuming,[13] mentions the setting, and time of playing, attempts to connect them with the Roman spectacula,[14] and declares, on the authority

William of Wadington, and not the editor is to blame, and, furthermore, he makes due apologies. *Manuel,* pp. 413-4, ll. 12736 ff.:

> De le franceis, ne del rimer,
> Ne me doit nuls hom blamer,
> Kar en engletere fu ne,
> E norri, ordine, et aleue;
> De une vile sui nome
> Ou ne est burg ne cite.
> . . . .
> De deu seit beneit chescun hom
> Ky prie pur Wilham Wadigtoun.

[13] Cf. *Tretise on Miraclis Pleyinge* (Mätzner, *Alteng. Sprachpr.* I, p. 228): "Also sithen it makith to se veyne siȝtis of degyse, aray of men and wymmen by yvil continaunse, eyther stiryng othere to letcherie, and of debatis . . . , wherfore it suffrith not a man to be holden enterly the ȝerde of God over his heved, etc."

[14] The Seint ysidre (Seynt Ysodre of the *Handlyng*) is Isidore of Seville (c. 560-616, A. D.). The reference is to his *Etymologiae* and may refer to two passages. The first is *Etym.* XVIII, 27 (Migne, *P. L.,* 82, p. 653), *De ludis circensibus:* "Ludi *circenses* sacrorum causa, ac gentilium celebrationibus instituti sunt. Unde et qui eos

of Isidore, that people who attend them are denying God and renouncing their religion, he fails entirely to let us know what the Miracle Play is. Whether he was clear in his own mind as to what it was we do not know. Some very bitter attacks have been made even on the modern stage by churchmen and others whose information concerning it was entirely at second hand.

If Robert Manning had been like a modern translator, he would have given us a faithful reproduction of the *Manuel* passage in Middle English. But instead he followed the fashion of the mediæval writer. "What he thought he might require" for his purpose he took and made into something new, though it had most of the old in it. As a result, he has given us a confused and illogical passage; for if he is intending to include Easter Plays and Christmas Plays under the term "myracles," he has turned the tables against himself and is convicted on his own count: you are forbidden by decree from seeing or "making" miracle plays; but to make your own faith more steadfast you may see in the church the play of the Resurrection or of the Birth of Christ. Now if *hyt* (l. 4654) refers to these liturgical plays and thus makes them identical with "myracles" above, then we have the case of miracle plays

spectant daemonum cultibus inservire videntur. Nam res equestris antea simplex agebatur, et utique communis usus reatus non erat, sed cum ad ludos coactus est naturalis usus, ad daemoniorum (*sic*) cultum translatus est." The second is from *Etym.* XVIII, 59, (*Ibid.*, p. 659, *De horum exsecratione*): "Haec quippe spectacula crudelitatis, et inspectio vanitatum non solum hominum vitiis, sed de daemonum jussis instituta sunt. Proinde nihil esse debet Christiano cum circensi insania, cum impudicitia theatri, cum amphitheatri crudelitate, cum atrocitate arenae, cum luxuria ludi. Deum enim negat, qui talia praesumit, fidei Christianae praevaricator effectus, qui id denuo appetit quod in lavacro jam pridem renuntiavit, id est, diabolo, pompis et operibus ejus." This last sentence pretty surely gives us the source of the last three or four lines of William of Wadington.

in the church which are not miracle plays. But take them out into the streets or cemeteries and presto, change; they become miracle plays again! On the other hand, if *hyt* refers to playing, the author is logical, but confused and unclear in his statement. In that case the passage would read: If you do it (*i. e.,* watch plays) in the streets or cemeteries, it is truly a sinful sight for you. At all events, we shall not get very far if we come to Robert Manning to find what the fourteenth-century Englishman thought Miracle Plays were.

A word next on the references in Chaucer and *Pierce the Ploughman's Crede.* The one from Chaucer is in the Wife of Bath's Prologue, and reads:

> Myn housbond was at London al that Lente. . . .
> Therefore I made my visitaciouns,
> To vigilies and to processiouns,
> To preching eek and to thise pilgrimages,
> To pleyes of miracles and mariages. (*C. T.*, ll. 6137-40.)

One of the two from *Pierce the Ploughman* reads:

> We haunten none tauernes ne hobelen abouten;
> At marketts & myracles we medleþ us nevere.
> (E. E. T. S., London, 1867, ll. 106-7.)

Neither of these passages gives any suggestion of what the writers meant by miracles. The other passage from *Pierce* runs:

> And at þe lulling of oure Ladye þe wymmen to lyken,
> And miracles of midwyves, & maken wymmen to wenen,
> þat þe lace of our ladie smok li3teth hem of children. (ll. 77-9.)

Here assuredly the word miracles refers, not to the dramatic type, but to miraculous incidents; here probably to the case of Salome in the Nativity play (cf. footnote to Wylie, p. 449).

Chronologically, the next case which is cited by historians of the drama is *A tretise of miraclis pleyinge* of the

later fourteenth century.[15] The author is evidently one of the long roll of churchmen and religious reformers who from Tertullian on down through the centuries opposed the drama. His point of view and method are distinctly popular. Mätzner hits off the essential feature of his treatise in a few words: "Zuerst trägt es entschieden den Charakter des Wycliffismus." [16] As to method, in his general organization he is clear, but in details he is fully as confused and vague as one would expect a loose-thinking reformer to be, whose appeal is to an even more uncritical and loose-thinking populace. In the first half of his treatise he attacks the six reasons which he presupposes those to give who defend *miraclis pleyinge,* and in the last half he closes his case against the practice. His employment of the word *playing* for proof will serve to illustrate his method in detail. It is called into service six times. The first, which I give in detail, is the case of the holy Sara, daughter of Raguel:

> Therfore sich myraclis pleying not onely pervertith our bileve but oure verrey hope in God, by the whiche seyntis hopiden that the more thei absteneden hem fro siche pleyes, the more mede thei shuld have of God; and therfore the holy Sara, the douȝter of Raguel . . . seith, '*Lord, thou woost that nevere y coveytide man, and clene y have kept myselfe fro all lustis, nevere with pleyeris y myngid me mysilfe* . . . and sythen a ȝonge womman of the Olde Testament . . . abstenyde hir fro al maner ydil pleying and fro al cumpany of idil pleyeris; myche more a prist of the Newe Testament . . . awȝte to abstene hym fro al ydil pleying both of myraclis and ellis.[17]

[15] See *Reliquiae Antiquae,* ed. Th. Wright and J. O. Halliwell (London, 1843), vol. II, pp. 42-57. Better edition by Eduard Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben* (Berlin, 1867), Bd. I, Zweite Abth., pp. 222-242. Mätzner (pp. 222-224) gives a brief analysis of its contents, and discusses it briefly in relation to its period.

[16] Mätzner, *op. cit.,* p. 223.

[17] Mätzner, pp. 231-232. Cf. Tobit 3, 16-17:

> Tu scis Domine, quia numquam concupivi virum,
> et mundam servavi animam meam ab omni
> concupiscentia, Numquam miscui me, etc.

The other five are of a piece with this one. The second refers to Ishmael's playing with Isaac and being driven out into the desert; [18] the third to Abner's and Joab's followers playing before them and their destroying one another; [19] the fourth to the playing of the Children of Israel before the golden calf while Moses was praying for them; [20] the fifth to the destruction of the children of Bethel who "pleyingly" mocked Elisha, and were torn to pieces by bears; [21] and the sixth to David's playing before the ark of the Lord.[22] A man who shows such a confused state of mind with regard to the use of important terms can certainly not be expected to give us a logical idea of what the dramatic type, Miracle Play, includes—even from the popular as opposed to the official point of view.

But let us see just what he does include. I quote the passages essential to the interpretation. The first instance occurs in the introductory paragraph of the treatise (Mätzner, p. 225):

> The myraclis therfore that Crist dude heere in erthe, outher in hymself outher in hise seyntis, weren so efectuel and in ernest done, that to sinful men that erren thei brouȝten forȝyvenesse of synne . . .

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[18] Mätzner, pp. 231-232. Cf. Gen. 21, 9 sqq.:

> Cumque vidisset Sara filium Agar Aegyptiae
> ludentem cum Isaac filio suo, dixit ad Abraham.

[19] Mätzner, p. 237. Cf. Sam. II, 2, 14-31.

[20] Mätzner, pp. 238-239. Cf. Ex. 32, 6: "Et sedit populus manducere et bibere, et surrexerunt ludere."

[21] Mätzner, p. 241. Cf. Kings II, 2, 23: "Ascendit autem in Bethel: cumque ascendit per viam, pueri parvi agressi sunt de civitate et illudebant ei, dicentes: Ascende, calve! ascende, calve!"

[22] Mätzner, p. 241. Cf. Kings II, 6, 21-22: "Dixitque David ad Michal: Ante Dominum, qui elegit me potius quam patrem tuum, et quam omnem domum ejus . . . ; et ludam et vilior fiam plus quam factus sum."

Thanne sythen myraclis of Christ and of hise seyntis weren thus effectuel . . . no man shulde usen in bourde and pleye the myraclis and workis that Crist so ernystfully wrouȝte to oure helthe.

The next passage pertinent for our purposes is on p. 229:

Also, ofte sythis by siche myraclis pleyinge men and wymmen, seyinge the passioun of Crist and of his seyntis ben movyd to compassion and devociun, etc.

The next passage is on pp. 231-32:

Therfore siche myraclis pleying not onely pervertith our bileve but oure verrey hope in God, by the whiche seyntis hopiden that the more thei absteneden hem fro siche pleyes, the more mede thei shuld then have of God: and therfore the holy Sara, the douȝter of Raguel, hopynge heie mede of God seith: *'Lord, thou woost that nevere y coveytide man, and clene y have kept myselfe fro all lustis, nevere with pleyeris y mingid me myselfe'*; and by this trwe confessioun to God, as she hopide, so sche hadde hir preyeris herd and grete mede of God, and sythen a ȝonge womman of the Olde Testament, for kepyng of hir bodily virtue of chastite and for to worthily take the sacrament of matrimonye whanne hir tyme shulde come, abstenyde hir fro al cumpany of ydil pleying and fro al cumpany of idil pleyeris; myche more a prist of the Newe Testament, that is passyd the tyme of childhod, and that not onely shulde kepe chastite but alle othere vertues, ne only mynystren the sacramentis, and namely sythen hym owith to mynystre to alle the puple the precious body of Crist, awȝte to abstene hum fro al ydil pleying bothe of myraclis and ellis. For certis sythen the quen of Saba, as seith Crist in the Gospel, schal dampne the Jewis that wolden not reseyve the wisdom of Crist, myche more this holy womman Sara at the day of dom schal dampnen the pristis of the Newe Testament that yvyng hem to pleyes, reversen her holy maners aprovyed by God and al holy chirche, therfore sore auȝten pristis to be aschamyd that reversen this gode holy womman and the precious body of Crist that thei tretyn in ther hondes, the whiche body never ȝaf hym to pley but to all siche thing as is most contrarious to pley, as is penaunce and suffryng of persecution. And so thes myraclis pleyinge not onely reversith feith and hope, but verry charite, by the whiche a man shulde weylen for his owne synne and for his neyeburs, and namely pristis; for it withdrawith not onely oon persone but alle the puple fro dedis of charite and of penaunce into dedis of lustis and lik thingis, and of fedyng of houre wittis. So thanne thes men that seyen, *'Pley we a pley of Anti-Crist and of the day of dome, that sum man may be*

convertid therby,' fallen into the heresie of hem that reversyng the aposteyl seyden, '*Do we yvel thingis that ther comyn gode thingis,*' '*of whom,*' as seith the aposteyl, '*dampnyng is riȝtwise!*'

The following is on page 235:

God and alle his seyntis demyen all tho cristen men unkynde that pleyen or favouren the pley of the deth or of the miraclis of the most kynde fadir Crist, that dyede and wrouȝte myraclis to bryngen men to the everelastande heretage of hevene.

And this on page 241:

But frend, peraventure ȝee seyen that no man schal make ȝou to byleven but that it is good to pleyen the passion of Crist, and othere dedis of hym.[23]

Now, as these last passages quoted show, the author of the Treatise does not even have in mind the dramatic type, Miracle Play. The real point is that he is not talking about a dramatic type; he is objecting to the dramatizing or playing of holy things—especially the miracles of Christ and his Saints; hence, his term *playing miracles:* "miraclis pleyinge." And there is a difference between dramatizing *miraculous events* and presenting *Miracle Plays.*[24] Our author's confusion as to the term playing

[23] A Wycliffite document of the same class as the *Tretise* is *A Poem Against the Friars and their Miracle-Plays.* (So entitled in *Reliquiae Antiquae,* I, pp. 322-323, but in *Pol. Poems and Songs relating to English History, etc.,* London, 1859, Rolls Series, I, p. 268, entitled *On the Minorite Friars*). The term Miracle Play is not mentioned in the poem, and there is no reference to cyclic plays as such.

[24] A case that is similar in some respects to this is found in the use of the word *miraculorum* in the *Lichfield Statutes* of *Hugh de Nonant,* 1188-98; (the following is quoted from *A New Theory,* etc., p. 3, footnote): "Item in nocte Natalis representacio pastorum fieri consueuit et in diluculo Paschae representacio Resurreccionis dominicae et representacio peregrinorum die lunae in septimana Paschae, sicut in libris super hijs ac alijs compositis continetur. . . . De officio succentoris . . . et providere debet quod representacio pastorum in nocte Natalis domini et miraculorum in nocte Paschae et

and his indifference to dramatic types put him, as far as we are concerned, in the same class with Robert Manning.

The latest popular reference to Miracle Plays cited by historians of the English drama is found in *A Survey of Cornwall* by Richard Carew (1555-1620), a cultivated country gentleman and antiquarian of Cornwall. His is the first record of actual performance of plays in that country.[25] I quote the passage entire:

Pastimes to delight the minde, the *Cornish* men have Guary miracles, and three mens songs: and for exercise of the body, Hunting, Hawking, Shooting, Wrastling, Hurling, and such other games.

The Guary miracles, in English, a miracle-play, is a kind of Enterlude, compiled in *Cornish* out of some scripture history, with that grossnes, which accompanied the Romanes *vetus Comedia.* For representing it, they raise an earthen Amphitheatre, in some open field, having the Diameter of his enclosed playne some 40. or 50. foot. The Country People flock from all sides, many miles off, to hear & see it: for they have therein, devils and devices, to delight as well the eye as the earc: the players conne not their parts withoute booke, but are prompted by one called the Ordinary, who followeth

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die lunae in Pascha congrue et honorifice fiant." Professor Creizenach (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 1911, vol. I, p. 159) in a footnote to the following, cites this as a case of loose usage: "Im übrigen müssen wir, wenn in den Quellen von Mirakelspielen die Rede ist, uns stets daran erinnern, dass im mittelalterlichen Sprachgebrauch die dramatischen Gattungsbegriffe nicht streng auseinandergehalten werden." On the contrary, the word *miraculorum* as employed here is not at all a case of loose usage. The correct interpretation is, as Professor Manly has suggested to me, that the term applied to the dramatic presentation is not *miraculorum* but *representacio.* Thus there is a "representacio pastorum . . . peregrinorum . . . miraculorum." *Miraculorum* here refers to the marvels or miraculous events which formed the subject matter of the play. E. K. Chambers, also, (II, p. 104 footnote) cites this as standing for "representacio," but misquotes. His text reads "miraculum in nocte Paschae" instead of "miraculorum etc."

[25] For Carew see D. N. B., III, pp. 969-71. The *Survey* was first printed in 1602. Fuller speaks of it as a " pleasant and faithful description " of Cornwall.

at their back with the booke in his hand, and telleth them softly what they must pronounce aloud. Which manner once gave occasion to a pleasant conceyted gentleman, of practicing a mery pranke: for he undertaking (perhaps for set purpose) an Actors roome, was accordingly lessoned (beforehand) by the Ordinary, that he must say after him. His turne came: quoth the Ordinarie, Goe forth man and Shew thy selfe. The gentleman steps out upon the stage, and like a bad Clarke in scripture matters, cleaving more to the letter than the sense, pronounced those words aloud. Oh (sayes the fellowe softly in his eare) you marre all the play. And with this his passion, the Actor makes the audience in like sort acquainted. Hereon the prompter falles to flat railing & cursing in the bitterest termes he could devise: which the Gentleman with a set gesture and countenance still soberly related, untill the Ordinary driven at last into a madde rage, was faine to give over all. Which trousse though it brake off the Enterlude, yet defrauded not the beholders, but dismissed them with a great deale more sport and laughter, then 20. such Guaries could have affoorded.[26]

A few facts concerning the Cornish Plays are in order here. There are preserved *The Cornish Drama,*[27] consisting of a selection of episodes from the Creation to the building of the temple, the life of Christ from the temptation to the crucifixion, and the Resurrection and Ascension; and *The Life of St. Meriasek, Bishop and Confessor,* a Miracle Play.[28] Now even a hurried survey of *The Cornish Drama* will make it apparent that it is different in technique from the English Cyclic Plays. In the first place, there is no attempt at a comprehensive and unified presentation of religious history from the creation down to and including the day of doom. And in the second place, the miraculous legendary material, instead of being subordinated to the

[26] Richard Carew, *Survey of Cornwall* (1602), ed. 1723, pp. 71-72.

[27] Edward Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama* (Oxford, 1859), two vols., edited, with English translation.

[28] Whitley Stokes, *The Life of St. Meriasek, A Cornish Drama* (London, 1872), edited, with English translation. For summary and comments see Creizenach, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 347-8.

canonical, *i. e.,* Biblical, as it is in the English cycles, is played up for all its dramatic value. This is notably the case in the *Origo Mundi,* where the unifying element is the miraculous legend of the Rood-Tree with its episode of the martyrdom of Maximilla.[29]

Let us now summarize the pertinent facts relative to this Carew-Cornwall situation. First, Carew *says* there were Miracle Plays in Cornwall compiled out of Scripture history. Second, although there is Scripture material in the Cornish plays which are preserved, contrary to the rule in the English cyclic plays, it is much subordinated to the legendary and the apocryphal. Third, and especially important, there were Miracle Plays in Cornwall. *The Life of St. Meriasek* is one of the best examples extant of the type, Miracle Play. Further, as Mr. Manly has at different times emphasized in classroom lectures, (1) there is no evidence in the passage that Carew had seen any of the Guary Miracles, and (2) he shows confusion, and looseness of usage in not making mention of saints' material, which everybody recognizes as fundamental in Miracle Plays.[30]

[29] For a discussion of the Holy Rood-Tree legend see the introduction to A. S. Napier's *History of the Holy Rood Tree, A Twelfth Century Version of the Cross Legend.* E. E. T. S., Original Series, vol. 103.

[30] Sir William Dugdale (1605-1686), antiquarian of Warwickshire, in his account of the Biblical plays given at Coventry, a place with which he was very familiar, affords an excellent illustration of confusion and lack of exactness similar to that of Carew. He "is the earliest authority for the belief that the Coventry Corpus Christi play told the story of both the Old and New Testament." In writing of the Gray Friars of Coventry he says (*Antiq. of Warwickshire,* by Sir William Dugdale, 2nd ed., rev. etc. by William Thomas, D. D., London: 1730, vol. I, p. 183): "Before the suppression of the Monasteries, this city was very famous for the *Pageants* that were played therein, upon Corpus Christi day; which occasioning very great con-

Finally, a survey of the nomenclature of the cyclic plays and of the independent non-miracle religious plays for the period under discussion yields absolutely negative results as far as the term Miracle Play is concerned, but with the exception of some few such terms as *ludus* and *interlude* it shows that the dramatists and play officials of mediaeval England showed much more intelligent discrimination than we have given them credit for.[31] Again, an examination of the records for references to Miracle Plays in Eng-

fluence of people thither from far and near, was of no small benefit thereto; which pageants . . . . contained the story of the [Old and] New Testament (not bracketed in the first edition, 1656. The passages do not differ otherwise in 1st and 2nd eds.), composed into old English Rithme, as appeareth by an antient MS. (in Bibl. *Cotton* sub effigie Vesp. D. 9 (8) intituled *Ludus Corporis Christi*, or *Ludus Coventriae*).

"I have been told by some old people, who in their younger years were eye witnesses of these *Pageants* so acted, that the yearly confluence of people to see that show was extraordinarily great, and yielded no small advantage to this city." Quoted from Hardin Craig, *The Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, 87 (London, 1902), pp. xxii-xxiii. The comments of Hardin Craig and E. K. Chambers with reference to the plays are to the point and cover the case as far as we are concerned: Craig (*op. cit.*, xix), "There is nothing . . . . inconsistent in believing . . . . that at Coventry the Old Testament plays were never developed at all"; Chambers (*The Mediaeval Stage*, II, p. 423), "It is noticeable that no Old Testament play can be established at Coventry." Craig's discussion of the absence of Old Testament plays, see pp. xviii-xix, *op. cit.*

[31] A case in point is that of William Revetour, a chantry priest and warden of the guild of Corpus Christi at York, who in that year willed a Creed Play to his fraternity. See *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. II, pp. 116-117 (Surtees Society, 1855): *Testamentum Domini Willelmi Revetour Capellani.* "Lego fraternitati Corporis Christi quemdam librum vocatum Le Crede Play cum libris et vexillis eidem pertinentibus." This is not the place for a general discussion of mediaeval dramatic nomenclature, a study of which is much needed as a chapter in the history of the English drama.

land shows that they were presented in different parts of that country during the whole period from the thirteenth to the close of the sixteenth century.[32]

In other words, during the time that these "popular" references which we have considered were being made, actual Miracle Plays were being presented all over England. Hence, we should expect to find mention of them.

George R. Coffman.

[32] The results of this research I expect to present in my next paper on the Miracle Play in England.

XXI.—GUSTAV FALKE: EINE STUDIE[1]

Am 8. Februar 1916 ist Gustav Falke in Grossborstel bei Hamburg gestorben. Die Nachricht von seinem Fortgang ist in Deutschlands zweitem Kriegsjahr fast unhörbar verhallt. Im Deutschen Reich war er wohl hochangesehen, ja verehrt, aber doch nicht in aller Munde wie so mancher andere, der es weniger verdiente. Denn still war sein Erfolg wie sein Leben und Wirken. Er ist nur sehr selten vor die Öffentlichkeit getreten, weil ihm, wie er selbst sagte, alle lauten Worte und Gebärden peinlich waren. Er wollte auch kein Neuerer sein. Daher ist er nach einem kurzen Sturm und Drang abseits auf seinem Felde und still unentwegt bei seinem Dichten geblieben. Und wenn man ihn besuchte, so konnte man bald merken, dass seine gleichmässige Liebenswürdigkeit ein reiches Geistesleben umfriedete. Er wusste nicht nur allgemein über das moderne Deutschland gut Bescheid, er hatte auch besonders seine eigenen sicheren Ansichten über Kunst und Literatur. Sein "Abseitssein" war demnach nichts anderes als die stete stille Selbstzucht des Einsamen, von der Friedrich Lienhard einmal sagt: "Wer es mit seinem Volke und dessen Kultur und Literatur ernst meint, der muss sich vor allen Dingen zu einer gewissen. . . . Einsamkeit erziehen, anders ist ein Beherrschen und Überschauen nicht möglich!" Oder wie Falke es in seinem Gedicht *Der Alte* ausdrückt:

> Und bin nun über Leid und Zeit
> Und meinen Sternen näher

[1] Dem Direktor und der Sekretärin des "Deutschen Hauses" der Columbia University gebührt mein Dank für die liebenswürdige Überlassung und Übersendung von wertvollem Zeitungs- und Zeitschriftenmaterial.

Und schaue in die Ewigkeit,
Ein stillgemuter Späher.

Selten trifft es sich so wie bei Gustav Falke, dass der Mensch und Dichter wesenseins erscheint. Oft enttäuscht einen der Mensch, nachdem man den Dichter kennen gelernt hat, oder auch umgekehrt. Falke nun trat uns im Leben wie in seinen Werken entgegen, und was seine Dichtkunst und seine Lebensführung eint, ist die liebevolle Hingabe an alles Lebendige und auch das Allerkleinste, eine Anspruchslosigkeit, die wirklich nicht mehr an das eigene kleine Ich eitel denkt, sondern die ein demütig-stolzes Anteilhaben an allem Glück der Welt bedeutet. Letzten Endes ist es eine deutsche Eigenart, nämlich der ausgesprochene Sinn für den inneren und nicht äusseren Wert aller Dinge, kurz: Innerlichkeit.

Über Falkes äusseres Leben ist wenig zu sagen. Er gesteht selbst: "Mein Leben ist arm an äusseren Erlebnissen, obgleich ich ziemlich im deutschen Vaterland herumgekommen bin. Und was man sonst so erlebt —ein paar Bände Gedichte." Diese Worte stammen aus einer biographischen Skizze, die 1902 für das *Literarische Echo* geschrieben wurde. Sie hat sich 1913—bei Falkes 60. Geburtstag—zu einem etwas breiten Buch erweitert, das den Titel trägt: *Die Stadt mit den goldenen Türmen. Die Geschichte meines Lebens.* Behaglich streift hierin der Dichter durch das Land seiner Jugend, seines Lebens. Meistens erzählt er uns Idyllen, daneben finden sich aber auch ein paar kleine handlungsvolle Dramen; und ab und zu klingt ein dunkler Ton von Not und schwerem Erleben durch seine "schlichte und doch wunderliche Lebensgeschichte." Doch seine Feder bleibt "immer in Liebe und Zärtlichkeit und Dank getaucht." Und so ist seine Lebensbeschreibung der einfache Ausdruck seiner frohen Lebensbejahung geworden. Davon redet schon der Titel

des Buches: *Die Stadt mit den goldenen Türmen.* Das bedeutet nämlich zunächst Lübeck, des Dichters Geburtsstadt, die sich ihm in früher Jugend zu einem unauslöschlichen Bilde einprägte. "Und immer leuchtender, so schreibt er, wurden mit der Zeit seine Farben, so dass es über ein blossses Abbild meiner irdischen Geburtsstätte weit hinauswuchs und zum Symbol einer himmlischen Heimat erblühte, der mein Sehnen und Suchen galt." Und in diesem Land ist seine Art zu leben und zu dichten zuhause, eine Frömmigkeit nämlich, die ihn jeden neuen Morgen mit fröhlichem Herzen hat begrüssen lassen und die "klingende Türme vor sich sieht, die mit goldenen Fingern in den aufgetanen Himmel zeigen."

Freilich muss man diesen schlichten frohen Glauben an das Leben tief genug erfassen, um Falkes Eigenart ganz gerecht zu werden. Es ist natürlich nicht die Genügsamkeit der seichten Leute, sondern es ist die allgemeine demütige und, wie Falke sehr hübsch sagt: lebenswillige Haltung des innerlichen Menschen dem Leben gegenüber, die gläubige Kindlichkeit des Herzens, der man etwa in der amerikanischen Literatur oft noch köstlich naiv begegnet. Sie wird nur gefährlich, wenn sie oberflächlich und selbstgenügsam ist. Wenn Gustav Falke z. B. in dem Gedicht *Konfirmation* bekennt: "Das Leben ist gut," dann ist es jedoch mehr Robert Brownings poetisch durchdachter als James Whitcomb Rileys naiver und manchmal billiger Optimismus. Ja, es ist bei Falke sogar mehr als die glückliche Erfahrung des Weltkindes, die ihn zu Dank und Vertrauen stimmt, es ist zutiefst das Stillesein des Gotteskindes, wie es ihm selbst einmal in Paul Flemings schönem Lied aufgegangen ist: "Lass Dich nur ja nichts dauern Mit Trauern! Sei stille!" Stiller Optimist und tätiger Kämpfer sein im Goetheschen Sinn bedeutet aber zuletzt keinen Widerspruch, wie denn der durch und durch

männliche Friedrich Lienhard mit Recht sagt: "Auch Stillesein ist ein gewaltig Werk." Es bedarf hier wohl kaum noch der Erinnerung, dass Falke nicht immer gleich stark und gleich klar, gleich freudig und bereitwillig diesen Optimismus zum künstlerischen Ausdruck bringt. Er hat sich auch damit das Leben nicht behaglich leicht gemacht, wie jeder weiss, der nur an Falkes Leben als Klavierlehrer in Hamburg denkt und an die Wiederspiegelung in seinen ernstesten Gedichten, von seinen beachtenswerten Hamburger Romanen mit ihren Problemen ganz zu geschweigen.[2]

Und zum lebenssicheren Optimismus gesellt sich Falkes Norddeutschtum, uns sein Leben ganz verständlich zu machen. Ein Verständnisloser könnte den Norddeutschen allgemein leicht kühl nennen. Er gibt sich nicht gern und leicht vor den Menschen, er ist wortkarg und scheu, besonders spröde im Gefühlsausdruck und mehr als sparsam im Selbstoffenbaren. "Immer mich selbst beobachten und ausfragen, das halte ich nicht aus," gesteht auch Falke ausdrücklich. Deshalb erfahren wir von seiner Familiengeschichte auch nichts so Ausführliches wie z. B. in den feinen und klugen Plaudereien eines Theodor Fontane.

Falke stammte aus einer guten deutschen Bürgerfamilie und erbte von Vaters wie Mutters Seite feine Herzenskultur. Sein Onkel war der Kunst- und Kulturhistoriker Jakob von Falke, und mütterlicherseits machte sich noch eine ausgesprochene Begabung für Musik geltend. Mit des Vaters, eines angesehenen Lübecker Kaufmanns, Tode kam ein Bruch in Falkes Leben. Die Mutter verheiratete sich wieder, aber unglücklich, und der Stiefvater hinderte leider nur die Entwicklung unseres Dichters. So musste

[2] Zu den Romanen vgl. H. Wolgast in *Nord und Süd.* 82, Bd., 1897, S. 174 ff.

der stille blöde Junge seine Schulerziehung mit der Obertertia abschliessen und Buchhändler werden, anstatt nach seinem Herzenswunsch "Philosophie, schöne Wissenschaften oder wenigstens Musik" zu studieren. So ist Falke wie so manchanderer nicht gründlich gebildet in die Literatur gelangt, was sich auch in seiner Gedankenlyrik leicht verrät. Kleist, Hebbel und Otto Ludwig sind am Autodidaktentum schier zerbrochen, Gottfried Keller und Fontane haben schwer daran getragen. Der Theolog Mörike und der Jurist Storm andererseits sind durch die *universitas literarum* leichter zu einer harmonischen Bildung gelangt. Und unter den Modernsten nun hat Falke, wie Liliencron, an seiner Halbbildung gelitten, woraus sich wenigstens teilweise die gelegentlichen Angriffe gegen die Universitätsvertreter erklären. Sicher bleibt, dass die Universität (nicht nur besten Falls) den Geist schult und zügelt, formt und bildet. Genies und Talente kann sie nicht schaffen, aber den Talenten und selbst den Genies kann sie helfen auf dem Wege zu einem eigenen weiten Geistesleben. Und keine Weite der geistigen Auffassung ist möglich ohne den rechten geschulten Sinn für das Geschichtliche. Gustav Falke hat z. B. nicht das geringste Verhältnis zur Geschichte. Schon A. K. T. Tielo hat in seinem gründlichen Aufsatz über Falke [3] darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass Falke im Gegensatz zu C. F. Meyer und Liliencron, mit denen er sonst manches gemein hat, niemals eine geschichtliche Persönlichkeit in den Mittelpunkt einer ereignisvollen Handlung gestellt hat. Das allein erklärt schon, warum er kein Balladendichter werden konnte.

Aber ein echter Dichter wurde er und zwar durch die

[3] *Gustav Falkes Verse* in der Zeitschrift *Lotse*, XI. Jahrgang, Heft 38.

Musik. Im Dienst des Buchhandels kam er sieben Jahre lang in Deutschland herum, bis er endlich, vierundzwanzig Jahre alt, zu seiner einsam gewordenen Mutter in Hamburg übersiedelte. Und hier wagte er es, einen freien Beruf als Musiklehrer zu beginnen. "War es auch mühselig," so heisst es in seiner Lebensskizze, "es war doch ein Kunstleben und ein Beruf eigener Wahl."

Hamburg ist des Lübeckers Falke zweite Vaterstadt geworden. Fast vierzig Jahre hat er hier gelebt und gearbeitet. Um 1890 gründete er mit Otto Ernst u. a. nach Berliner Beispiel eine Freie Literarische Gesellschaft.[4] Auch an der Kunsterziehungsbewegung von Lichtwark, Otto Ernst, Wolgast u. a. nahm er teil. Aber mehr als in diesen Bewegungen und auch von seinen Hamburger Romanen abgesehen hat er Hamburg mit seinem gesamten dichterischen Schaffen gedient. Denn wenn jetzt von Neu-Hamburg in der modernen deutschen Literatur die Rede ist, dann muss neben Liliencron, Theodor Suse und Dehmel auch sein Name immer genannt werden. Er hat Hamburg wieder im geistigen Deutschland bekannt machen helfen. Und Hamburg hat diesen seinen bürgerlichen Dichter schon zu seinen Lebzeiten damit geehrt, dass es ihm einen lebenslänglichen Ehrensold aussetzte. Wenigstens ein Dutzend Jahre hat Falke dieses ungewöhnliche Jahresgehalt nutzen dürfen.

So viel vom Leben Falkes. "Und alles lärmende Geschehen"—so sagte der Dichter selber—"ist nichts gegen ein stilles inneres Erleben, das sich nicht in Worte fassen lässt. Wo es sich aber verdichtet zu Wort, Ton, Gestalt, da ist eine Lebensbeschreibung. Oft wird auch sie nur eine Skizze sein, die von manchen krausen Wegen der Seele

[4] Vgl. darüber jetzt H. Spieros Liliencron-Biographie, Berlin, 1913, S. 333 f.

nichts meldet." Falkes eigentliches Leben ist wie das jedes Künstlers: seine Kunst.

Falkes erste Gedichte wurden gedruckt, als er schon fünfunddreissig Jahre alt und verheiratet war. "Lyriker mit etwas Selbstvertrauen" ist er aber erst seit der Bekanntschaft mit Detlev von Liliencron (im Dezember 1890) geworden. In seinem Lebensroman hat er von dem um zehn Jahre älteren Dichterkollegen natürlich ausführlich erzählt.—Sie wurden schnell Freunde und sind sich einige Jahre lang sehr viel menschlich gewesen. Eine gewisse Entfremdung setzte um 1903 ein.[5] Falkes Umzug nach Grossborstel, einem Vorort Hamburgs, also die örtliche Entfernung erklärt nicht alles, auch Liliencrons letzte Vereinsamung nicht. Man wird den Hauptgrund im Wesensgegensatz der beiden Männer zu suchen haben—einem Gegensatz, den ja Falke selbst in seiner Lebensgeschichte bewusst herausstellt. Und alles übrige wird dann klar durch Liliencrons Annäherung an Richard Dehmel, der in allem der gerade Gegenfüssler Falkes war.

Soweit Falke Liliencrons Wesen verstand und liebte, ist er ihm allerdings treu geblieben. Er hat des andern menschliche Schwächen immer liebenswürdig zu entschuldigen gewusst und niemals ein böses Wort gegen ihn geduldet, dagegen immer nur bedauert, dass er persönlich seiner tiefen Liebe zum Menschen und Dichter Liliencron nicht besseren und bleibenden Ausdruck geben konnte. Liliencron seinerseits hat Falke auch hochgehalten, besonders als Menschen. Mit Timm Kröger nennt er ihn in seinen Briefen[6] eine sehr liebe, sehr vornehme Natur und vergleicht ihn mit dem Prinzen Carolath, wobei er

[5] Siehe *Liliencrons Ausgewählte Briefe,* Berlin, 1910, Band II, S. 245, 336, 337; auch vorher S. 46, 63, 107; und Falkes *Stadt mit den goldenen Türmen,* S. 469, 470 u. a.

[6] I, S. 224; II, S. 32.

jedoch nicht vergisst hinzuzufügen: "Euch beiden wünschte ich etwas von meiner Wüstennatur, besser gesagt: wüsten Natur. Auch die gehört zum Dichter."

Und damit kommen wir zum dichterischen Verhältnis Falkes zu Liliencron, das uns auch sofort in eine Betrachtung des Falkeschen Künstlertums überhaupt führt. Wie sehr Liliencrons *Adjutantenritte* und Gedichte auf Falke offenbarend gewirkt haben, ist bekannt. Dann durch den persönlichen Verkehr wurde er von Gedicht zu Gedicht klarer über das Wesen und die Art seiner eigenen Kunst. Wie ein Sturzbach schien Liliencrons Einfluss zuerst zu wirken: bis auf die allgemeine Stellung zu den Menschen, die ja der Freiherr nicht philisterhaft and prüde genug schelten konnte. Was der vielfach durch eigenste Veranlagung und eigene Schuld verursachte, schob er allzu gern den "Teutschen" in die Schuhe. Von seiner Bitterkeit färbte manches auf Falkes erste Gedichte ab.[7] Zum Glück besann sich unser Dichter jedoch bald und bekennt das auch bei seiner Rückschau erfrischend deutlich. Er war ausserdem damals schon nach seinen Worten "nicht jung genug mehr, um nicht einigen Einblick in die Welt zu haben und nicht zu wissen, dass mit Schelten und Schreien nichts getan sei, und dass nichts übrig blieb als in stiller und treuer Arbeit auszuharren."

In diesem Feuerbad täglicher Einwirkungen nun und bei seinem sonstigen Dichterverkehr mit Emil zu Schönaich-Carolath, Stavenhagen, Frenssen, Wilhelm Holzamer u. a. hatte er vielseitigen Widerstand zu leisten—zu seinem allerbesten Nutzen. Und wir können auch nur

[7] Hierzu vgl. ausser Falkes Autobiographie: F. Düsels Aufsatz über Liliencron und Falke in *Westermanns Monatsheften*, 90. Bd. (1901), S. 484 ff.; Dr. F. Castelle in *Die Propyläen* vom 10. I. 1913; Karl Heinemann, *Die Deutsche Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1910, S. 280 f. und die verschiedenen Literaturgeschichten.

den echten, reinen Gustav Falke schätzen und lieben, der nur zu einer gewissen Zeit seiner Entwicklung und in gewissen Auffassungen und technischen Griffen ein Liliencron-Schüler genannt werden darf. Und geradezu am grundlegenden Unterschied Falkes von Liliencron geht einem sein besonderer Wert auf. War Liliencron ein Dichter der launisch umherirrenden freien Liebe, ein Kind des Augenblicks im guten und schlechten Sinn, so ist Falke der Dichter der edlen, lauteren Liebe und der seines Lebensglücks gewisse Sänger von "Herddämmerglück, Herddämmerlicht." Wenn bis heute zahlreiche Dichter und besonders die Dichterinnen nur Geschmack an der äusserlichsten Sinnlichkeit und blossen Leidenschaft gefunden haben, so hat Gustav Falke zuerst wieder—und darin auch echtdeutsch—die Schönheit der Familie und der eigenen Gattin, der "Tempelhüterin," zu besingen gewagt; und zwar weil, mit R. Dehmel zu reden: "in seiner Empfindungssprache das rein Sinnliche keinen symbolischen Phantasiewert hatte" oder, anders ausgedrückt, weil er eine "viel zu christlich edle Natur" war. An Emanuel Geibel wäre hierbei zu erinnern. Es spricht aber auch noch Falkes norddeutscher Sinn für das idyllische Leben mit, wie etwa bei dem oft unterschätzten älteren Matthias Claudius. Für den Idylliker Falke ist vor allen das Gedicht *Sonnenblumen* kennzeichnend. Und man versteht es nunmehr erst recht nach dem, was über Falkes Innerlichkeit und Optimismus gesagt worden ist.

Überall im Alltag enthüllt sich ihm die Schönheit. Vom *Tagesanbruch* bis zum *Schlafengehen,* vom *Morgengang* bis *Um Mitternacht* (so sind bekannte Gedichte überschrieben), "jegliche Spuren des tausendfüssigen Tages bewahrt auf weicher, wächserner Tafel die empfindliche Seele." Der ganze schöne Tag wird feierlich begrüsst, ernst betrachtet und still ausgenützt. Und war

wirklich ein Tag laut, dann kommt zum träumenden Dichter das Schweigen der Nacht:

> ich halte zitternd meine Schalen
> und fang die feinen Silberstrahlen
> verborgner Quellen selig auf.

Und wie sich ihm ein Tag zum andern in Schönheit fügt, so lebt in seinem ganzen Dichten eine heimliche stille Freude, eine wunderliche Heiterkeit, kurz: eine massvolle Seele. Im Leben "gelassner Mut" und im Dichten abgeklärte Beschaulichkeit.

Das ist der erste und vielleicht bleibende Eindruck, den man aus einer Auswahl von Falkes Gedichten empfängt.[8] Das ist auch ungefähr, was die literarische Kritik bisher festgestellt hat. So einfach lauter wie sein Menschentum, so einfach harmonisch ist die Form seiner Gedichte. Wo er schlicht und einfach ein zartes Gefühl ausspricht, eine feine Stimmung malt, da ist er am überzeugendsten und also am besten. Hierher gehören nicht zuletzt seine wirklich entzückenden Kindergedichte, deren Ursprünglichkeit man versteht, wenn man sie mit dem *Schnickschnack für Kinder* von Richard und Paula Dehmel vergleicht. Und unter verschiedenen plattdeutschen Gedichten ein kleines Meisterwerk *De lütt Boom.* Die letzten beiden Zeilen dieses Gedichtes:

> Wat helpt (dat), lütt Boom,
> Da steist, wo du steist

kennzeichnen Falkes Leben und Dichten.

[8] Es gibt zwei Auswahlbände: I. *Ausgewählte Gedichte,* Hamburgische Hausbibliothek, 1908, gebd. nur M. 1.—. II. *Die Auswahl Gedichte,* A. Janssen, Hamburg, 1910, gebd. M. 5—. Für wissenschaftliche Zwecke haben wir ausser den verschiedenen Einzelbänden der Gedichte seit 1913 die vom Dichter selbst angeordnete 5- bändige Ausgabe: *Gesammelte Dichtungen* bei Falkes Verleger A. Janssen, Hamburg, Preis M. 15.—.

Das Idyllische ist seine Stärke, aber auch seine Begrenzung. Seine Stärke: wo immer er von seinem Herddämmerglück und ob hoch- oder niederdeutsch von Kindern oder auch von Tieren dichtet.[9] Selbst wo er nicht seelenvoller Ausdeuter ist, bleibt er doch stets ein feiner Plauderer und ein behaglicher Erzähler. Das gilt nicht nur für seine Gedichte, sondern auch für seine Prosawerke. Wo er hingegen nach Höherem langt, versagt er. Gewiss finden sich schon in seinem ersten echten Gedichtbuch *Tanz und Andacht* (1893) ausser der kleinen feinen Lyrik anspruchsvollere Phantasiestücke; und eine gewisse Bildhaftigkeit und ein starkes plastisches Element seiner Lyrik lässt sich daraus leicht erkennen; doch zu grossen Bildern reicht es ihm nicht, wie das unter zahlreichen Gedichten sein *Jesus im Olymp* (Nach Max Klinger) beweist. Das zeigt sich auch besonders deutlich in seinen Naturgedichten, die kleine feine Bilder, aber keine Gemälde sind. Er sagt wohl einmal mit den Worten eines seiner Romanhelden: "Ich sehe die Natur böcklinisch";[10] er liebt wie alle modernen Dichter Deutschlands Böcklin, ja er liebt ihn besonders, weil der das Meer liebt, er tritt sogar für ihn gegen Klinger und Hans Thoma ein, aber von Böcklinschem Geist kann ich nichts bei Falke finden. Sehr mit Recht hat Heinrich Spiero über ihn geschrieben: "Er steht etwa da, wo unter den Malern Hans Thoma steht, und gewinnt, je älter er wird, gleich diesem einen feinen altmeisterlichen Zug."[11]

[9] Das Katzenbuch und das Vogelbuch Otto Speckters haben Gedichte von Gustav Falke; auch den Stoff vom gestiefelten Kater hat er behandelt.

[10] *Der Mann im Nebel*, S. 168 f.; vgl. auch *Die Stadt mit den goldenen Türmen*, S. 418.

[11] In *Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik seit Claudius*, Leipzig, 1909, S. 136 f.

Falkes "märchenhafte Traumphantasie" macht jedenfalls noch nicht das Böcklinsche aus; denn das ist ohne Intensität in Gehalt und Farbe gar nicht zu denken. Der dionysische Rauschkünstler Liliencron etwa hatte das, aber nicht der apollinische Traumkünstler Falke. Wie stimmte auch dionysische Lebenslust, wie sie sich in einem Faun Böcklins ausprägt, zur Kleinmalerei Falkes, zu seinen ständigen Lilien und Rosen, zu seiner ganzen elegischen Naturlyrik!

Und hier drängen sich dem Kritiker Falkes Fragen auf, denen wir schon in Liliencrons Briefen an Falke begegnen.[12] Ausser jenem erwähnten Vergleich mit Carolath kommt hier noch Liliencrons Wort über C. F. Meyer inbetracht: "dass ihm die Kraft fehlt." Und Liliencron mahnt Falke: Weg mit aller Furcht! Werde kraftvoll!, nachdem er ihm vorher schon gesagt hatte, dass er nicht nur "der milde, grosse, schöne Morgen- und Abendstern" bleiben, sondern auch noch "die heisse, tod- und lebentriefende Sonne" werden solle. Nur wie kann ein Dichter werden, was er nicht von allem Anfang an ist? *Tanz und Andacht* ist Falkes beste Gedichtsammlung geblieben, eben weil darin seine ganze poetische Anmut ursprünglich und ungekünstelt lebt. Falke ist natürlich nicht nach Liliencrons und anderer Wunsch "der souveräne Künstler" geworden, sondern ist der stille, feine und zarte Künstlergeist geblieben, der er vom ersten Gedicht an war. Es fehlte ihm wohl echte Leidenschaft, ein starker in die Tiefe greifender Lebenswille. Er konnte sich aber nicht geben, was er sich in den Wochen, ja vielleicht Jahren seines Sturmes und Dranges ersehnte. Und so entsagte er. Gedichte wie *Mein Leben, Welle* oder *Aus dem Takt* verraten diesen seinen Lebenskonflikt, noch mehr aber sein

[12] Vgl. Briefe I, S. 281 f.; 290 f.; II, S. 37.

Werther-Roman *Der Mann im Nebel.* Aber es irrt sich, wer annimmt, dass er schwächlich entsagte. Er war sich im Gegenteil demütig-stolz seines Eigensten bewusst, wie das in seinem Lebensroman immer wieder zum Ausdruck kommt. So heisst es einmal im deutlich empfundenen Gegensatz zu Liliencron und Dehmel: "Was ist es, das deine Seele bewegt, so viel reiner, himmlischer bewegt, als der Tumult des stürzenden Baches? So fragte ich mich und lernte mich finden und mein Reich." Als Mensch und als Künstler. Und als selbstbewusster Künstler wehrt er z. B. Liliencron bestimmt ab, wenn der ihm "Arbeit, mitleidlose Arbeit" empfiehlt und "Eindämmung, Selbstkritik, Sorgfalt." In Liliencrons Worten—besonders in den Briefen vom 11. III. und 16. VI. 1893—liegt Wahrheit, und doch hatte Falke sicherlich recht, wenn er schreibt: "Der Wille, mein Bestes zu geben, war immer rege gewesen, und liess ich Unzulängliches passieren, so war es nicht Sorglosigkeit, sondern Mangel an Einsicht." Und schon in der erwähnten autobiographischen Skizze bekannte er freimütig, dass er "bemüht war, immer mehr vom Malerischen zum Dichterischen vorzudringen, vom Blendenden zum Schlichten, vom Lauten zum Stillen."

Falke hat sich durchaus als Dichter gefühlt und das in der einen oder andern Form ausgesprochen. Bei Gedichten hat man an Stücke zu denken wie *Gewinn* and *Gericht,* wie *Vertändelt, Des Dichters letzte Stunde* oder *Rechtfertigung,* die auch alle schon in *Tanz und Andacht* zu finden sind. Er hat sich genau wie als ausgesprochene Persönlichkeit im Leben auch in der Kunst als eigentümlicher selbständiger Poet gefühlt, und zwar, wie die Gedichte: *Der Träumer, Der Dichter* und am schönsten *Stimme der Nacht* beweisen, als Romantiker. Wir können dabei nur an Eichendorff denken, über den ja Falke 1906 ein liebevolles Büchelchen geschrieben hat. Wirklich viel hat er

mit ihm gemein: im Leben die selbsterkennende Beschränkung und dabei das ernste Streben, und im Dichten schlichte Einfachheit und "die sonnenhelle, himmelblaue, stille Heiterkeit." Dabei sind aber Eichendorff und Falke so verschieden wie die Zeit, die zwischen ihnen liegt. Eichendorff singt einfach von dem Lied, das in allen Dingen schläft, wohingegen Falke von dem hohen Fest schwärmt, das den feinen Seelen bereitet ist, die in Träumen leben. Es ist, in einem Wort, die herzinnige natürliche Wald- und Weltromantik gegenüber der gepflegten Neuromantik, die Naturandacht gegenüber der künstlerisch bewussten Anmut. Zwischen Eichendorff und Falke stehen Emanuel Geibel und Theodor Storm, ja C. F. Meyer und Jens Peter Jacobsen. Und doch wenn Jakob Grimms Erklärung romantisch ist: "Die Poesie ist das Leben selbst, gefasst in Reinheit und gehalten im Zauber der Sprache," dann ist auch Gustav Falke ein echter Romantiker.

Und wie steht es nun schliesslich und zuletzt bei Falke mit der Künstlerschaft im strengen Sinn der Form? Man könnte nach Falkes Worten: "Ich halte es mit den gegebenen Stoffen und erfinde meine Stoffe nicht, nicht aus Prinzip, sondern aus Natur," man könnte danach mit Karl Lamprecht [13] "einen Rätselreichtum der Rhythmen und Reime, einen raunenden Tonfall des Musikalischen" erwarten. Oder, um es anders auszudrücken, mit Hans Benzmann u. a. Falke "vor allem und immer Künstler" nennen. Man wird jedoch nur wenige wirklich neue Formen sehen und neue Töne hören. Man braucht hier nur einige seiner besten Gedichte mit denen Storms zu vergleichen, also beispielsweise Falkes *Was will ich mehr* oder *Der Schritt der Stunde* oder *Nachts in der träumenden*

[13] *Zur jüngsten deutschen Vergangenheit*, Freiburg, 1905, Bd. I, S. 270.

Stille mit Storms *Wohl fühl ich, wie das Leben rinnt* oder *Schlaflos* oder *Es ist ein Flüstern in der Nacht,* um sofort zu begreifen, wer von beiden der grössere Künstler im eigentlichsten Sinne des Wortes ist. Auch die hierhergehörenden Vergleiche Falkes mit Mörike oder C. F. Meyer hinken in dieser Hinsicht, besonders der mit dem Dichter vom *Firnelicht.* Meyer und Falke sind so grundverschieden als Formkünstler, wie sie es als Denker sind. Gesinnungen, wie sie sich in Meyers *Fülle* ("Genug ist nicht genug") und Falkes *Gebet* ("Herr, lass mich hungern") finden, schliessen sich aus; und so gibt es unter allen Gedichten Falkes nicht ein einziges Gegenstück zum *Römischen Brunnen* oder zur *Narde.* Falkes Geist hat sich allerdings wie Meyers "eine Kette antiker, hoheitsvoller Vorstellungen" aus der christlich-germanischen und heidnisch-hellenischen Mythologie zu eigen gemacht, nur eben nicht den eigenen Goldgehalt in die eigenen Goldformen gegossen.

Falke hat, um zusammenzufassen, weder als Bildner noch als Töner bemerkenswertes Neue geschaffen, was aber auch gar nicht dazu nötig ist, dass wir sein Wesen und seine Kunst lieb haben und lieb behalten. Er ist ein Mensch und Künstler mit Widersprüchen gewesen, aber er ist still und unbeirrbar seinen Weg gegangen, wie wir alle unsere Wege gehen müssen in der Poesie und in der Prosa des Lebens, und in seinem Besten ist er sich selbst immer treu gewesen, und in diesem Besten wird er fortleben wie es jeder andere ob grössere, ob kleinere Dichter auch nur kann. Denn in der Kunst gilt wie im Leben das Gleichnis von den Talenten: "Ei du frommer und getreuer Knecht, du bist über wenigem getreu gewesen, ich will dich über viel setzen, gehe ein zu deines Herrn Freude!"

F. SCHOENEMANN.

XXII.—THE MEDIÆVAL LEGEND OF JUDAS ISCARIOT

The legendary *Life of Judas the Betrayer,* based, it is usually said, on the Greek myth of Œdipus, is found in almost every language and country of mediæval Europe. It was written down in Latin as early as the twelfth century. By the end of the thirteenth century it was turned into the vernacular in lands as far apart as Wales, Catalonia, and Bohemia. At the close of the Middle Ages it had become the possession of the folk, and since that period—to some extent even during the fifteenth century—it has spread northward and eastward into Scandinavia, Finland, Russia, and Bulgaria. It was related in Greek, probably in the Middle Ages, although the manuscripts are of a much later date. It was still told orally in Galicia at the end of the last century. As a regular part of the ecclesiastical literature of the West it received canonization, so to say, late in the thirteenth century, in the great legendary of Jacopo da Voragine; but, on the other hand, it is a remarkable fact that in the Middle Ages, so far as I have been able to learn, none of the reputable church writers (with the exception of Jacopo) recognized or even mentioned it. And furthermore, mediæval sculptors and carvers of wood and ivory, who gave themselves with so much zeal to the plastic representation of legendary matter, completely eschewed or overlooked the 'early life' of Judas. Not indeed that either the church writers or artists sought to avoid contact with such a wicked character; on the contrary, they devoted considerable space to him, rejecting only his apocryphal career.[1] However this

[1] Nowhere in mediæval painting, moreover, is the legend of Judas

omission may be explained, the fact must be recognized as of some interest.

Judas (the usual story runs) was the son of Jewish parents living at Jerusalem: his father's name was Reuben, his mother's Cyborea. One night Cyborea dreamed that she was about to conceive, and that her child was destined to become the destruction of the whole Jewish race. In great anxiety she related her dream to Reuben, who advised her to pay no attention to such matters—they came from the evil spirit. In due time, however, a son was born; the memory of the dream returned, and in fear lest possibly it might come true, the infant, Judas, was set adrift on the sea in a small chest. Wind and wave brought him to the island of Scariot—whence his name. Here the Queen of the island, who had no children and was eager for a young prince to succeed to the throne, discovered the babe, which was very handsome, and, sending word throughout the land that she was with child, had Judas secretly nursed until she could proclaim him as her own. Thus Judas was brought up in royal fashion, as heir to the kingdom. But it came about before very long that the Queen had a son by the King. The two children grew up together, but after a time the wickedness that was in Judas's nature began to come to the surface, and he frequently beat and otherwise abused his putative brother. In spite of the Queen's remonstrances he continued to maltreat the true prince, until finally in a fit of anger the Queen made known to him his irregular origin. In wrath at learning this Judas seized the first opportunity to kill his brother, then for fear of the consequences took ship and fled to Jerusalem. There his courtly manners and evil instincts secured him a place in Pilate's retinue. One day Pilate, looking into his neighbor's garden, was seized with an irresistible desire for some fruit which he saw there; and Judas agreed to procure it for him. Now, although Judas was ignorant of the fact, the garden and the fruit were the possession of his own father, Reuben. Before he succeeded in gathering this fruit Reuben appeared; an altercation followed, which developed into a fight; and finally Reuben was slain. Since there were no witnesses to the murder, Reuben was reported to have died suddenly, and Judas, with Pilate's connivance, took in marriage the widowed Cyborea, together with her house and property. The bride was extremely unhappy and sighed frequently. Being asked one day by her husband the cause of her grief, she related enough

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treated; but that is more natural, since the painters devoted themselves less to legendary than to purely Biblical scenes.

of her story to enable Judas to recognize his double crime of parricide and incest. Both were afflicted with great remorse, but on Cyborea's suggestion Judas resolved to go to Jesus and seek pardon and forgiveness. He soon became a favorite disciple, and was made steward of the Twelve. But again his evil nature asserted itself, and he betrayed his Master to the Jews for thirty pieces of silver: thereafter he again suffered remorse and, having returned the money, hanged himself.

The *raison d'être* of this tale is generally agreed to be a pious intention of blackening the name of Judas; but sometimes it appears to be a wish to show that no matter how great the sin, true repentance brings full pardon. These two intentions vary in prominence in the different versions, but the latter, which would seem to be ancillary, gained weight and emphasis probably through the influence of such legends as those of Gregory, Albanus, and Julian, which came into vogue at about the same time as that of Judas. The man who first told or wrote down the life of Judas, and those who repeated it after him, lacked a command of narrative sufficient to make their meaning perfectly clear: and beneath the surface, whether the writers themselves were conscious of it or not, there may have been, as some think, an uncomprehended notion of the *ineluctabile fatum.* But if any part of the original intention of the Judas legend was to inculcate the moral of divine forgiveness, as was clearly the case with the other legends just mentioned, it may be thought to bespeak very little intelligence in the minds of its authors that they overlooked the true nature of his sins, and did not recognize the difference between crimes that are predestined by Fate, or are ignorantly committed, and those which are undertaken with malice prepense.[2] So it has

[2] Notwithstanding the constantly repeated view, discussed at some length by Littré apropos of the Old French *Grégoire* (*Histoire de la langue française*, Paris, 1863, vol. II, § viii), and elaborated with much

been objected that to point a moral and manifest by *examples* God's infinite mercy for the penitent other more satisfactory tales could have been found, where the sins were actual, not unintentional; but the truth is rather that the Middle Ages were not too particular about finical consistency. If the story were a good one and the moral a good one, why, what more could be desired? From the early Fathers and homilists down, there was ample precedent for finding instructive illustrations where they did not exist, as well as for appending morals that did not fit with extreme accuracy. And although this is not by any means an extenuation, it is sufficient explanation to obviate the stricture of Littré, Graf, and others, that the mediæval story-tellers missed fire in relating these legends for pious purposes. There is little doubt that mediæval readers and hearers caught the point as it was intended for them, and . . . *basta*.

Latin Versions

Previous to Professor E. K. Rand's *Mediæval Lives of Judas Iscariot* [3] no earlier version of the legendary life of

learning by Graf (*Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo,* Turin, 1892, I, pp. 273-310), I am unable to see in these legends, particularly in that of Judas, genuine evidence of a mediæval belief in fatalism. The purpose of the Judas, as has been said, was to make as repugnant as possible one who had participated in the death of Christ; and to accomplish this there may have been a clumsy adaptation of events from the story of Œdipus and other myths—(but this is as yet a 'case not proven')—so that what appearance there is of fatalism may be the result of an insufficient amalgamation of Œdipodean traits; but the fundamental conception of the Judas legend is still the wickedness of Judas, a sort of Pauline belief in original damnation and inherent sinfulness, which is utterly distinct from the Greek idea of Destiny.

[3] *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge,* Boston, 1913, pp. 305-16.

Judas was known than that in the chapter on Mathias in Jacopo da Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*,[4] composed probably between 1270 and 1275. Professor Rand's article brought to light three new versions, two of which he printed entire, and an older manuscript than any hitherto known of the version used by Jacopo. My own researches have revealed many more manuscripts of the known versions, and thus more abundant evidence of the popularity of the legend, but no versions that can be actually termed new. Altogether I have been able to find forty-two Latin texts of the legend (including those previously known). In the following list I have arranged them approximately in chronological order according to the dates of the manuscripts in which they appear.[5]

s. xii	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 14489, fol. 109v. Cf. Rand, p. 313.	*Ap.*
xii-xiii	Rome, Vatican, Palatinus 619, fol. 18. Cf. Rand, p. 305.	*Lv.*
xiii	Cambridge, St. John's College 214, fol. 159. Cf. James, *Descriptive Catalogue*, etc., p. 243, and see below, p. 497.	*Lc.*
	Reims 1275, fol. 2. Life of Pilate precedes, but has nothing in common with the usual life of Pilate, as in the *Legenda Aurea.* Cf. *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits de Bibliothèques Publiques.* Départements. XXXIX. Reims.	*Hr.*
	Munich, Lat. 21259, fol. 231v. Cf. Catalogue of Schmeller, etc., II, iii, p. 303; and Rand, pp. 306, 307. "The script," says Professor Rand, who has	

[4] *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea* . . . rec. Dr. Th. Graesse, ed. tertia, Vratisl. . . . 1890, Cap. XLV, pp. 183-8. Nearly half of the chapter on Mathias is devoted to Judas.

[5] Of these, *Ap, Ll, Lv, Hr, Rm, Ra* were discussed by Professor Rand; *Pi, Lg, Lk, Mw, Pz, Px* have been mentioned in other previous studies of the Judas legend. The remaining thirty are here brought together for the first time.

	examined the MS., "if not still in the twelfth century, should be dated, I am convinced, very early in the thirteenth."	*Rm.*
	Munich, Lat. 23490, fol. 20. Cf. the catalogue of Halm-Meyer, II, iv (1881). Printed by Mone, *Anzeiger*, VII (1838), col. 532. See below, pp. 510 ff.	*Pi.*
	British Museum, Additional 15404, fol. 19. Formerly belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Camberon, in Hainault. Life of Pilate follows, which, as in *Hr*, is not the usual *life*.	*Hb.*
	Paris, Arsenal 387, fol. 70v. Cf. Catalogue, I, p. 249; and Rand, p. 306.	*Ra.*
	Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 633, fol. 97v. Portions of the *Judas* are practically illegible.	*Rb.*
	Legenda Aurea, ch. XLV.	*Ll.*
	Oxford, Bodleian 90, § 5. See below, p. 499.	*Lj.*
	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 225, fol. 176v. Crude summary of the legend based on some MS. of Type R, with Cymbrea for Cyborea, and a strange disregard of syntax throughout. Ends imperfectly at the point where Pilate is overcome with desire for Reuben's fruit.	*Rg.*
s. xiii late	British Museum, Royal 9 A XIV, fol. 255. Doubtless a copy of *Ll*, although it omits the account of the betrayal and the moralizing on Judas's death. Preceded by a life of Pilate.	*Lk.*
	British Museum, Harley 2851, fol. 43. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, II, p. 401) dates the manuscript ca. 1300; but he is hardly right in describing as "small quarto" a page which is about three by four inches.	*Lh.*
	British Museum, Royal 8 E XVII, fol. 126. Professor Rand, following the old catalogue dated it s. XV; the new official catalogue correctly assigns it to the late thirteenth century.	*Lg.*
	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11867, fol. 179. Formerly St. Germain-des-Prés 376, a miscellaneous collection, including Cicero's *De Amicitia*, drinking songs, hymns to the Virgin, etc.	*Rg.*

s. xiii-xiv Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 210, fol. 46b. Cf. *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce to the Bodleian Library,* Oxford, 1840, p. 35; and Paul Meyer in *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français,* 1880, pp. 75-6. *Ld.*

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 323, fol. 3v. Apparently a copy of *Lv.* *Lf.*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 4413, fol. 19. Cf. Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire alphabétique,* II (1891), p. 480. Lives of Pilate and Judas in Latin, preceded and followed by works in French. *Rn.*

xiv early British Museum, Royal 12 E I, fol. 165 b, continued on fol. 154. Abridged from *Legenda Aurea.* Cf. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances,* III, p. 540. *Lr.*

xiv Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 4895 A, fol. 120v. Follows the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo. Slightly glossed in the margins. *R*o.

Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, IV, cap. vi. Rolls ed. IV, pp. 350 ff. Free condensation probably from *Ll.* *Lm.*

Douai 847, fol. 182v. Cf. the old quarto *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques des Départements,* t. VI, p. 593. *Hd.*

Cambridge, University Library Ff II 20. Extract from *Legenda Aurea.* Cf. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge,* II, p. 344. *Ln.*

Cambridge, University Library Oo VII 48, fol. 30b. Copy of either *Lv* or *Ll.* *L*o.

British Museum, Additional 18347, fol. 128 b. Originally from St. Georgenberg (Tyrol). Copy of *Ll.* Cf. Herbert, *Catalogue,* III, p. 603. *La.*

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 66, fol. 232b. Beautifully executed manuscript; copied from *Rg,* but contains the whole *vita.* *Rc.*

xiv late Oxford, Bodleian 458, fol. 184v. Copy of *Lj.* *Ls.*

s. xiv-xv	Bamberg 209 Q. V. 35, fol. 211. Probably from *Ll.*	*Lt.*
xv	Lille 138, fol. 20v. Written by Henry Descamps in 1481.	*Rl.*
	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 275, fol. 239. Copy of *Ll*, but followed by a kind of summary: "Judas scarioth fratrem suum putatiuum et patrem occidet, matrem propriam desponsauit populum prodidit et Christi munera [?] furabatur, unde pro dolore laquea [*sic*] se suspendit et crepuit in medio diffusis viceribus [*sic*]."	*Lp.*
	Bamberg 107 Q. IV. 36, fol. 257. Probably from *Ll.*	*Lu.*
	Munich, Lat. 237, fol. 67. Copy of *Pi.* Cf. Catalogue of Halm-Laubmann, I, i, (1868).	*Py.*
	Munich, Lat. 12262, fol. 206. See below, p. 513.	*Mw.*
	Engelberg 258, fol. 60. Greatly abbreviated, probably from *Ll.*	*Le.*
	Maihing II, Lat. 1, fol. 94. Dated 1475. Mentioned by Schepss in Mone's *Anzeiger* XXVII (1880), col. 114.	*Pz.*
	Leipzig 834, fol. 246. Probably from *Ll.*	*Lz.*
	Wolfenbüttel 212 (=Helmstadt 185), fol. 215. Mentioned by Leyser, *Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi,* 1721, p. 1225. (D'Ancona, *La leggenda di Vergogna e la leggenda di Giuda,* Bologna, 1869. Introd. p. 94, n. 1, gives the page as 2125; and this error, probably a misprint, was copied by Creizenach, *Judas Ischariot in Legende und Sage des Mittelalters,* PBB II, 2, p. 193, and by Heinrich, p. 93). Printed in 1906 by Alfred Heinrich as an appendix to his edition of Rothe's *Passion* (*Germanistische Abhandlungen,* 26. Heft).	*Px.*
	Wolfenbüttel 3292, fol. 207, 'De ortu et origine Jude proditoris.' Cf. O. von Heinemann, *Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel,* Abth. 2, vol. IV, p. 329.	*Lx.*
	Wolfenbüttel 1199 (=Helmstadt 1092), fol. 1. See below, p. 514.	*Mh.*

Uncertain date. Vienna, Lat. 1180 (Rec. 3167a), fol. 196. Variation of Type R. I have been unable to see this manuscript; for my knowledge of it I am indebted to Professor von Dobschütz. *Rj.*

Manuscript copy lent me by Professor von Dobschütz. Abbreviated redaction of Type R, but contains several variant readings which correspond to none of the known texts. Such variants may be the result of the scribe's efforts to condense; or may point to a text of Type R which has not come down to us. After carefully examining the text I believe the former alternative the more probable. *Re.*[6]

This list does not include, of course, the texts of the Judas legend where it is actually a part of the *Legenda Aurea,* but only complete separate versions; nor is it by any means exhaustive.

These versions may be divided into five groups, as I have indicated by the letters chosen to designate the manuscripts, viz.:

Type A. The earliest known Latin form of the legend, found in only one manuscript, *Ap.*

Type R. A more developed version, found in *Rm, Ra, Rb,* etc.

Type L. The *Legenda Aurea* version, comprising *Lv, Lc, Lj,* etc.

[6] To this list may be added: MS. 2035. BB. xii 12, zr. 1383 of the Library of the University of Cracow, *Varii versus Latini:* str. 166. 'explicit Judas Scarioht, da gracias'; and in the same library MS. 2610 Bbb i 58, zr. 1704, *Adscriptiones minoris momenti,* among which is a 'Historia de origine Judae Iscariot.' In the unpublished *Mare Magnum* of Francesco Marucelli (d. 1703) there is an article 'De Juda Proditore,' which probably contains the legend. Cf. Guido Biagi, *Indice del Mare Magnum,* Roma, 1885, p. 3. In the *Acta SS.,* May 3, preface to 'De Sancto Ursio' (p. 426), the 'historia apocrypha" of Judas is mentioned as appearing in the *Legenda Aurea,* and a brief summary is given, with the note: "Hinc hominum noscitur inclinatio ad similes narratiunculas proclivis."

Type H. An elaborated humanistic version, found in *Hr, Hb, Hd.*

Type P. Poetical versions—*Pi, Py, Pz, Px.*

Type M. Miscellaneous—*Mw, Mh.*

Since Type R and Type L give essentially the same material in different forms, it will be convenient to designate them collectively as Type RL.

Type A. The version *Ap* stands practically alone, and in many respects is the most remarkable of all. I reproduce here Professor Rand's text.

Nihil occultum quod non reveletur et opertum quod non sciatur.[7] Qui a malo progreditur et in malo perseverat, non corona sed meriti pena donatur. De Iuda proditore nobis vita innectitur, qui malus in ortu, peior in vita, pessimus exstitit in fine. Pater eius itaque quantum apud homines cluebat, diviciis affluens et honorabilis omnibus vicinis suis habebatur. Hic nocte quadam visionem vidit se filium habere qui mortem ei intentaret; iam enim uxor eius pregnans erat. De quo praestigium hoc futurum erat. Nato autem infante pater in eo omen tale consideravit et expavit, tibias illius transfixit atque inter frutecta longius ab urbe Iherusalem collocavit. Cuius vagitum et voces ploratus quidam pastorum intelligentes a loco dimoverunt eum et in Scarioth deferentes a quadam muliere alere fecerunt. Qui nutritus et in robur virile deductus regi iunctus est Herodi atque inter servos eius mixtus cum omni probitate regi ceterisque militibus serviebat. Et tamen, ut moris est servorum, que habere poterat prodige distribuebat et quam plurima sibi furtive vendicabat. Accidit autem quodam tempore ut Herodes sollempne convivium cum primoribus apud Ierosolimam haberet et inter multa ferculorum genera nascentia pomorum rex quereret. Cuius voluntatem Iudas festinavit implere et ad virgultum sui patris descendens, quem tamen suum patrem ignorabat, vi evellebat et eradicabat arborum fructus. Vir vero cuius haec erant animo motus et amaritudine plenus erexit se adversus hominem perversum, sed Iudas invalescens illum percussit et occidit. Commovetur adversus eum tota civitas et insurgentes in eum morti tradere disposuerunt. Iudas

[7] Cf. "Nihil enim est opertum, quod non revelabitur: et occultum quod non scietur" (Matt. 10, 26). The same idea occurs also in Mark and Luke.

autem ad presidium Herodis fugiens mortis periculum evasit. Herodes et ipse turbatus egit quemadmodum ille ab amicis interfecti pacem obtineret, ne re unius mali in aliud maius periculum declinaret. Accepto igitur consilio Herodes uxorem interfecti Iude copulavit, ipso et omnibus ignorantibus quod mater eiusdem esset. Die vero quadam accidit ut Iudas coram matre et uxore nudus appareret et videns illa stigmata plagarum in tibiis, suspicata est filium suum esse, quem olim inter frutecta proiectum dimiserat. Unde querit ab eo, quis pater eius exstiterat, vel que mater eius, qui parentes, et unde vel ex qua provintia ortus vel a quibus fuerit nutritus. Ille se nescire profitetur sed hoc tantum a sua nutrice audisse quia inter frutecta illo in loco iactus fuisset et a pastoribus reppertus in Scarioth delatus ibique nutritus sit. Et cum ad robur virile pervenisset Herodis se inter servientes se miscuisse et suo servicio multis placuisse. His auditis illa corruit et proclamans se miseram dicebat, "Infelix mei visio mariti que a filio completa est et insuper in me malignitatis et peccati redundat insania. Dies meae pereat nativitatis et caligo tenebrarum irruat in eum." Iudas autem tantam a se factam intelligens nequiciam doluit et pro tanto scelere penitens a matre recessit. At tunc temporis Iesus illis habitabat in locis, qui predicando et subveniendo multis corpora sanabat et mentes a diversis peccatis revocabat; gravatos peccatis ad se venientes suscipiebat et more pastoris oves ore lupino raptas ab eorum incursu abstraebat. Cuius virtutem atque pietatem Iudas agnoscens ad eum se contulit et ut sui misereretur rogavit. Assensit Iesus voluntati ipsius, secum quoque ac inter suos discipulos eum esse passus est. Cui etiam que habebat committebat ut sibi ceterisque provideret necessaria. Ille vero sacculos habebat et que poterat furabatur. Et cuius intentionis ipse Iudas esset, in fine apparuit, quia magistrum precio vendidit et Iudeis tradidit. Qui tandem se ipsum suspendit et miserabili morte vitam finivit. Tu autem Domine miserere nostri. Qui perseveraverit usque in finem in bonum, hic salvus erit.

This is, as Professor Rand remarks, "certainly the finest of all the versions, with a pathos direct and touching, not far removed from tragedy." It is no mere scandalmonger's tale, and no ignorant, ultra-pious effort to make the figure of Judas as repulsive as possible. The author shows a quiet dignity, a sort of Christ-like forgiveness of the wretch who was "malus in ortu, peior in vita, pessimus in fine." His Latin is simple, naïf, but expressive; his arrangement of the incidents, his subordination of the

merely narrative element, and his emphasis, in the manner of the best sermons, on the reflective and philosophical, bespeak a refinement entirely lacking in the writer of the *Legenda Aurea* version. "The Judas of this little story awakens our compassion and the recognition of our common frailty."

The simplicity of this narrative is an indication of its early date. The lack of names for the parents of Judas, and the absence of the incident of the foster-brother and the concomitant fratricide, point to a somewhat undeveloped stage of the story as compared with the later versions. It is not only the earliest Latin form of the legend, but appears to be also not far removed from the earliest of all versions.

TYPE R. Type R is represented by eleven manuscripts. None of these is demonstrably earlier than the thirteenth century; hence it is impossible to say at once whether this redaction in its original form antedates the original form of Type L or not.[8] Professor Rand argues for an early date for *Rm;* and describes it as "written in a beautiful clear script of the very end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century." This manuscript had already been mentioned by Schepss;[9] *Ra,* of the thirteenth century, is a discovery of Professor Rand's; the remaining nine manuscripts (*Rb, Rg, Rq, Rn, Ro, Rc, Rl, Rj, Re*) have, I believe, never been considered in any discussion of the Judas legend. *Rm, Ro, Ra, Rb, Rn, Rq, Rl,* offer practically the same text. By comparing all the variants I have endeavored to reconstruct the archetype of Type R, as follows:

[8] Professor Rand inclines to the opinion that Type L and Type R have a common earlier parent, and are not derived one from the other. This is quite possible.

[9] Mone's *Anzeiger,* XXVII (1880), col. 114. Schepss calls it s. xiii-xiv.

Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Pilato preside uir in Iudea Ruben nomine ex tribu Ruben qui noctis in tempestate legalibus uxoris sue Ciboree alligabatur amplexibus.[10] Ciborea uero dum membra sompni foueret quiete sompnium uidit, quo expergefacta pectore sollicito retrahens suspiria uelut presagiis futurorum malorum pleno flebiliter ingemuit. Cui Ruben uehementer inquit et ultra quam eloqui fas est: admiror que tanta causa tristicie sic tua uiscera moueri compulerit. Ciborea intulit: cum carnali copula ligati legi deseruiremus maritali prolem certo tempore pariendam que totius magno constabit Iudaici populi gentibus concepisse per sompnium uidi; aut enim spiritus et utinam falsus subrepens intimauit, aut mens per eam gentem nostram ut solet in multo tempore presagia futurorum malorum dispergenda mihi declarauit. Ruben pre maximo admiracionis terrore correptus; nephariam, inquit, rem nec relatu dignam profaris, spiritu ceu puto phitonico raperis. Ciborea uero iuramento confirmans sic per futurum fore ait. Mensium igitur curricula diem partus cum periculo uite instantis, abhinc diligenter considera. Hic enim infantulus de quo confirmantur scelera, ne gens nostra alligetur dicioni peregrinationis, si dies uite ex integro ad tempus natalis sui perduxero morte morietur. Tempora fluxerunt, orbe nouo cornua lunaria refulserunt. Instante itaque die partui deputato generatur filius. Ruben uero multimodis et inexplicabilibus inuoluitur curis. Nepharium enim ducit filium occidi, scelerosum totius gentis destructorem enutriri. Tandem seponitur pietas, preponderat impietas. Cistella uimine contexitur, in qua maris fluctibus iniectus ad insulam Scarioth propellitur: a qua Iudas Scariothis cognominatur. Tunc regina huius comitata pedissequis fortuitu ad litus maris processit spatiari uiditque infantulum procellosis maris fluctibus fluctuari. Pedisseque autem accurrunt et uultum pueri diligenter intuentes regieque pulchritudini conparantes domine deferunt et de longinquis partibus in illas perfluxisse asserunt. Regina itaque liniamenta corporis pueri preconsiderans et diligentius oculorum intuitu prenotans ait: o si solatiis tante sobolis subleuarer, ne regni mei successore priuarer. Pedisseque infantulum nutriri suggerunt ut uidua sterili permanente habeatur heres. Regina obsequitur hancque regiam peperisse prolem terram promulgatur in omnem. Plebs letatur, primates congratulantur. Denique breui post tempore impletur regine uterus, certisque diebus generatur eis filius legitimus. Colludentibus hiis itaque in annis infancie Iudas puerum regium ad fletum non pertimescit prouocare. Regina autem sciens eum ad se

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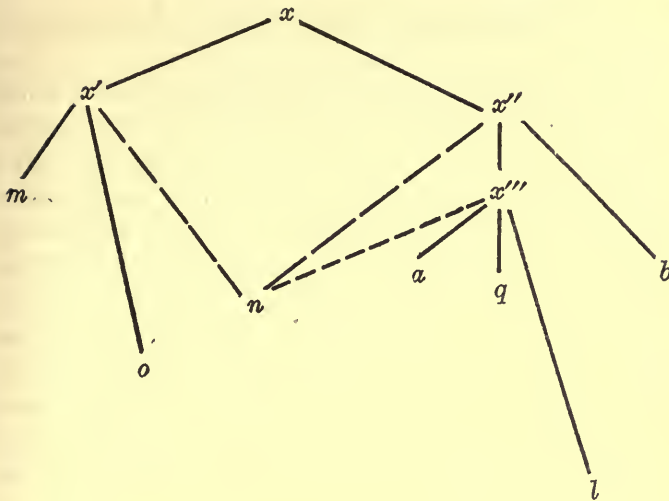
[10] Cf. "Fuit in diebus Herodis regis Iudaeae sacerdos quidam nomine Zacharias de vice Abia, et uxor illius de filiabus Aaron, et nomen eius Elisabeth." Luc., I, 5-6.

non pertinere tantum in suum dedignatur audire. Tandem res panditur, Iudas puer inuenticius esse conperitur. Hic ergo erubescit et puerum fratrem suum creditum latenter occidit. Ob hoc ergo timens capitalem sententiam cum tributariis Ierusalem usque aufugit, seque curie Pilati tunc presidi applicuit. Deinde uero quoniam res similes sibi sunt habiles, quia nequam et moribus suis congruere inuenitur, universis rebus Pilati preficitur. Nulla sine suo iussu, nutu, consensuque fiunt, quoniam in dicione sua omnia porrecta sunt. Stans autem die quadam Pilatus ad palacium introspexit quoddam pomerium, uiditque fructus quorum tanto captus est desiderio ut pene exhalaret spiritum. Accersito itaque Iuda ait: si esu horum fructuum frustratus fuero me ut cuncta natura sinu terre remittens receptabit placido, *quoniam capit omnia tellus que genuit &c.*[11] Iudas igitur pomerio insiliit, mala carpit, Ruben superuenit, contendunt, iurgia superaddunt. Ruben tandem lapide quo ceruix collo connectitur a Iuda percussus occidit. Iam die se inclinante nocteque instante Ruben mortuus reperitur; subitanea morte preuentus creditur esse. Tunc Pilatus Iude recolligens merita omnem Ruben substantiam et uxorem ei contradidit in beneficia. Ciborea ut dolores tot et tantos recolligit ingemuit, Iude causam suspirii querenti ait: infantulum marinis fluctibus inmersi, uirum meum morte preuentum inueni, nunc autem, quo super omnia moueor, quia uiro contra uoluntatem meam socior. Iudas autem hec omnia sibi euenisse probauit, filiumque suum esse, matrem quoque in uxorem duxisse coniecit. Penitentia ergo ductus Ciborea suadente saluatoris domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem fit remissio peccatorum, ut suorum ueniam mereretur delictorum, fit discipulus. Habebat autem tunc semper loculos ubi sibi reseruabat furtiua pauperibus in elemosinas distribuenda. Hic autem a domino diligebatur pre ceteris donec consilium iniit cum Iudeis et eum triginta uendidit argenteis. Videns autem quia innocentem condampnauerat proiecto in templo sanguinis precio laqueo se suspendit et medius crepuit.

After comparing all the variant readings I have prepared the following stemma for the seven manuscripts of this version:[12]

[11] Lucan, *Pharsalia,* 7, 818-19. "Cælo . . . urnam" was quoted by Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* I, 12 (M. S. L. 41, 27). Cf. Isidorus XVI, 26, 4.

[12] The existence of x' and x'' and the positions of *m* and *o* may be held quite certain. Of x''' one cannot be so positive. The positions of *a*, *q*, *l* may be considered as fairly established (if x''' be removed they



From a consideration of the interrelationship of the manuscripts two points of interest result. First: x'' and x''' show a large number of glosses, whence it seems right to infer that in the early days of these two texts the little story of Judas was deemed worthy of what we should now term an 'edition'; certain versions of the legend were treated to a sort of textual criticism as the Middle Ages understood it. Moreover, *b* was a special recension; and *n*, as is shown both by the unusually large number of glosses, and by its apparent collation of x' and x'' (and perhaps x'''), as well as by its completion of the Lucan quotation, would seem to represent an effort to provide

descend directly from x''); *b* is probably in its right place; and there appears to be sufficient ground for the position of *n*.—Inasmuch as it would occupy too much space to print all the variants and the arguments from which I have deduced the stemma, I must ask the reader to accept my conclusions on faith. On this point, however, and on any other for which the evidence may seem insufficient, all the material may be found in my dissertation in the Harvard University Library.

a 'complete critical text based on all the known manuscripts.'

The second interesting result is to push further back the date of the archetype of Type R. That is, *m*, our earliest manuscript of Type R, is not only not the original, it is a copy of a copy. Inasmuch as *m* was undoubtedly written sometime ca. 1200, the evidence of at least two earlier texts of this version warrants our placing the original manuscript of the Type definitely in the twelfth century, and with some show of probability not the very end of the century. This evidence enables us to say also, with tolerable certainty, that Type R antedates the Type adopted by Jacopo da Voragine, since we have no ground for dating the latter earlier than sometime after the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Type L. The manuscripts of Type L may be roughly divided into early and late texts. As has been said, *Ll* had generally been considered the earliest, and the prototype. Professor Rand, however, discovered in *Lv* "an immediate precursor of the account in the *Golden Legend*," the source which Jacopo da Voragine incorporated in his work almost without change. This manuscript is in the Vatican, Palatinus 619, dated s. xii-xiii in the catalogue of Stevenson-de Rossi. The writing of the Judas legend is "clearly before the date of Jacopo (1230-1298)." [13] The chief differences between *Lv* and *Ll*, besides unimportant variations in word order and spelling (*ergo* generally in *Lv* for *igitur* in *Ll*, and similar details of scribal origin) are that *Lv* represents Judas as from the tribe of Judah, whereas *Ll* has "de tribu Dan," that Jacopo "cautiously adds" *licet apocrypha* after "quadam historia" at the beginning, and at the end of the legend proper comments:

[13] Rand, p. 305.

"hucusque in prædicta historia apocrypha legitur, quæ utrum recitanda sit lectoris arbitrio relinquatur, licet sit potius relinquenda quam asserenda." This bit of naïf scepticism has been universally attributed to Jacopo da Voragine, who was, in fact, by no means so gullible and credulous as many have asserted. Nevertheless, while *licet apocrypha* is with him a not unusual safeguarding formula, and while he must have brought to bear a good deal of critical discrimination in preparing such a compendious legendary from such infinitely scattered and multifarious materials as he had to work with, still he was not given, I think, to expressing his doubt in this manner.

The originality of this scepticism on the part of Jacopo is laid open to doubt by *Lc.* This manuscript, originally of Bury St. Edmunds, is now at Cambridge, St. John's College 214; it is described by James [14] as "Cent. xii late, very finely [i. e., beautifully] written"; it contains the *Etymologiæ* of Isidorus, some curious maps, and (unfinished) capitula of the *Sententiæ* of Isidorus; and last, "in another hand (xiii)," *De ortu poncii pilati* and *De ortu Jude scarioht.* The script of these lives of Pilate and Judas is certainly not of the twelfth century, but it seems to me to be not very much later. Dr. James is unwilling to agree to call the writing "very early cent. xiii," and estimates the lapse of about a generation between the writing of these lives of Pilate and Judas and that of the remainder of the manuscript.[15] Now the dating of any manuscript from the writing alone is fraught with many

[14] *Descriptive Catalogue,* etc., p. 243.

[15] In a private communication. It is proper to add, however, that Dr. James has again examined this portion of the MS. and pronounced his "deliberate opinion" that the life of Judas here "may quite possibly be after 1260; and not impossibly but less likely after 1280."

uncertainties; and it is, I confess, quite impossible to demonstrate absolutely that this Cambridge version antedates the *Legenda Aurea*. Nevertheless, the script of this *De ortu Jude scarioht* seems to me to belong to the first half of the thirteenth century, and certainly is earlier than the composition of the *Legenda Aurea;* and so, along with *Lv, Lc* represents the source of Jacopo. But *Lc* (like *Lg* and *Ld*) reads: "legitur enim in quadam historia licet apocrypha"; and (like *Lg*) contains the *hucusque* passage with which Jacopo apologizes for admitting the legend into his collection: "hucusque in apocripha historia sic legitur: utrum recitanda sit . . ." etc., exactly as in *Ll*.[16]

[16] The whole question of Jacopo's treatment of his sources remains still to be investigated. The above generalization is, I believe, sound. When he can, Jacopo evidently cites a well known name to vouch for the *life* or legend—Hieronymus, Anastasius, Augustinus, Gregorius—often expressing uncertainty as to the attribution. It is, furthermore, perhaps significant that in introducing the life of Pilate (Cap. LIII) he writes: "de poena autem et origine Pylati in quadam historia licet apocrypha"; which is also his introduction to the legend of Judas. And later: "Hucusque in praedicta historia apocrypha leguntur. Quae utrum recitanda sint, lectoris judicio relinquatur. Nota tamen, quod in hystoria scholastica legitur. . . . Potuit esse, si tamen illa hystoria continet veritatem, quia. . . . Eusebius autem et Beda in suis chronicis non dicunt. . . ." Here he not only repeats essentially his apology for the Judas legend, but magnifies the uncertainty by means of additional conflicting sources. It must be noted, moreover, that those two passages are the only examples of his elaborately warning the too credulous reader. On other occasions, save for the qualifying phrases indicated above, tales quite as indigestible as those of Pilate and Judas are served warm to the reader with no hesitation. One cannot help imagining that these two legends Jacopo took from some collection or other which he had special grounds for suspecting. Other *lives* equally marvellous he had from more respectable sources, and consequently he took them to a certain extent on holy faith; against an unqualified belief in the *lives* of these two *maledicti,* Judas and Pilate, he felt in conscience bound to warn the gentle reader.

Another early manuscript of this group is *Lj,* dated the "second half of the thirteenth century." The scribe omitted the *licet apocrypha* at the beginning and the *hucusque* passage at the end of the legendary material, but preserved carefully the moralizing on Judas's death. Possibly, in the mind of this scribe at least, the story had received complete credence. Curiously, in *Lj* the 'spiritus phitonicus' became 'spiritus propheticus,' probably because the scribe was unfamiliar with the somewhat unusual word.[17]

The text of Type L is readily accessible in Graesse's edition of the *Legenda Aurea,* and therefore I need not

But, on the other hand, if, as appears extremely probable, the *hucusque* passage is found in a text which antedates the composition or compilation of the *Legenda Aurea,* then this apologetic warning is not Jacopo's own, but is transferred bodily from his source. And since almost the same words follow the legend of Pilate as that of Judas it would seem that the two legends kept company before the last quarter of the thirteenth century, precisely as we find them together throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages—and indeed as we find them in the early thirteenth-century MS. at St. John's College, Cambridge. If, however, the second statement of Dr. James is correct (see p. 497, n. 15) this hypothesis falls to the ground. But it is by no means demonstrable, nor even likely, that the *Legenda Aurea* was compiled as early of 1260; and even if Jacopo had made some preliminary collections by that date, it is not natural to suppose they would include Judas and Pilate. Moreover, while it is both possible and probable that the *Legenda Aurea* was finished by 1280, it is on the other hand possible but *not* probable that a copy of it would have reached England immediately after its completion, and that a scribe of Bury St. Edmunds would have made an extract of only the lives of Judas and Pilate. The earliest MSS. of the *Legenda Aurea* now in England date from the very end of the thirteenth century. It appears to me far more probable *prima facie* that this version of the life of Judas (and that of Pilate) was known rather earlier than 1260 or 1280, and that the monk of Bury St. Edmunds had a copy of it and Jacopo da Voragine had another copy.

[17] On this word cf. Rein. Köhler, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.* XI (1870), p. 317, n. 3 (= *Klein. Schriften,* II, p. 196, n. 1).

reprint it here. After collating Graesse's text with the early manuscripts of the Judas legend where it is not a portion of the *Legenda Aurea,* I find it impossible to infer anything certain with regard to the relationship of the various texts. *Lc* and *Lv* are doubtless the earliest; and it is probably safer to say that both are copies of an earlier text, now unknown, than that they are copies one of the other. *Ll* probably derives from an early text of *Lc,* or from the assumed parent of *Lc* and *Lv,* or from a sister text to *Lc* and *Lv;* but the presence of the *hucusque* passage in *Ll* and in *one* of its known forerunners would render it reasonably safe to infer that *Ll* is more closely related to the antecedent text which contains that test sentence (i. e., to *Lc*) than to the one which does not contain it. Still the evidence is far from conclusive, and in many important variants *Lv* is closer to *Ll* and *Lc* than any of the other early texts. As to the other manuscripts of this group which are roughly contemporary with *Ll* or only a little posterior, I incline to think that *Lj, Lh, Ld,* and *Lk* are more or less free copies of *Ll* (*Lj* being especially free), and that *Lg* and *Lf* derive rather from *Lv* than from *Ll.*

In view of the enormous and apparently immediate popularity of the *Legenda Aurea,* most of the manuscripts of the Judas legend which resemble the version adopted by Jacopo and which postdate his work are *a priori* likely to be copies from the great legendary; but this *a priori* probability should not blind us to the fact that a separate version of the story, Type R, giving essentially the same matter in different language, not only existed by the side of the *Legenda Aurea* version, but actually, as it seems from the number of manuscripts in which it is found, rivalled it in frequency of repetition. And it must be remembered in such an estimate of popularity that one manuscript of the

Type R version greatly more than outweighs one manuscript of the Type L version, simply because the latter had the added advantage of the popularity of the whole *Legenda Aurea* behind it, whereas the Type R version had to go on its own merits. That the legend should exist in these two so similar forms in such a large number of manuscripts is important evidence of the hold it took on the mediæval mind.

TYPE H. Type H is the longest and most elaborate version of the Judas legend. It is represented by three manuscripts two of which (*Hr* and *Hb*) are of the thirteenth century, and one (*Hd*) of the fourteenth. All three were written in the north-east of France. *Hr* was published *in extenso* by Professor Rand, who knew only the one manuscript.[18] Since the manuscript (*Hr*), says Professor Rand, "contains, besides *exempla moralia,* Æsopic fables and Sibylline prophecies, a very extensive collection of the poems of Hildebert, Marbod, and Bernard Sylvester, we may possibly look for the source of this paganized story in the circle of these humanists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries." [19]

I give the version here entire, because by collating *Hb* with *Hr* (as printed by Professor Rand) it has been possible to improve the readings of a few difficult passages. I am unable at present to give the variants of *Hd* except for the first two paragraphs; the general character of the text will appear, however, from this partial collation.

> Pater Iude Scarioht de tribu Dan duxit uxorem generis sui secundum legis preceptum. Qui ingressus ad eam impregnavit eam. Ipsa autem nocte vidit mulier presagium malorum in sompno, videlicet presagium malorum suorum. Videbat ignem

1 Jude symonis scariothis talis ortus, talis uite prouectus, talis fuit exitus. Pater eius de tribu dan. . . *b.*—2 legis *om. b.*—3 pre-

[18] Rand, pp. 308-12. [19] Rand, p. 315.

5 de utero suo egredientem qui paulatim crescens primo maritum suum corripuit eumque penitus consumens donec in favillam deficeret post paululum domum eius in qua iacebat conflagrabat. Qua consumpta prodigiosum monstrum in eosdem ortus hoc est in utero suo, mater agnovit. Ignis vero non totum se recondebat
10 sed interiecto longi temporis spacio inde iterum quasi moderacius se subducebat et subito in altum excrescens primo Iudeam et Galileam deinde omnem circa regionem afflabat et penitus concremabat; ad ultimum urbem regiam David Iherusalem et arcem Syon una cum sancto et venerabili templo corripiebat et omnia
15 in cinerem et favillam redigens concremabat. Ita mulier in medio visu subito exterrita evigilavit et ingenti clamore et gemitu horrorem visionis sue testata maritum excitavit; querenti quid esset, quid haberet, quid clamaret, quid fleret, visa sua exposuit. Illc prodigioso sompno attonitus diluculo sur-
20 rexit et cum uxore in Iherusalem abiit (erat enim in vico Scarioth qui est ante Iherusalem ad aquilonarem urbis plagam unus de sacerdotibus Domini magni vir meriti) venitque ad eum cum uxore sua seorsumque abducens prodigialem illius visioncm ei indicavit. Qua ille audita visione permotus inge-
25 muit diuque stupens et quasi mutus tandem in hanc prophecie vocem ora resolvit.

"Ha! mulier misera, filius quem concepisti magni doloris causa erit tibi, patri autem prius, deinde omni Iudeorum genti et regioni et sancte urbi et templo sempiternus interitus. Sed
30 placate Deum precibus penitentia votis et muneribus ut avertat Dominus iram sue indignationis a vobis."

Hec dixit et tristes ac metu magno consternatos eos dimisit.

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sagium . . . suorum] sompnium presag. mal. suorum *b;* sompno presag. mal. suorum *d.*—6 consumens] consumpsit *d.*—7 domum] domum quoque *b.*—8 prodigiosum] prodigioso *b.*—9 mater . . . vero] *om. b.* Non] nec tamen *b.* Se recondebat] terrendum dabat *r.* Se] sese *b.*—10 sed] nec *b.* Inde iterum *om d.*—13 urbem regiam] reg. urb. *b.* David Iher. *om. b.* Arcem] archem *b.*—15 redigens concremabat] concremans redigebat *b, d.*—17 maritum] maritum suum *b.*—18 quid haberet] quod hab. *r.* Quid fleret *om. d.*—20 in *om. d.*—21 Scarioth] Scarioht *r.* Urbis] urbem *d.*—22 unus] unum *b.* vir] *Rand;* uiri *r;* uirum *b.* Venitque] conuenit *b.* Ad eum cum] cumque *b.*—23 -que *om. b.* Abducens *om. d.*—24 visione *om. b.* —25 mutus] mutus herens *b.*—27 Ha] ahc *b.* Mulier misera] misera misera mulier *b.* Filius] filium *r.*—28 autem] autem suo *b.* Prius] post *d.*—30 penitentia] penitencia *r et sic frequenter.* Votis *om. d.*—31 Dom. . . . a vobis] a vobis deus ir. s. indig. *b;* a vobis ir. indig. s. *d.*—

Evoluto autem tempore quo conceperat mulier peperit puerum
satis quidem scitum sed in suam et multorum perniciem natum.
35 Vnde anxii pro visione et sui vatis divinatione decreverunt eum
statim necare et parricidas se sui sanguinis esse. Sed non est
possibilitatis humane convertere consilium ordinationis divine.
Ille de quo postea passivus pro salute mundi dixit Filius Dei,
"Melius illi erat si natus non fuisset homo ille," cum natus
40 statim debuit occidi, reservatus est in perdicionem sui, in traditionem Domini Ihesu Christi, in nutrimentum ignis eterni, in
memoriam patrum suorum, et in recordacionem peccati misere
matris sue. Pugnaverunt diu affectus pietatis et timor patrie;
et voluit diu pater pius esse. Noluit ipse prius nocens esse
45 interficiendo eum quem nondum noverat aliquid quod morte
puniri deberet commisisse. Porro autem pie sollicitabatur pro
salute patrie mallens unum innocentem adhuc et filium suum
suis maioribus interire quam per illum succedenti tempore
tocius patrie ruinam videre. Vicit tandem amor patrie utrosque parentes clausumque in cistella lignea puerum superata pietate proiecerunt in mare. Inhorruisse ferunt pelagus mox ut
sensit prodigiale onus, totiusque fluctibus frementes torsisse
vertices et futurum sui conditoris venditorem tortis impulisse
fluctibus ut et futurum latronem dissecaret et collideret suis
55 molibus et occultaret profundis gurgitibus priusquam venditor
audax horrendum seclis omnibus perpetraret facinus. Miser
Iuda et infelicissime, quo tuo vel tuorum parentum crimine
contigit tibi tot tantisque malis natum esse? Cur misera illa
mater tua cum te concepit non statim abortivit? Cur autem
60 natus? Cur exceptus genibus? Cur lactatus uberibus? Cur
natus non statim es paternis et maternis manibus necatus?
Esset certe modo tibi melius; parricidale autem crimen fuisset

32 hec *om. b.* Hec dixit *om. d.*—33 quo] quod *b.*—34 quidem *om. b.*—35 pro visione] p(ro) visionem *r;* propter visionem *Rand.* Divinatione] divinationem *r.*—36 parricidas] p(er)ricidas *r;* parricide *b.*—38 passivus *om. b.*—40 statim debuit] deb. stat. *b.* Est *om. b.*—41 Ihesu *om. b.* In (*ante* nutrim.) *om. r, b.*—42 peccati] precati *r;* pcti *b.*—43 pietatis] pietasque *b.* Timor] timor (?) *r;* amor *Rand.*—44 et voluit] noluit *r.*—45 nondum] nudu *b.*—47 mallens] malu *b.*—48 succedenti] accedenti *b.*—49 tocius] pocius *r.*—50 parentes] paventes *r.*—52 onus] honus *r.* -que *om. r.*—54 ut et] *Rand;* et ut *r;* et *om. b.* Futurum] auarum *b.*—55 molibus] motibus *b.*—57 tuorum parentum] par. tuorum *b.* Crimine contigit] contigitur crimine *b.*—58 Tibi *om. b.*—59 concepit] cepit *r.*—60 cur . . . necatus *om. r.*—62 modo tibi] tibi modo *b.* Parricidale autem] parricida/

tuis miseris parentibus tuo crimine venialius. Cur autem vel in mare proiectus non statim es mersus et a tanto abysso suf-
65 focatus? Esset tibi vel mare vel aliquis beluinus venter sepulchrum nec postea celo terreque perosus tam infelici morte perisses inter utrumque. Sed cum mori poteras adhuc sine crimine, pepercit tibi inter fluctus nescio quis deus, quamvis ether, venti et pelagus ut perires totis pugnabat viribus. Incertum
70 est, inquam, quis deus hoc discrimine te eripuit; et elementa dum te laborant obruere, visa sunt pocius obsequium tibi prestitisse. Actus enim tot fluctibus fertur unius diei et noctis spacio, ab Ioppe civitate Galilee transvectus per tot maria usque ad horam Illirici maris usque Bitradum et ad introitum
75 pervenit, ad hanc famosam alitricem Iude traditoris. Vbi mane piscator quidam egressus sagenam suam in mare misit, quam vacuam quidem piscibus sed oneratam cistella Iude ad littus adduxit. Quam acceptam mox ad uxorem suam attulit dicensque magnum thesaurum invenisse qui inopiam sublevaret gratu-
80 labundus ostendit. Sed effracta cistella et detecta spes expectati thesauri nulla fuit. Nihil enim in cistella aliud invenerunt nisi puerum vaginentem et membranam parvulam hec verba continentem: Hic infantulus est Iudas de vico Scarioth qui est ante Iherusalem.

85 Mulier, mota visceribus humanitatis, "Maiorem," inquit ad maritum, "expectato nostro dii nobis dederunt thesaurum, hunc tam elegantis forme puerum, quem quia non habemus proprium hunc adoptivum habebimus in filium." Hec dixit, et marito facile in id ipsum consenciente puerum de cistella exposuit, et
90 nesciens quam magnum malum aleret in perdicionem sui et multorum eum nutrivit. Qui postquam adolevit Grecorum

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rit autem *r;* parricidari; tantum *Rand.*—63 venialius] venalius *r.* —64 tanto] tanta *b.*—65 aliquis] aquis *b.*—69 et pelagus] pelagusque *b.*—71 tibi *om. r.*—73 ab Ioppe civitate] ad Ioppem civitatem *b.* Galilee] galylee *b.*—74 usque Bitradum et ad introitum pervenit] qua byt°cum civitatem cepit aluit *b.*—75 ad hanc] *Rand;* adhuc *r, b.*—mane] mare *r.*—76 egressus] ingressus *r.*—77 oneratam] honeratam *r.* Cistella] cistellam *r.*—78 dicensque] quod *b.*—79 thesaurum] tessaurum *r.* Invenisse] invenisset *b.* Inopiam] eos inopia *r.*—80 cistella et detecta] et det. cis. *b.* Expectati] expectata *b.*—81 Nihil] nichil *b.*—82 verba *om. r.*—83 Scarioth] scarioht *r.*—85 ad mar. exp. nos.] exp. nos. ad mar. *b.*—86 dii] di(i)s? *r.* thesaurum] tesaurum *r.*—87 tam *om. r.* Quem] qui *b.*—88 Adoptivum] adotivum *r.* In filium] proprium *r.* Hec *om. b.* Et *om. r.*—90 magnum *om. b.*—91 Grecorum *om. b.*—92 erat *om. b.*—94

disciplinis et studiis se exercitando cito perfecit. Erat acer corpore et ingenio animi. Factum est autem ut consuetudinaria institutione decreto principum Bithordi quinquennalis
95 agon in honore Iovis Olimpiadi celebraretur, ubi cum urbibus, vicis, castellis, oppidis agrisque studium ostendende virtutis et cupido laudis et spes palme multos alliceret. Iudasque affuit inter alios et super ceteros agonistas clarissimus victor emicuit. Quod aliqui invidentes et indigne ferentes cum cap-
100 tivus et advena indigenis et nobilibus civibus se comparare auderet, cum gravi opprobrio ei obiciunt cumque de agonali ludo non sine iniuria expellunt. Ille gravi ira permotus ad matrem, quem adhuc credebat suam, furibundus venit, exertoque in eam nimis ferociter gladio, quis ipse aut unde aut
105 cuius filius esset aut quomodo illuc venisset aut cur tanto tempore matrem eius se mentita fuisset, eam fateri coegit. Illa unde aut quando illus venisset aut quomodo a marito suo piscatore inventus, quomodo ab illa nutritus quod adoptivus filius esset ei indicavit. Ceterum quis aut cuius filius esset, quomodo
110 etiam illuc venisset se nescire respondit, simul et cartulam cum illo in cistella inventam ei protulit. "Et si tantus amor est," ait, "tibi te ipsum cognoscendi, scis patriam nomenque tuum.[20] Inquire gentem et genus tuum et quomodo veneris huc." Ille his auditis attonitus iram tunc quidem compressit, tempus vero
115 opportunum nactus Bitrodum quasi Andropolim iturus reliquit. Inde navim conscendens in Syriam proficiscentem paucis post diebus in Ioppen portu expositus ad urbem Iherusalem pervenit. Erat eo tempore in Iherusalem Poncius Pylatus procurator rerum publicarum a Romanis in Iudeam missus. Ei

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Bithordi] bithor *r;* bithroci *b.*—95 Olimpiadi] Olipiadi *r;* Olipiadis *Rand.* ubi cum] et ubique de *Rand.*—96 castel.] et castel. *b.* Ostendende] ostend(er)e *r.*—97 -que] quoque *b.* Affuit inter alios] inter alios affuit *b.*—98 et] et inter et *b.*—99 cum] *Rand;* cui(?) *r;* cur *b.*—101 opprobrio ei obviciunt] probro ei obiciunt *b;* opp. e^{b}iciu(n)t ei *r;* opp. conviciantur ei *Rand.*—103 Exertoque] exc(ri?) toque *r;* exsertoque *Rand.*—105 Cur] cui(?) *r.* Tanto *om. b.*—106 Mentita] mentitam *r.*—108 Quod] q(ui) *r;* quod *Rand.*—113 et genus] genusque *b.*—114 his] hiis *r.* Quidem compressit] comp. quidem *b.*—115 Bitrodum] bithrotum *b.*—116 conscendens . . . proficiscentem] syriam proficiscens conscende(re)n *b.* In] *Rand;* eu(m) *r; om. b*—118 eo tempore in Iher.] Iher. eo tempore *b.*—119 Iudeam] Iudea *r.*—

[20] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* ii, 10, "Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros," *etc.*, and note also the dactylic rhythm at the end of the sentence. Rand, p. 310, n. 10.

120 Iudas officiosissime deserviendo adhesit, nihil de gente et cognatione sua fortunisque suis cuiquam locutus pro officio suo brevi tam presidi quam clientibus eius fuit carus. Accidit autem quadam die ut Pylatus deambularet per solarium domus in qua manebat. Aspiciens vicum Scarioth vidit in orto unius pau-
125 peris dactilos in palma pendere et desideravit ex eis comedere. Vocansque unum ex astantibus misit et de fructu sibi afferre iussit. Ille abiit, sed prohibente domino pomerii carpere suos fructus, inanis ad presidem rediit. Ille ita commotus, "Et quis," ait, "adhuc ibit prò nobis?" "Ego," Iudas et abiit.
130 Erat autem ortus ille Symonis qui erat pater Iude. Irruens Iudas cum furore palmam excussit, deinde quos excusserat fructus collegit. Et conversus contumax turbatis oculis in patrem suum (nesciebat autem quod pater suus esset), "Cur non" inquit, "o decrepite senex et me repellis? Cur non
135 et mihi contradictis?" "Et rogasse quam rapuisse equius fuerat," senex respondit, "et depone quod meum est. Depone, inquam, quod meum est," ingeminavit et quod collegerat de palla illi excussit. Iudas ut leo frendens nil id tale promeritum senem patrem suum fuste percussit diminutoque eius
140 cerebro morientem et suam ulcionem deo clamantem dimisit et recollectos fructus paterno sanguine respersus presidi attulit. Audita morte innocentis fit de tota urbe concursus, oritur gravis sedicio et furentis populi confusa vociferacio illis clamantibus, "Homicida exhibeatur," aliis autem succinentibus eciam,
145 "Et preses cum sua domo ignibus subiciatur." Preses cogitans esse optimum ad evitandam tali tempore seditionem, viros sapientes et discretos mittit ad populum, quam sedicionem temere inceptam illis mediantibus facile compescuit. Accitaque muliere cuius erat maritus occisus, consilio seniorum et per-

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124 aspiciens] aspiciensque *b*. Scarioth] scarioht. *r*.—126 fructu] fructu illo *b*.—127 ille] ille servus *r*. Carpere] capere *r*.—129 adhuc] adhuc semel *b*. Pro *om*. *b*. Iudas] Iudas ait *b*.—130 irruens] irruensque *b*.—131 quos] quod *r*.—132 contumax] minax *b*. Turbatis oculis *om*. *b*.—133 quod] qui (?) *r;* quia *Rand*. Cur] cui(?) *r*. Cur non . . . repellis] cur . . . non repellis *r*.—134 o *om*. *b*. —136 fuerat] fuit *b*.—138 palla] pallio *b*.—140 suam] in suam *b*. Deo] deum *b*.—141 sanguine] sanguitie (?) *r*. Respersus] respersit *b*.—144 exhibiatur] exibiatur *r*. Autem *om*. *b*.—145 sua] suis *b*. —145-148 Preces . . . compescuit] proces ratuus optimum in tali tempore sedicionem conponendam esse sapientes et discretos uiros ad populum mittit; habitaque per eos contione ad turbam temere ceptam seditionem facile compescuit *b*.—148 Accitaque] acceptaque *b*.—149

150 suasu amicorum suorum factum est ut Iudas eam in uxorem duceret rediretque per hoc in eius gratiam cuius maritum nullis premissis inimiciciis sed ira precipitante occiderat. Ne quod ergo nephas intactum, ne quod scelus illi esset inausum, fit impius parricida matris maritus; et ut omnino veritas
155 attestaretur sompnio, in suos ortus monstrum revolvitur. Sed nichil tam occultum quod non reveletur neque absconditum quod non sciatur.[21] Parum temporis fluxerat et una nocte mulier illa misera inter amplexus mariti sed filii recordata eius quam aliquando viderat visionis suspirare graviter cepit et modo
160 ad memoriam revocando filium parvulum in mare mersus modo autem maritum ab eo quem habebat interfectum cepit abhorrere tales nupcias. Cepit detestari sua tempora in que nimirum infeliciter vivendo pervenerat. Iudas tacito auscultans uxorem et eandem suam matrem cepit diligenter ab ea scrutari et
165 querere textum huius tragedie. At vero postquam omnia audivit seque et ex visione matris et ex litteris secum in cistella inventis recognovit detestatus patris parricidium, obscenum matris adulterium, "Et que crudelis fortuna me miserum persequitur?" dixit, "Et quis erit modus mei sceleris? Si par-
170 ricida patris, si adulter futurus eram matris, nonne melius fuerat adhuc latuisse sub undis? Nonne melius fuerat opprobria nobilis Grecie pertulisse quam tam infami crimine me ipsum perdidisse?" Sic ait et amens exsiliit stratis exertoque gladio, "Hic certe," dixit, "iugulus piabit et adulterium matris
175 et mortem patris et crimen non iam filii sed parricide," et verso in suis visceribus mucrone incumbere voluit. Sed misera mater eadem obscena uxor librantis dextre ictum sustinuit. Correpta itaque temeraria ira filii mariti et amentia ut tandem

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persuasu *om. r.*—150 factum est] efficit *b.*—152 precipitante] preoccupata *b.*—153 quod (*ante* ergo)] q(ui) *r;* quid *Rand.* quod (*ante* scelus)] quam *r;* quid *Rand.*—154 impius] ipsius *r.*—155 monstrum] *Rand;* monstro *r, b.*—157 et] quam *r.*—159 aliquando . . . visionis] aliquam visionem *b.*—161 interfectum] interfectorem *r.* Abhorrere] aborrere *b.*—163 tacito] tacitus *b.*—165 tragedie] t(ra)-gredie *b.* Vero *om. b.*—166 in cistella inventis] inv. in cistella *b.*—167 obscenum *om. b.*—169 mei] miseri *r.*—170 melius] tucius *b.*—171 opprobria] obprobria *b.*—173 amens] mox *b.*—174 dixit] inquit *b.*—175 parricide] parricide et adultrius mariti *b.*—177 eadem] eademque *b.*—178 correpta] correcta *r.* Itaque] atque *b.* amentia]

[21] Cf. "Nihil autem opertum est quod non reveletur; neque absconditum quod non sciatur." Lk. 12, 2. (Cf. also Mt. 10, 26; Mk. 4, 22; Lk. 8, 17).

ille in hominem rediit, consulit et persuadet ut ambo communi-
180 ter eant ad sacerdotum illum cui ipsa aliquando visionem suam retulerat, quique ex magna parte quod iam evenerat divinaverat. Eunt igitur ambo et fusis genibus omnia que sibi evenerant seriatim indicant. Quid faciant quomodo hec crimina expient orant cum lacrimis ut sibi consulat. Ille attonitus
185 rerum novitate et sui vaticinii veritate nullum super hac re consilium in se esse dixit. Tamen consulit ut Iesum magni iam nominis et meriti virum adeant et ut ei suarum miserarum tragedias narrent, eius super tantis malis et peccatis consilium et auxilium postulent, eius pietati et misericordie se commen-
190 dent. Erat enim iam illo tempore Dominus Iesus miraculorum potentia clarus, tamque doctrina et predicatione divina quam signorum mirabilium attestatione credebatur a fidelibus plus quam homo inter homines esse. Illum Iudas cum matre uxoreque adiit affususque pedibus eius criminis sui omnem his-
195 toriam ei detexit, veri etiam penitentis habitum, luctum et lacrimas pretendit. Dominus autem Iesus intuitus hominem et quod noverat ab initio qui essent credentes, sciens quam longe esset a regno Dei, tamen ne desperatione salutis cogeretur amplius periclitari, "Potes," inquit, "adhuc salvus fieri si
200 digne penitueris, sed et hec et cetera peccata deinceps vitaveris nec etiam ad maiora te inclinaveris, et ut omnis occasio peccandi ulterius tibi tollatur, reiectis omnibus impedimentis et secularibus negociis sequere me meque imitando in veritate vitam eternam habere poteris."

Hb is conflate. The artistically effective if somewhat pious ending of *Hr* (and *Hd*) did not, it seems, satisfy the scribe of *Hb*. Being of those who wish to hear explicitly the end of the story, he borrowed, practically word for word, the simple closing sentences of the Type R version: "Saluatoris igitur nostri Ihesu Christi per quem . . . . medius crepuit." This fact is of no special signifi-

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amencia *b*.—179 consulit] consuluit *b*.—181 ex magna parte quod] quod ex magna parte *b*. Divinaverat] eis div. *b*.—182 Ambo et] et ambo *b*. Fusis genibus] affusi genibus illius *b*. Evenerant] pervenerant *b*.—185 hac re] habere *r*.—187 et (*ante* ut) *om*. *b*.—188 tragedias] tragredias *b*. Eius *om*. *r*.—191 -que] quam *r*.—193 uxoreque] eadem uxore *b*.—194 historiam] hystoriam *b*.—197 quod] quia *b*. Initio] inicio *r*.—198 salutis *om*. *r*.—199 salvus] salvum *r*.—200 sed et] et si *b*.—202 reiectis] relictis *b*.

cance except as showing that the two versions (Type R and Type H) existed side by side, not only, that is, at the same time but in the same place; so that one was used to supplement the other.

The variants of *Hr* and *Hb* throw some light on the history of this version. The very different readings of the sentence beginning "qua consumpta" (l. 8) prove that the version had already had a considerable career when our manuscripts were written. The text of the original was probably: "Qua consumpta prodigiosum monstrum in eosdem ortus, hoc est in utero suo, mater agnovit; ignis uero non totum se recondebat, sed interiecto longi temporis spacio inde iterum quasi moderacius se subducebat"; that is, "after it [the house] was consumed, the mother perceived the monstrum [had reentered] in that place, namely, her womb; and yet the fire had not altogether withdrawn, but after some time again retired, with rather less violence." This is not perfectly smooth, but one does not expect Tullian perfection of a thirteenth-century monk. The writing of the original, or of the copy (or copies) which the scribes of *Hr, Hb,* and *Hd* may have used, was perhaps none too careful and distinct. For "se recondebat" *r* miswrote "terrendum dabat," which is meaningless; and *b,* omitting the three words "mater agnovit; ignis," wrote "nec tamen" for "uero non." Both misreadings were easy to make; but in both cases the result was not satisfactory.[22] Somewhat simpler is the passage "usque ad horam Illirici maris . . ." (l. 74). If *r* preserves the reading of the original (and there is no reason

[22] It is possible that the original read: "prod. mon. in eosd. ortus, hoc est in ut. suo, nec tamen totum se recond. . . ." that is, "the monstrum returned to that place, her womb, and yet not entirely; but after some time withdrew thence with rather less violence." In this case "mater agnovit; ignis" was an attempt on the part of *r* to emend a difficult text; and he did not wholly succeed.

to suspect otherwise), and if *b* was a copy of the original, it is extremely difficult to see how *b* could have gone so far astray. It is possible, to be sure, that the original had something illegible, which *r* emended successfully, and which *b* did not; but one would rather postulate between *b* and the original an intermediate text in which the passage was somewhat corrupt.

At all events, it is clear that *b* is not a copy of *r*, nor *r* a copy of *b*; that the manuscripts of Type H had a somewhat complicated history; and that this complexity points to the existence of more and earlier manuscripts than have so far been found.

Type P. There are two poetical, or metrical, versions of the legend, each found in two manuscripts. The oldest of the four versions, *Pi*, in a Munich codex of the thirteenth century, was published by Mone in 1838. *Py* contains the same poem.[23] The point of interest in this connexion is that the life of Judas was celebrated in verse as early as the thirteenth century. Du Méril believed that *Pi* was composed directly from the *Legenda Aurea*, and Creizenach states simply that Du Méril has proved this. While no earlier text than *Ll* was known this might well have been considered as self-evident from a comparison

[23] A. D'Ancona, *La leggenda di Vergogna e la leggenda di Giuda*, Bologna, 1869, Introd., p. 93, confused *Pi* and P*y*. Cf. also Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 326 ff., where the poem is reprinted. Creizenach, *Judas Ischarioth in Legende und Sage des Mittelalters* (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache u. Lit.*, II, 2 (1875), pp. 177-207), p. 193, said of this poem: "in vielen handschriften erhalten, worüber cf. Du Méril *l. c.* p. 325" —which is hardly true. Constans (*La légende d'Œdipe*, Paris, 1881) copied, as regularly, from D'Ancona and Du Méril. Professor Rand, overlooking the thirteenth-century manuscript, said of *Pz* (which postdates even *Py*) "finally the story was told in verse" (p. 316, and n. 4).

of the poem with *Ll;* but in the light of later evidence it is not so certain. Whether *Pi* derived from *Ll*, however, or from an earlier manuscript of Type L is of no importance. It appears fairly clear that the author of *Pi* had some early manuscript of Type R under his eyes, and probably even of Type H. Compare, for example, vv. 15-19:

> Res ea finitur solito, postremo venitur
> ad sompnum laete, foverunt membra quiete
> pausant. interea videt in sompnis Cyborea
> acriter ardentem faculam de se venientem,
> quae surgens omni flammas immiteret orbi.

V. 16 suggests the "dum membra sompni fouerat quiete sompnium uidit" of Type R. But the idea of the last two verses surely appears to be taken from the opening of Type H—there is, at any rate, no parallel to it in Type L or Type R. Again, "praevalet inpietas pietati" (v. 67) is closer to "seponitur pietas, preponderat impietas" of Type R than to anything in Type L. Compare, finally,

> Tandem vimineae puer inmissùs Cyboreae
> apte viscellae fluctus datur inde procellae,

with "Cistella uimine contexitur," etc., of Type R. *Viscella* agrees with Type L, which has *fiscella,* while Type R has *cistella,* but the two words could be easily confused in manuscript if not very carefully written; but, on the other hand, *vimina* and *procella* seem to be borrowed from Type R. Verbal correspondences with the Type L version are frequent throughout, and the story is essentially the same. The similarity to Type H in vv. 18-19 may well be coincidence; yet it is probable that in setting to work the poet would gather together what materials he could find; and, since the Type H version is early enough to have been accessible to him, he might naturally have adopted such an embellishment of his narrative, at the

same time rejecting the rest as inharmonious with the traditional, 'accepted' life of Judas. However that may be, the case for the familiarity of the author of *Pi* with some manuscript of Type R seems to me pretty strong.

The other poetical version is found in two manuscripts of the fifteenth century, *Pz* and *Px*. The poet was a man of some individuality, and his proem is worth quoting:

> Cunctorum veterum placuere poemata multum,
> Nunc nova scribentem plebs irridet quasi stultum,
> Divicie modulis musarum prevaluere,
> Nemo placet populis, nisi quisquis habundat in ere.
> Unde satis vereor, iam cum nova metra propino,
> Invidus irrisor me mordeat ore canino.
> Una tamen vires scripture res mihi prestat,
> Quod sanctos eciam reproborum lingua molestat:
> Jeronimus pater egregius triplex ydeoma
> Noverat et nobis doctrine misit aroma;
> Non timuit livor huic obvius ire magistro,
> Latratu lacerans illius scripta sinistro.
> Talibus exemplis firmatus, carbasa ventis
> Exponam. Faveat mihi virtus omnipotentis!
> Rem referam gestam, que non est cognita multis.
> Obsecro vos, socii, carmen qui discere vultis,
> Quod, si pars operis vobis non vera videtur,
> Non mea sed primi culpa scriptoris habetur.
> Non ego materiam nugaci pectore fingo,
> Sed mihi narratam puerili carmine pingo.

Thus after a brave beginning the poet proceeds with his tale in a language which some centuries later would be termed 'poetic diction,' adding a large gnomic element, and drawing freely for images from earlier literature. In other words, a modern poet (of the fifteenth century) taking his matter from modern times will challenge the ancients in their own language—an Ovid (say) brought down to date. At line 148 Judas is made one of Jesus's disciples, but the poet goes on for more than a hundred lines, alternating Biblical and purely 'poetical' materials.

In one line at least, however, he caught the true afflatus; of Judas in the Garden of Gethsemane he says:

Basia blanda ferens habitum pretendit amici.

The poet's debt to the *Legenda Aurea* is put beyond question by his paraphrase in the same heavy, mannered fashion of the moral reflections on the death of Judas that close Jacopo's version. Now this heroic endeavor to hoist the legend of Judas into the realm of poetry is a pretty sad failure. The poet had a great deal against him and very little on his side. But it is intensely interesting to see on the one hand how the legend made a considerable appeal to a man of poetic aspirations, and on the other that down to the very end of the mediæval period, when Latin as a literary language had made almost its last stand, the feeling still maintained itself that a revival of the old tongue as a medium for the highest expression of the new life was possible and desirable. This version is perhaps from the point of view of pure literature the apogee reached by the legend of Judas.

Type M (Miscellaneous). For various reasons the following manuscripts cannot be included in any of the above categories.

Mw contains a prose rendering of the legend which, while it is essentially the same story as Type RL, offers certain unimportant divergencies, and is textually quite different. It begins "In ciuitate Iherusalem erat uir nomine ruben." The baby was set adrift "in visellum" lined "cum bithimia," and accompanied with "pannos syndomitas" and a card (*linea*) bearing his name. The story continues as in Type RL: Judas maltreats his brother "usque ad effusionem sanguinis" (he ran the brother through with a sword one day), and upon his origin be-

coming known, the *principes* not wishing to kill him sent him off to Pilate. He killed his father; the *cognati* entered a complaint; Pilate forced the woman to marry her husband's slayer; finally, in the same fashion as in Type RL, the incest was revealed and Judas sought Christ's mercy. Following the legend, however, which occupies three columns, are four columns of Biblical matter, a very much larger proportion than in any of the redactions hitherto mentioned. Perhaps the apocryphal part was meant to lure the reader on to something more devout and substantial, although there is apparently no explicit moral; or possibly this was intended as a complete comprehensive account of all that was known in connexion with Judas.[24]

Another fifteenth-century version, *Mh,* doubtless follows the usual tradition. It begins: "Legitur de ortu Iude filii symeonis scariothis qui tradiderat Christum pro xxx^a argenteos. Quod mater eius sompnium haberat de eo. . . ."[25]

A peculiar and doubtless wilful perversion of the legend appears in a Jesus College, Cambridge, manuscript (no. 46 Q. D. 4, fol. 136) in fifteenth-century writing.[26] After the story of the Cross follows a short account of Judas's treachery, and then the usual story of Judas and the Cock.[27] As soon as Judas has returned the pieces of silver he departs and hangs himself. "Sicut pater suus,"

[24] For my knowledge of this MS. I am indebted to notes kindly lent me by Professor Rand.

[25] For my knowledge of this version I am indebted to a note from Professor von Dobschütz.

[26] James, *Descriptive Catalogue* etc., 1895, pp. 75 f.

[27] This story appears first in the *Acta Pilati, rec. B;* see Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha,* 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1876, p. 290. It is still current in various parts of Europe.

continues the scribe of MS. 46, "antequam ipsum procreauit diuinauit. Erat enim pater eius astrologus qui eadem nocte in qua genitus fuerat Iudas respexit planetas et uidit et ita intimauit uxori sue quod siquis eadem hora noctis generaret filium quod ille filius patrem proprium occideret et dominum suum detraheret et se ultimo laqueo suspenderet. Quod factum est sicut prophetauit. Nam statim pater predicti infelicis Iude accessit ad uxorem suam nec se potuit abstinere et filium iniquitatis procreauit. Qui patrem proprium submersit dominum fefellit laqueo se suspendit et sic patet eius origo et eius ffinis."

SUMMARY. We may now briefly review and summarize the material thus far presented. We have at least one version of the legend, Type A, which is undoubtedly of the twelfth century. If, as we commonly suppose, the original purpose of the legend was to render as black and repulsive as possible the man who had been the immediate cause of the death of Jesus, then we must take for granted the passage of some time between the first appearance of the story and the composition of Type A. The twelfth-century author of this version could hardly have been the originator of the legend, for it is neither natural nor probable that one would invent such a horrible 'life' for Judas and then treat him with the longsuffering patience manifest in this narrative—"qui perseveraverit usque in finem in bonum, hic salvus erit." We must, therefore, certainly push back the date of the origin of the legend to a period somewhat before the end of the twelfth century.

The existence of two closely parallel versions in the thirteenth century is significant. The greatest popularity seems to have been towards the close of the thirteenth and the opening of the fourteenth century; and one might surmise that the incorporation of the legend in Jacopo da

Voragine's collection gave it at that time a fresh impetus, and that more copies were made to meet a larger demand.

Moreover, three distinct versions of the legend existed side by side; and four or more different forms of the story are distinguishable. Of Type A only one text has survived. The Type RL version lasted from somewhere in the twelfth century until well into the fifteenth. For Type H we have two thirteenth-century and one fourteenth-century texts. The first type stands in most regards quite alone; the second and third are intimately related; the fourth is a special rendering, in certain ways related to the first.

It is unnecessary to point out the verbal agreements between Type R and Type L: they are so frequent that a relationship between the two versions is undeniable. Whichever is the earlier, the other must have copied from it;—or perhaps, as Professor Rand thinks, both derived from the same antecedent version. From the slight evidence which we can piece together it is impossible to draw any demonstrable conclusion, but I incline to the opinion that Type L is a development from Type R. The origin of the latter can safely be put in the twelfth century, that of the former we have no means of dating before the early thirteenth century; and while such an argument is not conclusive, it is the best available now. In view of the so-called canonization of Type L in the *Legenda Aurea,* it might be expected to throw Type R quite into shadow; but Type R was thought worthy of reproduction two whole centuries after the compilation of the *Legenda Aurea,* and in point of popularity was a formidable rival of Type L throughout the thirteenth century. A reason for this might be the priority of Type R: the story of Judas was well known before its inclusion in the *Legenda Aurea* and known in another earlier form than that chosen by Jacopo, and the popularity of this earlier form persisted. The

complicated history of the manuscripts of Type R lends some support to this suggestion. And this earlier popularity of Type R slightly strengthens the hypothesis of its being the source of Type L; for some good clerk, observing the faults of the old version—and they are obvious enough—may have undertaken to revise and improve it. Like the majority of revisers, he brought with him as many imperfections as he took away. The rather formal opening: "in diebus Herodis regis Pylato preside" gave way, on this hypothesis, to the simple "fuit quidam vir." The relation of Ciborea's dream and of Reuben's *multimodae curae* (with its "touch of an Ovidian suasoria") were condensed by the new editor. The Type R version omitted to inform the reader at once that the garden into which Judas went for the apples belonged to his father. This rather unskilful omission was remedied by the author of Type L; and then, in order to avoid any possible doubt, he added that father and son did not recognize each other. Ciborea's lament he expanded, and elaborated the revelation of the sacrilege. In removing Pilate's dragged-in philosophical observation (borrowed from Lucan) when he could not overcome his passion for his neighbor's apples, the author of Type L effected a genuine improvement. The *pedissequae,* who figure rather prominently in Type R, were reduced to a prefix in *precepit.* But the crowning achievement of the redactor was the introduction of the moralizing on Judas's death. This, splendidly mediæval in spirit, he perhaps borrowed, or rather developed, from a passage of Candidus (ca. 822) in his *De passione Dominœ,* 13 [28]): "*Et abiens,* inquit, *laqueo se suspendit.* Non enim dignus erat ut vel cœlum tangeret moriens, vel terram; sed inter utraque periit, qui utrorumque Domi-

[28] M. S. L. 106, 84.

num ad mortem tradidit." Or he is perhaps more likely to have adapted it from a similar passage in the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor.[29]

But whether Type L was originally a 'revision' of Type R, or both came from a single earlier version, it is clear that the greater the complication of details the more time was necessary to bring about such a state, and inasmuch as we find one version before the end of the twelfth century, and two flourishing side by side (three, counting Type H) by the end of the thirteenth century, and obviously earlier than these a simpler, rather different version, we are justified in believing that the legend of Judas existed in Latin at least as early as some time in the second half of the twelfth century.

The importance of Type H as evidence not so much of the date as of the development of the legend is considerable. The main difference between this version and the legend as it appears in Type RL Professor Rand believes

[29] "Et suspensus crepuit medius. 'Et diffusa sunt viscera ejus' sed non per os ejus, ut sic parceretur ori, quo Salvatorem osculatus fuerat. Non enim tam viliter debuit inquinari, quod tam gloriosum scilicet os Christi, contigerat. Dignum enim erat, ut viscera quæ proditionem conceperant rupta caderent, guttur quoque quo vox proditionis exierat laqueo arctaretur. Sæpe enim modum pœnæ exprimit modus culpæ. Unde absciditur homini caput corporis, quia ipse sibi abscidit caput mentis, id est rationem, sicut et Judas mortuus est in aere, tanquam aeris potestatibus sociandus. Congruum enim erat, ut separaretur ab angelorum et hominum regione, qui offensus fuerat utrisque." *In Actus Apost.*, cap. IX. (M. S. L. 198, 1650). Type L says: ". . . viscera ejus. In hoc autem delatum est ori, ne per os effunderetur, non enim dignus erat, ut os tam viliter inquinaretur, quod tam gloriosum os scilicet Christi contigerat. Dignum enim erat ut viscera quæ proditionem conceperant rupta caderent et guttur, a quo vox proditoris exierat, laqueo artaretur. In aere etiam interiit, ut qui angelos in cœlo et homines in terra offenderat, ab angelorum et hominum regione separaretur et in aere cum dæmonibus sociaretur."

to be obviously that "while preserving the general outlines of the story" Type H replaces Biblical with classical or "pagan material." This difference is fundamental, but it does not seem to me the *main* difference. "In two particulars," says Professor Rand farther on, Type A and Type H are related, "first by the quotation of *Nihil occultum quod non reveletur* and, second, by the motive attributed to the ruler for marrying Judas to the wife of the man he had killed. . . . These important coincidences between *P* [i. e., *Ap* or Type A] and *R* [i. e., Type H] make it probable that the latter version is based on early material rather than on *L*." A comparative analysis of Type A and Type H would reveal, I think, that only by the greatest effort of imagination could they have been derived directly from Type L; whereas the two 'coincidences' plus other obvious parallelisms between Type A and Type H make it quite plain that Type H is a greatly amplified version of Type A. Type A relates: the father saw in a vision that his son would murder him; the son, soon after birth, was exposed in a wood, brought to Scarioth, and when grown put in the service of Herod; in compliance with the desire of his master, Judas went to fetch fruit from a neighbor's garden, and slew his father; Herod, to quiet the enraged populace, married Judas to the slain man's widow; mother and son recognized each other by the scar of a wound inflicted when the child was exposed, and sought and obtained Christ's forgiveness. The author of the Type H version, being a good classicist, expanded this story with material taken from the sources that he knew best. The father's vision he made into the mother's dream, and took his idea for this and the burning fire-brand probably from the legend of Hecuba.[30]

[30] For example, from Ovid, *Her.* 5.

Again, the exposure in a wood and the wounding of the child's tibias he rejected, substituting the setting adrift in a chest either from the general store of mythological incidents, or perhaps directly from the legend of Gregory, which was already current in an elaborate form in French verse in the second half of the twelfth century.[31] Being a Frenchman, he may well have been acquainted with the country about Buthrotum, from the Crusades, and possibly had heard of the district on Corfù called Skaria—whence his expression: "haec famosa alitrix Iudae traditoris."[32] The rescue by fishermen, the nourishing by poor parents, the tablets bearing the child's name, and even perhaps the idea of a quarrel with his companions, the author might easily have adapted from the legend of Gregory. The agonistic games, given the idea of a quarrel as the motive for his returning to Jerusalem, would come naturally from Virgil, since Æneas had already instituted them at Buthrotum. After this point the story follows Type A with elaboration but with no change of incident until the recognition. Type H is further related to the Gregory legend by the expressed moral: "potes adhuc salvus fieri si digne penitueris."

If this hypothetical outline of the development of Type H out of Type A be sound, we should have also a fair sketch of the origin of certain elements of Type RL. This outline tacitly assumes that Type H antedates Type RL, but I am unwilling to deny that Type H may have very conceivably taken some of its characteristics and details from Type RL. At all events, grant that a thorough-going classicist had at hand Type A for a basis and some text

[31] See below, pp. 595 ff.

[32] The tradition associating Judas with Corfù can be traced back to the twelfth century. Cf. my note on *Roland 3220, 3220a* in *Romanic Review*, VII (1916), pp. 211-20.

of Type RL for details, and Type H is easily accounted for. Such a scheme of development is admittedly too simple to be certain; I offer it merely as a tentative suggestion,—and indeed more than that, in view of the paucity of accessible data, is scarcely possible.

We have seen that the legend enjoyed two metrical redactions, one almost at the beginning of its popularity, the other at the close of the Middle Ages. The opening lines of the former, *Pi*, are of some interest.

> Dicta vetusta patrum iam deseruere teatrum
> Et nova succedunt, quae prisca poemata laedúnt.
> Ergo novis quaedam placet ut nova versibus edam
> Quae discant multi novitatis stemmate culti,
> Et me, si quis amet, legat et per compita clamet.

The fifth verse was taken by D'Ancona to mean that the author was making an effort to introduce the legend into the literature of the people. From this single verse he generalizes thus: the legend of Judas did not penetrate into the "coscienza popolare" although it is found "in monumenti di letteratura popolare, o per dir meglio, destinata al popolo." [33] It would hardly appear, however, that a tale intended for popular consumption or for the edification of the masses would be put into Latin verse at any period during the thirteenth century. "Et me si quis amet legat et per compita clamet" is something like what in these days we call self-advertising; it is, in fact, simply a borrowing from Ovid.[34] There is no evidence *here* that the legend of Judas was popular among the folk.

[33] Introd., p. 92. In a note he explains: "Questo intento di render popolare la leggenda trovasi anche sul bel principio della Leggenda latina in versi," and quotes the first five lines. The *anche* is misleading. Constans, copying from D'Ancona, repeats this, but notes (pp. 97-98) that Du Méril recognizes that the legend does not belong to popular literature, properly so called.

[34] Professor Rand drew my attention to this Ovidianism; cf.

Greek Versions

In the *Archiv für slavische Philologie* xx (1898), pp. 605-19, V. Istrin published a short article on *Die griechische Version der Judas-legende,* at the end of which he printed two Greek texts of the legend. One of these was taken from a manuscript (no. 132) in the Dionysius Monastery on Mt. Athos. In the *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, 1895) by Spyr. P. Lampros, I, p. 341, this manuscript is no. 3666, of the seventeenth century; the legend of Judas, *περὶ τοῦ παρανόμου Ἰούδα,* is § 38. Istrin gave no indication of the date of the manuscript. The other Greek text Istrin took from a brochure published at Athens in 1889 by a Mt. Athos monk. No date is given to this text, but it is certainly as late as that represented in Dionysius 132, and probably somewhat later. There are, moreover, two other manuscripts at Mt. Athos containing the life of Judas: 3794 (Dionysius 260) § 27, of the seventeenth century; and 4616, § 4, of the sixteenth or seventeenth century.[1] Whether these represent different redactions from those printed by Istrin I cannot say—from the titles one would infer that they were all four distinct. For convenience I shall refer to them by the first four letters of the Greek alphabet: A, 3666, Dionysius 132, published by Istrin; B, *βίος καὶ κακουργήματα,* reprinted by Istrin; Γ, 3794; Δ, 4616. At present I can discuss only A and B.

In most regards A represents the simpler and probably

Nequitiam vinosa tuam convivia narrant,
  Narrant in multas conpita secta vias. *Amor.* 3, 1, 17-18.

and

Mouerat ingenium totam cantata per urbem
  Nomine non uero dicta Corinna mihi. *Trist.* 4, 10, 59-60.

[1] Lampros, I, p. 387; II, p. 157.

the earlier of these two redactions. B contains an introduction and conclusion which do not properly belong to the legend; it is somewhat longer than A, and shows slight expansions here and there; it is assigned to a definite author, Dionysius the Areopagite; and it is provided with a definite moral, lacking in A: *ὅτι μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸ πεπαλαιωμένον κακὸν νέον καλὸν δὲν γίνεται.* Inasmuch as the texts themselves are easily accessible in the *Archiv* I shall simply outline the version given by A and indicate the differences in B.

A certain wise man—*τὶς τῶν σοφῶν*; in B Dionysius the Areopagite—says that Judas came from the land of Iskara, and was of Jewish race; B omits this last particular. His father's name was Robel; no name is given for his mother. Robel's wife had a frightful dream one night, that she should bear a child that should become the destruction—B, *χαλασμός*—of the Jews. Her husband reproached her for putting any faith in dreams. But when the child was born she set it adrift on the sea in a basket, without her husband's knowledge—in B both parents expose the child, in a *κιβώτιον* (later *θίβη*), on the sea of Galilee, *καθὼς τὸ πάλαι τὸν Μωϋσῆν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Νεῖλον.* Opposite Iskara—B, Iskaria—was an island, to which the child drifted; and there he was carcd for by shepherds and named Judas because he came from the Jews—B omits the source of his name. When he was grown they took him to Iskara—B, the city of Iskaria—to be reared. Here he was adopted by his own father and mother, although they did not suspect it was their own son. Another son was born to them soon after, and the two children grew up together. But Judas, being of an evil nature, often struck—B, continually maltreated—his brother—because, as B explains, he was avaricious and eager for his share of the patrimony—; so that his mother—B, his parents—upbraided him. One day when they were going to a certain—B, distant—place, Judas slew his brother with a stone, striking him on the temple—B, *ἔπραξεν ὅτι ἡ αἱμοβόρος αὐτοῦ ψυχὴ ἐπεθύμει*—and then fled to Jerusalem;—in B the flight is motivated (Judas fearing the consequence of his crime) and the parents' sorrow is described. At Jerusalem he became Herod's steward (*ἐξοδιαστής*—B, *ἐπιμελητής*). Some time after that, owing to a disturbance at Iskara, Robel and his wife moved to Jerusalem and took a fine house with a garden near Herod's palace;—B elaborates a picture of the garden. On account of the lapse of time father and son did not recognize each other;—B omits this statement. One day

Judas stood beside Herod looking over into Robel's garden and offered to fetch his master some of the fruit from the trees. As he was stealing the fruit he was met by his father, who demanded an explanation—in B Judas said he came from the king—but seeing no one near he killed his father with a stone, just as he had killed his brother, and carried the fruit to Herod. Afterwards—B, *μετὰ παρέλουσιν δὲ ὀλίγου καιροῦ*—Herod called Judas and desired him to marry the widow and inherit her possessions. To the widow herself Herod sent word apologetically—in B gave command—and said: it is my royal wish that you should take a second husband or forfeit your wealth to the king. When she heard this she was persuaded—in B instantly obeyed—to marry Judas in order to retain her property. Judas and his wife lived together some time, and she bore him several sons. One day, however, she withdrew from his company and pondering on the past wept bitterly. On being questioned by Judas she repeated her sad experiences, and he perceived finally that she was his own mother—the scene of recognition is somewhat briefer in B. When she learned that she had married her son she gave way to vehement expressions of grief; and Judas, as soon as he saw what evils his avarice had wrought, turned in repentance to Jesus, who was then in Jerusalem, was made a disciple and steward; but stole monies and sent them to his wife and children:—the whole conclusion, in A somewhat confused, is more fully and carefully expressed in B; B adds also briefly the betrayal and death of Christ.

This story of the life of Judas, though so different from the Latin versions in many details, is nevertheless patently of the same piece. In point of completeness, that is, in comparative development of the legend, it must occupy an intermediate place between the earliest Latin version, Type A, and the usual mediæval version, Type RL, approaching much nearer the latter. The differences are obvious. In the Greek Judas's mother has no name; in Latin Type RL she has the name Ciborea. The native land of Judas is Iskara, Iskaria, but the island is without a name; whereas in the Latin Iskara has been transferred to the island. The whole incident of the rescue and upbringing is different in detail; the Greek appears to be a transitional stage between the simple account in Type A and the developed situation in Type RL; or rather, per-

haps, one should say, from the simple account of Type A the Latin developed in one direction and the Greek in another. Judas is rescued in the Greek version not by a queen but by shepherds; he is adopted by his own father, not by a stranger, and thus in killing his *own* brother he is guilty of a much blacker crime. The description of the fratricide (especially in B) is reminiscent of the murder of Abel in a much more definite way than in the Latin. The ruler is Herod in Latin Type A and in the Greek, but is Pilate in the later Latin versions. The figure of Herod in the Greek points, I think, to an earlier form of the legend: as ruler of Judæa Herod would be the more natural personage to choose, especially as long as the name had no connotative value. Later, in the West, when Pilate had become a hated figure, it would be more likely to place side by side those two 'wicked birds' who had brought about the death of Jesus. The Greek versions, besides making Judas guilty of slaying his blood brother, add further to his wickedness by having him propose to Herod the theft of his neighbor's fruit. In both Latin and Greek versions the sudden marriage of the widow is ill managed, but the Greek B gains a certain kind of verisimilitude by offering her the alternative of marrying or losing her property. In both of the Greek versions, but especially in B, the grief of the mother-wife on becoming aware of her crime is much more fully described than in the Latin Type RL.

All these differences seem to indicate that the Greek versions are in some way or other redactions of a Western original. Although we have no absolute evidence that they are older than the sixteenth century, still we may assume with considerable confidence that they go back to a much earlier time; for it would be unreasonable to suppose, if they are as late as the sixteenth century, that they

would be so different from the Western Latin and vernacular versions which by the end of the thirteenth century had attained their full development. Such a supposition would carry with it the assumption of a totally independent origin; and that is both unlikely and unnecessary.

Vernacular Versions

We do not find the legend of Judas in the vernacular until the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. But from this time onward it appears in varying forms, scattered across the whole of Europe, in almost every language. In general it may be said that throughout the West the vernacular versions are taken more or less directly from the *Legenda Aurea;* but on account of the essential similarity between Type L and its frequently copied companion, Type R, it is never quite possible to determine which of these was the source. On the other hand, while there are Western versions which certainly do not derive from Type RL, or indeed from any known Latin source, the Russian and Bulgarian versions appear to be simply copies from the *Legenda Aurea.* At present no precise scheme of the derivation and sources of the vernacular versions can be worked out; and it is doubtful if such a stemma will ever be possible.

English. The earliest English version of the legend is found in the South-English legendary, compiled in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Our oldest manuscript, Laud. Misc. 108 (ca. 1285-95) represents an incomplete form of the collection and does not include Judas; but MS. Harleian 2277, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, whose contents may be considered as representing the norm of the collection, has the lives of Judas and Pilate at the

end.[1] Mss. Egerton 1993, Ashmole 43, Lambeth 223, and Vernon, which contain this same legendary with various omissions and additions, all four leave out the legend of Judas. But on the other hand MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 145 (fol. 214), of the early fourteenth century; Kings College, Cambridge, 13 (§ 59), of the fourteenth century; Trinity College, Oxford, 57 (fol. 22b), of the end of the fourteenth century; Laud. Misc. 463 (fol. 35b), of the end of the fourteenth century; Trinity College, Cambridge, 605 [R. 3. 25] (fol. 270b), of the beginning of the fifteenth century; Tanner, Oxford, 17 (fol. 80), of the beginning of the fifteenth century:—all these contain the Judas legend, some at the very end of the collection, others after the *Passio*.[2] The variations in the texts and in the arrangement of the legends in these several manuscripts are considerable. The text of Harleian 2277, the oldest complete version of the legendary, is very corrupt, and shows that even as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century the collection had had something of a history. It is quite certain that this *Mirrour of Saints' Lives* [3] was compiled at about the same time as

[1] Harleian 2277 was edited in full in the *Transactions of the Philological Society, 1858.* Part II: *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints (with those of the Wicked Birds Pilate and Judas) copied and edited . . .* by Frederick J. Furnivall, Berlin, 1862. *Judas* is on pp. 107-11.

[2] British Museum Addit. 10301 contains the same collection as Harleian 2277, except that the end of the MS. is wanting, and therefore the Judas. According to Horstmann, MS. Philips 8253 (at Cheltenham) is a later copy of Harleian 2277. I am indebted for many of the above statements to Horstmann's introduction to his *Altenglische Legenden,* Paderborn, 1875, and *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge,* Heilbronn, 1881. A concise statement of the results of his investigations of the relationship of the various MSS. of the English legendary is to be found in his introduction (pp. vii-xi) to the *Early South-English Legendary,* London, 1887 (E. E. T. S.).

[3] A title suggested by Horstmann.

the *Legenda Aurea* and independently of it; and this fact serves to show (as Horstmann remarked) that before the end of the thirteenth century the number of saints' lives and legends had become so great that the establishment of some kind of canon was felt to be necessary. Such a labor was undertaken simultaneously in England and in Italy. Jacopo da Voragine probably made some preliminary collections before he published (so to say) his finished work, and we know that the English legendary did not spring full-formed from the mind of any single monk; it was more or less of a gradual growth. There is nothing to prove, of course, that the *Legenda Aurea* did not later exercise a certain influence on the English collection, but similarities between it and the English collection as it stood at the end of the century are to be considered the result of a use of common sources rather than of interdependence.

The legend of Judas did not belong (as has been said) to the first English collection. When it was added later, but still probably in the thirteenth century, it was naturally placed at the end, not merely as an appendage, but also because Judas Iscariot was decidedly outside the pale of honored saints. Afterwards it was seen that, like the story of the destruction of Jerusalem, the legend of Judas would have a kind of dramatic value if placed immediately after the Passion of Christ,—just as the French made it a part of the 'vengeance' of our Lord.

In the several manuscripts enumerated above[4] as containing the legend of Judas the version is the same except

[4] With these is probably to be placed codex 7669.50 of the Oxford folio catalogue of manuscripts (1697): 'Vitae Sanctorum & Maledictorum Judae & Pilati, metris Anglicis vetustioribus,' from the library of Robert Burscough, A. M. This manuscript I have been unable to trace.

for scribal variations, and for somewhat different dialectic colorings. Unless otherwise indicated, however, the quotations will be from Furnivall's text (Harl. 2277). In all the manuscripts, moreover, the life of Pilate either follows or precedes the life of Judas, and contains a reference to the Judas legend:

> Iudas was þer his steward: forte he his fader aslouȝ
> And forte he wedde his owe moder.[5]

Harleian 2277 has the colophon: *hic finiuntur gesta Maledictorum Iude et Pilati.*

The story is told in verse, and contains 146 seven-stress lines, beginning:

> Iudas was a liþer brid; þat ihesu solde to Rode
> Sum-what me maie of him telle: ac lute of enie gode
> For me ne schal no whar: of him wite bote ho so wole lie
> Ruben was his fader icliped: his moder Thiborie.

Thiborie was a shrew, and one night she dreamed she had borne a child which was a curse before the whole world. She told her husband that if she found she had conceived she should believe the dream a true premonition. When her time came she explained the situation to her friends, but they knew not what to do, for all were loth either to murder the child or to bring it up. Finally they placed it in a *barayl,* cast it upon the sea, and it came to the isle of Cariot (whence Judas received his name). There, a child *manlich and fair,* it was picked up by the queen and made heir to the realm. But

> Iudas bigan sone
> To do liþere and qued ouer al: as him was to done
> Childrén þat he com to: he wolde smyte and bete
> And breke here armes and here heued: and god þat lete
> To þe kinges sone he hadde enuie.

[5] Furnivall, p. 114.

At length the queen told him he was a foundling: he bided his time, secretly slew his supposed brother, fled to Jerusalem, and there became a steward of Pilate—

> For ech þing loueþ his iliche: so saiþ þe boc iwys.

One day Pilate and his steward went out to play; *vnder an orchard* Pilate saw some fine apples and bade Judas climb over for them. It was his father's orchard, but Judas did not know it. Reuben at once appeared and was "annoyed" to find a stranger in his garden; from words they fell to blows *so þat hi neme aiþer oþer bi þe top.* Judas downed his father and smote him with a stone *bihynde in þe pate.* Having returned with the apples and pears [*sic!*] he related his adventure to Pilate, who the following day went to Reuben's house and gave both the house and the wife to Judas, *for he* [Pilate] *was maister & Iustise.* From the complaints uttered by Thiborie Judas became aware of his crime, and at her instance joined himself to the company of Jesus. But *a schrewe he was al his lyf:* he stole from the purse to recover his loss resulting from the waste of Magdalen's ointment, and then sold his Master for thirty pence. As a thief he deserved hanging, and since no one would do it for him he was obliged to hang himself.

> His wombe to-berste amidde atuo: þo he schulde deye
> His gvttes fulle to grounde: menie men hit iseye
> þer wende out a liþer gost: atte mouþ hit nemiȝte
> For he custe er oure louerd: þerviþ mid vnriȝte
> Nou swete louerd þat þurf Iudas: isold wer to þe treo
> Schuld ous fram þe liþere stede: þer we weneþ þat he beo:
> Amen.

In incidents the English poem agrees closely with the Latin Type RL,—the mother's consulting with her friends with regard to what should be done with the infant is about the only variation. But in certain points the Eng-

lish poem is briefer than Type RL. Both the English and Type RL are further connected by the birds-of-a-feather idea of the union of Pilate and Judas, and especially Type L by the hint of the moralizing on Judas's death. Whether the English poet used Type R or Type L it is impossible (and unimportant) to determine; and, of course, he may have known them both. But from its close adherence to the Latin Type RL, from its association in the manuscripts with the life of Pilate, and from its inclusion in a collection of legends which was contemporary with and independent of the *Legenda Aurea* (although we have no manuscript of this collection before ca. 1300 which contains the legend of Judas), we may be fairly certain that the English poem was based not on some early copy of the *Legenda Aurea,* but on an independent manuscript which contained the life of Judas, either Type R or Type L, and the life of Pilate side by side.[6]

In the collection of Saints' Lives in the Scottish dialect attributed to John Barbour and believed to have been written probably a little before the year 1400, the legend of Judas is found prefixed to the life of Mathias.[7] Barbour's Legendary was unquestionably based in the main on the *Legenda Aurea;* and in the legend of Judas the translator followed his original as closely as the four-stress English couplet can follow Latin prose.

A passing mention of the early life of Judas occurs in John Mirk's *Festial* of English sermons,[8] composed,

[6] Such a MS., for example, as St. John's College, Cambridge, 214 (*Lc*); see above, p. 497.

[7] *Barbour's des schottischen Nationaldichters Legendensammlung,* ed. C. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1881, I, pp. 107 ff., Horstmann's general introduction to Barbour's legendary is in his *Altengl. Legenden, N. F.* pp. lxxxix-cix.

[8] Ed. Theodore Erbe (E. E. T. S., Extra Series XCVI), London, 1905, Part I, p. 79. The *Liber Festivalis* was one of the most popular

largely from the *Legenda Aurea,* about 1400. In the chapter 'De Festo S. Mathie' we read simply that Judas, before becoming a disciple, had "slayne his owne fadyr, and bylayn his owne modyr." Whether the brevity of this reference indicates that Mirk took for granted a certain familiarity with the legend of Judas on the part of his readers, or that for one reason or another he preferred condensation to detail, it would be hard to say. Of the source there can be no question: it was the *Legenda Aurea.*

The legend appears again in English verse in a poem entitled *Suspendio Judæ,* a later addition to the Towneley Mysteries.[9] After the manner of the *Passion* of Arnould Greban [10] Judas relates his life and sorrows in a strophic monologue probably introduced into the performance of the play just before his suicide.[11] It begins:

Alas, alas, & walaway!
Waryd & cursyd I have beyn ay;
I slew my father, & syn by-lay
  My moder der;
And falsly aftur, I can betray
  My awn mayster.

My fathers name was ruben, right;
Sibaria my moder hight;
Als he her knew apon a nyght
  All fleshle

---

early printed books; by the end of the fifteenth century it had supplanted in popularity the South-English Legendary discussed above. See also Horstmann, *Altengl. Leg., N. F.*, pp. cix ff.

[9] Publication of the Surtees Society, 1836, pp. 328 ff. Edited also by G. England and A. W. Pollard for E. E. T. S., London, 1897, pp. 393 ff. "This poem is added," says a footnote in the edition of the Surtees Society, "in a more modern hand, apparently about the commencement of the sixteenth century." The poem is probably somewhat older. Only a fragment of it is preserved.

[10] See below, p. 542.

[11] Creizenach (*op. cit.*, p. 194) suggests that perhaps this poem was *a bänkelsängerballade.*

In her sleyp she se a sight,
A great ferle.

The poem appears to follow the usual tradition of Type RL, but it ends abruptly at the point where the Queen of Scariott bears a child of her own after having adopted Judas.

Apart from this monologue appended to the Towneley mystery the legend of Judas is not found in any of the early English plays.

French. I know of but one French version of the legend earlier than the fifteenth century—the rather pretentious poem of 676 lines, published by D'Ancona in 1869 from a manuscript in the Turin library which bears the date of June 1309.[12] This version is not, I believe, a translation from the *Legenda Aurea,* as some scholars, unacquainted with the other Latin versions, have assumed, but rather from Type R: as the following parallels will show.

His elaborate invocation finished, the poet begins the story—

Au tans que Herodes fu en vie
Et qu'il resnoit la signourrie
De le terre de Gallilee,
Et de Pylate tint Judee
Et Iherusalem autressi,
De le lingnie uns hom issi
De Judas, qui Rubem ot non.
En Judee manoit cis hom.
Une femme ot, ce dist l'istoire,
Qui fu apelee Chiboire.

[12] D'Ancona, Introd., p. 9, and pp. 75-100. For textual emendations see G. Paris in *Revue Critique,* IV (1869), art. 123, pp. 414-15, and A. Mussafia in *Litterarisches Centralblatt,* no. 28 (1869). D'Ancona's work is reviewed by R. Köhler in *Jahrb. f. roman. u. engl. Lit.* XI (1870), pp. 313-24 (= *Klein. Schriften,* Berlin 1900, II, pp. 190 ff.).

Compare with this the opening of Type R: "Fuit in diebus Herodis" etc. When Ciborea awakes from her frightful dream Ruben says, in Type R: "Admiror, inquit, que tanta tristicie causa sic tua uiscera moueri compulerit." In Type L there is no corresponding speech; but the Old French poet has Reuben cry:

> "C'as tu, dist il, ma douce amie?
> Trop m'esmervel, m'amie ciere:
> Pour coi tu fais si mate ciere?
> C'as tu au tresalir eüt?
> Pour coi pleures? qui t'a meüt?
> Je m'en esmervel pour m'ame."

With "cornua lunaria refulserunt" of Type R, an expression quite lacking in Type L, compare:

> Ja aloient aparissant
> Les .II. cornetes du croissant.

In Type R Reuben is exceedingly grieved at the birth of the child and takes on himself the burden of disposing of it, whereas in Type L the *parentes* face the problem together. Again the Old French poem follows Type R:

> Ruben en fu tous esmaris
> Quant voit le valeton venu,
> Ne set qui li est avenu.
> Or ne set il que faire en doie,
> Il ne set nule bonne voie;
> Pense que c'est contre nature
> De maumetre s'engenreüre:
> S'il l'ocist trop iert desloiaus,
> Et si l' nourist mout fera maus:
> Ensi porroit bien avenir:
> Dont ne se set conment maintenir.

The *pedisseque* of Type R, unmentioned in Type L, are the *chambrieres*. And finally, the death of Judas is related simply, as in Type R, without any allegorical adornment. Further parallels could easily be pointed out,

but these are sufficient to indicate the close relationship of the French poem and Type R.[13]

On the other hand, the story of Mary Magdalen and the 'waste' of the ointment, from John 12, 3-8, is here for the first time, so far as I am aware, incorporated as an incident in the complete *life* of Judas. The material is purely and simply Biblical, and so open to all comers, but it is mentioned, though only by implication, in the Type L version and entirely omitted from the Type R version; so that it is fair to assume that although the poet was working chiefly with Type R, still he was acquainted with Type L; the more so since he made use of the Type L version's effort to explain away the apparent inconsistency of the 300 and 30 denarii.

The legend is found in a fifteenth-century manuscript at Lille (454, fol. 45), condensed from the *Legenda Aurea* into the space of less than one small quarto page.

Cosquin mentions a life of Judas in a manuscript executed in 1478 for William of Terny, provost of Lille, now belonging to Prince Czartoriski of Cracow. I have been unable to see it; but from the description given by Cosquin it follows the usual tradition.[14]

A fifteenth-century manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale (anc. fonds 181) of *La vengeance de la mort de Jésus-Christ* contains, together with an account of the expedition of Vespasian and Titus and the legend of

[13] It is possible that the Old French poet had a copy of *Rn:* for "utinam falsus subrepens intimauit" of the Type R version *Rn* has the variant "utinam falsus subrepens ymaginauit" and the poem has:

> U j'ai mauvaise entention
> U fausse ymagination
> U mes esperis fu ravis. (69-71)

[14] Emanuel Cosquin, in *Revue des questions historiques,* Apr. 1, 1908, p. 389.

Pilate, a prose life of Judas (beginning fol. 177) which is worth quoting in full.[15]

Cy nous dit de la naissance de Iudas, de sa vie, de ses aventures dont il fut, et de sa maulditte fin. . . . Et pour cest matiere declairer plus au long lentrenne par aucunes escriptures que Iudas disciple a nostre seigneur, lequel par sa mauuaise connoitise consentj a la mort de Ihesu crist son seigneur et maistre, fut natif de la cite de Iherusalem, et fut filz de ung riche Juif nomme Rubem, qui eut a femme une noble matrosne nommee Ciboree. Et il aduint par temps conuenable que Rubem eust de sa femme ung fils nomme depuis Iudas. Et ainsi que Cyboree estoit enchamte de ce Iudas il aduint que une nuit elle songa que son filz seroit une tres mauuaise personne tout son temps, et que auant quil morust il seroit cause de la destruction de la loy et du poeuple des Iuifs entierement. Incontinent que dame Cyboree fut esueilliee pensant a ce que dit est elle fut toute espouentee et eut moult grant paour pour le merueilleuz songe quelle ainsi auoit songie. Et en moult grant esbahissement le racompta a Rubem son mari si tost quil fut esueillie. Lequel nen tint pas grant compte et ne si arresta point. Ainchois respondi a sa femme quelle ny pensast plus, car ce nestoit fors illusion daucun mauuais esperit, si nen oza la dame pour lors plus parler. Laquele au chief de temps conuenable enfanta ung moult beau fils. Et quant elle fut bien reuenue de son enfantement il luy a la souuenir de ce merueilleux songe dont de rechief elle parla a Ruben son mary, et par plusieurs fois. Et tant fist par remoustrances deuers luy que tous deux furent en doulente de le tuer et de lenfouir secretement en leur iardin. Toutefois ilz en eurent orreur et pitie aucunement pour tant que lenfant innocent leur sembla moult bel, et aussi nature y contredisoit fort. Maiz ilz penserent longue que de cel enfant ilz pourroient faire. Et en la fin par accord et dun consentement ilz charpenterent secretement une laye de bois et de conuenable grandeur, et bien poyee et estoupee. Ilz couchierent lenfant dedens bien et nettement enueloupe, et puis ilz porterent et misrent icelle laye en la mer, en le recommandant a dieu; et eulz attendant a lui uil dispo disposast a son noble plaisur de leur enfant sen retournement a maison.

Comment Iudas enfant arriua en lisle de Scarioth et comment il y fut le bienuenu et doulcement esleue.

Quant Iudas fut comme dit est habandonne de pere et de mere ainsi comme dieu le voult il aduint que icelle laye arriua pres

[15] The writing and the illuminations of this MS. are unusually beautiful. See the enthusiastic praise of Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Paris, 1838, II, p. 84.

de terre en ung ysle de mere nomme Scarioth, et a celle propre heure que la dame de celle contree sesbatoit au serain sur la riue de la mer. Et incontinent que icelle laye fut veue de assez loing flotant sur leaue la dame voult sauoir que ce pouoit estre. Et par ung botequin lenuoia querir et regarder dedens. Et quant elle sceut que cestoit ung si bel enfant masle moult en fut ioieuse et bien lui fut aduis que dieu de sa grace luy auoit enuoye pour tant que desia longuement estoit mariee. Et si nauoit encoires nulz enfans. Adont elle fist prendre lenfant quelle baisa moult de fois et tres secretement le fist porter en son manoir et commanda a ses gens que a personne nulz nen parlast tant chier quilz amoient leur vie. Et quant elle fut venue a son hostel tantost fist lenfant aisier et mettre a point. Et ce fait le print et moustra a son seigneur et mary en racomptant a la verite ce quelle en sauoit, dont il fut moult ioieulx. Et pour mieulz contenter son poeuple elle se tint tres coiement et solitaire en son manoir ung temps comme selle portast enfant. Et en aprez la voix couru generalement par toute celle terre entre ses hommes quelle auoit. Jeu de celluy enfant: de quoy tous et toutes eurent tres grant ioie. Ce fait elle donna a cel enfant a nom Iudas; et neut oncques depuis aultre. Toutefuoies elle le fist moult doulcement esleuer et nourrir comme son propre enfant et de fait cuidoit tout ce poeuple que Iudas fust filz de leur seigneur et de leur dame; pourquoy ilz le honnouroient comme en tel cas appartient. Maiz gaires ne demoura apres ces choses quant la dame se retrouua enchainte, et eut ung moult beau filz de son seigneur—dont ils furent tous ioieulz. Et lors que ils sceurent Iudas et lui aler et parler ilz furent longuement nourriz et esleuez ensemble comme se ilz feussent deux freres germains.

Comment Iudas sceut que pas nestoit filz a la dame de Scariot. Et comment il murtry le propre filz de la noble dame.

Quant les deux ieunes enfans parlerent et alerent tous deux estoient beaulz et bien venans et fort se prindrent a croistre. Ilz sesbatoient par coustume ensemble, mais Iudas qui estoit aisne et de mauuaise nature et inclination tousiours faisoit grief et iniure a son compaignon qui estoit de sa nature courtois et debonnaire. Et de fait souuent la faisoit cryer et plourer. De quoy la noble dame estoit a la fois mal contente. Et pour amender Iudas et oster ses iniquitez elle souuent le corriga par remoustrer et aultrement per menaces et batures. Mais pour chastoy ne pour remoustrer iamaiz ne cessoit de greuer et fouler son compaignon. Et la noble dame pensant a la grant courtoise dont elle vsoit enuers Iudas et comment venu lui estoit dauenture moult grant dueil en auoit. Finablement la dame voiant ung iour comment Iudas fouloit son seul enfant se courrouca moult fort a lui, ne plus ne lui voult celer son estat. Et par grant

courrouz le appella trouue et lui dist: Certes tu nes pas mon enfant, ne tu ne mes rien, car lors que tu nauoies encours deux mois de age mes gens et moy veismes a ung serain une laye de bois flottant sur la mer, si enuoiay sauoir que ce pouoit estre; et tu fus trouue dedens. Et lors par pitie mon seigneur et mon mary et moy te auons jusques a present fait nourrir et esleuer comme si tu estoies nostre propre filz. Et ie treuue iournellement que tu ne nous fais fors corrouz et deplaisir. Quant Iudas ait entendu ce que dit est, moult grant despit en ot et vergougne, si sen retrouua tout honteuz et pensif. Adont comme remply de mauuaise voulent et de villain courage se pensa que briefment il feroit grant deplaisir a tous ceulz qui tant doulcement lauoient esleue et nourry. Et aduisa une nuit entre autres que temps et heure prospice estoit pour accomplir son tres dempne vouloir; et de fait approcha le ieunecel[16] son compaignon qui se dormoit et de son couteau taillepain lui coupa la geule. Ce fait il party secretement de la maison du seigneur comme aduise se son fait, et se mist toute nuit au chemin par deuers la mer.

Comment Iudas fut a Pylate. Et comment il tua son propre pere nomme Ruben.

Quant Judas fut venu au port de mer dicelle terre il estoit ia heure de none. Si trouua illec ung groz bateau chargie de gens et marchandises qui vouloient estre en Iherusalem; si entra sur mer auec[17] les autres et vint en brief terme en Iherusalem; et fut par telle aduenture preserue de mort. Car quant il fut a ce matin grant iour et la dame de lisle de Scariot vey que leure accostumee passoit que son filz et Iudas ne sę leuoient et venoient en sale, elle enuoia en leur chambre ung seruiteur pour les faire leuer, si trouua la tres piteuse aduenture du ieunencel[18] qui auoit le garge coppee, et de Iudas ne scauoit nouuelle; si se print au crier tout hault tant que la dame et les meismes y accoururent, qui de ce meschief demenerent grant dueil. Et demandans apres qui ne se trouuoit point fut quis et demande par toute la terre. Car sil fust adont trouue de sa vie nestoit riens. Mais il nagoit tant quil pouoit vers Iherusalem, ou en brief terme il arriua. Et assez tost par son engien il trouua les manieres destre lun des seruiteurs de Pylate, qui pour lors estoit preuost de Iherusalem de par lempereur de Rome et le senat. Et ainsi comme naturellement chanc creature aime son semblable Pilate print Iudas grandement en son amour pour tant que Iudas assez le ressembloit de meurs et conditions. Et lors que Pilate le eut ainsi prins en sa grace il le ordonna tout gouuerneur de son hostel et de sa famille. Entre ces chose aduint ung iour que Pylate dune fenestre de sa chambre regardoit sur ung iardin qui seoit dempres sa

[16] Ms. iennencel. [17] Ms. aueuc. [18] Ms. iennencel.

maison, si percheu (?) en ce iardin ung pommier chargie de moult belles pommes, dont il ot tres grant desir et voulente den mengier; et fist appeller Iudas, auquel il demanda comment il pourroit auoir de icelles pommes. Adont Iudas qui grant desir auoit de complaire a son maistre lui respondj que il len feroit auoir; si descendj en bas et incontinent ala monter par dessus le mur du iardin et entra dedens. Or estoit ce iardin tenant et appartenant a la maison de Rubem pere de Iudas qui le demouroit. Mais comme dit est devant, Iudas ne scauoit dont il estoit ne qui estoit son pere ne sa mere, dont il estoit moult desplaisant. Si aduint que a icelle heure que Iudas estoit ou iardin son pere et que il cueilloit des pommes Ruben qui en fut aduerty entra de sa maison en son iardin, si trouua Iudas qui cueilloit son fruit oultre son gre et larchineusement sans congie, dont il fut mal content et en reprinst et dist villonie a Iudas et Iudas a luy; et tellement respondj a Ruben que par leurs paroles ilz vindrent a la dure meslee. Car ilz se entreferirent de poings bien longuement et monta leur hutin en si grant mal talent et yre que Iudas qui estoit moult fort et ieune et son pere ia tout anchien, que de son coustel il tua Ruben son pere. Ce fait, prist des pommes et puis se party tout quoiement du iardin ainsi comme il y estoit entre et porta les pommes a Pylate et en les lui baillant dist comment le maistre du gardin lui estoit venu courir sus et en soy deffendant lauoit abatu par terre, puis sen estoit reuenu et que de ce fait nulz rien ne scauoit. Quant les nouuelles coururent aual la cite de Iherusalem que Rubem si auoit estre trouue mort en son iardin, incontinent Pilate mist sus et imposa au dit Rubem que lui meismes sestoit desespere et occis. Car pour lors nulz fors lui et Pilate [19] ne sauoit quy ce murdre auoit commis, dont ilz estoient bien contens.

Comment Iudas sceut que il auoit sa mere a femme et que il auoit occis son propre pere et qui il estoit. Et de sa repentance.

Quant Pilate eut ainsi a Rubem impose sa mort il apprehenda toute sa ceuance per confiscation. Et comme a lui confisquee il la donna Iudas. Et puis fist tant par deuls Cyboree, la femme de Rubem, quelle prent Iudas a mary. Et par ainsi doncques Iudas occist son pere et eut sa mere a femme, qui fut une chose trop horrible et esmerueillable.—Or aduint une nuyt ainsi comme Cyboree souspiroit forment elle estant en son lit Iudas la ouy souspirer et dont lui demanda quil lui faissoit et pouruoy elle souspiroit. Et elle lui respondj moult forment plourant et dist: Certes ie me retreuue auiourdhuy la plus maleureuse et la plus fortunee de toutes femmes du monde. Et pourquoy, dist Iudas. Certes, mon ami, dist

[19] Judas?

elle, pour tant car ia pieca ie fus consentant que ung beau filz que iauoie fust noye, et le pere mon mary si accorda. Car nous le portasmes a la mer en une laye de bois, et la le boutasmes sur leaue, ou il demoura a lauenture de dieu. Et ce feismes nous pour le mieulz et pour cause dun trop merueilleuz songe que ie songay de mon enfant lors que ien fus enchainte. Et en apres long temps durant lequel ie ne euz oncques puis[20] plaisir iay trouue mon mary murdry en mon iardin, et si nay peu sauoir qui ce dangier ma fait. Dautrepart Pilate ma voulu marier a son plaisir; et si nen auoie point de voulente, mais ie luy ay accorde pour demourer en mes biens lesquelz il auoit confisquez par la mort de mon mary, quil disoit soy estre desespere et oncques my pensa. Quant Iudas eust ouy et entendu sa propre mere ainsi parler, laquelle il auoit cogneue charnellement par inaduertence comme sa propre femme, il entendj assez par la deposition ia picca a lui faitte par la dame de lisle de Scariot comme dit est: que il estoit lenfant meismes qui par la mere fut miz en la laye de bois sur la mer. Et par consequent il sceut que lui meismes auoit murdry son pere et prins sa mere a femme, dont il sen trouua tout esmerueillie. Et en pensant a ces choses il le prinst moult fort a repentir de ses pechies, et dist a sa mere sans plus la infourmer de la besoigne: Ma bonne amie, ne vous desconfortez point, car puisque vostré plaisir est tel iamaiz plus ne quier de vous approchier, dont elle fut bien ioieuse. Et lors Iudas en pensant a ces choses et pour trouuer pardon de ses pechies, qui estoient moult grans. Et meismement par le conseil de sa propre mere a qui depuis il se descouury, il se mist en la compaignie de nostre seigneur Ihesucrist.

Comment Iudas se mist en la compagnie de nostre seigneur qui leslut a disciple et le fist son procureur. Comment il le trahy, et comment il se pendj.

Comme entendre pouez se mist Iudas en la compaignie des appostres de Ihesucrist pour y faire sa penitance, et fut par nostre seigneur esleu et retenu lun de ses douze appostres. Et tous iours fut surnomme Scariot, ou, comme dit est, il demoura premierement. Et luy fist nostre seigneur tant dhonneur que il le constituta son procureur; et portoit Iudas la bourse ou len mettoit la peccune que len donnoit a nostre seigneur pour son viure. Mais par la grant conuoitise dont il estoit plain il larchineusement en retenoit tous iours apart quelque chose. Et finablement par son grant auarice il trahi son maistre et le vendj pour trente deniers dargent. Et quant il considera le grant mal quil auoit fait il se repentj aucunement et rendj aux juifs les trente deniers quil auoit recheuz de celle marchandise; et il voyant quilz

[20] Plus?

les reffuserent se desfia de la misericorde et grace de nostre seigneur, et comme tout desespere de iamaiz auoir tant les tenoit a grans et enhormes, il prist ung tronchon de corde et se ala pendre a la branche dun arbre en ung grant iardin non pas moult loing de Iherusalem, et la fut trouue le maleureuz comme cy dessus est plus au long declaire.

This version appears to be an expanded form of Type RL; and although the ending resembles in brevity that of Type R, the co-operation of both parents in setting the infant adrift, the absence of the attendants on the Queen of Scarioth when Judas is discovered on the waves, and the allusion to the similarity of the character of Judas and Pilate, point to Type L as the source. But if we consider the time when the author of the *Vengeance* was at work, we cannot doubt that he may have known both Type R and Type L. It is unnecessary to point out the simplicity of this rendering and its admirable realistic touches. The author of this version, although not much of a stylist, had certainly the knack of story-telling.

The legend of Judas was included in the *Vie de Jesu Christ* first printed by Foucquet in 1485, but frequently reprinted in various parts of France down to the eighteenth century. This *Vie de Jesu Christ* is a fifteenth-century compilation, the first part of which is based on the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi,* and the second on the *Gospel of Nicodemus;* and between these two is inserted the legend of Judas. From the fragment printed by M. É. Roy in his *Le mystère de la Passion en France du XIVe au XVIe siècle* [21] it is clear that this version has textually no relation to that just quoted in full. They are independent elaborations of the Latin Type RL.

[21] Dijon et Paris [1903-4], pp. 284-5. On the *Vie de Jesu Christ* cf. pp. 327 ff. and 347. The *Judas* is fol. lxii-lxvii of the 1485 edition.

The earliest appearance of the legend in mediæval French drama is in the Semur *Passion,* which represents a transitional stage between the early Sainte Geneviève *Passion* and the later "grandes *Passions.*" Here the legend is mentioned in connexion with the familiar story of Judas and the cock. On the second day, when Judas returns to his mother with the thirty coins, she upbraids him for his treachery, calling him "malvoix traictre, et larron faulx":

> Lorsque tu ouz tué ton pere,
> Tu m'esposas, quil suis ta mere.
> De nostre outraigeuse vie ordre
> Nous deut faire misericorde.[22]

In Greban's *Mystère de la Passion,* which was already famous in 1452, the legend of Judas is also merely an echo, confined to a sort of recitative soliloquy pronounced by Judas as he comes to Jesus to seek forgiveness for the past and to become a disciple. We learn merely that he was saved by a *dame de beau maintien,* that he slew the lady's son, and afterward killed his own father and married his mother. This bare outline of the story offers no hint of Greban's source, except that it must have been some form of the prevailing type, that is, Type RL. It is obvious from the casual way in which the legend is treated that Greban must have taken for granted a certain familiarity with it on the part of his audience—otherwise the elaborate lyrical complainings of Judas would be nearly meaningless.[23]

[22] Roy, p. 124, vv. 6116 ff.

[23] Ed. G. Paris et G. Raynaud, Paris, 1878, Second Day, p. 144, vv. 11021 ff. That Greban followed the *Legenda Aurea* version may be inferred from the words of Desesperance, that Judas's evil soul could not issue from his mouth "qui toucha a chose tant digne" (p. 288, vv. 22018 ff.).

In the later *mystère,* that of Jehan Michel, which belongs probably to the last quarter of the fifteenth century,[24] the legend receives a large share of attention: the whole story from the fratricide onwards is presented vividly to the spectator. In scene 9 Judas quarrels with the son of the King of Scarioth over a game of chess, kills him, and flees. He becomes Pilate's major-domo (scene 10). Reuben and Cyborea (scene 14) in their garden lament their long lost son, when Pilate enters and orders Judas to rob the apple-tree. Judas quarrels with the old man and kills him; whereupon Cyborea cries to Pilate:

> O Juge, Juge, Juge, Juge,
> Je requiers vengeance, vengeance.

Pilate, however, proposes to her that she marry Judas, pointing out the financial advantages of the match, and finally she consents. In scene 16 Cyborea, profoundly distressed, asks Judas about his previous life, and divines the truth. On her counsel he confesses to Jesus (scene 19) and becomes a disciple.[25] This elaboration of the legend seems to be based not directly on the *Legenda Aurea,* but on some later, more circumstantial reworking of the material, as is especially noticeable in the matter of the sudden marriage. In the early versions it was related merely

[24] We have an edition of it dating probably between 1486 and 1490. For the relation of the 1507 edition to the work of both Greban and Michel see Petit de Julleville, *Mystères,* II, pp. 398 and 439. I follow the analysis from the cyclic edition of 1507 in the *Histoire générale du théâtre français* by the Frères Parfaict, reprinted by de Douhet in Migne's *Dictionnaire des mystères,* col. 663 ff.

[25] At Sotteville-lez-Rouen there was a famous *jeu de paume* where in 1530 a society of amateurs gave several plays called "jeux de Sotteville." Among these plays was a *vie de Judas,* probably from the *Passion.* Cf. Gosselin, *Recherches sur les origines et l'histoire du théâtre à Rouen,* Rouen, 1868, p. 37. (Petit de Julleville, *Mystères,* II, p. 117).

that Pilate *had* the widow marry Judas, while here she makes a natural plea for justice in behalf of her murdered husband, and even more naturally refuses for some time to marry the villain. M. Roy (p. 285) suggests that the *Vie de Jesu Christ* may have been Jean Michel's source.

A reflection of the legend appears in the *Debat de l'omme et de la femme* by Guillaume Alexis, dated about 1460.

> Cayn tua Abel son frere;
> Judas aussi Ruben, son pere.

In the English version of Guillaume's *Debat* this passage runs:

> For Caym kylled Abell, his gentyl brother,
> And Judas Ruben, his father, dyd slay.[26]

GERMAN. In mediæval German literature I have found four versions of the legend. The first is in a fourteenth-century poem, *Das alte Passional.*[27] That the poet used a Latin source is evident from several remnants of Latin inflectional endings in his verse, as well as from his own statement. In the Judas portion, which contains 551 verses, the author follows often word for word the *Legenda Aurea,* with here and there an elaboration or expansion of his source, and some additional conversation to enliven the narrative. A departure, however, from the Latin is the statement, before Pilate's desire for the apples is mentioned, that Reuben was still living in Jerusalem "riche genuc" and believed his own son had perished in the water. The reader is thereby deprived of a slight surprise, but the story does not suffer. When Pilate longs for some of the "epfelle" the poet tells us it would have been bad

[26] Ed. Piaget et Picot, Paris, 1896, I, p. 142, vv. 167-8; p. 153, vv. 165-6.

[27] Mone, *Anzeiger,* VI, col. 143-56. Later ed. by K. A. Hahn, Frankfurt, 1857.

enough if he had sent a messenger to ask for them; but, what was worse, Judas not only entered the garden and took the apples, but also injured the tree. When he returns with the stolen goods, Pilate, utterly depraved, tells him:

> Daz ist gut,
> habe darvmbe guten mut
> sit is ot niman ensach.

When Ciborea comes to Pilate for justice he feigns ignorance and orders her to marry Judas. Here the bluntness of the narrative is very striking. Cyborea obeys Pilate's mandate, but grieves afterwards, as in the Latin. After Judas is made a disciple, the poem continues for 150 lines, or nearly a fourth of the whole, with Biblical material, including the incident of Mary Magdalen and the loss of the oil, and ends with the moralizing on Judas's death.

A very interesting document in the vernacular history of the legend is the fragment of Johannes Rothe's *Passion* preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript at Dresden.[28] This fragment comprises three chapters, the life of Judas, the story of the thirty coins, and the legend of Pilate. That is, we have here another fifteenth-century extract which unites the lives of Judas and Pilate, and incidentally, to make the account of Judas a little more complete, includes the legend of the thirty pieces of silver which passed through his hands.[29] Rothe died in 1434; his *Passion* must then belong at the latest to the early fifteenth century.

[28] Ed. Alfred Heinrich, *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, 26. Heft, Breslau, 1906.

[29] Cf. Du Méril, *Poésies populaires*, pp. 321-4; L. De Feis, *Studi religiosi*, II, pp. 412-30, 506-21; G. F. Hill, *Archæologia*, LIX (1905), p. 9; Budge, *Book of the Bee*, pp. 95-96; R. Duval, *Littérature syriaque*, 1900, pp. 116-7.

Wenig lute habin daz vornomin,
Wo dan der vorretir sy komin,
Judas Scariod genant.
In eyme buche ich beschrebin vant,
Daz eyn man zcu Jherusalem sesse . . .

This *book* was the *Legenda Aurea,* or an extract from it; and Rothe's translation is neither very free nor slavishly literal. Here and there the bare narrative of the Latin is slightly expanded, but only in the interest of vividness or from the exigencies of metrical translation, seldom by the introduction of new matter. The most considerable variant is the discovery of the floating chest by a fisherman; after which at the queen's suggestion the baby is cared for by the fisherman's wife until such time as the queen can pass it off as her own. The fisherman and his wife may well have been borrowed from the legend of Gregory.[30] The close, however, is treated somewhat freely; the narrative breaks off where Judas is accepted by Christ and made his "scheffenere"; and is followed by a long comparison of the life and character of Judas with the life and character of Moses.

The legend of Judas was recorded again by Rothe in his *Thüringische Chronik,* completed in 1421.[31] Here, although certain variants are noticeable, the source is unmistakably betrayed by a complete rehearsal of the reflections on Judas's death which follow the legend in Jacopo's version. In general the narrative is somewhat briefer. The statement in the Latin that Judas was named from the island of Scariot, omitted from the *Passion,* is preserved in the *Chronik.* The fisherman and his

[30] See below, pp. 595 ff.

[31] Ed. R. v. Liliencron, *Thüringische Geschichtsquellen,* III, Jena, 1859. Cf. Aug. Witzschel, *Die erste Bearbeitung der düringschen Chronik Rothe's, Germania,* XVII (1872), pp. 129-69; and Heinrich, pp. 3, 92 ff.

wife, who were introduced into the *Passion,* do not appear in the *Chronik,* but the chest is discovered by the "furstynne" of the land as in the Latin. The *Chronik* says that Judas's supposed brother was just one year younger than he. The comparison of Moses and Judas gives place to the *Legenda Aurea* ending.

The fourth German version of the legend is in the adaptation of the *Legenda Aurea* called *Der Seelen Trost.*[32] Here the story is related with great smoothness and simplicity. The incident of Mary Magdalen is introduced (as in the *Passional* and the Old French poem), and also the stealing of "den zeinden pennink" (redecima). The end is brief: Judas suffered remorse for the betrayal, returned the money, "und viel in einen mistroist und geink ewech und erheink sich selver. Also geink it eme umb sinre mistait willen, dat hei kreich einen boissen doit und boese ende." Thus the moralizing of the *Legenda Aurea* and its group has fallen away; and the tale merely shows that a man reaps the harvest of his ill deeds.

ITALIAN. It seems clear that the legend was not so well known in the Italian vernacular as it was in the French and German. The only reference to it I have found is the text printed by D'Ancona, which is simply a literal translation from the *Legenda Aurea.*[33]

[32] Pfeiffer, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Kölnischen Mundart im 15. Jahrhundert,* no. 93, 'Van Judas und van sinen alderen,' in Frommann's *Die deutschen Mundarten,* II (1855), pp. 291-3. The *Seelen Trost* is found in a Low German MS. of the year 1407; it was printed in 1474. Cf. also Mone's *Anzeiger* XIII (1866), col. 307; and *ZfdPh,* VI, p. 424.

[33] D'Ancona, *op. cit.,* pp. 63-73. His text (reprinted in D'Ancona-Bacci, *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana,* I, pp. 567-70) is from Codex Riccardiano 1254, car. 78, collated with the Venetian Legendary of 1477

Dutch. The three Middle Netherlandish forms of the legend of Judas were published by C. G. N. de Vooys in 1901.[34] The first, from a Combourg manuscript, is a translation of some form of the Latin Type R.[35] The second is the legend as it appears in the *Passionael*.[36] It follows the Latin Type L, and was probably translated directly from the *Legenda Aurea*.[37] The same version (a separate extract from the *Passionael*) is found in a seventeenth-century manuscript at Wenen. The third Middle Netherlandish form of the legend (from a Hague ms., Kon. Bibl. X 71) is borrowed from *Der Sielen Troest*, but as to the story agrees in the main with the *Passionael*, inasmuch as both go back ultimately to the *Legenda Aurea*.[38] An interesting variant is that Judas is rescued not by the queen of the island but by the king. A similar variant appears in some of the nineteenth-century English versions of the legend; but this may be, as De Vooys remarks, a mere coincidence.[39]

and Cod. Pal. E. 5. 1. 31. Cf., however, the Italian post-mediæval versions below.

[34] *De middelnederlandse Legenden over Pilatus, Veronica en Judas*, in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, xx (1901), pp. 125-65.

[35] De Vooys perceived this from Du Méril's brief note on the 'other' Latin text (*Poésies pop. lat.*, p. 326, n. 1).

[36] About 20 mss. of the *Passionael* are preserved, the earliest of which dates from 1400; it was printed in 1478 with the title *Passionael winterende somerstuc*.

[37] "Het Passionael geeft een getrouwe vertaling van de Aurea Legenda." De Vooys, p. 160.

[38] "Die tekst uit het Haagse handschrift X 71, onleend aan *Der Sielen Troest*. In hoofdzaak wordt hier het Passionael gevolgd." De Vooys, p. 160. The editor has collated the *Sielen Troest* with the Hague ms.

[39] That such a variant should occur, however, is the more remarkable since the early printed edition of the *Sielen Troest* follows the usual tradition.

Welsh Versions. The legend was translated from the Latin into Welsh as early as the end of the thirteenth century. In part II of Peniarth MS. 3 (= Hengwrt 408), written ca. 1300, a fragment of an *Ystorÿa Judas* is preserved, beginning: "Gwr gÿnt aoed ÿngkaerusselem aelwit Ruben Ereill ae galwei sÿmeon o lin Judas ac o lin ysachar herwyd ereill . a ciborea oed henw ywreic. . ." [40] Complete versions which begin very similarly to this and are apparently copies of the same translation, though with some verbal differences, are found in Peniarth 7 (= Hengwrt 3), of the fourteenth century: *Ystoria Judas ysgarioth,* col. 237; [41] and in Peniarth 14 (= Hengwrt 25 and 13), in a hand of the second quarter of the fourteenth century: *Ystoria Judas yw hon,* p. 161.[42]

What appears to be a different translation, but of about the same date as Peniarth 14, is found in Peniarth 5: *Llyma mal y treithyr Historia Judas,* fol. xi, which begins: (E)F a darlleϬyt ynebun ystoria bot gur ygkaerussalem a ruben oed y eno . ac a eluyt heuyt olin iren o luyd iudas neu o lin ysachar heruyd ereill . a gureic aoed idau oed y heno cyborea. a nosϬeith guedy bot kyt ydaϬ ae Ϭreic kyscu aoruc hy abreuduyt aϬelei. . . .[43]

That these translations were made from some copy of Type L is clear; but whether the Peniarth 3 fragment was translated from the *Legenda Aurea,* or from some early

[40] *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language,* vol. I, Part II, Peniarth, p. 304.

[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

[42] *Op. cit.*, p. 333.

[43] *Op. cit.*, p. 308. This version is printed in *Selections from the Hengwrt* MSS. *Preserved in the Peniarth Library,* vol. II, ed. by Robert Williams, with translations (continued by G. Hartwell Jones), London, 1892; text pp. 271 ff., translation pp. 624 ff. A note, p. 751, says "The *Historia Judas* follows Royal 8 E xvii" (*i. e.*, my *Lg*).

separate text, as we conjectured the English version in the *Mirrour of Saints' Lives* to be,[44] it is impossible to say.[45]

IRISH. In the *Leabhar Breac,* which exists in a fourteenth-century manuscript, we find implications of the Judas legend, although the story is not told explicitly. In a passage ' Of Judas and his Mother ' beginning on p. 222 of the facsimile edition we read that after Judas related to his mother how he had sold his Master she cried: " Woe to her that is in my wretched and contemptible existence, because that I have borne an incestuous and flagitious offspring such as thyself. . . ." Then follows the story of Judas and the cock. ". . . So when incestuous sinful Judas saw the boiled cock rise out of the cauldron, thereby he recognized that Christ would rise from the dead."[46]

SCANDINAVIAN. The legend is found in Swedish in two versions. The older occurs in the *Fornsvensk Legendarium,* a thirteenth-century translation of the *Legenda Aurea.*[47] The later version is in the *Själens Tröst,*[48]

[44] See above, p. 528.

[45] Later Welsh versions of the legend appear in Llanstephan MS. 24 (= Shirburn C. 24), of the late sixteenth century, *Historia Judas,* fol. 93 (*op. cit.* II, ii, p. 454); Llanstephan 117, *Llyma ystoria Svddas vyradwr,* p. 195, dated " xx awst 1548 " (*op. cit.* II, ii, p. 575); Peniarth 118 (= Hengwrt 518), of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, pp. 625-91 of which contain extracts, etc. (apparently designed for a Dictionary) including the story of Judas (*op. cit.*, I, ii, p. 723); Cardiff MS. 11 (= Ph. 2161), of the late sixteenth century, a fragment of the end of *Ystori Svddas,* vol. II, p. 111 (*op. cit.*, II, i, p. 143).

[46] I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor von Dobschütz.

[47] The earliest MS. that we have, the Codex Burneanus, is dated 1350. The *Fornsvensk Legendarium* was edited by George Stephens, Stockholm, 1847. The legend of Judas is in the chapter on St. Mathias, I, p. 243. The same version occurs also in an Upsala MS., C 528,

which was translated ca. 1430 from the *Selen Troyst* in the dialect of Lower Saxony. Compare, for example, the Cologne dialect *Seelen Trost's* rendering of the birds-of-a-feather idea: "want der ein was so wail ein schalk als der ander, dar umb quamen si wail zosamen" with the Swedish version: "ffor thy then ene war swa arghir skalk som then andre, oc thy komo the wel badhe til saman," and the closeness of the translations in the different languages is at once apparent. But the Swedish adds the following moral:

My dear children, let your actions as well as your name be Christian. There is many a wicked man who does worse than Judas did; Judas sinned against his parents unconsciously, many Christian men sin against their parents both wittingly and willingly. Judas sold his Master for thirty pence; many a Christian sells Him for a farthing or for an evil deed. But the torments of these men will be far greater than those of Judas.

Here it is of interest to observe that the unpremeditated nature of Judas's sins is expressly pointed out. This is, I believe, the only place in a mediæval document where such a perception is recorded; for the other versions, both Latin and vernacular, rest practically their whole point on the inherent wickedness of Judas. 'Judas was a monster, for lo! he committed these horrible sins,' they argue; and so they judge him, without inquiring into the nature of his horrible sins. Apart from this there is nothing in the Swedish versions of special consequence; they indicate merely the spread of the Judas legend via the *Legenda Aurea* and its concomitant, the *Seelen Trost*.

dated 1420-50. Cf. Robert Geete, *Fornsvensk Bibliografi*, Stockholm, 1903, no. 200.

[48] Ed. by G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1871-73, 'Aff iwdas skarioth,' pp. 86-90. A Danish translation, *Siäla Trööst*, is mentioned by Klemming, p. vii.

CATALAN. Mila y Fontanals, in his article on *Catalanische Dichter,*[49] says that to the period of the great Ramon Lull (1235-1315) we must attribute a *Biblia rimada y en romans* and other small works in verse, including a *De Judes Escarioth e de la sua vida,* together with the lives of Pilate and Veronica. These are united with a *Saltiri* in prose "lo qual trasladat fó de lati en romans per frare Romeu Burguera" (1228-1315). The association, then, of this life of Judas with the lives of Pilate and Veronica, together with a work professedly translated from the Latin, would seem to indicate that we have here a life of Judas taken possibly from an early copy of the *Legenda Aurea,* or in any event from one of the thirteenth-century Latin versions of the legend. If the former alternative is true, the Catalan poems cannot be construed merely as a token of the popularity of the *Legenda Aurea,* inasmuch as the Catalan poet obviously chose what interested him from Jacopo's great collection, and found it worth while to turn his Latin prose source into vernacular verse. This speaks something for the range of attention that the legend drew.

PROVENÇAL. The vernacular versions of the Judas legend that we have thus far considered illustrate its popularity and its development of the Latin sources, but we come now to a version which—in spite of the comparatively late date of our text—appears to represent an earlier stage in the history of the legend than any that have been discussed, whether Latin or vernacular. This version is from the so-called Gascon *Passion* in the well-known Didot manuscript,[50] written in the middle of the fourteenth cen-

[49] Ebert's *Jahrbuch für roman. und engl. Lit.,* v (1864), p. 137, n. 2. The existence of this version was noted by Creizenach.

[50] Now Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. 4232. For a detailed

tury. The *Passion* is still unpublished, but I give here in full that portion which contains the legend of Judas (fol. 29v (formerly cvi) - 33 (formerly cx)).

Quan Iudas vic l'enguent vesar sobre Ihu Crist le
vec si de pes he dit devant tos aquestas paraulas.

Baros certas fort suy irat,
e fort me tenc per asoutat,
e per cert vos dic fort me es greu,
car aysi perdi so del mieu.
Vos entendet be mo sermo,
mas non entendet la razo
ne per soy ta fort viat,
ni per soy ta mal paguat.
Hieus ho diray, si nos es greus,
e qual guiza perdi so del mieu.
Be crey que avet auzit dir
que mos maestre fe partir
de ma molher per lo pecat,
que y era grans, per veritat.
Lo pecat vos diray qu' era
ans que segua en fust ni en peyra.
Vers es can Ihesu Crist nat,
lo rey Erodes fo yrat,
e ac ne gran comfuzio,
can saub que lo senhor del mon
era en tera davalat,
e que di vergis era nat,
e fe tos los enfans degolar

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description of the MS. cf. Paul Meyer, Appendix to Introduction of his edition of *Daurel et Beton*, pp. lxix-cxx. Further cf. Chabaneau in *Revue des langues romanes*, XXVIII (1885), pp. 8-23, where a portion of the MS. is printed (Judas omitted), and pp. 53-65, a study of the language of the printed extracts; and XXXII (1888), pp. 343-5. A fragment of this *Passion* in the Catalan dialect was discovered some years ago at Palma; in this fragment only a portion of the speech which contains our legend is preserved. Cf. *Revue des langues romanes*, XVII (1880), p. 303, and Constans, *Œdipe*, pp. 101-2. Constans (p. 100) was the first to draw attention to the legend of Judas in the Gascon *Passion*. For a brief summary of the *Passion* see Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, II, p. 351.

que de .ii. ans poc atrobar.
E mon payre, cant ho auzi
mot gran dolor n'a entre si,
ma dona mayre ishament
hac dolor e gran mariment.
Agron enter els aytayl acort
aytan be me tenian per mort,
que'm giteso per l'aygua aval,
ab gran dol e ab gran trebalh.
Per ho metoron me en .i. vaysel de veyre
et heu en devengn en .i. regisme.
Mas enans de sisque
ma mayre en laygua 'm gites
mi fe .i. ceyal en l'asquina,
am fer caut que mi paria.
E quant lonc tems agn rodat
per l'aygua fu atrobat,
et .i. bon home que 'm trobec
al rey de la tera 'm portec,
e lo rey fe 'm be noyrir
et hieu pensey: deu folegir.
Aytant pensey heu de folia
que gran mal me volia.
Puys a cap de tems s'esdevenc
que mon payre en la tera venc,
e tant que desavenc se ab mi,
e aqui mezieys iheu l'ausizi,
e aytant tot com l'agui mort
mi tengn per dezastuc fort,
e comense tost a fugir
e en esta tera a venir.
E quan fu aysi vengut
an per hom no fu conogut.
Ma mayre azautec se de mi
e heu d'ela atresi,
de tal guiza nos azautem
que aqui meteys nos ajustem.
E quan aguem esems estat
lonc tems en ferma amistat,
nos aguem .ii. enfans agut
que encara no'us fom conogut.
E une vet can fom colocat,
ela'm toquec tost los costat
e conc(?) me aquel seyal

qu' era 'm fe am fer caut,
e tantost ela s'esperdec
e mot fort greu s'epaventec,
e dit mi d'on era vengut
ni en cal tera era nascutz.
E dissi li: "iheu fu atrobat
"en riba d'aygua miey neguat,
"e fuy mot be costozit,
"en la tera ben noyrit,
"tro que per ma folor n' eysi,
"per .i. bel hom que ihesu auzi."
E quant ela ho entendec,
ades greument ne sospirec
e dit: "Amic, tu es mo filh,
"fort te dic qu'em en gran perilh,
"sapias que cel que as ausit
"era ton payre he ton amic,
"asat me semlas desastruc,
"car ab ta mayre as yagut,
"e ton payre que aias mort,
"fort deus aver gran desconort,
"car home ab ta gran pecat
"no crey pogues ecer trobat."
E iheu conogui la eror,
responzi li ab gran dolor:
"dona, be conosc lo pecat
"e quant ague soy desastrat,
"que no say qual cosel mi prengna,
"ni en cal via iheu mi tengna.
"Hieu say .i. bon coselh que penrem
"al sant maestre no'n anem,
"si no que nos em tos perdut
"Aquet acort ensems parlen,
"al sant maestre no'n anem,
"e contem lo la veritat."
E el conoc nos en pecat
e dit: "baros si m'en crezet
"bos autres bonalx beyret
"que's partiret aysi amdos,
"e tu, Judas, seguiras nos,
"e tu seras mos mayorals,
".i. d'els mes apostos seras,
"e als autres ministraras,

"e tot quant dieus nos donara
"per tu aministrat sera,
"e tu cromparas de ta ma
"tot quant mes nos se despendra.
"A tal molher dic atretal
"que sia bona e leyal,
"e sia bona ensanida,
"per que pusca aver vida apres,
"e tu no ayas cura d' ela
"pus que de neguna feda
"ni ela no laya de tu.
"E crezet m'en ben cascun,
"car si mon mandament crezet,
"ses dupte bona ho beyret."
Et iheu auzi lo mandament,
sequi lo volonteyrament,
per lo pecat qu'eu y sabia
volonteyramen m'en partiria,
per ho responi 'l soptemen:
"Senher, iheu soy en pensament
"de .ii. enfans, senher, que ay
"qui 'ls noyrira ni co 'ls entertendray?"
E el respon me be e breument:
"Hieu t'o diray mot be e gent,
"ab lor mayre se noyriran,
"et iheu dar los ay que manyaram,
"de tot quan dieu nos dara
"la reyre depne lor sera,
"que haquel te don suvamt dieus
"per so que vuan los filhs teus."
Ara auzet, per veritat,
auzilz com mi avi dat
lo reyre denne mi a tot.
A gran pecat e a gran tort
d' aguest enguent que a fayt vesar,
puys nos asay ayam a manyar,
el me tolc be .xxx. diners
que agra hom be si 'l vendes,
car certas .ccc. diners valia,
que res mens non falhia,
et aras vey que es perdut,
no valgra may que fos vendut
e que fos a paubres donat
e no agra tant mescabat.

.xxx. diners n'ay heu perdut,
be mal dia m'es avengut,
mas be vos dic que nos perdray,
que ans los recrubaray,
o iheu faray una tal res
que tos veseret mors ho pres
qu'eu no m'en poyria estar
que no los an be demandar.

In hardly a single detail does this Provençal life of Judas accord with the familiar Latin life; but in general outline—exposure, parricide, incest, repentance—they agree. In the mention of Herod (although as an entirely different figure) and in the absence of the fratricide, this version is nearer to the Latin Type A than to any other, but still no sufficient agreements subsist to warrant our assuming any derivative relationship between the two. Only this much we can say with assurance: as Type A is structurally the simplest and probably the earliest of the Latin versions, so the Provençal is the simplest and probably also the earliest of the vernacular versions. One would hardly be willing to suppose that by the middle of the fourteenth century only such echoes of the traditional life of Judas had reached Provence as would be pieced together to make this story in the Gascon *Passion;* [51] nor that the Gascon author, acquainted with Jacopo's rendering and possibly with others', played fast and loose with tradition and *remade* the early history of Judas to suit his own pleasure. Let us assume for the moment that our legend was actually an adaptation of the myth of Œdipus; could it then have been that the notion of making Judas a second Œdipus occurred to two men independently, and each

[51] That is, for example, word was passed on simply that the early life of Judas resembled that of Œdipus. This is rendered very unlikely, however, by the fact that the legend was told in Catalan from the Latin half a century earlier.

worked out the idea after his own manner; that in total ignorance of the Latin versions some Gascon priest or monk brought forth the story we have in the Provençal *Passion,* whether before or after the origin of the Latin versions, yet independently? Or is the Provençal version a belated descendant of the earliest version of all, stranded, as it were, in the South of France and left behind by the later development? This last hypothesis appears to be, on the whole, the most reasonable and the most probable.

With regard to the later Provençal documents, it is worth noting, though perhaps not of great importance, that in the fifteenth-century *mystère* of *Le repas chez Simon* the legend has no place.[52]

A late Provençal version, which is obviously merely an awkward condensation of the usual legend, is reported in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* in a *Notice sur un livre roman, imprimé à Toulouse au milieu du XVIe siècle.*[53] This book is a paraphrase of the popular fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *Vie de Jesu-Christ.* "La première partie de ce livre singulier," says the author of the *Notice,* "se termine par la vie de Judas Iscariote. Nous devons tenir compte au traducteur patois de l'effort de laconisme qu'il a fait en renfermant dans trente-deux vers la vie tout entière du traître, vie qui, dans la traduction françoise, n'occupe pas moins de huit pages in-4°."

> Lo fals Judas foc dauant sa nayssunsa
> Preuist souuent per falsa vision
> Don sos parens per euitar greuansa
> Lo meten en Mar fugen deception
> Et peys arriuec sens dubitation

[52] Cf. A. Jeanroy et H. Teulié, *Mystères Provençaux du Quinzième Siècle,* Toulouse, 1893.

[53] *Bulletin,* L (1850), pp. 779 ff. Although the Provençal document postdates the year 1500 it is clearly a left-over of the Middle Ages, and so properly belongs here.

En Scarioth ung Isla tal nommada
Don la regina ne fec reception
Et lo noyric en loc dauer linada.
Apres auenguec la regina enfantec
Ung bel enfant de soun propi marit
Loquel Judas vilanament tuec
Donc cascun dels foc grandament marrit
Et quant venguec que el laguec ferit
Lo maluat Judas fugit de la mayso
Ben sabia quel rey lo aguera aucit,
Car aquo era be dreyt et mais raso.
Lo fals Judas tuec son propi payre,
Per sa folia et maluada arrogansa,
Et peys apres el espousec sa mayre,
Que foc un cas de granda violensa
De que Pylat ne fec le concordansa.
Per satisfa al murtre quauia fayt
Mas el ho fec tot per inaduertensa
De que peys apres conoguec son mal fayt.
Judas conoguec son cas et son offensa
De que el foc marrit et desplasent
Jamays naguec en el bon esperansa
Lo Diable era en son gouuernament
Mas lo dos Jesus volguec estre content
De lo perdonar son borsier lanec far
Mas a la fin lo trasit durament
Et en se penian sanec desesperar.[54]

Bohemian. The legend of Judas was known in Bohemia by the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.[55] From the Old Czechian *Imperial Chronicle,* however, which is based on the *Legenda Aurea,* the legend is omitted, much in the same manner as from the

[54] A rather garbled text of this poem was printed by G. Brunet in an additional note (col. 722) to the article on Judas in de Douhet's *Dictionnaire des Légendes du Christianisme* (Migne) 1855.

[55] Cf. Julius Feifalik, *Studien zur Geschichte der altböhmischen Literatur;* vii, 'Über die Bruchstücke einer altčechischen Kaiserchronik und über die Benützung der Legenda aurea in der altčechischen Dichtung,' in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-hist. Classe,* xxxvii (1861), pp. 56 ff. I am indebted to this article for most of my knowledge of the Bohemian version.

Legenda Aurea Abbreviata. It is hinted at in a rimed commentary of the Ten Commandments, apropos of the Fourth:

> Třetí mrzie všemu liudu,
> ti budú bydliti s Júdú:
> to jsú ježto tepú otce,
> neotpuščejí ni matce.[56]

But of greater importance is the fragment of a version which in spite of many parallels with Type RL seems to be derived from a different source.[57] The fragment begins with Judas's flight to Jerusalem after killing his supposed brother, and follows the story through to the end—his friendship with Pilate, the quarrel in the garden, parricide, incest, and final scene of recognition by means of Cyborea's complainings. With regard to the variations Feifalik says:

> At the very beginning of the fragment we find an elaboration which is due to the Czechian poet: Pilate, with Judas and a large retinue, is walking abroad, and catches sight of the enticing fruit in Reuben's garden, while in the other versions he perceives the fruit from a room in his palace. Judas runs his father through with a sword instead of striking him down with a stone. He hears Cyborea often groan in her sleep; and one night when she does this he asks her the reason—whereas usually the scene takes place by day. And there are other variations of the same sort. The poet makes use of a good deal of circumstantial detail, and treats his material quite in the manner of Court Poetry; and therefore I am inclined to look upon his work as an imitation of some still unknown German poem, which he handles, to be sure, with considerable freedom. He shows that he was a man of some training and education. His verse and rhyme are pure and artistic. He is especially fond of interrupting the course of his story with occasional moral reflections. He displays a warm patriotism at the beginning, where, after relating the murder of the prince by Judas, he introduces a touching elegy on the violent death of the last of the Přemyslids in Bohemia, Wenzel III, at Olmütz,

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[56] *Výbor*, II, p. 237, 19-22; Feifalik, n. 28.

[57] First printed in *Čas. česk. mus.*, 1829, III, pp. 58-63; then *Výbor*, I, pp. 169-74. Cf. Nebeský, *Čas. česk. mus.*, 1847, I, pp. 11-22.

August 4, 1306. The poem was composed presumably soon after the death of Wenzel.[58]

It seems fair to assume that the poet, writing on such an occasion, would not make use of a legend entirely unknown to his readers or hearers; and we are therefore justified in believing that the legend had reached Bohemia as early as the end of the thirteenth century. Nothing further is certain. It is of course possible, as Feifalik suggests, that the poet had a German original, but none has been found; and it is also possible—a bit more likely, perhaps—that he may have heard in some indistinct way the general outline of the Judas story and then expanded it, filling in details according to his own fancy. Probable it is, at any rate, that his remote source was from the West of Europe, since his nomenclature and details are all nearer the thirteenth-century Latin versions than the earliest Latin or the Greek versions. That both the Latin redactors and the Bohemian poet drew from a common earlier account is hardly to be supposed. Not only is the poem too late, but the divergencies are scarcely of such a nature as to warrant that hypothesis. I am inclined to attribute these differences to the poet's invention, or still more probably, to the vagaries of uncertain transmission.

Russian and Bulgarian. So far as can be ascertained, all the Slavic texts (except the Bohemian) in which the legend of Judas appears are very late; but, on the other hand, those texts represent quite clearly material which is much earlier in origin, and the six versions of the legend which are known are more or less direct translations from the *Legenda Aurea*. Doubtless the legend is more widespread in eastern Europe than we have now means of de-

[58] Feifalik, p. 87. Cf. *Výbor*, I, p. 169, 16 ff.

monstrating; popular versions are said to exist to-day in Galicia, and probably in other portions of Russia, but researches have not been made or recorded. The popularity of the *Legenda Aurea* moved eastward slowly, and with it the legend of Judas; but in eastern Europe it has remained later, as one would expect.

The versions thus far discovered are:[59] (1) a version reported by Kostomarov first in Современникъ, 1860, vol. III, and then in Историческихъ монографіяхъ, Спб. 1863, I, pp. 349 ff.; (2) a text discovered by Ivan Franko in Galicia in eighteenth-century writing and published by Dragomanov in his article Славянскитѣ прѣправки на Едиповата история (Сборникъ за наподни умотворения кн. VI); (3) in a manuscript (no. 1598, fol. 132-6) of the Pogodin collection in the Imperial Public Library; (4) MS. 1936 of the Pogodin collection, an abbreviated form of no. 1598; (5) a version published by Bezsonov (Калѣки перехожіе, 4th ed., Part II); (6) a legend, like Pogodin 1598, attributed to Hieronymus, from the Solovki Library (240, fol. 238-40, seventeenth century) found in the *Passion of Our Lord* and in the *Great Mirror,* and published, from the *Mirror* by Profiriev, Апокрифич. сказанія о новозавѣтн. лицахъ и событіяхъ, стр. 231-5.

These various texts represent substantially the same version, that of the *Legenda Aurea,* with certain divergencies in detail which are of minor consequence. Grabovski believed that the Franko text represented the original Slavic redaction and was at the same time a translation from a Byzantine text; but since Istrin published the Greek texts

[59] Cf. Istrin, *op. cit.*, Diederichs, *Russische Verwandte der Legende von Gregor auf dem Stein und der Sage von Judas Ischariot* in *Russische Revue,* XVII (1880), pp. 119 ff., and Solovev, Къ легендамъ объ Іудѣ Предателѣ, Харьковъ, 1895, p. 177. No. (3) is printed by Solovev, pp. 187-90.

this opinion has been proved wrong, inasmuch as in the latter the mother of Judas is not named, and Циворія could only have come from the Latin. The fact that in some versions Hieronymus is given as the author must be ascribed to the general tendency to attribute such legends to well-known names; or to a scribal error, since Hieronymus is mentioned in the first lines of the *Legenda Aurea* version; or perhaps to a combination of these two causes. That in the Franko and Pogodin texts "О немъже пишется да будеть Данъ зъмия на роспутіи от коего колена имать наподитися антихрть"[60] is added after the descent of Judas from Dan is given, that is, the figure of Judas-Antichrist is introduced, would point to a later date for these texts; this addition being of the nature of an interpolated commentary or gloss (perhaps in the text from which the Franko and Pogodin copies were made). Istrin suggests that it may have been from "Откровеніе Меѳодія Патарскаго." It is of some interest, further, that in the *Passion* and in the legends published by Bezsonov and by Porfiriev (the Solovki text) the moralizing that closes the *Legenda Aurea* version occurs, while the Franko and Pogodin texts end with the end of the legend. The Solovki and Bezsonov texts close with a final benediction: "But all of us who read and hear this horrible tale of the life and deeds of such an evil being may Christ our God preserve, and

[60] Istrin, p. 607. The same passage in a slightly different form occurs in the Kostomarov text, which Diederichs translates: 'Nicht umsonst wird geschrieben in dem Buche Genesis: es soll sein Dan eine Schlange am Scheidewege. Dies bedeutet, dass aus dem Stamme Dan zu seiner Zeit der Antichrist geboren wird.' "Die letzten Worte," adds Diederichs, "enthalten die seit der Schrift des Hippolytus über den Antichrist angenommene Deutung der Worte Jacobs in dem Segen, den er vor seinem Tode u. a. auch dem Dan ertheilte, hier machen sie übrigens, unvermittelt mit dem Zusammenhang, den Eindruck, als wären sie eine gegen das vorhergehende gerichtete Randbemerkung, die sich in den Text eingedrängt hat" (p. 122).

make us worthy of Thy heavenly kingdom with Thy Father and the Holy Ghost for ever."

Conclusion. It is rather striking that the three earliest vernacular versions, which may be dated at the end of the thirteenth century, are the Bohemian, the Welsh, and the Catalan, almost at the very extremes of the legend's territory. That the first English, French, and German versions should be in verse is not remarkable; though it is interesting to see that the four English poems represent different dialects. Nor is it surprising that we find the story in such legendaries as the *Passional,* the *Seelen Trost,* or the Italian and Old Swedish collections. But on the other hand certain absences are remarkable. There is no evidence that the legend found a place in any of the cycles of English mysteries, except the Towneley, where it was a kind of appendix or optional insert, not a part of the play; it never occurs in the mediæval German drama, although in certain plays the Biblical rôle of Judas was considerably developed. In Greban's *Passion* it appears only *en passant* in a single speech; there is no suggestion of it in the final scene of Judas's despair and suicide, where it might have been used to great artistic effect. Only in the great work of Jehan Michel does it receive any dramatic attention or appear to be a part of the performance; here at the close of the Middle Ages only do we meet with an unmistakable indication of its popularity. Its appearance in some of the great legendaries implies little; but when we discover separate redactions of it, in verse, as in England and France, or in prose, as in France and Russia, for example; or find it used apparently as a part of the materials on which a poet can draw for emotional effect; then we cannot be wrong in maintaining that the legend had become truly and indisputably popular in both senses of the term.

Post-Mediæval Versions

"La légende de Judas," says the Comte de Douhet, "est un des précieux monuments populaires que nous a légués le moyen âge."[1] A late version of it is printed in the *Bibliothèque Bleue,* and it still is found "dans les boîtes des colporteurs pour défrayer les assemblées de nos campagnards dans les longues soirées d'hiver." Douhet prints it under the title: *Vie de Judas Iscarioth, qui vendit Notre-Seigneur.* This version follows the Latin Type RL, but with considerable expansions, chiefly in the manner of the late fifteenth-century French prose version. The most interesting elaboration is after the parricide. Borée (Ciborea) comes into the garden, discovers her dead husband and his slayer, and goes directly to Pilate to lodge a complaint. But Pilate pays very little attention to her. He has Judas called, and hears his confession; but Judas avers that Reuben began the quarrel. Finally Pilate says to Borée: "Come here. There is no use weeping, for the thing is done and cannot be mended. But I will do something for you—provide you with a husband. Marry my servant here, a good and honorable man, Judas." "I would not do it for all the world," responds Borée. "If you will not," says Pilate, "then be gone, for I am busy." Borée departs; and Judas and Pilate take counsel together on the financial advantages of the marriage. Borée is recalled. After Pilate has pronounced a short eulogy on Judas, she says: "Sir, your will be done."[2]

D'Ancona mentions a poetic version, in a rather turgid

[1] *Dictionnaire des légendes du Christianisme,* Migne, 1855, col. 714.

[2] J. Collin de Plancy, *Légendes du Nouveau Testament,* Paris, 1863, pp. 232 ff., repeats the usual legend, without indicating his source, but introduces after Judas's flight from Scariot the biting incident told in the *Evangelium Infantiæ Arabicum,* cap. XXXV.

style, printed at Lucca in 1807, entitled: *Nascita, vita, e morte disperata di Giuda Iscariotte, poeticamente descritta dal signor Nibegno Roclami romano.* The first stanza runs:

> Non più d' armi d' Eroi, d' amor, di sdegni,
> Non più d'imprese egregie e generose,
> Non più d'illustri e memorandi ingegni,
> Musa, non più cantar gesta gloriose;
> Ma del re degli iniqui, infami e indegni
> Descrivi i sensi e l'opre obbrobriose;
> Questi fu l'empio Giuda, il più nefando
> Di tutti i traditori, il più esecrando.[3]

Sig. D. Bergamaschi in his *Giuda Iscariota, nella leggenda, nelle tradizioni e nella Bibbia,*[4] a rather hasty and very incomplete work, recounts a version of the legend without indicating its date or source. The version appears, however, to be late, as though taken perhaps from an Italian chap-book.

The infant Judas was set adrift in a *cestella* on the River Jordan, and after being carried down to the Mediterranean finally reached the island of Candia. Here a king saw and rescued him; and, since his clothing showed him to be a Jew, called him Judas. The king had a son who was one year older than Judas. The latent wickedness of the foundling soon broke out; he stole money and articles of value, until finally he was observed by the king's son and his thefts revealed. The king had him flogged, and then disclosed to him his irregular origin. Judas thereupon killed his putative brother, fled to Egypt and then to Jerusalem, and entered the service of a *gran signore.*

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[3] D'Ancona, Introd., p. 97, and n. 2.

[4] *La Scuola Cattolica,* Anno 37, Serie IV, vol. XV (1909), pp. 292 ff. —Ms. It. V. 38 of the year 1560 (*Catalogi dei Codici Marciani Italiani,* II, Modena, 1911) contains a collection of *Vite di molti Heresiarchi,* beginning with that of Judas: "gelano per l'horrere gl' inchiostri al nome abhoribile di Giuda." This is probably the usual legend; I have been unable to see it. What is probably another version is mentioned in *Inventari dei Manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia,* XVI, p. 184, no. 126: "Segni Cativi di Giuda Scariotto," Stanza di endecasillabi in ottava rima. Sec. XVII.

One day his master asked him to fetch some apples from a certain orchard, and in doing this Judas met, quarreled with, and slew his father. The widow of the murdered man prosecuted Judas, and the judgment against him read that he must either lose his life or marry the widow. He chose the latter alternative. "Fu chiamato Iscariota, cioè asino, et visse a lungo con sua madre." At length his mother recognized him as her son by "due dita del piede attacate": he repented his sin, became a disciple of Jesus, betrayed Him, suffered remorse, and hanged himself.

This version seems clearly to be based directly on no mediæval form of the legend that we have yet found. The island is Candia, the rescuing personage a king, the son is older, etc. No names are offered, but there is a new explanation of the cognomen 'Iscariot.' A modern motif is the widow's legal prosecution, while the method of recognition suggests the story of Œdipus. It looks as if the legend had been handed down orally, not by the written word. The outline remained, but the geography underwent a change, and the incident of the brother received a greater emphasis, with concomitant variations.

Turning from this evidently popular version, we find the legend in Spain dressed in the robes of formal drama by Antonio Zamora, who flourished about 1730.[5] On the whole the play is a dull performance, divided into three "jornadas," and enlivened somewhat with music. The essential features of the legend are preserved. The first act opens with "Musica, y salen Ciborea con el lienzo en los ojos. Teuca, Saray, Abrà, y Rubèn, todos à lo Judio." When the others are gone Ciborea reveals to her husband the prophetic dream concerning Judas. Reuben is sent for by Pilate. Then Judas and a band of youths enter and in a long speech he is informed that he is not the real brother of the prince; whereupon, in a fit of anger, he kills the

[5] *Comedias de Don Antonio de Zamora, Gentil-hombre,* Madrid, 1744, I, pp. 277-327.

prince. During the following scene, between Pilate and Reuben, Judas re-enters and applies to Pilate for a position. Pilate calls him familiarly a "joven gallardo"; the conversation turns upon Christ, and in a speech of nearly 300 lines Judas narrates the preaching of John and the birth of Jesus. Pilate is much pleased by this discourse, and engages him forthwith. The second act begins with a lively scene in which "Salen Judas, Barrabàs, Teutila, y Lebròn con una escala." They hoist their ladder against the wall, Judas delivers a lyrical address to the garden behind, and disappears just as the barking of a dog warns Reuben of the intruder. Reuben comes forward "à medio vestir," Judas returns with some fruit in a handkerchief; they quarrel, and Reuben is killed. Pilate then marries Judas and Ciborea; the crime of incest is revealed, and penitence undertaken. At the opening of Act III Judas is a favorite apostle, "no mucho menos que Juan." But to reimburse his loss after Magdalen's extravagance he sells Christ to the Jews. All his friends turn against him. Finally we hear his mother, whom he calls "causa de mios infortunios," exhort him to renewed repentance. But he refuses consolation, and withdraws to hang himself.

Here, as in the *mystère* of Greban, there is a certain pathos and dignity in Judas's final despair and suicide. The great finale of the play is almost impressive. By a felicitous suggestion of the author we are made to feel that the earthquake and darkness which attend the death of Christ accompany also the suicide of Judas. But these more than Œdipodean crimes of Judas occupy two-thirds of a comedy that is truly "too full of horrors to be amusing"; and by a kind of poetic justice Zamora's drama has won for itself an undisturbed oblivion in which to bury its faults. Whether the legend was known in Spain among

the folk we do not know. Zamora's source was doubtless literary.

A man truly of the Middle Ages but a late comer was Abraham a Sancta Clara (1644-1709). Besides separate sermons, he published upwards of twenty works, some of which were reissued after his death. His most popular work seems to have been his *Judas,* which is entitled:

JUDAS, der Ertz-Schelm, für ehrliche Leuth, oder: Eigentlicher Entwurff und Lebens-Beschreibung dess *Iscariot*ischen Bösswicht. Worinnen underschiedliche *Discurs,* sittliche Lehrs-Puncten, Gedicht und Geschicht, auch sehr reicher Vorrath Biblischer *Concept*en. Welche nit allein einem Prediger auff der Cantzel sehr dienlich fallen, der jetzigen verkehrten, bethörrten, versehrten Welt die Warheit under die Nasen zu reiben: sondern es kan auch dessen ein *Privat-* und einsamber Leser zur erspriesslichen Zeit-Vertreibung und gewünschten Seelen-Hayl gebrauchen.

This *magnum opus* appeared in four quarto volumes, issued separately at Salzburg, the first in 1686, the second in 1689, the third in 1692, the fourth in 1695.[6] Abraham does not, to be sure, stick very close to his text, which is the life of Judas. At the end of the third volume Judas is put to death, but the fourth goes on well enough without him. As the title indicates, the story is much overlaid with sermonizing and moral discoursing, in about the proportion of one part Judas to, say, twenty of Abraham. His chief source was, according to his own statement, Jacopo da Voragine; but for his commentations he cited abundantly most of the scholars of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the early Fathers, the *Acta Sanctorum,*

[6] Each volume was reprinted several times, the first, *e. g.,* Salzburg and Lucern, 1686, Bonn 1687, Zug 1687, Salzburg 1688, 1689, 1691, etc. The complete work was printed in Salzburg 1695-6 and 1709; Nürnberg 1718; abbreviated Vienna 1729, Nürnberg 1752; Celle 1831; an 'adapted' version Vienna 1833; and in the *Works* Vienna 1826-34, Passau 1835-46, Lindau 1850. Cf. the *Auswahl* edited by F. Bobertag in Kürschner's Deutsche National-Litteratur, p. iv.

and various Annals and Chronicles. How many of these citations were from an immediate knowledge of the original one cannot quite say, but a large number of them were doubtless made second-hand; and when a learned name was not conveniently available Abraham drew on his imagination. For the early life of Judas Abraham followed the *Legenda Aurea* very closely; and in no point do his alterations betray acquaintance with any other source. His divergencies are such as one would expect from the author. Thus he declares that the married life of Judas's parents was unhappy, and makes this his point of departure for a long discourse (above forty pages) on conjugal infelicity. He intercalates a whole chapter on "Ob Judas der Ertz-Schelm einen roten Barth habe gehabt, und was Leibs-Gestalt er gewesen seye." He admits unimportant variations into the account of what passed between Judas and Pilate after the murder of Reuben. The legend itself, however, is only a portion of Abraham's *Judas*. The Biblical part of the story is considerably elaborated and enlivened by the importation of uncanonical details, in addition to the Abrahamitic moralizings. For example, Abraham remarks, keenly enough, that the mere fact none of the apostles suspected Judas of theft shows what a sly thief he was. After the actual betrayal, adds Abraham, Judas could not speak the name of Jesus, since he was utterly in Satan's power. On the other hand, Abraham made one rather notable departure from his source: the reflections on Judas's death as contained in Type L he eschewed altogether, and set in their place the early Eastern legend of the decay of Judas's body and the unendurable stench therefrom.[7]

[7] For the story of Judas's elephantiasis cf. Œcumenius on *Acts* 1 (M. S. G. 118, 57-9), and Boissonade, *Anecdota Græca*, II, pp. 464-5.

Each incident of the apocryphal life of Judas serves as a text for the author's moral observations and discourses, "Gedicht und Geschicht"; and while accordingly Abraham's work is an important item in the post-mediæval history of the legend, it cannot be considered as quite independent testimony of the legend's popularity in Germany at the close of the seventeenth century. For the sort of preaching that Abraham represents, nothing is more useful than a palpable point of departure for inveighing against sinners, to paint in the brightest colors their evil ways and consequent damnation; and for this purpose no figure is better adapted than Judas. Abraham, as a man of wide reading, of mediæval temperament, and unscrupulous credulity, naturally made use of the Judas legend. Thereby the legend received a kind of artificial popularity and extension; but in the success of the book as a whole the honors must be divided between Abraham and Judas, in just what proportion no one can say.

Either the mediæval legend of Judas enjoyed a greater posthumous popularity in England than elsewhere, or fortune has been more generous in preserving us English specimens of its later development. At any rate, *lives* of Judas, based on the legend, were printed in Great Britain down to the year of Grace 1828, in five separate versions, some of which went through several editions. This is a record of which the legend—and England!—may well be proud.

The earliest of these versions that I have found is the *Life, Character, and Death* of Judas, whose third edition appeared in 1724. The burst of popularity is distinctly an eighteenth-century matter; excepting the addition to the Towneley mystery, which dates very early in the sixteenth century, the legend appears to have suffered a two-

hundred years' eclipse, but when the light came again it came with splendour.

'The *Life, Character* and *Death* of *Judas Iscariot,* that Traytor who betray'd our Blessed *Lord* and *Saviour Jesus Christ.* Giving a Full and True *Account* Of the whole Course Of that *False Disciple's* Actions from his Birth, to his accursed and untimely Death. The third Edition. Licensed and Enter'd according to Act of *Parliament. London.* Printed by *A. Smith* in *Pye-Corner,* 1724.' This work is unusually long, but so far as I can learn no complete copy of it exists. It begins:

"*Judas Iscariot* was descended from one *Simon* a Tanner, living near *Joppa,* a noted Sea-port Town in *Palestine,* now in possession of the barbarous and inhumane Turks. Before his good and pious Mother, for he came of Virtuous Parents, brought him into the World, being one Night very restless, she at last fell to sleep, and dream'd that the Child she then went with, would prove to her great Grief and Sorrow, both a Thief and a Murderer: So awaking very much affrighted, she grew thereupon very melancholly; and being greatly disturb'd in Mind, she was studying and contriving Night and Day what way she might prevent the *Odium* and *Scandal* which seemed to fall upon her family by the Production of this Birth." At last she was "through God's great Mercy, safely deliver'd of a lovely Boy," but "he had a strange sort of Mark upon his left side; for under his Breast, *as several Authors writes,* was a *Cross, a Gallows, Money* and 2 *Daggers.*" These signs were (naturally enough) the "wonder and admiration of all who beheld them: but to the mother they were a source of great anxiety. When the child was eight days old he was circumcised and given the name of *Judas:* and on this occasion a great celebration was instituted, with "a vast Number of Spectators" and a four days' "Entertainment." After this the mother became more and more anxious and finally resolved to consult a magician. The séance is given in considerable detail. During the course of it the whole life of Judas was forecast. The mother fell in a swoon. Then she and the magician began plans to be rid of the child. With the aid of "one *Rota* a cunning Artist in such Affairs" they constructed "by stealth" and according to "the Form of the Watry Mansions" a "bark," "or rather Box as some may call it." Everything was managed with the greatest secrecy, and without the knowledge of the boy's father. Elaborate pains were taken to conceal the

plan and its execution, and that everything might work smoothly a dead baby was procured from a kinswoman of the mother.—After the plan is described at great length, its working is retold. A whole page is devoted to the maternal lamentations when finally the child is set adrift with "*Judas*" on a bit of parchment "ty'd round his Neck," and we are not spared the father's grief as well—"But now let's see what is become of young *Judas* indeed." The "Bark or Boat" was "driving along the Coast called *Iscariot*, where there was a mighty Rock, on which *Theophilus*, the king of that great Country, used to recreate himself." From his rock the king caught sight of the bark and ordered it brought ashore. He perceived that it was a "very fine child," called him Judas Iscariot, and "took all the tender Care imaginable of him." On "coming to Mans Estate, Judas was made one of the Kings Council, besides having other great Dignities and Offices bestowed upon him." But "in process of Time" he quarrelled with the king's son and killed him. He then escaped in the guise of a servant; came to Joppa, which was his birthplace; found a place in a Gentleman's House, and did very well there. One day his Mistress, who was with child, being "out to take the air," saw some fruit that she liked and gave Judas money with which to buy it. Judas, however, kept the money and tried to steal the fruit, and in the combat that ensued killed—his father. A year or two afterwards he returned in disguise, "and being a very handsome young Man, his own Mother, not knowing him to be her Son, fell in Love with him, and in a very short time married him." After they had lived together some time his mother discovered the birthmarks. By her "persuasion" he went to Jesus, and became an apostle.—The Last Supper and the meeting and kiss in the Garden of Olives are then briefly told. (The remainder of the book is lacking.)

Closely related to this and in all likelihood based upon it are: '*The lost and Undone Son of Perdition; or the Life and Death of Judas Iscariot.* London. Printed for Andrew Hambleton, 1784,' comprising 16 duodecimo pages, and '*The Lost and undone Son of Perdition; or the Life and Character of Judas Sirnamed Iscariot;* But known to us by the Name of *Judas* the *Traytor,* who betrayed Christ our Lord and Saviour. . . . [here 12 verses in heroic couplets] Faithfully collected from several ancient Authors of undoubted credit. London. Printed and sold by L. How, in Petticoat-Lane near

White-Chapel.' Though varying in details the story in both is essentially the same as in the *Life, Character and Death.*

Dependent in part upon the L. How *Lost and undone Son* is 'The lost and undone Son of Perdition; or the Birth, Life, and Character of Judas Iscariot, Faithfully collected from several ancient Authors of undoubted credit. By J. Thompson, Boston. New England: Printed in the Year M, DCC, LXV.'[8] The first few sentences of this are identical with those of the *Lost and undone Son* printed by How, but the author, Thompson, soon begins to abbreviate and gradually works away from his original.

When Theophilus from his mountain discerned the chest floating on the sea, he and his nobles cast lots to see who should have the treasure. Judas afterwards killed the king's son solely in order that he might himself inherit the throne; then he fled "to *Theba,* seventy six leagues Westward, a City in *Idumae,* where he continued for the space of four Years and upwards." He returned to Joppa, changed his name, lived for some time in a nobleman's family, until at length his mother, being a widow, saw him and fell in love with him. Five years they lived together before his mother recognized her son (by his birth mark). In disgust she turned him off and bade him repent of his many sins. Thereafter he wandered from place to place nearly starved and in great despair. "One day he laid down under the Shade of a Sycamore Tree, in a desert Place, there thinking to end his miserable Life," but he fell asleep, and was directed by a Voice to go down to the River Jordan. Here he met the same old magician whom his mother had consulted at his birth. The magician drew from him his story and suggested his mending his fortune by seeking "an extraordinary Person now on Earth, and not a great way off, he was born in *Bethlehem-Judae,* his name is *Jesus.* . . . . Judas heard all and apprehended something, but comprehended nothing." Hearing of the miracles of Jesus, he was especially attracted by that of the Loaves and Fishes. He remained about a week with the magician, then set out toward Samaria and found Jesus at Jacob's

[8] The Boston Public Library has also a copy of a later edition, Boston, 1771.

Well. Jesus knew him to be the son of perdition but accepted him "that the Scripture might be fulfilled—[To which we refer our Reader for the Remainder of Judas's Life]." Thompson makes no mention of a source; his alterations of the usual tale, which are considerable, we may assume to be his own.

Very similar to Hambleton's 1784 version of the *Lost and Undone Son* are two chap-books printed, one at Wotton-Underedge, 1790, the other at London. These make a special point of the fatalism in the life of Judas—

> In *Judas* here we plainly see,
> 'Tis vain to strive 'gainst *Fate*,
> For its Decrees shall surely be
> Fulfilled soon or late.

Close, again, to Hambleton's versions is 'The Life and Death of Judas Iscariot, or the Lost and undone Son of Perdition. Glasgow. Printed for the Book-sellers.' The British Museum has two copies of this work dated 1828; the Harvard Library copy is undated.[9] In this Glasgow edition, and in the London edition not printed by How, King Theophilus is printed as King Pheophilus. There are certain small omissions and interpolations, and doggerel is introduced; but in many places the wording is identical. Now and then an effort is made to correct and improve the style.

It is rather difficult to explain the alterations which the mediæval legend has here undergone except as a conscious endeavor for greater verisimilitude, a desire to make a 'better story of it.' Such an explanation, however, leaves a good deal to be desired, leaves, in truth, a good deal unexplained. One thing to be noted is the change from the queen rescuer to the king; this already appeared

[9] Reprinted by Cheap in *The Chapmans' Library: The Scottish Chap Literature of the Last Century Classified.* Glasgow, 1877, vol. II.

in the Dutch version and was remarked by de Vooys. Doubtless if we had the chain of evidence complete—for it is not to be thought that the legend was entirely lost during its centuries of eclipse—from say 1500 to 1700 many other changes could be accounted for in the gradual shiftings of emphasis and substitution of details which would be the natural result of irregular, oral transmission.

The story of Judas enjoyed the further distinction of ballad form. In the *Roxburghe Ballads,* we find *The Dream of Judas' Mother Fulfilled, Together with his sinful Life and deserved destruction,* in eighteen stanzas, to the tune of "Christ is my Love." [10]

> Who that antique story reads,
>   and ancient tales of old:
> a notable strange tragedy
>   to you I will unfold;
> of that Judas Iscariot
>   who did our Savior sell,
> and did betray him with a kiss,
>   to haste himself to hell.

In certain details this ballad is a closer return to the mediæval legend than any of the modern English versions, and shows even an earlier simplicity than many of the Latin versions. The manner of the exposure distinctly suggests Moses; the picture on the other hand of Pilate riding through his land "on his sport and his play" suggests the Bohemian version.

A more pretentious if not more popular rendering than any of the preceding is 'The Unhappy Birth, wicked Life, and miserable Death of that vile Traytor and Apostle, *Judas Iscariot,* who for Thirty-Pieces of Silver betray'd his Lord and Master JESUS CHRIST. Shewing:

[10] Folio Edition, III, ii, p. 737. The estimated date in the British Museum catalogue is: ? London, 1730.

[here the story is outlined under VI topics.] To which is added, a Short RELATION of the Sufferings of our BLESSED REDEEMER. Also the *Life* and Miserable *Death* of *Pontius Pilate,* who condemn'd the Lord of Life to Death. Being collected from the Writings of Josephus Sozomenus, and other Ecclesiastical Historians. Durham. Printed and Sold by Isaac Lane.' This is without date, but probably is about 1750. Another edition, likewise in twelves, was printed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. ? 1760. On the verso of the title page is a "To the Reader" of four six-line stanzas, in which the story is epitomized, signed "T. G." Two later editions, in eights, lacking this signature were printed at Birmingham, one in 1793, the other in ? 1815. The "History" is divided into six chapters. The story is told with much circumstantial detail and with a considerable attempt at color and picturesqueness.[11]

The most elaborate form that the legend of Judas enjoyed during its chap-book period is the version in heroic couplets by Thomas Gent. This was printed at York in 1772, but claims on the title page to have been "Originally written in *London* at the age of 18." Inasmuch as Gent was born in 1693, and there is no reason to question the accuracy of his statement, his 'Judas Iscariot' must have been composed in 1711. Thomas Gent was a printer of chap-books in London and York, a man of interesting character and rather notable literary activity, and for a man of his position his learning was remarkably extensive if not very profound.[12] His life of Judas is

[11] It is probably this version which was referred to by Adin Williams, F. R. H. S. as 'The Birth, Life, and Death of Judas and the Life and Miserable Death of Pilate' in *Notes and Queries,* 6th Series, III, p. 388.

[12] Cf. *Yorkshire Chap-books,* ed. by C. A. Federer, London, 1889, pp. 10-23.

entitled: 'Divine Justice and Mercy Displayed. Set forth in the unhappy Birth, wicked Life, and miserable End of that deceitful Apostle, JUDAS ISCARIOT; Who for thirty Pieces of Silver, betrayed and sold his *Lord* and *Master* JESUS CHRIST. Shewing, [here the story is outlined in six divisions]. With Meditations on the Life and Death of our B. Saviour.' The whole poem is divided into six chapters, which do not, however, exactly coincide with the six divisions on the title page. The first lines of "Chap. I" will illustrate the author's style and manner.

> THAT, by the Means of *JUDAS*, CHRIST was slain,
> The *Sacred WRITINGS* tell us very plain;
> But no where shews his ill fore-boding Birth,
> Who prov'd the saddest Wretch upon the Earth!
> My present Task, far as TRADITION'S Truth,
> Shall be improving LINES, begun in YOUTH;
> From various Authors; who the Mind engage,
> By Heaven inspir'd, and known from Age to Age.
> Cœlestial SENSE is best, right understood;
> But, next, undoubted TESTIMONY'S good;
> From whence bright Knowledge, like fair Rivers flow;
> Or Dews, from HIGH, refreshing ALL below.
> So 'twas of old, the *SACRIFICE* divine;
> The *EUCHARIST*, in *Holy Bread* and *Wine*,
> Was fair display'd, as what the CHURCH should deck,
> By Sanction's Pow'r, thro' King MELCHIZEDEK.
> An INSTITUTION, lastingly remember'd,
> *CHRIST'S* nat'ral BODY on the Cross so render'd;
> Held, by the LEARNED, constantly to prove.
> Appeasing *Anger*, and obtaining *LOVE!*
> But *Judas'* Name, that bears the sad Transgression,
> Derived is from *Praise*, and *true Confession*.
> PERSONS, so-styl'd, gave Rise to HISTORY:
> From whom I'll mention which of them was He.

Judas's mother was named Berenice, his father Simon; the monarch who "on fam'd Iscariot's coast" saw the infant Judas floating by, "And, wond'ring at the Navigator, gaz'd!" was named Valerius; and the story pro-

ceeds as in the *Unhappy Birth* but with a considerable admixture of classical allusion and neo-classic poetical adornment.

The similarities between this work of Gent and the *Unhappy Birth* are striking. Of the latter no edition is known to me earlier than about 1750, whereas Gent professes to be revamping a poem he had composed as early as 1711. Verbal parallels are comparatively infrequent, and on the whole are such as would be likely in any two versions of the same story. But the most remarkable point is the appearance of Gent's *To the Reader* (omitting the last stanza, which would probably be one of the later 'improvements') in two editions of the *Unhappy Birth,* one at Durham, the other at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, but signed only "T. G.", and of the same *To the Reader* in two later editions without even the initials. Admitting that demonstration is quite impossible, I incline to the opinion that the *Unhappy Birth* was taken, at least in part, from Gent's early unpublished poem, and taken perhaps without the author's consent.

Another version, which rests upon a somewhat different tradition, is entitled:

A Full and True Account of the Birth, Life, and Death, of JUDAS ISCARIOT; who was the Son of *Simon,* and of the Tribe and Lineage of *Benjamin.* Shewing how his Mother was foretold by a dream that she would bear a Son that would betray the Saviour of the World; how his Father thought to prevent it, by putting him in a small Boat, and committing him to the Seas; how he was found by some Fishermen that belonged to the Island of Iscariot, how a Prince brought him up, and made him his Son's Companion; how he treacherously drowned the Prince's Son, and for fear of discovery fled to the Land of Canaan, where he killed his own Father, and married his Mother; afterwards betrayed our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; last of all, how he hanged himself, and his Bowels gushed out. Glascow. Printed and Sold by J. & J. Robertson. M,DCC,LXXVI.

Here the rescue by fishermen suggests Gregory again. On

the whole the narrative is smooth and at times vivid. The final paragraph offers a fresh variation of the old theme, viz.: "It is known when a malefactor commits high treason against the king, that ten executioners rips open his belly, and takes out his heart, and holds it in his hand, in view of all the spectators, crying, There behold the heart of a traitor: And for Judas who was a traitor to the King of kings, it was no wonder that the seam of his belly did burst asunder: that all who passed by might behold his treacherous heart."

At length, in the nineteenth century, the legend reappears in Wales. The little pamphlet of sixteen duodecimo pages is entitled: "Hanes bywyd a marwolaeth Judas Iscariot. Cyfieithiad o'r Saes'neg. Allan o'r 12fed argraffiad. Trefriw," [? 1825]. The title page is undated, but contains, written in ink, the name of *Ed. Robert,* with the date October 10, 1826. If we are to believe this translator the legend had a greater vogue in England than we had supposed, for he is here translating from the *twelfth edition.* No English version that we know had such a success. Or perhaps this is a species of Welsh advertisement. At any rate the translation is evidently of the *Life, Character and Death,* which enjoyed a third edition in 1724, and was imitated by the *Lost and undone Son of Perdition,* which itself ran through several editions in England, Scotland, and America. If the *Life, Character and Death* had reached a third edition in 1724 it may well have gone onwards to a twelfth a hundred years later. Which would make it easily the best-seller and most popular of all the legend's modern renderings. In the Welsh the father's name is not "one Simon, a tanner," but simply Simon Barcer—the trade became the surname. To the English version the translation adds one supplementary detail: the "bark or rather box" in which Judas was set

adrift was lined with *oilcloth*—and the translator was careful to insert the English word in parenthesis into his text.[13]

Coeval with the Renaissance of the Judas legend in England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries we find a similar revival in the Scandinavian countries. Rasmus Nyerup [14] mentions a Danish chap-book containing a *Historie om Judas* with the following title: 'En kort og mærkelig Historie om den slemme og forgiftige Forræder Judas, hans Afkom Fødsel og Levnet og hvad Synder han haver bedrevet i denne Verden fra hans Opvæxt indtil han blev Christi Apostel.' Nyerup merely gives in a few words the story of fratricide, parricide, and incest, "ligesom Oedip"; and adds: "At denne Legende, som man ogsaa finder hos det 14de Seculi Skribent Matthæus Westmonast (*edit. Francof.* 1601, *pag.* 47-48), i det 17de Aarhundrede har været oversat paa Dansk. sees deraf, at den omtales i Peder Syvs danske Boglade. Han giver den det Skiudsmaal, og det med Føje, at den indeholder mange Urimeligheder." There is another Danish chap-book, presumably the same version, with the

[13] The Catalogue (1898) of the Cardiff Free Libraries mentions three other 'editions': Shrewsbury, ca. 1750, Merthyr, 1812, Aberdare, 1879.—In *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, VII, p. 455 another English version is mentioned 'The Arch Knave, or the History of Judas from the Cradle to the Gallows. Compiled and translated from the High Dutch of S. Clare and the Spanish of Don H. de Mendoza. London: printed by J. Morphew.' Pp. 56. n. d. This "describes how Judas, when a boy, robbed hen roosts, and laid poison for his schoolmaster, &c." There is no Judas legend in Mendoza. —In *An Awakening Call to Great Britain* a *Judas Iscariot* is advertized among the Penny Books printed and sold by Wm. Dicey in Bow Church-Yard.

[14] *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennen Aarhundreder.* Kjøbenhavn, 1816, pp. 178-9.

following title: 'En ret mærkværdig Historie om den onde Forræder Judas, hvori hans Herkomst, Fødsel, hele Levnet, samt meget grove Synder allerede fra Barndommen, af, indtil han blev Christi Discipel, paa det omstændeligste beskrives. Kjøbenhavn. [N. D.] Tilkjsbs i store Helliggejststræde No. 150 og. 51.' Like *The Unhappy Birth* in English it is divided into chapters, but beyond its telling substantially the same story there is no apparent relation between them. What its source was I am unable to say. In outline it follows the usual version of the legend represented by the Latin Type RL, and would seem to be a general expansion of the mediæval legend; but there is no indication that it was made immediately from a Latin text, possibly via Westmonast, mentioned by Nyerup.

Bäckström says: "Den svenska folkboken är tvifelsutan en öfversättning från den danska." [15] The Swedish recorded editions of the legend are far more numerous than the Danish. Bäckström gives eleven titles, dating from 1740 to 1836, a whole century.[16] Three of these I have seen; and in spite of varying titles they are identical in text. Bäckström prints a slightly different text, without indicating which he has chosen; if the Swedish versions are translated from the Danish—which is altogether possible—the Bäckström text would represent merely a different translation of the same original, provided both translations were quite literal. Moreover, these two translations, if we may call them so, agree in such a general way with the Danish version second-mentioned that one would be tempted to assume at once, especially in view of

[15] *Svenska Folkböcker*, II, p. 198, Stockholm, 1848.

[16] A German translation by K. Tamms from an 1833 edition appeared in *Germania*, VI (1844), pp. 144 ff.

Bäckström's statement, that our Swedish texts are translated from the Danish; but this cannot be exactly the case, as a single example will show. In commenting finally on the utter sinfulness of Judas and Christ's apparently wasted effort to recover him by making him treasurer of the Apostles the Swedish version of Bäckström says: "Det var med honom, som om man ville taga ett och söka två det hvitt med myckt skurande; ju mera man det skurar, ju svartare blifver det. Så ock Judas: ju mera Herren Jesus lärde" etc. (in the three versions I have seen: "Det war med honom lika som man wille taga et Kohl, och twå det hwitt med mycket skurande och twättande: ju mera man det skurar, ju swartare blifwer det; så war det ock med Judas. Ju mera herren Jesus lärde," etc.; compare with this the close of the Cologne *Seelen Trost, l. c.,* p. 293); whereas our Danish text reads simply: "Judas var og blev et Afikum. Jo mere Christus lærde" etc. Obviously our two Swedish versions (unless indeed they depend one on the other, which is highly improbable because they are so similar) cannot well be derived from the Danish version just described. The alternative possibility, then, is that other Danish versions existed, one of which contained expressly the trope of washing the coal, and this Danish version was based perhaps mediately or immediately on the *Seelen Trost.*

In both the Swedish and Danish text books the name of Judas's mother is Liboria instead of Ciborea; this error may rest on a misprint, as Tamms suggested, or on the misreading of a manuscript. When the queen finds the child in the floating chest still alive— "ty den drunknar icke, som hänga skall"—she cries: "Ack, om jag hade ett sådant piltebarn, af mig födt!", which suggests the Latin Type RL. Judas's humble birth and his evil nature

from the very beginning are here emphasized, so that the murder of his foster brother is somewhat foreshadowed or psychologically motivated. It is not expressly said as in the Latin versions that Pilate and Judas were mutually attracted because of their common wickedness, but simply that they got on well together "ty Pilatus och han voro skälmar och mördare båda två," as in the *Seelen Trost.* The scene of Reuben and Judas in the garden is elaborated with some detail, the father being pictured as a gentle old man; the wife's grief and her appeal to Pilate for justice are given at some length; and the latter's proposal to provide her with a "good" husband is carefully worked up; but beyond the points already mentioned there is nothing to indicate the source of these versions,—unless the closing reflection on the world's ingratitude—"och sa plägar ock verlden ännu i dag löna bevista välgerningar"—be taken as further evidence of their relation with the *Seelen Trost.* Now it is of course by no means impossible, it is even entirely probable, that the mediæval Danish or Swedish translation of the German *Seelen Trost* was the source used by the writer or writers of these chap-books, but the evidence which can be gathered does not seem to warrant more than a suggestion.

A Finnish version of the legend is printed in *Folksagor för Gamla och Unga.* Örebro, 1842. I, pp. 238-51. (Bäckström).

The briefest summary of the foregoing material will suffice. While in a general way intermediate texts to bridge the time between the Middle Ages and the eighteenth-century revival of the legend in England and Sweden may easily be postulated, the most natural hypothesis, in view of the lack of real evidence to the contrary, is that in England at least the transmission of the legend was oral. The variations of the English from the mediæval versions

certainly appear to support such a hypothesis. But it is not impossible that Thomas Gent or some educated printer found the mediæval story in an old book (Caxton's *Golden Legende,* for example) and seeing that it would make good copy—since interest in Judas is perennial—worked it up for a chap-book. It is to be noted that the contemporaneousness of the English and Scandinavian revivals is purely fortuitous; there is not the slightest evidence that points towards borrowing on either side or mutual influence of any sort. The German and Spanish versions are each a kind of literary product and cannot count as evidence of the popularity of the legend. In France its inclusion in the *Bibliothèque Bleue* is pretty definite indication that it reached the folk; in England and Sweden there can be no doubt; in western Russia the evidence is even stronger, for late in the last century versions were taken down from oral delivery.[17]

Origin and Early History of the Legend

Although the investigation of the origins and sources of mediæval legends *en masse* has not gone far enough to warrant a general synthesis at present, still it is possible to say definitely that the Christian legend is not an isolated phenomenon of a few centuries of western Europe; that the same characteristics and the same motifs which appear repeatedly within its boundaries appear also outside its boundaries. Without committing ourselves on the disputed problem of communicated derivation as against the theory of innate ideas to account for the existence of the same tale among the people of far separated lands, we may certainly concede as a fact the so-called migration of motifs. *Some* tales and motifs have moved from place to place; that we can prove.

[17] Cf. Istrin, *op. cit.*

To explain now the origin of the legend of Judas there are two broad possibilities. The first is the reappearance in various countries of the same motifs, whether innate or transmitted; the second is the derivation from a similar legend or story which has taken definite literary form. In the case of a complex of motifs like the legend of Judas, the question of innate ideas can hardly be important. The crux of our present problem is, on the one hand, to show that such motifs existed among the people, no matter how they came to be there; and on the other, to establish a sufficiently clear possibility of literary transmission. In other words, did the Judas legend spring up among the folk from a union of popular motifs, or was it an adaptation of the story of Œdipus as handed down by means of written documents?

Before attacking the problem in detail we may first review briefly the opinions of those scholars who have already investigated either the legend of Judas in particular or the general subject of mediæval tales of incest. The majority follow Greith [1] in believing that the classical story of Œdipus is the root and that the mediæval stories of parricide and incest were its branches. Comparetti [2] and D'Ancona,[3] while they deny any historical relation between the legend of Pope Gregory and the story of Œdipus, hold definitely that the legend of Judas is a direct adaptation of the Œdipus myth. Lippold is doubtful as to the Gregory legend, but implies plainly enough the relation of Œdipus to Judas: "es ist natürlich nicht gesagt, dass die Oedipussage nur in dieser Form überliefert sei, vgl. die Geschichte vom Judas in Legenda Aurea." [4]

[1] *Spicilegium Vaticanum,* Frauenfeld, 1838, p. 154.

[2] *Edipo e la mitologia comparata,* Pisa, 1867, pp. 87, 89.

[3] *Op. cit.* Introd., pp. 8, 86, 89.

[4] *Ueber die Quelle des Gregorius Hartmanns von Aue,* Leipzig, 1869, p. 54, note.

Creizenach is positive of the Œdipodean derivation.[5] Constans [6] follows D'Ancona. Grabovski thinks that the details of the Œdipus story were transferred to the life of Judas.[7] Hermann Paul says it can hardly be doubted that the Judas legend is drawn from the story of Œdipus; and even submits a stemma for the relationship of all the principal mediæval incest tales.[8] Saintyves [9] speaks of the story of Œdipus as being applied literally to Judas, and quotes the brilliant remark of Delehaye: "L'histoire d'Œdipe a été beaucoup lue au Moyen Age sous forme de vie de saint." [10]

Other scholars, taking a less definite position, are inclined to see in the Judas legend an indirect influence of the myth of Œdipus. Du Méril, for example, regards it as at least showing a remnant of the pagan belief in fate.[11] Diederichs thinks that although the mediæval incest cycle does not preserve all the characteristics of the Œdipus story, still there is such similarity and agreement that some kind of inner relationship must be taken for granted; that these legends are not continuations and transformations (*Fort- und Umbildungen*) of the original, but are in some fashion Christian adaptations of the pagan material.[12] Cosquin says that the legend of Judas contains the general idea, though not the tragic quality of the old Greek fable; and makes a subtle distinction between the dream of Judas's mother, which predicted public evils, and

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 201-2. [6] *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

[7] *Podanià o zwiazkach między naiblizszym rodzeństwem.* Wisla, 1892, VI, str. 66 (Quoted by Solovev, p. 159).

[8] Altdeutsche Textbibliothek. *Gregorius von Hartman von Aue.* 2nd ed., Halle, 1900, pp. vii-viii.

[9] *Les Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, Paris, 1907, p. 269.

[10] *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles, 1905, pp. 71-2.

[11] *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, Paris, 1847, pp. 324-5.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

the oracle of Laius, which foretold misfortunes for a single family.[13]

But a large number of scholars are still more uncertain. Cholevius does not commit himself. The memory of Œdipus alone would not have given rise to the incest stories; they are partly the result of an unclean imagination taking delight in repulsive situations. After repeating the legend of Judas he exclaims: "Hier sind Anklänge an Moses, an Naboth's Weinberg, an Bathseba und warum nicht auch an Oedipus?"[14] Gaston Paris, in his review of D'Ancona,[15] hesitated between the theory of Œdipodean derivation and the possibility of a Syriac or Judeo-Christian source. Afterwards, in his *Littérature française au moyen âge,* he refers to the legend of Judas as "imitée de celle d'Œdipe."[16] Seelisch denominates it a "volkstümliche legende," but says that it "ist wenig ins volk gedrungen, und bleibt eine *légende littéraire.*"[17] Graf is interested in demonstrating the mediæval belief in fatalism, and refuses to discuss the relation of the Œdipus to the incest cycle.[18] Solovev, who has collected with great learning and industry materials of almost every variety pertaining to Judas, does not dwell at any length on the origin of the legend of parricide and incest. He connects it with the incest cycle and says: "Several peoples might preserve in their memory the cases of a son's horrible crime, the unconscious defilement

[13] *Le lait de la mère,* etc., *Revue des questions historiques,* Apr. 1, 1908, pp. 390-1.

[14] *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen,* Leipzig, 1854, I, pp. 167-9.

[15] *Revue Critique,* IV (1869), art. 123, pp. 412-5.

[16] 4th ed., Paris, 1909, p. 223.

[17] *Die Gregoriuslegende,* in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie,* XIX (1886), pp. 419, 421.

[18] *Op. cit.,* I, pp. 273 ff.

of a mother's bed; and several peoples might make this the subject of a tale, legend, or song." [19] Istrin merely points out the similarities to the story of Œdipus, of Moses, and of Paris.[20] Dragomanov indicates the analogy of the stories of Perseus and Telephus, as well as Œdipus.[21] Professor Rand believes that the Judas legend was "based in the main on the story of Œdipus or on one of the similar tales of an unfortunate who kills his father and marries his mother." [22]

There are a few, however, who plainly deny the Œdipodean origin. Piper, considering the connexion with Œdipus too remote, lays stress on the mental atmosphere of the twelfth century. "Heiraten in verbotenen Graden, Inceste aller Art, verwickelte Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse beschäftigten geistliche und weltliche Gerichtsbarkeit, während andererseits strenge Bussübungen sich neben dem üppigsten Genussleben finden." [23] Piquet has studied chiefly the legend of Gregory.[24] Rank, a disciple of Professor Freud, inclines to the theory of innate ideas, which he calls "Psychoanalyse." His views are parallel in part to those of Solovev, but he advances them with more confidence and elaboration.[25]

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-2. I did not become acquainted with this work until after I had collected most of my material; I have, therefore, drawn on his chapter on 'Judas and Œdipus' only for information with regard to Russian versions of the legend, and for a few referencs to the work of Slavic scholars.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 611.

[21] Славянскитѣ прѣправки на Едиповата история; Сборникъ за народни умотворення, кн. VI. Quoted by Solovev, p. 158.

[22] *L. c.*, p. 315.

[23] *Die Legenden und die Deutschordensdichtung* ('Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters,' IIter Teil. Kürschners Nationallitteratur, III, 2), p. 4.

[24] *Étude sur Hartmann d'Aue*, Paris, 1898, p. 255.

[25] *Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und Sage*, Leipzig und Wien, 1912, p. 337.

POPULAR ORIGIN. What are the essential features of the story of Judas? The mother's dream of a son predestined to a wicked career; the exposure of the new-born child on the sea; his rescue and murder of his father; and the unconscious incest with his mother. The incident of the (putative) brother whom he kills does not belong to the oldest tradition. Out of these four elements—or five, if the mother's dream and the predestined son be taken separately—the whole legend, with its later increments and variations, would easily and naturally have developed. But each of these four, or five, elements is a common possession of nearly all races; each has parallels not only in the West but also in the East. More than this: there are similar legends of the son predestined to parricide and incest for which there can hardly be question of any but a popular origin.

First, the individual motifs, in so far as they are to be found existing separately. The idea of a son predestined to an evil career is known to be extremely early; it is found in the story of the Predestined Prince, which was written down in Egypt in the twentieth, or perhaps even in the eighteenth, dynasty, and is in all probability older than that.[26] A similar tale, that of Atys, son of Crœsus, is related by Herodotus.[27] In the earlier form of the myth of Œdipus the unborn child was destined to kill his father, marry his (step)mother, and bring woes upon his house, because Laius had carried off Chrysippe, the son of Pelops. This tale was developed, on the one hand, by the Greek tragic writers, and has had an almost uninterrupted literary history; but on the other hand, it remained a possession of the folk, entirely escaped Christian influ-

[26] Graf, *Miti*, etc., I, p. 281. [27] I, 34 ff.

ence, and was still told in the last century by the unlettered in southeastern Europe.[28]

Revelation from the supernatural world to mortals by dreams is a commonplace in all lands and religions. The grandfather of Cyrus dreamed that his daughter should bring forth a grape vine; [29] the mother of the tyrant Dionysius that she should give birth to a satyr; [30] Queen Hecuba that she should bear a burning fire-brand. The birth of Jesus was foretold to Mary by an angel. The birth, name, and holiness of St. Coemgenus of Glendalough were revealed to his mother by an angel in a dream.[31] In the twelfth-century poem attributed to Ildebert of Lavardin, a married couple had a son who was predestined to kill his father.[32] In a word, the motif of the pregnant mother's revelatory dream, and that of the son predestined to misfortunes, occur at an early period, among various races, and continue to be productive into the Middle Ages and even later.

In close relation to this motif, if not inseparable from it, is the exposure of the unfortunate child, either on land or on the sea. Paris was exposed on a mountain; Œdipus, in the early tradition, on the sea, and according to later tradition, in a forest; Semirimis, in the Syrian legend, on land; and Cyrus, in the Persian legend, on land. Pelias and his twin brother Neleus were exposed by their mother

[28] Cf. Bernhardt Schmidt, *Griech. Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 143; and Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, II, p. 373. The Bulgarian folksong of Urisnica (A. Strausz, *Bulg. Volksdichtungen*, Wien and Leipzig, 1895, p. 218) is a reworking of the Œdipodean material perhaps from literary sources.

[29] Herodotus, I, 95.

[30] Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, I, vii, 7.

[31] Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, I, p. 234.

[32] Cf. Graf, *Miti*, I, pp. 296 and 309, n. 37.

Tyro and nurtured by herdsmen. In the Mahabharata Karna was set adrift in a boat, and so also were King Sargon in the Assyro-Babylonian legend,[33] Romulus and Remus, Perseus and Danaë. In the legend of Henry III, which is told in the *Pantheon* of Godfrey, the *Gesta Romanorum,* and the *Legenda Aurea,* but is certainly of Byzantine origin,[34] the young child was exposed in a forest by the Emperor Conrad and rescued. In the Javanese legend of Raden Pakou, the son of the princess of Balambangan was set adrift in a casket and carried to Gersik.[35] In these legends generally the purpose of the exposure is to put the child to death in an indirect manner, or on the part of its parents to avoid the responsibility of bringing up a *porte-malheur.* Moses, on the contrary, was exposed in the papyrus ark in order that his life might be saved. M. Israel Lévi [36] is of the opinion that the Javanese legends of the floating chest are derivates from the Jewish story of Moses; that this story, reviewed and augmented by Jewish tradition, penetrated from Jewish into Musulman folk-lore. M. Lévi insists on the point, however, that the story does not derive from the passage in Exodus, but belongs to ancient Jewish tradition.[37] He proceeds to show that each of the essential characteristics of the legend (namely, the hero charged at birth with

[33] De la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte,* 3rd ed., Tübingen, 1905, I, p. 348.

[34] Cf. S. Grudzinski in *Ztsch. f. roman. Philol.,* XXXVI (1912), pp. 546 ff.

[35] Cosquin (*op. cit.*) gives other Javanese and Indian legends related to this. Additional material in J. Hertel, *Ztsch. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde,* XIX (1909), pp. 83 f.

[36] *Revue des Études Juives,* LIX (1910), pp. 1-13.

[37] "Que si les traits essentiels du thème, *et qui ne dérivent pas du texte de l'Exode,* se retrouvent chez les Juifs vivant dans un milieu juif, il faudra bien en conclure que ce thème était entré ou était né dans le folk-lore juif" (p. 4).

being the cause of public disaster, his exposure on the sea, the mysterious light that goes with him, and the miracle of the mother's milk) has its parallels in Josephus, the Midrash, and Jewish tradition. A similar story of the birth of Abraham, in Tabari, I, 137,[38] "corrobore la parenté du thème juif avec le thème commun."

Tales of unintentional parricide and even incest have in the life of primitive peoples, where a social order different from our own is developed, and polygamy or polyandry obtain, an actual as well as legendary basis. As late as the sixteenth century, Luther, in his *Table Talk,* recalls a case of unconscious incest between a mother and her son at Erfurt, which came to his notice. Averted parricide furnishes the climax of the story of Sohrab and Rustum. Perseus unwittingly slew his grandfather. Brut involuntarily killed both his father and mother. St. Julian the Hospitaller put his father and mother to death, believing they were his wife and her lover.

The incest motif is extremely frequent in all lands and ages. The manifold variations and reworkings that it received are evidence of its profound interest and popular favor. A mere glance at the nearly 700 large octavo pages of Rank's *Das Inzest-Motif in Dichtung und Sage* reveals the currency and range of the material. It is a part of the mythology of the East, of the North, of the West. Incest among the gods, Indian, Egyptian, Hellenic, is by no means uncommon; indeed, at some periods it was not reckoned a crime. Siegfried was the son of Siegmund and Sieglinde. Kinyras begat Adonis on his sister Smyrna. Saturn married Ops, his sister. Hera was the sister of Zeus.[39] In the Old Testament Ammon, son of

[38] Cf. G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden,* Frankfurt a. M., 1845, p. 68.

[39] Cf. Seelisch, pp. 388-9. It would easily be possible to multiply

David, forced his sister Tamar to lie with him. The two daughters of Lot each bore him a son. King Antiochus, in the widely diffused story, lived in illicit relations with his daughter.[40] In mediæval Europe incest stories were unusually frequent and familiar, at first under Christian influence, when stress was laid especially on the utter sinfulness of man, atonement through extreme penance, and divine mercy; and later for their own sake, out of sheer pleasure in compounding obscene relations and salacious ingenuity in devising piquant situations. It was interwoven in the *vitæ* of several holy saints, and one of the greatest of the successors of St. Peter was, according to

examples of these various motifs in the general field of folk-lore. The illustrations that I give are meant to be merely suggestive, not by any means exhaustive. For example, Otto, *Einfluss des Roman de Thèbes*, Gött., 1909, p. 17, points out the motif of the exposure of the child in Lohengrin, in the lais of Marie de France, in Galerant, in Richars li Bliaus, in Jourdain de Blavies, in Parise la Duchesse, and in Berte (where, as in Œdipus, the servants are ordered to kill the queen in a forest, but feel compassion and spare her life). Other illustrations of the exposure and incest motifs may be found in Karl Schmeing, *Flucht- und Werbungssagen in der Legende*, Münster i. Westf., 1911. An impressive view of the frequency of all these motifs in early mythology may be gained from the 'Tafel' in von Hahn's *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien*, Jena, 1876. Practically the whole of Judas's story can be related by means of the 'formulas' to which Hahn has reduced a large mass of myth and Heldensage: "4. Warnende Zeichen an einen Ascendenten. 5. Daher Hauptheld ausgesetzt. 7. Erzogen bei kinderlosem Ehepaar. 8. Uebermuth des Zöglings. 9. Dienstbarkeit in der Fremde. 13. Ausserordentliche Todesart. 14. Verleumdung wegen Blutschande und früher Tod. [The early death is of course impossible for Judas.] 16. Ermordung des jüngeren Bruders." (Tafel, p. 340.)—In the Irish saints' lives, where we find a remarkable intermingling and crossing of popular and ecclesiastic traditions, incest is no uncommon thing; see, for example, Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, p. cxxxv, n. 2.

[40] This is the story of Shakspere's *Pericles*. It is found in Latin MSS. as early as the ninth or tenth century, and is supposed to be much earlier.

the legend, not only the son of brother and sister, but also the husband of his mother.

The relationship of all the mediæval incest tales and legends—Seelisch collected nearly fifty—is exceedingly involved and doubtless too complex ever to be reduced to a satisfactory scheme. To discuss, or even to name, all of them would be out of place here, but inasmuch as many of them are interesting and important parallels to the legend of Judas, I shall undertake to give a brief survey of the earlier materials. Questions of date, it must be borne in mind, are extremely delicate and difficult. A legend which by manuscript evidence we can date no earlier than, say, the fifteenth century, may perfectly well have been current in the twelfth; while, *per contra,* there may be indisputable evidence of the existence of a tale in the twelfth century which did not become current until the fifteenth. This is especially the case with the Eastern European legends of incest, none of which can be positively dated much before the seventeenth century, but which we may unhesitatingly refer to a considerably earlier period.

The best known of these incest tales is that of St. Gregory. The oldest form of this legend is represented by a German *Volksbuch,* in which Gregory is not made pope, but bishop.[41] It is related in Latin prose in the *Gesta Romanorum* (chapter 81), from which it was translated into French, German, Polish, and Russian; and in Old French verse of the second half of the twelfth century,[42]

[41] Simrock, *Deutsche Volksbücher,* 12, 108. (Seelisch)

[42] This is probably the safest date. It is that of M. Roques (which I have from a private communication), who is preparing a new edition of the Old French poem. Littré, *Histoire de la langue française,* vol. II, argues from the language for an earlier date, some time in the eleventh century. For the more recent discussions see the work of F. Piquet, already cited.

from which it was translated into German by Hartmann von Aue at the end of the twelfth century, and from the German twice into Latin verse, besides a prose version in the *Heiligenleben* and a Swedish translation in 1524 by Johannes Matthias.[43] Since the legend may have had an influence on the legend of Judas, I shall summarize it here, from the Old French poem.

A count of Aquitania, dying, entrusts to his son the care of his daughter; but the devil inspires in the brother a carnal passion. When their fault becomes visible the brother sets out in penance for Jerusalem, and the sister, having conceived a hatred for her child, sets it adrift on the sea with tablets which relate the manner of its birth. Then, on hearing of her brother's death, she returns to her castle as Countess of Aquitania, where her hand is sought by many suitors. Still repenting her former sins she refuses all offers; but one powerful duke manifests his passion by declaring war. Meanwhile the young child is finally picked up and cared for by fishermen; but his superior blood shows itself when he overcomes a fisherman's son in a quarrel. His foster mother, becoming angry, proclaims him a miserable foundling; and in humiliation he resolves to become a knight. Setting forth with the tablets that reveal his incestuous birth, he arrives in Aquitania, vanquishes the ardent duke, and marries his mother. But through his frequent melancholy visits to the tablets which he has kept secret, the whole situation becomes patent, and recommending his mother to pious deeds he departs in mendicant's dress, comes to the coast, and is conducted to an isolated rock in the sea, where he allows himself to be fettered and the key to be thrown into the water. Seventeen years pass. A vacancy occurs on the papal throne, and an angel names the penitent Gregory. Messengers are sent out, and Gregory is found on his rock; the key is miraculously recovered; and all Rome falls down before the new pope. At length, the Countess of Aquitania, ignorant of all this, goes to Rome to confess her sins; from her story the Pope recognizes his mother; and she ends her days in a nunnery.

The origin of this legend has not been definitely determined. The opinion of scholars is about equally divided for and against the theory of an Œdipodean source; but I

[43] For the various versions and translations see Seelisch, and Paul's edition of Hartmann's *Gregorius*.

am inclined to the belief of Seelisch, who says: "Ein geschichtlicher zusammenhang beider sagen [Œdipus and Gregory] ist vielmehr bloss eine möglichkeit, die noch nicht einmal die wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat, eine möglichkeit, die bis jetzt noch unbewiesen, vielleicht überhaupt unbeweisbar ist." [44]

Another legend of this group, of a more obviously popular character, is that of St. Andreas, which in the form in which we know it probably sprang up in the south of Russia, and from there spread northward and westward.[45]

A merchant learns from two doves that his wife will bear him a son who will kill his father, marry his mother, and violate three hundred nuns. As soon as the child is born they baptize it Andreas, cut open the body, and set it adrift. Thirty miles from there Andreas is picked up and taken to the abbess of a nunnery, where he grows up to be a well educated boy of fifteen. Then the devil takes possession of him so that he dishonors three hundred of the nuns. Driven from there, he comes to the town of Crete, becomes his father's servant with the special duty of watching the vineyard, and at night, mistaking his father for a thief, kills him. Soon afterward he marries his mother. She recognizes him by the scars on his body, and sends him to a priest. But the priest refuses to absolve him, and is killed by Andreas; and after slaying two more priests Andreas seeks the Bishop of Crete, who forgives him, but for penance has him chained at the bottom of a cellar and has a padlock inserted in his mother's nose and the key thrown into the sea. When the cellar becomes filled with earth Andreas will be completely forgiven. Thirty years later the mother's key is miraculously recovered, and Andreas is found seated on the top of his cellar, now filled in, busily writing his *Canon of Repentance*.

Antonovitch and Dragomanov suppose this legend to be derived from the legend of Gregory. Diederichs holds a contrary view, but points out certain rather marked resemblances to the Judas legend. Both Judas and Andreas are of humble birth. Both were predestined to kill their

[44] *Op. cit.*, p. 387.

[45] Cf. Diederichs, pp. 131 ff., where the variants are discussed.

father and marry their mother. Both before the parricide have deeply sinned, Judas in slaying his supposed brother, Andreas in violating the three hundred nuns. In both legends the revelation of the incest is brought about by the mutual confessions of mother and son. Both Judas and Andreas are sent by their mother to a confessor to obtain pardon. These parallels, it seems to me, striking as they are, should be regarded as accidental rather than as fundamental; they belong to the materials on which both legends drew. But nevertheless, inasmuch as the legend of Judas and that of Andreas must have been known at some period to the same people, for both are found roughly in the same place at the same time, there is no reason to deny the possibility of contamination; and while we know that the legend of Judas acquired in southeastern Europe no new characteristics which can be paralleled in the legend of Andreas, it might have been the latter that was influenced.[46]

The most horrible, but also, it seems to me, the most moving of all the incest group is the legend of St. Albanus. This is found in several Latin manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards,[47] and without names in a twelfth-century poem (of which only a fragment is preserved) in a Rhenish dialect,[48] and in the *Gesta Romanorum*.[49]

An Emperor in the North has a child by his daughter. To prevent scandal they have it carried, with gold and precious ornaments, outside the realm, into Hungary. There, brought up by the King, the youth wins great fame for his beauty and wisdom, and marries the daughter of the northern Emperor. The King, on his death bed,

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[46] For a probable origin of the Andreas legend see Seelisch, p. 417.

[47] Köhler, *Germania*, XIV, pp. 300 ff. It was first mentioned by Greith, who saw it in a Vatican MS.

[48] Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1876, I, pp. 521, 523 ff.

[49] Oesterley, no. 244, pp. 641 ff.; Oesterley, however, does not refer it to Albanus.

reveals the origin of his foster-son, and by the jewels the mother recognizes her son. She confesses all; for penance the father, daughter, and son are directed to wander seven years in sackcloth. In the seventh year they are returning joyfully, but lose their way in a desert; the father is again seized with passion for his daughter, and the son, discovering this repeated incest, kills them both, and ends his life in severe penance.

In the twelfth-century version the child is found and taken to the King of Hungary, who has his wife pretend it is her own, since they are childless. Here the adoption of the foundling by the queen who represents it as her own child strongly suggests the adoption of Judas by the Queen of Scariot.

Besides these tales of incest there is the Bulgarian legend of Paul of Cæsarea, who is the son of brother and sister, becomes king of a foreign land, and marries his mother; [50] the Italian legend of Vergogna, who is the son of father and daughter, is brought up in Egypt, returns and marries his mother, who like Gregory's has many suitors; [51] and several more tales in verse and prose, on the whole of a rather more literary than popular character. Many of them, for example the *Dit de Buef* with its variants and derivates, enjoyed great favor as moral exempla, while many others were widely read and admired for the sake of their story. Oddly enough, a small circle of incest tales grouped itself around the Virgin Mary,—such diverse stories as the ballad of Brown Robyn,[52] the *De amore inamorato* (C.D.M.R.)[53] and a wild companion-piece to the *Dit de Beuf* told by Vincent de Beauvais.[54]

[50] Cf. Diederichs, p. 124, n. 7. Köhler published (*Germania*, xv, pp. 288 ff.), a translation which Diederichs says is "nicht ganz korrekt."

[51] D'Ancona, pp. 1-60, and Introd., *passim*.

[52] Child, no. 57.

[53] *Gesta Rom.*, 13 (Oesterley, p. 291); *Speculum Hist.*, VII, 93.

[54] *Spec. Hist.*, VII, 94.

The Dutch *roman d'aventure* of Seghelijn of Jerusalem, which has distinct Byzantine affiliations, contains the motifs of the predestined son and incest with the mother. In the East of Europe there are several notable folk songs on the incest theme, including the well-known story of Simon the Foundling, the less-known Nomir and Grozdana,[55] a Finish tale,[56] and others.[57] The revolting Tale of an Incestuous Daughter (all of whose sins were conscious) which was localized in England, the bishopric of Wyan, is also an old Icelandic legend.[58] The Gregory legend has a parallel in the Caucasus,[59] and in Coptic.[60]

A striking parallel to the legend of Judas, from an entirely different source, is the Jewish tale of Joshua bin Noun.[61]

The father of Joshua, living at Jerusalem, prays God to grant him a son. His prayer is answered, but instead of rejoicing he commences to weep and fast day and night. His wife insists that he reveal to her the cause of his affliction, and finally he says that a vision from On High has announced that his son was destined one day to kill his father. The wife, believing in the revelation and wishing to avert the disaster, places the child soon after it is born in a chest and sets it adrift on the river. God sends a great fish, which swallows the chest, and one day, when the king of Egypt is

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[55] St. Novaković, *Archiv. f. Slav. Philol.*, XI (1888), pp. 321 ff.

[56] Graesse, *Märchenwelt*, 1868, p. 208.

[57] The unconscious incest of brother and sister is the subject of a number of ballads. Cf. Child, No. 50, *The Bonny Hind.* Professor Child compares the Scandinavian ballad of Margaret (preserved in Färöe and in Icelandic) and the story of Kullervo in the *Kalewala* (rune 35),

[58] Hugo Gering, *Islendzk Æventyri*, Halle, 1882-4, II, pp. 105-8.

[59] Aug. v. Löwis, *Ztsch. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde,* XX (1910), pp. 45 ff.

[60] Köhler, *Germania*, XXXVI (1891), p. 198.

[61] N. Slouschz, *Les Hébreo-phéniciens. Introduction à l'histoire des origines de la colonisation hébraïque dans les pays méditerranéens.* Paris, 1909, pp. 168-9. Israel Lévi, *Le lait de la mère et le coffre flottant,* in *Revue des Études Juives,* LIX (1910), pp. 1-13.

giving a grand feast, this fish is brought on the table. To the amazement of the lords a weeping child is discovered within the fish. A nurse is brought, and the child, growing up at the court, is later made the king's Sandator (chief executioner). Now it happens that the holy man, Joshua's father, has committed a crime against the king of Egypt, who orders his executioner to put the man to death. This is done, and according to the law of the land, the wife, children, and property of the victim fall to the hangman. Nevertheless, when the Sandator approaches his mother, the milk flows from her breasts and fills the bed. Joshua believes his mother is a sorceress, and is about to kill her, when the poor woman reveals to him his origin and the father's dream. The son penitently withdraws. Thereafter the people call him Son of a Fish.

This legend, says M. Slouschz, is taken from the Midrash Taam [62] and is confirmed by the 'Book of Tales' of the Rabbi Nissim, the Gaon of Caïrouan (tenth century). M. Lévi (p. 12) corrects this statement, and says that the legend is reported by Nathan Spira, of German origin, Rabbi of Grodno (d. 1577); who said that he found it in a Midrash, but did not specify in which one. (M. Slouschz christened it Midrash Taam.) According to Simon Chones, the editor of the *Rab Pealim* of Abraham son of Elia Gaon of Wilna, this would be in the *Hibbour* of Nissim Gaon; [63] but there is no sign of it in the *Hibbour*. M. Slouschz simply failed to verify the assertion of Chones. Therefore it appears that we have no direct authority for dating the legend of Joshua bin Noun earlier than the sixteenth century; but it is certainly older. On account of the inconsistency of supposing that the father of the Biblical Joshua, born in Egypt, was living in Jerusalem M. Lévi believes that the author was clumsily adapting a known legend to some other Joshua. The opinion of M. Slouschz is somewhat different. "Cette histoire,"

[62] Cf. *Revue des Midrashim de r. Abraham*, Varsovie, 1894, p. 23.

[63] Lévi, *Rev. des Études Juives*, XLIII, p. 283, refers the *Hibbour* to the eleventh century.

he says, (p. 169), "confirmée par des données anteislamiques,[64] ne denote guère l'intention d'embellir le rôle de Josué. Nous y verrions volontiers une version rabbinique d'un conte samaritain d'origine mythique. C'est toujours l'histoire de Jésus ou d'Adonis qui circule dans le folk-lore populaire." There is nothing to warrant the assumption that this legend is related to that of Judas. But since the intention of the legend of Judas was to blacken his name, there would be no reason (if the Christian legend *were* an adaptation of the Jewish) for averting the incest; and, moreover, the sudden marriage of Judas and his mother, in the usual legend, would be somewhat explained by the "custom of the land" in the rabbinical tale, by which wife, children, and property of a condemned man are given to the executioner. But in the absence of any adequate ground for supposing that the two legends are related, we must look upon the story of Joshua bin Noun merely as further evidence of the popularity of such tales. M. Lévi, however, is willing to go further. "La parenté étroite des deux legendes [Joshua and Judas] est frappante; l'une et l'autre remontent à un type qui avait, mieux qu'aucun autre, conservé le trait primitif et *sui generis* du lait de la mère, jaillissant à propos pour empêcher un inceste. Mais c'est la version hébraïque qui est restée le plus près de ce type."

This hasty review of mediæval incest stories, though far from exhaustive, is full enough to indicate the immense popularity of the material in the Middle Ages. Many of these tales are not demonstrably early enough to be important as direct evidence in a discussion of the origin of the Judas legend; but they do serve to show irrefutably that tales of incest were in high favor during the Middle Ages.

[64] We have seen that he is wrong in this regard.

On the other hand, so long as their popular origin remains unestablished, they cannot be adduced as proof of the popular origin of the Judas legend. Nevertheless, it is justifiable to argue that since some of these stories very probably sprang up among the people, the unlettered folk, and were composed on motifs which are known to be the property of the people in general, therefore the material out of which they were made was in the possession of the people. Or even if not one of them had its ultimate origin among the people, still some of them (witness the German *Volksbuch* of Bishop Gregory) penetrated early into the popular mind and became by so much the property of the people. Or, finally, even if *all* of these tales and legends of incest were of non-popular origin, still the materials which they contain are materials which have been familiar to the folk since days immemorial: *Therefore,* since the motifs and materials of these incest stories were the property of the people, the people could have constructed the legend of Judas, or, if we admit the popular origin of the legend of Gregory (and it is probable to a high degree), since the people were familiar enough with the material to devise one legend, it is highly probable that they were familiar enough with it to devise others. To put the case specifically: If the Middle Ages could produce the legend of Bishop (Pope) Gregory without literary sources, they could also produce the legend of Judas without literary sources.

A matter which must not be neglected in the investigation of the origins of the incest legends of western Europe is the historical background against which they may have sprung up. Greith was the first to draw atention to the *hæresis incestuosorum* which arose toward the end of the eleventh century, and which may well have been the cause of an awakened interest in the subject of incest.

For legal purposes the Justinian law reckoned degrees of relationship by generations. The Canonical law counted as it is customary for us now to count. In the year 1065 legal experts at Florence posed the question, apparently a theoretical one, whether Holy Church would sanction the marriage of near relatives on the basis of the Justinian method of computation. The faculty at Ravenna, misconstruing a passage in St. Gregory, affirmed that Holy Church would so sanction; and a mighty argument followed, in which a great deal of strong language was used on both sides. Our chief sources of information concerning this controversy are a pamphlet-letter by Petrus Damiani [65] and the Annals of Baronius, who quotes largely from Petrus.[66] Apostolic authority was called in; and two Lateran councils were of no avail, "for," says Petrus, "by the devil's art the minds of the incestuous were so case-hardened (*conglutinati*) that no fear of eternal damnation could turn them from their crime." Finally all persons held guilty of incest were excommunicated; but even this had no satisfactory effect. "Whoever," says Petrus again, "has married a noble, beautiful, or rich woman, especially if she has children, prefers to renounce God rather than his marriage; and on the contrary, he whose wife is a burden to him makes out a false genealogy, citing the dead as witnesses, and has the marriage annulled on account of relationship." [67] Henry IV of Germany issued a general edict annulling the mar-

[65] Petri Damiani humilis monachi *de parentelae gradibus*. In his complete works, ed. of 1642, III, 8, 77-83 (Seelisch). Cf. Greith, pp. 158-9.

[66] *Annales Ecclesiastici* auctore Cæsare Baronio. Vol. XVI, sub anno 1065.

[67] Quoted by Fleury, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1713, vol. XIII, book lxi, chap. 14.

riage of all who were too closely related.[68] Illegal marriages increased, and even extended into the Church. A certain Episcopus Asparensis, Pius by name, persisted in his crime, and was killed in his bed by a thunder-bolt from heaven—"O divinæ animadversionis pavenda severitas!"

The upshot of this heresy and controversy must have been that for the moment incest became a matter of great general interest. In the course of discussion and investigation, several unsuspected cases might have come to light.[69] Baronius, who had the manuscript of Petrus's *Gomorræus* addressed to Leo IX, says that the work revealed examples of incest and moral uncleanness that would all too often have offended the modesty of the reader. At such a time, if the imagination flagged in its effort to find horrible crimes for Gregory and Judas, incest would surely have suggested itself. When, therefore, such a story once got under way it was sure to have immense popularity and 'present day appeal.' Lippold objects that to damn or condone the union of persons variously related has nothing to do with the legend of Gregory. Perhaps not, directly; but in those days incest was in the air, so to say; and a matter of religious controversy among the learned might easily commend itself to the folk as a point of departure for a pious tale.[70] Toward the end of the

[68] Constantini *vita Adalberonis*, II, 15-17. *Mon. Ger.*, IV, pp. 663-4 (Seelisch).

[69] Earlier in the century there had been several incestuous marriages in high circles: Henry III and Agnes of Poictou, Konrad II and Gisela, Otto v. Hammerstein and Irmingard ("martyrs of true love"). Cf. Giesebrecht, *Gesch. der deut. Kaiserzeit*, 4th ed., Braunschweig, 1875, II, pp. 366, 162, 168, etc.

[70] A note may be added here on the incest-chronicling epitaphs which have been collected by D'Ancona and Seelisch. From Hamburg comes the following lapidary epigram:

Wunder über Wunder,
Hier liegen dran (dre?) dorunder,

eleventh century any one who wished to heap coals of ignominy on the name and character of Judas Iscariot would have had at least one suggestion ready at hand.

Enough has been said, I believe, to make it clear that in the early Middle Ages the legend of Judas could have

Vater, Sohn unde Moder,
Sästor, Dochtor unde Broder,
Mann un Wyff,—
Denn Seelen un̄ van liff.

From Alincourt, near St. Quentin (and the same is reported from Clermont):

Ci git le fils, ci git la mere,
Ci git la fille avec le Pere,
Ci git la sœur, ci git le Frere,
Ci git la Femme, et le Mari
Et n'y a que trois corps icy.

From the Bourbonnais (sixteenth century):

Cy-gist la fille, cy-gist le père
Cy-gist la sœur, cy-gist le frère
Cy-gist la femme, et le mary,
Et si n'y a que deux corps icy.

On the tomb of the Count of Écouis and his daughter by his mother, Cecilia (seventeenth century):

Ci git l'enfant, ci git le pere,
Ci git la sœur, ci git le frère,
Ci git la femme et le mari,
Il ne sont que deux corps ici.

And on the tomb of Vergogna (according to the legend): "Qui giacciono due corpi morti, madre e figliuolo, e fratello e sirochia, e moglie e marito, nati di gran baronaggio dello reame di Faragona, e son in paradiso."

Finally:

Hier liegt begraben—
der Bruder mit seiner Schwester,
das Weib mit seinem Mann,
der Vater mit seinem Kind.

With the foregoing may be compared:

He's father, son, and husband mild,

sprung up and taken simple shape among the *people.* It remains now to suggest a theoretical early history for the legend on the basis of this possibility.

Judas Iscariot betrayed to death our Blessed Lord and Saviour. No act could have been more villainous. The man who could do that would be guilty of the most horrible crimes. But we know nothing of the early deeds of this Judas. He was a thief. He sold Jesus Christ to the Jews. He even took his own life. He may even have committed incest, that crime which Holy Church has just condemned so violently and punished with excommunication. If incest, probably parricide, too, equally horrible and wicked; for the mediæval mind, which invented gargoyles, knew no limits of horribleness to which it could not go.—And so perhaps (or if not so, then in some analogous fashion) the legend of Judas may have been born. If Judas married his own mother, he must have done so unconsciously: not that conscious incest would have been too much for the stomach of the time, but that it would have been too unlikely to make a good story. And first of all the story had to be a good one. It would be necessary by some means to separate him from his parents; and to manage this Herod's slaughter of the innocents might have been recalled as a reason for his departure (as in the Gascon *Passion*); or, more in accord with familiar

> I mother, wife, and yet his child,
> How they may be, and yet in two,
> As you will live, resolve it you.
>
> —Shakspere, *Pericles,* I, i, 68-72.

These epitaphs represent, for the most part, actual cases of incest. They show that even since the Middle Ages the crime has not become extinct. In earlier times it must have been, like murder and plunder, a comparatively familiar, not infrequent, though none the less heinous crime. Not until recent times has the State considered incest a penal offense.

folk-lore motifs, his father or mother would have an ominous dream and would set him adrift on the water, as Moses's mother did her son. Thus we have the outline of the legend sufficiently formed.

After this outline had taken shape, the gradual accretion of name and incidents is a matter in which both lay and ecclesiastic would take part. That portion of the development of the legend for which we have documentary evidence, and which we can follow with some feeling that we are really close to the facts, took place after the legend had come into the hands of clerks or monks, after it had penetrated into the Scriptoria of the monasteries and taken a humble station among the vitæ sanctorum to be read in the church service; and under such conditions, however the legend may have maintained itself among the people, affecting and affected by the new forms it assumed through clerical influence, we cannot expect to follow the work of the people as distinct from that of the monks, or even to separate the two at all.

In the section on the Latin versions we saw that there is reason to believe the legend existed in writing as early as the second half of the twelfth century. That the earliest written versions which have come down to us are in Latin is, of course, no argument against the theory of popular origin; for as a part of the religious literature it would inevitably have been put into Latin when written down at all. Even the twelfth-century Old French poem of the legend of St. Gregory presupposes an earlier Latin form; and the version of the Judas legend contained in the Gascon *Passion* of the fourteenth century, which probably represents an earlier form of the legend than any which is preserved in Latin, had, in all likelihood, although it may conceivably have been based on oral tradition, a Latin document for its immediate source. Among the folk,

whose memory for stories is excellent, writing was still unknown and unnecessary.

The point I have been trying to make thus far is that the legend of Judas *could* have originated among the people and existed among them in some comparatively simple form before it was taken up by the clergy and received a place among Christian legends of the Church. At the end of the thirteenth century its origin was felt to be questionable, if not suspicious. Jacopo da Voragine, and very probably his source, would not vouch for it, and felt it necessary to warn the reader. And Jacopo's doubt could not have arisen from the improbability of the story —other legends far more incredible were in full and regular standing—but there must have been, rather, some question of its legitimate birth.[71] No reputable church writer, except Jacopo, gives it his sanction by repeating it or alluding to it.

Beyond proving the *possibility* of a popular origin one cannot go; for the exact historical fact it is impossible to recover. But to prove a possibility is not to prove an actuality: and here, as it seems to me, the matter must remain, *in suspenso*.

Derivation from the Œdipus Story. Both Œdipus and Judas were predestined to an evil career. Both were exposed to death as soon as born, in order to avert the predicted evil. Both were rescued, the one by a king, the other (according to developed versions of the legend) by a queen. Both grew up at court. Both, after learning of their irregular origin, made a journey back to their birthplace, Œdipus to Thebes and Judas to Jerusalem. Both

[71] Many other legends were of popular or semi-popular origin, no doubt, and were fully accepted by the church. The fact, nevertheless, remains that the legend of Judas was always a little outside the pale.

unwittingly killed their father and married their mother. Both repented.—Thus, without too violent an effort of imagination, we can recognize in the legend of Judas the blurred outlines of the Greek myth. If we attempt to carry out the comparison in greater detail, important differences will appear, but only such differences, it seems to me, as might be the result of adapting the story of a Greek hero with pagan background to the life of an anti-hero with a Christian background.

There can be no doubt that the story of Œdipus was known in the Middle Ages. Perhaps the most likely channel by which it came down from antiquity is the *Thebaid* of Statius, or rather—since the *Thebaid* recounts the earlier life of Œdipus only incidentally, in scattered fragments—some lost Latin prose redaction of Statius,[72] in which the whole story of Laius and the oracle, the sphinx, parricide, and incest was conveniently summarized. But we have also a complete though brief outline of the story in the work of the Mythographus Secundus, who wrote some time between the seventh and tenth centuries.[73] Moreover, although the story is not found in any commentary on Virgil, or scholion on Statius, we know that some such scholiastic note must have existed from the following annotation to *Thebaid* I, 61: "responderat oraculum Laio quod a filio suo posset occidi. Unde natum Œdipum iussit proici transfixis cruribus. Harum omnium seriem fabularum Œdipodis in argumento digessimus." [74]

[72] Such a redaction would be analogous to the prose compilations in which the Middle Ages knew the story of Troy, or to one of the Universal Histories that gratuitously adopted the name of Orosius.

[73] *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres*, ed. G. H. Bode, 1834. Cf. Mythographus II, Fab. 230, pp. 150-51. On the date of Mythographus II see Ferd. Keseling, *De Mythographi Vaticani Secundi Fontibus*, Halle a. S., 1908, p. 146.

[74] Keseling, p. 62.

We must note, however, that neither in the version of the Œdipus story by Mythographus II nor in the scholion on *Thebaid* I, 61 is there any similarity of language or special feature of the story to suggest that the author of Type A or of any of the Latin versions had either of those early documents before him or in memory.

As later evidence of the Œdipodean material we have in the twelfth century the *Lament of Œdipus,*[75] a moving composition by some unknown poeta scholasticus, and the *Roman de Thèbes;*[76] and in the fourteenth century the *Roman d'Edipus.*[77] The trouvère of the *Roman de*

[75] Published by Ozanam, *Les écoles et l'instruction publique en Italie aux temps barbares, Oeuvres,* Paris, 1855-9, II, pp. 377 ff.; and from a thirteenth-century MS. by Du Méril (1854); later by Morell, M. Schmidt, and Dümmler. It begins:

> Diri patris infausta pignora,
> ante ortus damnati tempora,
> quia vestra sic iacent corpora,
> mea dolent introrsus pectora.
>
> Fessus luctu, confectus senio,
> gressu tumens labante venio;
> quam sinistro sim natus genio
> nullo capi potest ingenio.

There are twenty-one stanzas, some of them on two rimes (a, a, b, b), and some, as the above, on one rime.

[76] Constans, *La légende d'Œdipe,* Paris, 1881; Constans, ed. *Roman de Thèbes* (Soc. des anc. textes franç.), Paris, 1890, two vols. (vol. I, the text, vol II, the introduction). "Nous pouvons donc admettre," says Constans (II, p. cxviii), "jusqu'à preuve du contraire, que notre poème à été composé vers 1150, plutôt avant qu'après."

[77] This composition, which Comparetti stigmatized as the work of a *basso letterato,* is only a portion of the fourteenth-century prose redaction of the *Roman de Thèbes,* made when the romances were read preferably in prose compilations. It doubtless existed separately before it was incorporated in the pseudo-Orosian Universal Histories. In the fifteenth century the *Roman d'Edipus* was printed from MS. fr. 301 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century) and again by Silvestre in his collection

Thèbes prefixed to his poem a prologue of more than 500 verses,[78] not in Statius, narrating the story of Œdipus with considerable fulness.

Laius goes to consult 'his god' and learns that he will beget a son who shall murder his father. As soon as the child is born Laius orders three servants to expose it in a forest. Polibus, hunting, rescues the child and names him Edipus. At fifteen he is made knight and surpasses all his comrades; but the jealous courtiers hint at his unusual origin, and he determines to inquire of the oracle of Apollo. The oracle directs him to Thebes; and on the road, meeting a crowd celebrating festival games, he mixes in the general mêlée that arises from the quarrel of two contestants and ignorantly slays his father. The Thebans sorrowfully remove their king to the temple; and Jocasta declares that since she lost her son fifteen years before she has never ceased to mourn for him. Edipus continues on his way, meets the Sphinx (Spin), solves her riddle, and puts her to death. He is then led in triumph before the queen, who falls in love with him, although he has confessed under pledge of secrecy that it was he who slew Laius. Jocasta, secretly rejoicing when the people ask Edipus to be their king, conceals her emotions for the sake of appearances, and consents to marry Edipus only when her barons insist. After twenty years, during which they have four handsome children, the queen discovers the scars on Edipus's feet; and he, being pressed, relates his early life. The executioners are summoned, and confess the truth. Edipus in grief tears out his eyes and withdraws into voluntary imprisonment.—Here Statius begins.

Such is the story of Œdipus as the twelfth century relates it—" une simple matière à *roman*." The essential traits of the Greek narrative are preserved, but the Greek spirit is gone. Most notable is the manner in which the parricide is smoothed over and in the revelation after twenty years quite forgotten. The profound meaning with

(1858). The story of Œdipus occupies the first four folios of this MS. From the fourteenth-century prose version of the *Roman de Thèbes* Lydgate probably wrote in 1421-2 his *Story of Thebes*. This Old French prose redaction is found in more MS. than the poem, and probably enjoyed a greater vogue. On the *Roman d'Edipus* cf. Constans, *Œdipe*, pp. 338 ff.

[78] In one version this prologue contains more than 900 verses.

which the Greek tragic writers invested the story is lost, but although the outline is somewhat distorted and the coloring completely faded, it is still the story of Œdipus; and one must not confuse the myth itself with its interpretation by Æschylus and Sophocles.

The *Roman de Thèbes* was probably composed by 1150. The Latin prose versions of the story of Thebes which it presupposes must have been written earlier. And since we have no direct evidence to indicate that the Judas legend was in existence earlier than 1150,—in fact, we have only inferential grounds for thinking it was so early, —there can be no reasonable objection, on the score of dates, to the hypothesis that the immediate source, by adoption, of the Judas legend was the prologue to the *Roman de Thèbes*. But such an hypothesis is not necessary, for we have other evidence, besides the *Roman de Thèbes,* to show that the story of Œdipus was known in the twelfth century.

Some early references to materials from the Theban cycle are given by Constans;[79] and although most of the allusions are too late to be of value for the present purpose, those from the Provençal poets are early enough to be pertinent. The *Cabra juglar* of Guiraut de Cabreira (ca. 1170?), the *Gordo, ieus fas* of Bertran de Paris du Rouvergne (middle of the thirteenth century), and the *Fadet joglar* of Guiraut de Calanso (also of the mid-thirteenth century) contain references not only to Theban matter but also specifically to the story of Œdipus. It is, of course, absurd to deny that these allusions may be reminiscences of the *Roman de Thèbes,* as Constans supposes; but there is always the possibility that these poets were in possession of some separate version of the Œdipus tale

[79] *Œdipe*, pp. 349 ff.

(as apart from the whole story of Thebes) which was current at the time of the composition of the *Roman de Thèbes,* or even before.[80] Certain it is, at any rate, that whatever materials and sources the trouvère of the *Roman de Thèbes* may have used, they were not his sole property. As I have said, they must have existed before 1150, and how much earlier no one can tell. Such things do not spring out of the ground, they do not come into being suddenly. Their existence at a certain date necessarily implies not only their existence at an earlier date, but also and equally a not inconsiderable antecedent history. We may therefore reasonably infer, even without the evidence of Mythographus Secundus, that the story of Œdipus was known in western Europe in the first half of the twelfth century, and probably in the eleventh.[81]

The theory of an Œdipodean source for the legend of Judas carries with it an important corollary. It cannot be shown with the slightest degree of probability that the Œdipus myth was familiar to the folk in the early Middle Ages. With the tragic dramatists of the Periclean age the myth passed into the category of written literature,

[80] Cf. W. Keller, *Das Sirventes "Fadet joglar" des Guiraut von Calanso, Romanische Forschungen,* XXII (1906), pp. 99-238, esp. pp. 129 and 218-19. I am indebted to this article and to R. Zenker's *Weiteres zur Mabinogionfrage* (*Ztsch. f. fran. Sprache u. Litt.,* XLI (1913), p. 147) for this suggestion of an independent version of the Œdipus story.

[81] In view of the facts that one of the simplest surviving versions of the Judas legend is from Provence; that the earliest mediæval allusions we possess to the Œdipodean material are by Provençal poets; and that the *Roman de Thèbes* was composed probably by a southern poet of the langue d'oïl; one may be tempted to suggest that the legend of Judas, if based on the story of Œdipus, originated in the South of France. Such a mere hypothesis, however, without more support than it has, can not, of course, be deemed of real significance.

and since then it has remained, among all the nations that inherited Greek civilization, in the same category. In parts of south-eastern Europe the people have preserved a tradition of Œdipus and the sphinx, but much worn and modified; and the alterations which the story has undergone in these popular versions make it impossible that the Judas legend could have taken its origin from them.[82] In western Europe literary tradition alone has preserved the story. When, therefore, we argue that the life of Judas is derived from the myth of Œdipus, we absolutely exclude the theory of a popular origin for the legend, and commit ourselves to the theory of a clerical or ecclesiastical origin.

There is no difficulty, however, in the theory that the life of Judas was invented by some early monk on the basis of the Œdipus story. In this connexion Solovev has a suggestive paragraph (p. 181) in which he refers to Origen's discussion of prophecy and its bearing on the event. Origen compares the Psalmist's prediction of the crime of Judas [83] with the prophecy of the oracle of Laius.[84] This comparison, comments Solovev, gives a certain support to the hypothesis of an Eastern origin of the legend,[85] and permits us to carry it back to the first centuries (къ первымъ вѣкамъ) of the Christian era. Another consideration, he continues, favoring the adaptation to Judas of the Œdipodean crimes might be the appearance of the sect of Canaites-Judaites; or, in other words, the legend

[82] For these versions see Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen,* II, pp. 114, 310; Graesse, *Märchenwelt,* p. 208; Sakellarios, Τὰ Κυπριακά, III, p. 147 (translated by Comparetti in Appendix to D'Ancona, p. 115).

[83] Ps. CIX.

[84] Origen *Contra Celsum,* II, 20 (M. S. G., 11, 836-7).

[85] This was the theory of Grabovski (and also of Gaston Paris). It became utterly untenable after Istrin published the Greek versions of the legend.

may indicate a protest against the heretical apologies for Judas. But on examining this "comparison" (сопоставленіе) of Origen's in its context, we find it to be a mere juxtaposition. Celsus, says Origen, thinks that the fulfilment of a prophecy is the result of the prophecy; but we will not agree that the prophet by foretelling a thing causes it to happen; rather, the thing would take place even if it had not been predicted. In applying this doctrine Origen takes first an illustration from Scripture, showing that Judas did not betray our Lord because it was prophesied that he would; and then an illustration from Greek literature, showing that the calamities did not befall Laius because of the oracle, but because he did not refrain from begetting a son, (the oracle being merely a warning). The two illustrations are slightly contrasted by *μέν* and *δέ*.

The sum total which we derive from the passage in Origen is this. In making his point against Celsus, Origen, knowing two literatures, draws on them both, and in the same sentence mentions Œdipus and Judas. Some monk, in the eleventh century, let us say, perusing Origen's *Contra Celsum* (in a Latin translation, of course) was struck by the combination; and what was in the original only a literary allusion fructified after many generations in the mind of a Western reader—that is, suggested the equation: Judas = Œdipus.

Furthermore, there is another passage in Origen where Judas and incest are put side by side. In commenting on Matthew 27, 3 ff. he has a long discussion of Judas's repentance and the part played by Satanic power in Judas's crime, in which he says: If it were necessary to give an example of the Devil's influence in the deeds of men I could refer to the man in I. Corinthians who had his father's wife. This suggestion, too, is very slight; but in

the absence of all direct evidence I need hardly offer an apology for adducing it.

With regard to an Œdipodean origin of the legend of Judas we now reach the following conclusions. This theory, which has been held by several distinguished scholars and had not been directly impugned until the present inquiry, is perfectly tenable, provided the legend is granted to be of a literary or ecclesiastical character. Against the theory nothing important can be urged, except on general *a priori* grounds; and there are many considerations of unquestionable weight in its favor.

We can even see what may have suggested the adaptation to Judas of the life and crimes of Œdipus. Starting with the explicit idea, Judas = Œdipus, we should have, assuming that the unusual story of Œdipus was known, an initial attempt to graft the crimes of Œdipus upon the name of Judas,—a comparatively simple matter to undertake, inasmuch as the life of Judas prior to his apostolic call is left blank by the Synoptists. . . . The first problem in adaptation would be the oracle; which, being totally non-Christian, would have to be replaced. In other words, our imaginary adaptor would seek some motivation for the exposure of the child. For this there was nothing handier than Herod's slaughter of the innocents. Since, further, the wound in Œdipus's feet would no longer be available for the subsequent recognition, our author takes the simplest and most obvious substitute—branding. Instead of exposure in a forest, the more Biblical expedient, drawn directly from the story of Moses, of placing the infant in a small boat, would easily have suggested itself. But unlike Moses the child Judas had to travel a certain distance from home, in order to be brought up by a foreign king. Then it was necessary to get the child, when grown, back to its parents. The

Greeks, more subtle, motivated this journey, but our mediæval adaptor felt no such need: the father simply came to the land where Judas was, and in a quarrel was slain by his unknown son. To escape the penalty of his crime, Judas fled, came to Judæa, married his mother, and was recognized by her as her son. Here our author's invention flagged; he merely superimposed the story of Œdipus on Judas, without much effort to make it fit. Finally, to fasten the imaginary life of Judas to the known, there was nothing more obvious than repentance on Judas's part and Jesus's forgiveness—did He not also forgive the woman taken in adultery? comments our author, to himself.

This story, it need hardly be pointed out, is nothing but the Provençal version of the legend as it is preserved in the fourteenth-century *Passion*. That is to say: the Provençal version of the legend may readily be regarded as the natural and simple result of an effort to adapt the story of Œdipus to the figure of Judas. Whether this is the earliest or 'original' adaptation, we have no means of determining. And how it should have happened to be preserved only in a fourteenth-century manuscript, one is not prepared to explain. Still one cannot deny that such might well be the case. Nor could one easily tell why this very early (or earliest) form of the legend should have been preserved only in the Gascon *Passion*.

From this version of the legend to the Latin Type A is a comparatively long step. Whatever the intention, conscious or unconscious, of the originator of this legend may have been, by the time it reached the hands of the author of Type A the emphasis had shifted. But here I suspect we have to deal with the personality of an individual, a personality which touched this one rendering and not the whole legend. Type A begins: "There is nothing hidden

which shall not be revealed," and closes with a benediction, and almost a plea for Judas: "And do Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us. He that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved." [86] Here a new motivation for the exposure has been found, not perhaps a better one, but one more in consonance with the oracle. Judas's father had a vision, just as Laius had the oracle's prophecy. Following his vision the father, again like Laius, exposed his new-born son in a forest, but for Phocis we have Scarioth (from Judas's name in the New Testament) and there is no mention of a king or prince as there is in the story of Œdipus. This lack is balanced, however, by the reappearance of Herod, not, however, as the cause of Judas being exposed on the water but merely in his historical rôle of governor of Judea, as the king whom Judas served. In obedience to an order from his king Judas unwittingly met and killed his father. There may have been a reminiscence of Naboth's vineyard here (I. Kings 21); and the symbolism of the apples is fairly obvious, though it may have been unconscious. From this point the story continues on its own account. The consequences of the murder have to be considered. The friends of the murdered man seek justice, and Herod, not entirely of his own initiative (*accepto concilio*), adopts the expedient of marrying plaintiff and defendant.[87] So the redactor of Type A has solved the complication which was too much for the Provençal poet. Thenceforward, save for the added moral, there is no variation from our 'original.'

[86] Weyman remarks that this vita "scheint—nach der Formel 'tu autem Dominae miserere nostri' . . . zur erbaulichen Lesung in einer klösterlichen Kommunität, vielleicht bei Tisch, verwendet worden zu sein" (*Wochensch. f. klass. Philol.*, 25. Mai, 1914, p. 580).

[87] Here it is important to note that Herod is "et ipse turbatus"; he does not play the part of Judas's companion or coadjutor in sin.

In certain respects the story in Type A seems to be almost entirely remade. There are three important alterations: the substitution of the vision, the introduction of the apples as a partial motivation of the parricide, and the removal from Judas of any personal motives in marrying his mother.

But, on the other hand, let us assume that the Latin Type A, and not the Provençal version, represents the earliest or original adaptation of the Œdipus story to Judas. This assumption is as reasonable as the other (that the Provençal version represents the original form of the adaptation), because the simplest version is not *necessarily* the earliest, although it is likely to be; but especially because in many respects Type A is simpler than the Provençal version. The latter we may regard merely as an unaccountable offshoot, a *per*version. On comparing Type A directly with the story of Œdipus we find the similarities so striking and the divergences, with one exception, so slight and so natural that it is easy to look upon Type A as the original attempt to graft the Œdipodean crimes on the early life of Judas. According to Type A Judas is exposed in a forest, like Œdipus. His tibias are pierced when he is abandoned, like Œdipus's ankles. Like Œdipus he is rescued by shepherds. Like Œdipus he is recognized by his wife-mother from his scars. There is no parallel in the Œdipus story for the figure of Herod, or for his rôle in Type A. We must allow here for the originality of the adaptor; but since the writer of Type A was (as we have seen) no mere ignorant scribe, but a man of some personality and understanding, such an allowance is easy and natural.

It appears, therefore, that not only in theory but also in practice it is possible to trace the descent of the Judas

legend from the myth of Œdipus. But I have also shown, above, that the legend could have sprung up among the people, without any influence of the Œdipus story or of any literary sources. Which of these two possibilities represents the actual historical fact?

Both possibilities are, it seems to me, equally probable, so far as we can accumulate means for judging. By the very nature of the case neither can be proved. The fact that an Œdipodean provenance has the *appearance* of being more probable must not be admitted as an argument; for it means only that the theory of an Œdipodean origin is simpler to comprehend and easier to follow. It is perhaps not quite so difficult for us to *see* how such an adaptation could have taken place, as to understand how the idea of Judas the incestuous parricide should have emerged and taken shape among the folk. But this difficulty lies in *us*, not in the matter itself. Popular psychology is in the main somewhat incomprehensible; and when we go back to the Middle Ages it is infinitely less intelligible. The theory of popular origin is, however, none the less plausible because it is more difficult to comprehend.[88]

Both theories, then, are equally possible. Both are equally probable. There are as many and as weighty objections to the one as to the other. Any decision in favor of the one side or the other must be made, I believe, on purely subjective grounds; for to one person one set of arguments may make the stronger appeal, while to another person the same arguments may be less impressive or less satisfactory. The problem leaves us at a *non constat*. —*Tota res claudicat.*

[88] On the other hand, the argument in favor of a popular origin is more intricate, and may perhaps have received a false emphasis on account of the greater amount of space devoted to it.

Development of the Legend from Type A to Type RL. Bearing in mind always that the paucity of our data renders any attempt to trace the development of the legend extremely difficult, let us proceed with our hypothetical history. From the gentle and dignified version of the St. Victor manuscript (Type A) there probably developed, on the one hand, the humanistic version which had its home in Hainault (Type H), and, on the other hand, that rendering of the story (Type RL)—earlier perhaps than the humanistic version—which was destined, in two distinct forms, to become *κατ' ἐξοχήν the legend,* from one or the other form of which most of the mediæval versions, both Latin and vernacular, drew. And somewhere between Type A and Type RL in development and perhaps in time fall the Greek texts, although the manuscripts that preserve them are even later than the mediæval period.

Neither of the two Greek versions is the original of the other, but both contain elements of an earlier redaction; that is, there probably existed, anterior to both the Dionysius text and the Iveron (i. e., to A and B), a Greek version from which both of these are directly or indirectly descended.[89] This early, assumed text we may call X. If we try roughly to conjecture the form and development of the Greek original, X, from the Latin Type A, we may proceed as follows.

The father's vision in Type A becomes in X the mother's dream, which the father tends to make light of: an easy change, with a firm basis in human nature. The later

[89] So much, at least, we are justified now in saying. But it is quite likely that the matter is still more complicated, and that there were more Greek versions of the legend than the two which we possess. The other MSS. on Mt. Athos (see above, p. 522) probably contain different texts from those that we have.

Greek text, B, representing, it is likely, an original trait, explains that the child was cast upon the sea *καθὼς τὸ πάλαι τὸν Μωϋσῆν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Νεῖλον.* The Dionysius text, A, employs the word *θίβη* — in B it is *κιβώτιον*, though later *θίβη* — which is the Septuagint translation of תיבה.[90] Then an interesting change is made which can only be explained as the Greek redactor's freedom in handling his source: the child, which is rescued by shepherds, is brought back and adopted by its own parents. This innovation is not so surprising, however, as the introduction of an entirely new incident, namely, the fratricide. It is possible that some earlier Latin version, which has not survived, also contained the incident of the fratricide, and that therefore this is not an invention of Greek X. Certainly there is nothing in the incident itself to suggest an Eastern rather than a Western origin. At all events, the Greek version, making Judas kill his own brother, not his supposed brother (as in Type RL) is more horrible, and calculated to impress us more thoroughly with his inherent wickedness. The motive given for this crime is avarice, which is in harmony with the Gospels. Indeed, avarice may have been the starting point from which the whole incident of the fratricide grew up; but the more obvious source is a comparison of Judas and Cain. That Judas kills his brother, in X, with a stone is significant, and can hardly be anything but a reminiscence of Cain. Judas thereafter flees to Jerusalem; and so it becomes necessary, for the plot's sake, to have his parents move thither also. The incident of the apples is merely expanded from Type A; it is not changed at all. Quite new, however, is the figure of Herod as Judas's accomplice after the fact in the murder of his father. But this is

[90] Exod., 2, 3.

only the working out of an already latent motif, that of Herod the cruel, as, with the passage of time, the mediæval hatred of all who partook in the death of Christ increased. In the earliest [91] version of the legend, the Provençal, in which Judas married his mother for love, a certain mutuality of feeling was implied, and this not so much divided the opprobrium between mother and son as left the whole marriage to Fate. At the next stage, in Type A, the situation is somewhat changed but is not much stronger. Here, at length, in the Greek version, we have not indeed a fresh insult to Judas but a direct fling at Herod; or possibly, inasmuch as the widow marries her husband's murderer rather than lose her property, we have a glance at the Jewish appreciation of the value of riches. The remainder of the Greek version offers nothing new except that the recognition of the mother and son is intended apparently to be brought about in a more subtle fashion: instead of the simple branding mark, we have the mother's laments and the son's perception of his guilt.

To sum up, the legend has in the Greek versions undergone five main changes. The father's vision has become the mother's dream. The child is brought up unwittingly by its own father and mother. Judas slays his own brother. Herod has become Judas's accomplice in evil, and, though ignorantly, has forced an incestuous marriage. The recognition is psychological not physical. Great as these alterations are, they are still susceptible of an explanation which is not too strained; and considering the number of hands through which the legend must have passed during this growth, such changes are quite conceivable. In truth, the incident of the fratricide is the only addition to Type A; the rest can be properly included under the term development.

[91] That is, earliest *ex hypothesi.*

The next step, from the Greek texts to the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Latin redactions, is much simpler. It is not to be supposed, of course, that these Latin redactions, represented by Type RL, derived either directly or indirectly from the Greek version, but that the Greek version exhibits a stage of the legend's development which falls naturally and logically between Type A and Type RL. If we might disregard the geographical position of the Greek version the case would be much simpler: for the evolution from Latin Type A to Greek X to Latin Type RL is normal and easy to follow. But in view of the clear impossibility of regarding Type RL as descended from the Greek version or as in any way influenced by it, we can only postulate a lost Latin version, closely similar to the Greek version, which would bridge the interval between Type A and Type RL; nor would such a postulation be, in the nature of things, remote or inconsistent.[92] The similarity of the Greek version to this assumed Latin version might be purely fortuitous, but it is more likely to be the result of borrowing, or of dependence of some kind.

The creation of an Island of Scarioth on which Judas passed, according to Type RL, his early life may be due to the fact that on the island of Corfù there was a district called Skaria which was for a long time believed to be the birthplace of Judas. In Type RL, certainly, the name Scarioth, which in Type A had been vaguely a place, and in the Greek version was a sea-port town (Iskara, Iskaria) opposite the island to which Judas drifted, had become attached to the island. The next change that we meet in Type RL is that Judas is rescued, not by shep-

[92] It is quite in accord, for example, with Professor Rand's stemma (p. 316); it would correspond to his γ.

herds as in Type A and the Greek version—an apparently Œdipodean trait which so far has persisted—but by the queen of the island. This change probably took place in the West, and is strikingly parallel to the legend which is found, without names, in a twelfth-century German poem, and which was later given to St. Albanus. Here the child of the emperor and his daughter is adopted by the king and queen of Hungary because they have no children of their own, and in order to deceive his people the king has his wife feign to be with child before he announces the foundling as his heir. Being in Type RL only the adopted son of the queen of Scarioth, Judas is not actually guilty of fratricide when he slays the queen's own son; and there is no implication of avarice as the motive of this murder, as there is in the Greek version. The only other change of importance in the development from the Greek version to Type RL is in the transference of Herod's rôle to Pilate. This is but natural. During the Middle Ages Pilate enjoyed a disgraceful popularity, second—if second—only to Judas; his legend was even more elaborate than Judas's; whereas Herod early fell into the background and became merely a comic figure in the mysteries. In many details there are, of course, other variations between the Greek version and the Latin Type RL, but although interesting in themselves as reflecting the various unknown personalities that left an impress on the legend, and as indicating in some measure new points of interest as time went on—for example, the comparative space given to purely Biblical and legendary material, or the varying emphasis on Judas's suicide—these do not affect the development of the legend in its essentials. As it gradually shifted from Latin to the different vernacular languages, it took on various bits of local and temporal color which it would be supererogatory to point out; it was dressed in

the garb of poetry; it was used for apologetic purposes; and in other ways suffered new modifications of detail, new adjustments to meet new demands.

One matter remains to be considered: the proper names. In the Provençal version only *Judas, Jesus,* and *Herod* are named, and Herod is in *Jerusalem.* Type A adds one name: *Scarioth,* but this was taken directly from the New Testament, and used merely to designate the place where Judas grew up. The Greek versions give the father's name as Ρόβελ, which is probably not of Greek origin. This circumstance lends some support to our hypothesis of an intermediate Latin version between Type A and the Greek versions, in which the name Reuben would have occurred. Reuben is a familiar Biblical name, and not without its suggestiveness. It was chosen "perhaps with the idea of prophesying grimly the action of the son." [93] Type H has *Symon* for the father's name, which is taken from John 6, 71; and this appears as a variant name in Type RL and a few other early versions. Not until the legend had reached practically its full development, in Type R of the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, and in Type L of the early thirteenth century, do we find the name of Judas's mother, *Ciborea,* a name suggested perhaps by Zipporah (Moses's wife), which was spelled in various ways.[94] At the

[93] Rand, p. 312. Cf. Gen. 35, 22 and 49, 4. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach Jüdischen Quellen,* p. 219, makes the same point.

[94] Professor Rand compares the name of one of the midwives, Shiphrah, Gen. 1, 15 (he spells it *Sephora* and intimates that it is the same name as Moses's wife's), and makes the rather subtle point that since the name Ciborea "is connected with Moses' birth as well as his marriage" it "thus suggests as nearly as anything Biblical can, the mother-wife" (p. 312, n. 3). The connection is somewhat tenuous. Gaston Paris was the first to suggest the relation of Ciborea to Zipporah or Sepphorah. Krauss makes the same observation (p. 219).

same time appear the first notices of Judas's race. The Dionysius text says that he was *ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, the Iveron text omits even this; the former says that he came *ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ισκάρας*; the latter *ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν Ἰσκάρια.* In certain manuscripts of Type RL Judas is said to be from the tribe of Judah, probably from the similarity of the two words; in other manuscripts and in Type L generally Judas is of the tribe of Dan, "in memory perhaps of Isidore's identification of Dan with Antichrist."[95] Olshausen[96] conjectured that Judas was said to be from the tribe of Dan because of Gen. 49, 17: "Dan shall be a serpent in the way, an adder in the path"; and one of the Russian translations of the *Legenda Aurea* version has actually incorporated this passage from Genesis in the text. The Halle *Realencyclopædie*[97] and Strauss,[98] however, reject this conjecture. Various legends have connected Judas with the tribe of Dan,[99] obviously on account of the evil reputation of Dan and the Danaites, and we need not ascribe the reference in the legend to any particular source.

Apropos of the Danaitic descent of Judas Krauss has a suggestion of the origin of the legend which is worthy of our notice, but which, without additional support, can hardly be regarded as more than a hint. Judas was from the tribe of Dan, and Antichrist was born "Danitica matre." Moreover, Jesus had called Judas *diabolus,*[100]

[95] Rand, p. 312. *Allegoriae quaedam scripturae sacrae,* 42 (M. S. L., 83, 107.)

[96] *Commentar zu den Evangelien,* II, p. 458.

[97] II, pp. 26, 241.

[98] *Leben Jesu,* 3rd ed., II, p. 406.

[99] Ephream Syriacus, I, 192 D, tells us that "coluber antichristus Danitica matre nascetur." I am indebted to Krauss, pp. 215 ff. for several of these references.

[100] Jn. 6, 70.

and diabolus might easily have been taken in the sense of Sathanas. Judas assumes the rôle of Antichrist; and it is but natural and logical that he should be accredited with incest.[101]

Let us recapitulate briefly the points made in this section. The various motifs which appear in the Christian legends of mediæval Europe are those which are found repeatedly in the folk-lore of earlier times in Greece and in Asia. The legend of Judas is no exception to this generalization, and all the incidents out of which it is built up may be paralleled by examples from older popular stories, not only individually but also in similar combinations. Whence we conclude that this legend may have been the work of popular imagination or memory, putting together familiar details and motifs. At the same time, we recognize the similarity of the legend of Judas with the story of Œdipus, and find no reason why it may not have been an appropriation and adaptation of the Greek myth. Between these two possibilities of the origin of the legend we cannot make a logical choice. But whatever may have been the source of the legend, we can trace with a certain degree of probability its gradual development from the original idea to a somewhat complex though rather crude tale. The probable date of its appearance is late in the eleventh century, when incest was a familiar theme; but the earliest manuscript evidence we have is for some time in the second half of the twelfth century. If the legend was of popular origin the former date is more probable; but if it was derived from the story of Œdipus there is nothing to warrant the assumption of an earlier

[101] Krauss, p. 219. On incest attributed to Antichrist cf. Krauss, 215 ff., and W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, Göttingen, 1895. (Translation by A. H. Keane, London, 1896, p. 157 n.)

date than the second half of the twelfth century, although there is also nothing to be urged against an earlier date. Certainly by the beginning of the thirteenth century the legend had attained its full development, for all subsequent redactions are merely varying reworkings of the same material.

Conclusion

From the very beginning Judas has been more a figure of legend than of history. Although the efforts of 'advanced' critics to make him out an altogether legendary character have proved abortive, still we have to agree that not all of the Gospel details concerning him can be historically accurate. Two actually contradictory accounts of his death are recorded by his supposed contemporaries; and during the second generation after his own a story of his death was current, vouched for by one of the disciples of St. John, which is now admitted by all to be purely legendary. In the later centuries, from the Apostolic Age to the mediæval period, almost every Scriptural reference to him was elaborated with mystical and imaginative commentary. And then, in the Middle Ages, that trysting place of stories from the North and the East and the South, was born the particular legend which I have studied in this article.

The earliest history of this legend is entirely lost. When we first find it written down it is in Latin in France. The earliest manuscript which contains the legend was written in the twelfth century at St. Victor; what we may regard as the earliest *form* of the legend is preserved only in a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Gascon dialect. But early thirteenth-century versions which imply its existence in the twelfth are found in France, in England, in

Bavaria, and in Italy. We infer, therefore, that the legend was known to the learned at the beginning of the thirteenth century throughout western Europe (except Spain). But how far this knowledge was shared by the laity we have no means of ascertaining. The mere fact that our earliest written record of the legend is in Latin signifies nothing. Nor can we draw any pertinent conclusion from the fact that the legend does not appear in the vernacular languages until the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. But at this time we find it as far East as Bohemia and as far West as Catalonia. During the fourteenth century it moved northward into Scotland and Ireland, and into Denmark and Scandinavia. Afterwards, we cannot tell exactly when, it passed into Finland, Great Russia, Little Russia, Galicia, Poland, and Bulgaria. In Greek we have only very late documents; but from the form of the legend in its Greek versions we infer that it must have reached Byzantium through the Latin at some time during the mediæval period, perhaps very early.

The most astonishing item in the history of the Judas legend is its aftermath in the chap-book literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After about two centuries of apparent eclipse it reappeared in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, England, Wales, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. To what extent it is known to the folk of Europe to-day we cannot judge. Istrin was of the opinion that it is still more or less current in southeastern Europe, although no evidence has been gathered or published. But as civilization advances such legends tend to die out; as what we call the 'modern interpretation of the Bible' gains more adherents, the somewhat bigoted and entirely unchristian hatred of Judas which this legend

represents must decline. In fact, now among all the enlightened peoples of the West that unpleasant tale of homicide, parricide, theft, incest, treachery, and suicide which passed for the life of Judas Iscariot has become only a record of the semi-barbarity of our ancestors,—a kind of gargoyle on the cathedral of the Middle Ages.[102]

PAULL FRANKLIN BAUM.

[102] In the *Sammelband von Materialien zur Beschreibung der Länder und Völker des Kaukasus*, vol. XXXII (Tiflis, 1903), there is a Cossack legend of Judas which probably belongs here. Cf. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XIV (1904), p. 347. See also Этнографічний Збірник, III, p. 70; and R. Foulché-Delbosc, *La légende de Judas Iscariote* in *Revue hispanique*, XXXVI (1916), pp. 135-149. These references came to my attention after the above article was already in print, and I have been unable to examine them.

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XXIII.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *TATLER*, PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO NEWS

It is well known that when Isaac Bickerstaff began his lucubrations in 1709, he projected a periodical which, in accordance with the *Quicquid agunt homines . . . nostri farrago libelli* [1] that so frequently served as the motto of its earlier numbers, should include various departments, of which one was to be the department of foreign and domestic news.[2] It is also well known that this department

[1] Juvenal, *Sat.* I, 85-86. This was the motto of the first forty papers and also of Nos. 47, 49-54, 56-62, 65, 70-78, 80.

[2] "We . . . shall divide our relation of the passages which occur in action or discourse throughout this town, as well as elsewhere, under such dates of places as may prepare you for the matter you are to expect, in the following manner:

"All accounts of gallantry, pleasure, and entertainment shall be under the article of White's Chocolate-house; poetry, under that of Will's Coffee-house; learning, under the title of Grecian; foreign and domestic news, you will have from St. James's Coffee-house; and what else I shall on any other subject offer, shall be dated from my own apartment" (*Tatler*, No. 1). In the original sheets this notice is repeated in the second and the third number.

was virtually abandoned before the *Tatler* had half run its course, and absolutely given over long before January 2, 1711, on which day Steele bade goodbye to his readers. But the precise rate at which the department of news diminished in importance, and the causes which probably governed the change, have been the subject of some very inaccurate statements and conjectures,[3] although not all references to the matter have been wide of the mark.[4]

[3] Macaulay, in his famous review (*Edinburgh Review*, July, 1843) of Miss Lucy Aikin's *Life of Joseph Addison* (2 vols., London, 1843) writes: "The gazette was taken from him [Steele]. Isaac Bickerstaff accordingly became silent upon politics, and the articles of news which had once formed about one-third of his paper, altogether disappeared. The *Tatler* had completely changed its character. It was now nothing but a series of essays on books, morals, and manners. Steele, therefore, resolved to bring it to a close, and to commence a new work on an improved plan" (*Edinburgh Review*, Vol. LXXVIII, p. 235).

John Forster (*Quarterly Review*, March, 1855; *Historical and Biographical Essays*, 2 vols., London, Murray, 1858) holds precisely Macaulay's view: "His [*i. e.*, Steele's] loss of the Gazette had entailed a change in the conduct of his paper, which had convinced him of the expediency of recasting it on a new plan. The town was startled by the announcement, therefore, that the *Tatler* of the 2nd January, 1710-11, was to be the last" (*Historical and Biographical Essays*, II, p. 187). The text of this passage is the same as in the *Quarterly Review*, with the exception of entirely unimportant differences in phrasing.

M. Alexandre Beljame (*Le public et les hommes de lettres en Angleterre au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1881) introduces another error,—the statement that news in the *Tatler* ceased with No. 83. Says Beljame (page 277): "Steele . . . dans son premier numéro, annonça . . . qu'il donnerait des nouvelles étrangères et domestiques. Car Steele ne supprime pas encore la politique, non plus que Defoe; mais tandis que dans la *Revue* elle est encore la partie principale et a le poste d'honneur, elle est dans le *Babillard* un simple accessoire et reléguée au second plan. Peu à peu même les nouvelles furent moins importantes et plus rares, et à partir du 83e numéro elles disparurent tout à fait."

To the same effect Fox Bourne (*English Newspapers; Chapters in*

It is first of all necessary to know exactly how many numbers of the *Tatler* contained news. To determine this, recourse must be had to the original issues, because all

the History of Journalism, 2 vols., London, Chatto & Windus, 1883, I, p. 73) writes: "In the earlier numbers of 'The Tatler' . . . due attention was paid to politics in the section dated from St. James's Coffee-house. . . . Gradually, however, politics dropped out of the paper, . . . With the eighty-third number it became entirely non-political."

Fox Bourne's generalizations are precisely contrary to Swift's statement in *The Importance of the Guardian considered* (1713): "This gentleman [*i. e.*, Steele], whom I have now described to you, began between four and five years ago to publish a paper thrice a week, called 'The Tatler;' it came out under the borrowed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, and by contribution of his ingenious friends, grew to have a great reputation, and was equally esteemed by both parties, because it meddled with neither. But, some time after Sacheverell's trial, when things began to change their aspect, Mr. Steele, whether by the command of his superiors, his own inconstancy, or the absence of his assistants, would needs corrupt his paper with politics; published one or two most virulent libels, and chose for his subject even that individual Mr. Harley, who had made him gazeteer" (Swift's *Works*, ed. T. Scott, v, pp. 287-288).

The Tory point of view toward supposed political allusions in the *Tatler* appears also in the *Examiner*, Vol. III, No. 48 (May 4-8, 1713), where several apparently fictitious characters are named, and "at least fifty more" are said to exist, who were "Sufferers of Figure under the *Author's* Satyr, in the Days of his Mirth, and when he could shew his Teeth to Advantage." Among the papers in the *Tatler* obviously referred to by the *Examiner* are Nos. 24, 187, 191, and 193. The case of No. 191 is probably typical: a character in it was thought to be intended for Harley; Steele (*Guardian* 53) protested that the character fitted anyone who "seeks employment for his own private interest, vanity, or pride, and not for the good of the country"; and the *Examiner* (Vol. IV, No. 2) rejected the idea that such characters as Polypragmon of *Tatler* 191 were "general characters, and stand for a whole species." On the political interpretation of *Tatler* 24, see *Examiner* 5; on that of *Tatler* 187, see *The Life and Posthumous Writings of Arthur Maynwaring* (1715), pp. 145 ff. This is "The History of Hannibal and Hanno," which is referred to in the index as "a very fine Allegory."

later editions omit more or less of the news.[5] Accordingly in Column D of Table I the presence or absence of news in the original issue is noted for each number of the *Tatler.*

It appears, therefore, if we may trust Swift and the *Examiner*—both unfriendly witnesses—that it was the later numbers of the *Tatler* rather than the earlier, and by no means the articles from St. James's, that were suspected of veiling political allusions.

[4] Courthope's view (*Addison,* in the "English Men of Letters" series, New York, 1884, p. 97), though not developed in detail, is thoroughly sound. After the hundredth *Tatler,* he observes, the news, when it does occasionally appear, "is as often as not made the text of a literary disquisition." . . . "The truth is that Steele recognized the superiority of Addison's style, and with his usual quickness accommodated the form of his journal to the genius of the new contributor."

Dobson (*Richard Steele,* in the series of "English Worthies," London, Longmans, 1886, p. 123, note) gives up his earlier view "that the loss of the Gazette sealed the source of Steele's foreign intelligence, and thus entailed a change of plan," because "a re-examination of the paper shows that the news-element had practically disappeared from the *Tatler* long before Steele ceased to be Gazeteer."

Similarly, Harold Routh (*Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.,* IX, p. 47): "The loss of his gazeteership, though it deprived Steele of access to first-hand news, can hardly have influenced him, since foreign intelligence in *The Tatler* had long dwindled into an occasional and perfunctory paragraph."

[5] Of the original numbers of the *Tatler,* 64 contained news. The octavo edition of 1710-11 omits the news in Numbers 27, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 43, 49, 51, 56, 57, 64, 66, 67, 74, and 88; in other words, it contains news in 48 numbers. The duodecimo edition of 1710-11 omits the news in Numbers 57, 88, and 225, but keeps it in the other 61 numbers. Tickell's edition (1721) of Addison's works includes 62 papers from the *Tatler* as wholly or partly by Addison. Of these the only one which originally contained news is No. 20. From this paper Tickell omits the news. The edition of John Nichols (London, 1786, six volumes) retains news in 57 numbers. Mr. G. A. Aitken's edition (London, 1898-99, four volumes) keeps the news in 62 numbers, but omits it in Nos. 57 and 88. Aitken's edition is therefore, in respect to news, more faithful to the original numbers than any other collected edition.

TABLE I

Explanation

Columns A and B give, respectively, the number of each paper and the date. The later date is in each case that on which the paper appeared.

Column C attempts to summarize the consensus of opinion about the authorship of these papers. S=Steele; Ad=Addison. " S, Ad " indicates a paper made up of one or more parts entirely by Addison and a remainder entirely by Steele. " S + Ad " indicates a paper in which Steele and Addison collaborated in such a way that no special part can be attributed to either.

Column D indicates the amount of news—in inches—in each number.

Column E shows the number of departments (see note 2 on page 633) in each number. Ed=an editorial article; Wh=White's Coffee House; W=Will's; G=The Grecian; SJ=St. James's; O = " From My Own Apartment "; SL = Shire Lane; H = Haymarket.

Column F notes the amount of advertising—in inches—in each number.

In view of the rarity of these original issues, the news in *Tatler* 57 and 88, elsewhere inaccessible, is reprinted below:

No. 57

St. James's Coffee-house, August 18. 1709.

Letters which arriv'd this Evening from *Ostend* say, That it is expected the Treaty of Peace will forthwith be renew'd, and that Monsieur *de Torcy* is at present in the *French* Camp, with full Instructions from his Master to act in that Affair in such a Manner, as shall be satisfactory to the Confederates. Monsieur *Heems*, who is Minister to his Imperial Majesty, upon receiving an Account of the Proposals which will be made, went Post to the Court of *Vienna.* These Advices add, That the Attack of the Citadel proceeded with as much Expedition as the Method of the Sap would admit.

No. 88

St. James's Coffee-house, November 1. 1709.

Letters from the *Hague* of the 28th of *October* say, that the Duke of *Marlborough* design'd to embark for *England* as on this Day.

Column G is chiefly occupied by notes on the authorship. In these notes T = Tickell's edition (1721) of Addison's works; Bk = the Baskerville edition (1761); H=Hurd's edition (1811); G= Greene's edition (1856); B = Bohn's edition (1856); N = John Nichols's edition of the *Tatler* (1789); A = G. A. Aitken's edition (1898-99); 1CP = the Preface to the first collected edition (1710-11) of the *Tatler;* 2CP = the Preface to the second collected edition (1710-11) of the *Tatler;* Dr = Steele's dedication (to Congreve) of Addison's *Drummer,* prefixed to the second edition (1722) of this play, which Tickell had omitted from his edition; OI = original issue.

On Swift's relation to the *Tatler* a separate note seems desirable. Swift denied the authorship of Nos. 237 (see *Journal to Stella,* Nov. 1, 1710), 249 except "the hint, and two or three general heads" (*ibid.,* Nov. 8, 1710), 257 and 260 (*ibid.,* Jan. 1, 1711).

John Nichols in his edition of Swift's works (1801), Nathan Drake in his *Essays . . . illustrative of the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian* (1805), Sir Walter Scott in his two editions of Swift's works (the first, 1814; the second, 1824), and Temple Scott in the most recent edition of Swift's prose writings agree in attributing to him *Tatler* 32, 35, 59, 63, 66, 67, 68, 70, and 71. Sir Walter Scott and Drake also give him the verses in No. 9; Nichols gives him Nos. 74 and 81; and both Nichols and Temple Scott give him No. 230.

Sir Henry Craik, however, in his *Life of Jonathan Swift* (1882) expresses the opinion (I, p. 255, note) that though No. 66 was "almost certainly written by Swift" and Nos. 59, 67, 68, and 70 bear signs of his style, Nos. 35, 63, and 71 are probably not by Swift and No. 32 is almost certainly not his.

F. Elrington Ball, in his admirable edition of the *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift* (1910-1914), dissents from all of his predecessors: he thinks (I, p. 166, note) that the contributions previously attributed to Swift "did not come from his pen, however much they may owe to his influence." Ball credits to Swift only these passages: in No. 16, the letter from Bath; in No. 21, the letter from Ephraim Bedstaff; and in No. 31, the letter beginning "Dear Cousin."

TABLE I

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
1	April 12	S	7	Ed, Wh, W, SJ, O	1	N, A.
2	" 12-14	S	5	Ed, W, SJ, O	0	N, A.
3	" 14-16	S	3½	Ed, W, SJ, O	0	N, A.
4	" 16-19	S	7	Ed, Wh, W, SJ, O	1	N, A.
5	" 19-21	S	11	Wh, W, SJ, O	2	N, A.
6	" 21-23	S	11	W, G, SJ, O	0	N, A.
7	" 23-26	S	15	Ed, Wh, W, SJ	0	N, A.
8	" 26-28	S	8	W, SJ, O	3	N, A.
9	" 28-30	S	7½	W, Wh, SJ	3	N, A.
10	" 30-May 3	S	18	O, SJ	0	N, A.
11	May 3-5	S	7	W, O, SJ	0	N, A.
12	" 5-7	S(+Swift?)	0	Ed, Wh, W, O	2	S: A. Perhaps S + Swift: N.
13	" 7-10	S	9	O, SJ	4	N, A.
14	" 10-12	S	7	O, W, Wh, SJ	4	N, A.
15	" 12-14	S	2	O, W, Wh, SJ	4	N, A.
16	" 14-17	S	8	Wh, SJ	4	N, A.
17	" 17-19	S	12	W, SJ	7	N, A.
18	" 19-21	S, Ad [1]	6½	O, SJ	4	[1] Ad's part not in T, Bk, H, or B, though apparently supported by 1 C P, 2 C P, and Dr. Probably Ad: G. S, Ad: N. Possibly Ad: A.
19	" 21-24	S	3½	O, W, SJ	8	N, A.
20	" 24-26	S, Ad	9½	Wh, W, SJ	3	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
21	" 26-28	S	11	Wh, W, O, SJ	3	N, A.
22	" 28-31	S	0	Wh, W, O	7	N, A.
23	" 31-June 2	S	7	Wh, O, SJ	1	N, A.

TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
24	June 2-4	Ad?	9	Wh, SJ, O	5	Ad: N, G, A. Not in T, Bk, H, or B.
25	" 4-7	S	7½	Wh, O, SJ	6	N, A.
26	" 7-9	S	0	O, Wh	6	N, A.
27	" 9-11	S	4	Wh, W, O, SJ	7	N, A.
28	" 11-14	S	10	Wh, SJ	7	N, A.
29	" 14-16	S	9	Wh, O, SJ	2	N, A.
30	" 16-18	S	2	O, W, SJ	3	N, A.
31	" 18-21	S	2	G, O, SJ	2	N, A.
32	" 21-23	S & Swift	5	Wh, O, SJ	5	Ad + Swift: N. Swift & Steele: A.
33	" 23-25	S	3½	O, SJ	4	N, A.
34	" 25-28	S	0	Wh, O	8	N, A.
35	" 28-30	S	4	G, Wh, W, O, SJ	5	N, A.
36	" 30-July 2	S or Ad[1]	3	O, Wh, SJ	6	Prob. Ad (internal evidence): N, A.
37	July 2-5	S or Ad[2]	3	Wh, W, SJ	7	Prob. Ad (internal evidence): N. ?S: A.
38	" 5-7	S or Ad[3]	3½	O, Wh, SJ	2	Prob. Ad (internal evidence): N. ?S: A.
39	" 7-9	S	0	G, O	0	N, A.
40	" 9-12	S	7	W, O, SJ	6	N, A.
41	" 12-14	S	3	Wh, W, O, SJ=4	5	N, A.
42	" 14-16	S, Ad	1[1]	O, W, SJ[1]	6	SJ (except first paragraph) by Ad: 1 C P, T, Bk, H, B, G, A. Possibly S and Congreve: N.
43	" 16-19	S	4½	Wh, G, W, SJ	6	N prints no name at the beginning, but has no note on the authorship. S: A.
44	" 19-21	S	4	Wh, W, O, SJ	6	N, A.
45	" 21-23	S	0	Wh, W, O	2	N, A.
46	" 23-26	S	5	Wh, W, SJ[1]	0	N, A.
47	" 26-28	S	0	Wh, G, O	2	N, A.
48	" 28-30	S	0	O	6	N, A.
49	" 30-Aug. 2	S	6½	Wh, SJ	6	N, A.

TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
50	Aug. 2-4	S or Ad[1]	0	Wh, O	2	[1] Perhaps Ad: N. Doubtful: A. Not in T, Bk, H, B, or G.
51	" 4-6	S	2	Wh, W, O, SJ	8	N, A.
52	" 6-9	S [?Ad]	0	Wh, O	3	?Ad (internal): N, A.
53	" 9-11	S	5	Wh, W, SJ	1	Possibly Ad: A. S: N.
54	" 11-13	S	0	Wh, O	8	S: N. Possibly Ad: A.
55	" 13-16	S	11	Wh, SJ	4	N, A.
56	" 16-18	S	3	Wh, SJ, O	5	N, A.
57	" 18-20	S	2	W, Wh, O, SJ	9	N, A.
58	" 20-23	S	3	Wh, W, SJ	8	N, A.
59	" 23-25	S [, Swift?]	5½	Wh, W, SJ	6	Letter by Swift: N, A. N refers to *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1, 1781.
60	" 25-27	S	0	Wh, W, O	6	N, A.
61	" 27-30	S	0	Wh, W, O	1	N, A.
62	" 30-Sept. 1	S	3	Wh, W, O, SJ	6	N, A.
63	Sept. 1-3		4	Wh, W, O, SJ	3	Ad, S, and Swift: N. Prob. Ad: A.
64	" 3-6	S, Hughes	13	O, W	7	Letter by Hughes: N, A; John Duncombe, *Letters of Several Eminent Persons Deceased*, I, p. xi note.
65	" 6-8	S	0	W, O	7	N, A.
66	" 8-10	S?	2½	W, O, SJ	3	S and Swift: N. Most of No. 66 prob. by Swift: A.
67	" 10-13	S	4	O, SJ, W	6	Swift and Steele: N, A.
68	" 13-15	S	0	O, W	4	Swift and Steele: N, A.
69	" 15-17	S	0	O, Wh	4	N, A.
70	" 17-20	S	0	O, Wh	8	Swift and Steele: N, A.
71	" 20-22	S	0	O, W	5	Steele and Swift: N, A.
72	" 22-24	S	0	Wh, O	8	N, A.
73	" 24-27	S [, Hughes?]	0	Wh, O	7	S, Hughes: N, A. Letters by Hughes: Duncombe, I, p. xi n.

TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
74	Sept. 27-29	S [, Swift?]	3	Wh, O, G, SJ	6	S and Swift: N. A thinks Swift had no hand in this paper.
75	" 29-Oct. 1	S+Ad	0	O	10	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
76	Oct. 1-4	S[+Hughes?]	3	O, Wh, SJ	7	Prob. S + Hughes: N. Perhaps: A.
77	" 4-6	S[+Ad?]	0	O, SJ	14	S + Ad (corrigenda): N, A.
78	" 6-8	S[+Ad?]	0	O	6	S + Ad (corrigenda): N, A.
79	" 8-11	S[+Ad?]	0	O	9	S: A. Prob. S + Ad: N.
80	" 11-13	S	2	G, Wh, O, SJ	9	N, A.
81	" 13-15	S,[1] Ad	0	O	0	Ad, S: N, A. [1] Last paragraph by S: T, Bk, H, G, B.
82	" 15-18	S	0	O	10	N, A.
83	" 18-20	S	1	O, W, SJ	8	N, A.
84	" 20-22	S	0	O, G, W	11	N, A.
85	" 22-25	S[+Ad?]	0	O, Wh	7	S: A. Prob. S + Ad: N.
86	" 25-27	Ad+S	0	O, W	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
87	" 27-29	S	0	W, O	9	N, A.
88	" 29-Nov. 1	S, Ad	½	Wh, O, SJ	10	O by Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
89	Nov. 1-3	S	0	G, O, W	11	N, A.
90	" 3-5	S, Ad [1]	0	W,[1] O	12	[1] W (except first paragraph) by Ad: T, Bk. N, H, B, G, A.
91	" 5-8	S	0	O	9	N, A.
92	" 8-10	S	0	Wh, O	9	N, A.
93	" 10-12	S, Ad	0	W, O	7	Letter and O by Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
94	" 12-15	S	0	W, O	11	N, A.
95	" 15-17	S	0	O	11	S: N. A says nothing.
96	" 17-19	Ad	½	O, SJ	12	Prob. Ad: A. Ad: N.
97	" 19-22	Ad	0	O	12	N, A.
98	" 22-24	S	0	O, W	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
99	" 24-26	S	0	W, O	9	N, A.
100	" 26-29	Ad	0	SL	5	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.

TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
101	Nov. 29-Dec. 1	S+Ad	0	O	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
102	Dec. 1-3	Ad	0	O	8	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
103	" 3-6	Ad+S	0	O	6	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
104	" 6-8	S	0	O	11	N, A.
105	" 8-10	S	0	SL	11	N, A.
106	" 10-13	S	0	W	12	N, A.
107	" 13-15	S	0	SL	8	N, A.
108	" 15-17	Ad	0	SL	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
109	" 17-20	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
110	" 20-22	Ad+S	0	SL	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
111	" 22-24	Ad+S	0	SL	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
112	" 24-27	S	0	SL	10	N, A.
113	" 27-29	Hughes	0	H	12	N, A; Duncombe, I, p. xi n.
114	" 20-31	Ad, S	0	SL	12	Ad + S: T, Bk, N. Dying scene by S : H, B, G.
115	" 31-Jan 3, 1710 1710	S	0	SL, Wh	7	N, A.
116	Jan. 3-5	Ad	0	SL	15	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
117	" 5-7	Ad	0	SL	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
118	" 7-10	?	0	O	11	N, A.
119	" 10-12	Ad	0	SL	16	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
120	" 12-14	Ad	0	SL	6	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
121	" 14-17	Ad[+S?]	0	O	11	Ad: T, Bk, N, A. S + Ad (internal): H, B, G.
122	" 17-19	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
123	" 19-21	Ad	0	O	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
124	" 21-24	S	0	O	13	N, A.
125	" 24-26	S	0	O	14	N, A.
126	" 26-28	S	0	O	12	N, A.
127	" 28-31	S	0	O	14	N, A.
128	" 31-Feb. 2	S	0	O	11	N, A.

TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
129	Feb. 2-4	Ad?	0	O	12	S: N. Ad (internal evidence): A.
130	" 4-7	Ad?	0	SL	13	S: N. Ad (corrigenda): A.
131	" 7-9	Ad	0	SL	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
132	" 9-11	S	0	SL	12	N, A.
133	" 11-14	Ad?	0	SL	12	Ad + S: N. Ad: T, Bk, H, B, G, A.
134	" 14-16	S	0	SL	14	N, A.
135	" 16-18	S	0	SL	10	N, A.
136	" 18-21	Ad?	4	Wh, SJ, SL	13	S or A: N. "Not unlikely" that Ad "was the author of the 'History of Tom Varnish'" (A).
137	" 21-23	S	8	SL, SJ	13	N, A.
138	" 23-25	S	0	SL	12	N, A.
139	" 25-28	S	0	SL	15	N, A.
140	" 28-Mar. 2	S	0	SL	12	N, A.
141	Mar. 2-4	S	0	SL	12	N, A.
142	" 4-7	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
143	" 7-9	S	0	SL	12	N, A.
144	" 9-11	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
145	" 11-14	S	0	Wh	11	N, A.
146	" 14-16	Ad	0	O	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
147	" 16-18	Ad(, S?)	0	O, SL	12	Ad + S: A.[1] [1] A quotes T as attributing No. 147 to Ad + S. The three copies of T that I have consulted ascribe No. 147 to Ad without qualification. Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G.
148	" 18-21	Ad	0	O	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.

TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
149	Mar. 21-23	S	0	O	10	N, A.
150	" 23-25	S	0	O	11	N, A.
151	" 25-28	S (or S+Ad?)	0	O	13	?S + Ad (corrigenda): N, A.
152	" 28-30	Ad	0	O	4	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
153	" 30-Apr. 1		0	O	10	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
154	Apr. 1-4	Ad	0	O	5	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
155	" 4-6	Ad	0	O	4	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
156	" 6-8	Ad	0	O	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
157	" 8-11	Probably Ad	0	O	9	?Ad: 1 C P, 2 C P, Dr, N. Not in T, Bk, H, B, or G. A is doubtful.
158	" 11-13	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
159	" 13-15	S	0	O	7	N, A.
160	" 15-18	Ad, S	0	O	10	First part by Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
161	" 18-20	Ad	0	O	9	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
162	" 20-22	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
163	" 22-25	Ad	0	W	10	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
164	" 25-27	S	0	O	10	N, A.
165	" 27-29	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
166	" 29-May 2	S	0	Wh, O	13	N, A.
167	May 2-4	S	0	O	11	N, A.
168	" 4-6	S	0	O	11	N, A.
169	" 6-9	S	0	O	11	N, A.
170	" 9-11	S	0	O	11	N, A.
171	" 11-13	S	0	G	13	N, A.
172	" 13-16	S	0	O	12	N, A.
173	" 16-18	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
174	" 18-20	S	8	O, SJ	12	N, A.
175	" 20-23	S	3	O, SJ	18	N, A.
176	" 23-25	S	0	O, SL	11	N, A.
177	" 25-27	S	0	SL	15	N, A.
178	" 27-30	S	0	SL	8	N, A.

TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
179	May 30-June 1	S	0	O	9	N, A.
180	June 1-3	S	0	O	12	N, A.
181	" 3-6	S	0	O	12	N, A.
182	" 6-8	S	0	SL	11	N, A.
183	" 8-10	S	0	O	12	N, A.
184	" 10-13	S	0	O	12	N, A.
185	" 13-15	S	0	O	14	N, A.
186	" 15-17	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
187	" 17-20	S	0	O, W	12	N, A.
188	" 20-22	S	0	O	11	N, A.
189	" 22-24	S	0	O	12	Perhaps S + Ad: N. S: A.
190	" 24-27	S	0	SL	12	Perhaps S + Ad: N. S: A.
191	" 27-29	S	0	O, W	12	Perhaps S + Ad: N. S: A.
192	" 29-July 1	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
193	July 1-4	S?	0	W	13	S: N. ?S: A. S (1 C P and *Guardian* 53) denied the authorship of the letter in this number. It has been attributed to Anthony Henley and Temple Stanyan (Nichols, *Tatler*, v, p. 184) and also (John Forster, *Historical and Biographical Essays*, London, 1858, II, p. 116 n.) to Maynwaring. See, further, note 3 on p. 635 of the present article.
194	" 4-6	S or Hughes	0	O	14	Perhaps Hughes: N, A.
195	" 6-8	S	0	G	9	N, A.
196	" 8-11	S	0	O	10	N, A.
197	" 11-13	S	0	G	10	N, A.

TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
198	July 13-15	S	0	O	9	N, A.
199	" 15-18	S	0	Ed	10	N, A.
200	" 18-20	S	0	O	10	N, A.
201	" 20-22	S	0	Wh, O	12	N, A.
202	" 22-25	S	0	O	11	N, A.
203	" 25-27	S	0	SL	11	N, A.
204	" 27-29	S	0	O	13	N, A.
205	" 29-Aug. 1	Sam'l Fuller [1]	0	O	10	Fuller: N, A. [1] On Steele's authority (*Theatre*, No. 26).
206	Aug. 1-3	S	0	O	11	N, A.
207	" 3-5	S	0	O	12	N, A.
208	" 5-8	S	0	O	10	N, A.
209	" 8-10	S	0	O	14	N, A.
210	" 10-12	S	11	SL, SJ	11	N, A.
211	" 12-15	S	0	Ed	10	N, A.
212	" 15-17	S	0	O	12	N, A.
213	" 17-19	S	0	SL	13	N, A.
214	" 19-22	S(?+Ad)	0	O	15	Perhaps S + Ad: N, A.
215	" 22-24	S	0	O	10	N, A.
216	" 24-26	Ad	0	O	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
217	" 26-29	S	0	O	11	N, A.
218	" 29-31	Ad	0	O	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
219	" 31-Sept. 2	S or Ad	0	O	11	?Ad: N, A.
220	Sept. 2-5	Ad	0	O	10	1 C P, 2 C P, Dr, T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
221	" 5-7	?Ad	0	O	12	?Ad: N, A.
222	" 7-9	?Ad	0	O	15	?Ad (corrigenda): N, A.
223	" 9-12	?Ad	0	O	11	?Ad (corrigenda): N. Edward Wortley Montagu: A.
224	" 12-14	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
225	" 14-16	S	3	O, SJ	12	N, A.
226	" 16-19	Ad	0	O	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.

TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	G Notes
227	Sept. 19-21	S	0	O	17½	N, A.
228	" 21-23	S	0	O	13	N, A.
229	" 23-26	Ad	0	O	17	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
230	" 26-28	S, Swift [1]	0	O	11½	Swift: N, A. [1] *Journal to Stella*, Sept. 18 and Sept. 23, 1710.
231	" 28-30	S	0	O	16	N, A.
232	" 30-Oct. 3	S	0	O	12	N, A.
233	Oct. 3-5	S	0	O	12	N, A.
234	" 5-7	S	0	O	12	N, A.
235	" 7-10	Ad or S	0	O	14	Ad (internal): N. S: A.
236	" 10-12	S, [?]	0	O	15	Letter in manner of Ad: N. Author of letter unknown: A.
237	" 12-14		0	O	13	Ad or S + Ad: N.
238	" 14-17	S, Swift	0	O	17	N, A. *Journal to Stella*, Oct. 17, 1710.
239	" 17-19	Ad	0	O	11	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
240	" 19-21	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
241	" 21-24	S	0	O	13	N, A.
242	" 24-26	S	0	O	13	N, A.
243	" 26-28	Ad	0	O	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
244	" 28-31	S	0	W	14	N, A.
245	" 31-Nov. 2	S	0	O	14	N, A.
246	Nov. 2-4	S	0	O	12	N, A.
247	" 4-7	S	0	O	14	N, A.
248	" 7-9	S	0	O	14	N, A.
249	" 9-11	Ad	0	O	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
250	" 11-14	Ad	0	O	15	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
251	" 14-16	S	0	O	13	N, A.
252	" 16-18	S?	0	O	13	Possibly Chas. Dartiquenave: N. S: A.

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TABLE I—*Continued*

A No.	B Date	C Authorship	D News	E Departments	F Adv'ts	C Notes
253	Nov. 18-21	Ad+S	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
254	" 21-23	Ad[+S?]	0	O	14	Ad + S: N, A.[1] [1] N and A quote T as saying that Steele assisted Ad in No. 254. There is no such note in the three copies of T that I have consulted. A: T, Bk, H, B, G.
255	" 23-25	Ad	0	O	13	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
256	" 25-28	Ad+S	0	SL	12	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
257	" 28-30	Ad[+S?]	0	O	10	Ad + S: N, G, A. Ad: T, Bk, H, B.
258	" 30-Dec. 2	S[?et als]	0	O	12	S, Swift, Prior, Rowe, etc: N, A.
259	Dec. 2-5	Ad+S	0	SL	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
260	" 5-7	Ad[+S?]	0	O	12	Ad: T, Bk, N, H, B, G; A + S. A.
261	" 7-9	S	0	O	13	N, A.
262	" 9-12	Ad+S	0	O	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
263	" 12-14	S	0	O	14	N, A.
264	" 14-16	S	0	O	15	N, A.
265	" 16-19	Ad+S	0	SL[1]	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A. [1] I have so counted it, though the heading is in the abbreviated form: "Continuation of the Journal of the Court of Honour, etc."
266	" 19-21	S	0	O	15	
267	" 21-23	Ad	0	O	14	T, Bk, N, H, B, G, A.
268	" 23-26	S	0	O	15	N, A.
269	" 26-28	S	0	O	14	N, A.
270	" 28-30	S	0	O	13	N, A.
271	" 30-Jan. 2, 1711	S	0	Ed	18	Signed "Richard Steele" in OI and subsequent editions.

The facts are, clearly, that news falls off almost from the very first, that it falls off more rapidly after the first fifty numbers, and that after the first one hundred numbers it appears only six times. But *Tatler* No. 100 came out on November 29, 1709; and Steele apparently did not lose the *Gazette* until about the middle of the following October,[6]—ten months and a half after the policy of the *Tatler* in respect to news had become definitely established. Since there is no reason to suppose that Steele knew thus far in advance that a change in the editorship of the *Gazette* was contemplated, it seems necessary to conclude that his loss of that office had nothing to do with the decline of news in the *Tatler*.

Early in our search for other causes we are struck by the fact that Addison, whose influence in the councils of the paper was undoubtedly great, had from the first cared little about news. It will be remembered that when the *Tatler* was begun Addison happened to be in Ireland as Secretary to the Marquis of Wharton, the Lord Lieutenant.[7] He was apparently not consulted in regard to the

[6] Swift (*Journal to Stella*) notes the event under date of October 14, 1710, though in a letter to Stella dated September 10, 1710, he predicts that "Steele will certainly lose his Gazeteer's place, all the world detesting his engaging in parties" (Swift's *Works*, ed. T. Scott, II, p. 7). Narcissus Luttrell (*A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, etc., VI, p. 643), notes it under date of October 17, 1710. For Swift's conjecture in regard to the reason for Steele's loss of the gazeteership, see Swift's *Importance of the Guardian Considered* (1713), especially the fifth paragraph. There Swift asserts that Steele, "to avoid being discarded, thought fit to resign his place of Gazeteer" (Swift's *Works*, ed. T. Scott, V, p. 288).

[7] On April 5, 1709, a week before the first *Tatler* appeared, Addison wrote from Whitehall to Ambrose Phillips that he was "just hurrying out of town" (Addison's *Works*, Bohn edition, V, p. 375).

On April 22, 1709, Addison wrote to Swift from Dublin: "We arrived yesterday at Dublin" (Addison's *Works*, ed. Bohn, V, p. 377; *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Ball, I, p. 151).

project; indeed, he is said to have become aware of Steele's authorship only when in No. 6 (April 23, 1709) he recognized a hint which he had himself communicated to Steele.[8] Addison sent a few contributions from Ireland,[9] and upon his return to England, in September 1709, became an active and indispensable ally. It is impossible to doubt that in many a long talk the two friends planned for the *Tatler* a career the trend of which was influenced in considerable part by Addison. Addison's feeling about newspapers was made clear almost from his earliest connection with the *Tatler.* In No. 18 he pretends dismay at the effect which the approaching peace is sure to have upon news-writers. "The case of these gentlemen is, I think, more hard than that of the soldiers, considering that they have taken more towns, and fought more battles. They have been upon parties and skirmishes, when our armies have been still; and given the general assault to many a place, when the besiegers were quiet in their trenches." This, to be sure, aims not at the kind of news in the *Tatler* and the *Gazette,* but at the false and exaggerated accounts of the *Postboy* [10] and others. On July 15, 1709, no foreign mails came in, and so Addison, after writing, under the heading "St. James's Coffee-house," his famous inventory of the play-house, concludes with a fling quite in the manner of No. 18, against the *Courant, Postboy,* and *Postman.* In No. 55,[11] which relates the remarkable cure of a blind man, Addison leads up to his story thus: "While others are busied in relations which

[8] Tickell's Preface (Vol. I, p. xii) to Addison's *Works,* 1721.

[9] Parts of Nos. 18, 20, 24, and 42.

[10] Both Abel Boyer, a Whig news-writer, and the *Postboy,* a Tory newspaper, are ridiculed in No. 18. Clearly, therefore, Addison's motive was not merely political antagonism.

[11] Which has the well chosen motto, *Paulo maiora canamus.*

concern the interests of princes, the peace of nations, and revolutions of empire, I think (though these are very large subjects) my theme of discourse is sometimes to be of matters of a yet higher consideration." Elsewhere in the same number Steele is contentedly relating from St. James's Coffee-house the defeat of the Swedish army at Pultowa. Even without anticipating the delightful paper on the "Political Upholsterer," [12] therefore, we may safely conceive Addison's influence to have been, from the beginning, against the notion of making much of news in the *Tatler*.

Steele probably offered but slight opposition. When the *Tatler* began, Steele's experience in periodical writing was solely that of a newspaper man. Newspapers were an established success; essays in the later manner of the *Tatler* were still undeveloped. Naturally, then, Steele began with news as one of his departments. Yet he had shown, even before Addison's return from Ireland, that the *Tatler* was to be no mere newspaper. "You are to understand," he writes in No. 4, "that I shall not pretend to raise a credit to this work, upon the weight of my politic news only, but, as my Latin sentence in the title-page informs you, shall take anything that offers for the subject of my discourse." In No. 5 he is at pains to point out that news should really mean whatever one does not know, whether it be a recent happening or something "even of old Anchises or Æneas . . . set . . . in a different light than has hitherto been hit upon, in order to inspire the love and admiration of worthy actions." In No. 11 he declares that "Politick News is not the principal subject on which we treat." In No. 41 (July 12-14,

[12] *Tatler* 155, April 6, 1710. This, of course, appeared after the *Tatler* had virtually dropped its department of news.

1709) he recounts the valorous Exercise of Arms of the Artillery Company on Wednesday, June 29, 1709. "Happy was it," thinks Isaac Bickerstaff, "that the greatest Part of the Atchievements of this Day was to be perform'd near *Grub-Street,* that there might not be wanting a sufficient Number of faithful Historians, who being Eye-Witnesses of these Wonders, should impartially transmit them to Posterity." The news from St. James's in No. 56 (Aug. 16-18, 1709) conveys the surprising intelligence "That old People die in France. Letters from *Paris* of the 10th Instant, N. S. say, That Monsieur *d'Andre* Marquis *d'Oraison* dy'd at 85; Monsieur Brumars, at 102 Years . . . ; *Nicholas de Boutheiller,* Parish Preacher of *Sasseville,* being a Batchelor, held out till 116 . . . M. *Chrestien de Lamoignon* . . . having dy'd young, his Age is conceal'd for Reasons of State."

The tendencies thus indicated, doubtless strengthened later by Addison's advice and contributions, seem to justify us in regarding Steele and Addison as essentially at one in this matter of news in the *Tatler.*

A further cause for the decline of news in the *Tatler* may well have been the growth of the advertisements in the paper. As Mr. Lawrence Lewis [13] has shown in the case of the *Spectator,* such periodicals as the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* were business enterprises: their editors were beset not only by various literary questions but also by the problem of making the paper pay its way. As we study the increase of advertising in the *Tatler,*[14] we observe that from very modest beginnings indeed—in the first ten numbers an average of not more than an inch of

[13] Lawrence Lewis, *The Advertisements of the Spectator,* Boston and New York, 1909. See especially Chap. 2.

[14] See Column *F* of Table I.

matter—the advertisements steadily mounted until in Nos. 70-80 we have about two-thirds of a column and in Nos. 100-110 about three-quarters of a column. Thereafter the average is very nearly a column. In other words, as the news decreased the advertisements increased. And in respect both to news and to advertisements the *Tatler* seems to have reached a permanent policy at about the end of the first hundred numbers.[15]

[15] With regard to the receipts from advertising we have only the scantiest knowledge. In *Tatler* 224 Addison writes about advertisements and ridicules the extravagant language in which they are usually framed. He says, "Since I am thus usefully employed in writing criticisms on the works of these diminutive authors, I must not pass over in silence an advertisement, which has lately made its appearance, and is written altogether in a Ciceronian manner. It was sent to me, with *five shillings*, to be inserted among my advertisements; but as it is a pattern of good writing in this way, I shall give it a place in the body of my paper." The advertisement is reproduced below in facsimile:

> **THE highest compounded Spirit of Lavender, the** most glorious (if the Expression may be used) enlivening Scent and Flavour that can possibly be; which so raptures the Spirits, delights the Gust, and gives such Airs to the Countenance, as are not to be imagined but by those that have tried it. The meanest Sort of the Thing is admired by most Gentlemen and Ladies; but this far more, as by far it exceeds it, to the gaining among all a more than common Esteem. It is sold (in neat Flint Bottles fit for the Pocket) only at the Golden Key in Warton's-Court near Holborn Bars, for 3 s. 6 d. with Directions.

(This advertisement has been reproduced by means of the photostat of the Massachusetts Historical Society from the original issue of the *Tatler* in the Harvard College Library. The reproduction was made possible by the kindness of Messrs. Walter B. Briggs, Worthington C. Ford, and Julius H. Tuttle.)

Though this advertisement is presumably fictitious, it may fairly be supposed that the price is the actual one for such an advertisement. That, however, tells us very little. If the fee was based on the number of words, one column of advertisements in the *Tatler* would bring in about fifty shillings. But if the fee depended upon

Probably more important than any of these causes, however, is the fact that the *Tatler,* begun as a miscellany, presently came to consist of single, unified essays. The growth of this single essay naturally crowded out not merely the news from St. James's, but all other headings except the one—usually "From My Own Apartment"—appropriate to the kind of paper which the *Tatler* in its later and more typical days found most effective,—the lay sermon on taste. This unifying process can best be exhibited in a table (see p. 656).

From this table it appears that at the beginning a single number of the *Tatler* contained three or four unrelated articles, but that after the first hundred numbers there are only thirteen exceptions to the rule that each issue contained one essay. In other words, the policy of the *Tatler* with respect to the single essay becomes fixed at almost precisely the same time that the news disappeared and the advertisements mounted up well toward a column in each issue.[16] Let us take the headings which Steele an-

the nature of the advertisement, we can make no calculation of the total.

In at least one instance (J. B. Williams, *A History of English Journalism to the Foundation of the Gazette,* London, 1908, pp. 167-8) it appears that the fee for advertisements depended not upon the space or the number of words, but, apparently, upon the value of the return to be expected from the advertisement. This was in 1657. On the other hand, we find in 1649, in 1655, and in 1667, instances where the fee was apparently the same for all advertisements. (Williams, *op. cit.,* pp. 164, 167, 184 note 4.) The fact that the Act of June 10, 1712 (10 Ann., c. 19, ci) taxed every advertisement one shilling may mean that at this time the fee was the same for all. It is noticeable that the advertisements in the *Tatler* vary only slightly in length. There may have been a maximum number of words which no advertiser was allowed to exceed.

[16] See Chart on p. 663. In connection with this growth of the single number, note the disappearance of the *Quicquid agunt homines* as a motto. (See p. 633, note 1.)

nounced in his first number and see what becomes of them as the single essay grows:

White's, used 56 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 5 times thereafter.
Will's, used 54 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 6 times thereafter.
The Grecian, used 10 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 3 times thereafter.
St. James's, used 59 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 6 times thereafter.
"From My Own
Apartment," used 85 times in Nos. 1-100, is used 120 times thereafter.

TABLE II

A Summary of the Change from Several Departments to One

No.	A Editorial	B White's	C Will's	D Grecian	E St. James's	F Own Apt.	G Shire Lane	H Haymarket	Tl
1–10	5	5	9	1	10	8	0	0	3
11–20	1	5	7	0	9	7	0	0	[illegible]
21–30	0	9	4	0	8	9	0	0	[illegible]
31–40	0	6	3	3	8	9	0	0	[illegible]
41–50	0	8	6	2	6	7	0	0	[illegible]
51–60	0	10	6	0	7	6	0	0	[illegible]
61–70	0	5	8	0	4	10	0	0	7
71–80	0	5	1	2	4	10	0	0	2
81–90	0	2	6	2	2	10	0	0	2
91–100	0	1	4	0	1	9	1	0	6
101–110	0	0	1	0	0	4	5	0	0
111–120	0	1	0	0	0	1	8	1	1
121–130	0	0	0	0	0	9	1	0	0
131–140	0	1	0	0	2	0	10	0	3
141–150	0	1	0	0	0	5	5	0	1
151–160	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0
161–170	0	1	1	0	0	9	0	0	1
171–180	0	0	0	1	2	6	4	0	3
181–190	0	0	1	0	0	7	3	0	1
191–200	1	0	2	2	0	6	0	0	1
201–210	0	1	0	0	1	9	1	0	2
211–220	1	0	0	0	0	8	1	0	10
221–230	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	11
231–240	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	10
241–250	0	0	1	0	0	9	0	0	10
251–260	0	0	0	0	0	8	2	0	10
261–271	1	0	0	0	0	9	1	0	11
Totals	9	61	60	13	65*	205	42	1	56

* Two of these (Nos. 42 and 77) do not contain news. One paper (No. 64) contains news under the heading "From My Own Apartment." Consequently, the total number of papers containing news (64) does not equal the total number of papers bearing the heading "St. James's Coffee-house" (65).

It is perhaps a consequence of this change that in certain later numbers of the *Tatler* the relation of news without remark gives place to a kind of editorial comment. In No. 137, for example, under the heading of St. James's, Steele notes briefly the fact that the Duke of Marlborough is just sailing from Harwich, and then launches forth into a eulogy of the Duke.

One suspects, however, that such an editorial as that in No. 137—and still more that in No. 46—means rather that Steele's news had been "scooped" by some of his rivals. In No. 46, indeed, he says as much.[17] The *Tatler,* we remember, appeared on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. This, said Steele in his first number, was "for the convenience of the post." But the foreign mails, though more likely to arrive on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday than on other days, were very irregular,[18] and rival journals, several of them published on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, were numerous.[19] It would be interesting to work out from the files in the Bodleian and the British Museum the full answer to the question of the

[17] "My Brethren of the Quill, the ingenious Society of News-Writers, having with great Spirit and Elegance already inform'd the World, that the Town of Tournay capitulated on the 28th Instant, there is nothing left for me to say, but to congratulate the good Company here, that we have Reason to hope for an Opportunity of thanking Mr. Withers next Winter in this Place, for the Service he has done his Country." Eulogies of Withers, Argyle, and Marlborough follow. The entire item makes about one-eighth of the number.

[18] John Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne,* I, p. 133.

[19] Fox Bourne (*English Newspapers,* I, p. 69) has it that "there were six distinct publications to read or choose from on Monday, twelve on Tuesday, six on Wednesday, twelve on Thursday, six on Friday, and thirteen on Saturday." These figures are largely based on a contemporary list, which may not be correct, in the first number of *The General Postscript* (1709). Fox Bourne is certainly wrong in his statement (I, p. 68) that the *Gazette* appeared on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday. See note 21 on p. 658 below.

extent to which the decline of news in the *Tatler* was due to the fact that Steele occasionally found that his "Brethren of the Quill" had stolen a march on him. One suspects this, next to the development of the single essay, to have been the most potent cause of the change.[20]

During all this time, let us remember, Steele has been editing both the *Tatler* and the *Gazette*.[21] In both periodicals news has been appearing. How do these news items compare? The following instance is not exceptional: [22]

Gazette, No. 4537	*Tatler*, No. 11
Vienna, April 27, N. S. An Express is arrived here from Salzburg, with an account of the Death of the Archbishop of that Place. He is succeeded by Count Harrach, who was formerly Bishop of Vienna, and has been	Advices from Vienna of the twenty-seventh of April import, that the archbishop of Salzburg is dead; who is succeeded by Count Harrach, formerly bishop of Vienna, and for these last three years coadjutor to the said

[20] It will naturally be asked why this cause should not have operated from the beginning of the *Tatler*. Of the six papers which appear to have been published on days when the *Tatler* did not appear, at least two were begun after the *Tatler:* the *Female Tatler*, first issued on July 8, 1709; and the *General Postscript*, which began on September 7, 1709. One is inclined to think that the latter, particularly, might throw light upon the point: its first appearance was just when the decline of news in the *Tatler* was most rapid; and its full title is, *The General Postscript: being an Extract of all that's most material from the Foreign and English Newspapers: with Remarks upon the Observator, Review, Tatlers, and the Rest of the Scribblers: in a Dialogue between Novel and Scandal.* It is in the Bodleian Library (Nichols Newspapers, Vol. 15).

[21] When the *Tatler* began, the *Gazette* (established in 1665) had reached No. 4531. From then until No. 4551 (June 20-23, 1709) the odd numbers cover Monday to Thursday and presumably appeared on Thursday, and the even numbers cover Thursday to Monday and presumably came out on Monday. Thereafter, throughout the life of the *Tatler*, the *Gazette* appeared on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The intention to make this change is announced in Nos. 4550 and 4551; the change itself, in No. 4552.

[22] Cf. *Gazette* 4530 and 4531 with *Tat.* 1; *Gazette* 4533 with *Tat.* 4 and 5; *Gazette* 4535 with *Tat.* 6 and 7; *Gazette* 4536 with *Tat.* 9; *Gazette* 4537 with *Tat.* 10, and so forth.

about three Years Coadjutor to the Archbishop whom he succeeds; that Prelate having been so long incapable of discharging his Fastoral [sic; i. e., pastoral] Function by the loss of his Sight. Prince Maximilian of Lichtenstein is likewise dead at his Country Seat of Cromaw in Moravia. The Emperor has thought fit to name Count Zinzendorf, Count Goes, and Monsieur Consbruck to act on his Imperial Majesty's part, in case of an ensuing Congress.

archbishop; and that prince Maximilian of Lichtenstein is likewise departed this life at his country-seat called Cromaw in Moravia. These advices add, that the emperor has named count Zinzendorf, count Goes, and monsieur Consbruck, for his plenipotentiaries in an ensuing treaty of peace.

Brussels, May 9, N. S. . . We hear from France that the Marshall de Thesse arrived at Versailles the 29th of the last Month, and the next Day the Chevalier de Benil brought advice from Spain, that on the 17th the English Squadron appear'd before Alicant, and having for some time Connonaded [*sic*] the Town, General Stanhope endeavoured to land some Troops for the Relief of the Castle, but finding the Enemy ready to receive them, and the Attempt very hazardous, if not wholly impracticable, he demanded to Capitulate for the Garrison; this being granted, Hostages were exchanged, and the Capitulation, consisting of 14 Articles, was signed the same Evening. The Garrison, being made up of 600 Regular Troops, marched out the next Day with two Pieces of Cannon, and all other Marks of Honour; and being received on Board, the Confederate Fleet sailed forthwith for Barcelona.

Letters from Paris, dated May the sixth, say that the Marshall de Thesse arrived there on the twenty-ninth of the last month, and that the Chevalier de Benil was sent thither by Don Pedro Ronquillo with advice, that the confederate squadron appeared before Alicant on the seventeenth, and, having for some time cannonaded the city, endeavoured to land some troops for the relief of the castle; but general Stanhope, finding the passes well guarded, and the enterprize dangerous, demanded to capitulate for the castle; which being granted him, the garrison, consisting of 600 regular troops, marched out with their arms and baggage the day following; and being received on Board they immediately set sail for Barcelona.

Clearly, Steele often used in his two papers precisely the same news and phrased it in almost the same words. This interesting fact, though apparently unnoticed by Macaulay and Forster, who would presumably have used it to strengthen their case, was not unnoticed by Steele's most able rival. This was, of course, the *Examiner*,[23] who in No. 5 directed against poor Steele the following exquisite bit of ridicule: [24]

> We had lately News of a great Action in *Spain*, where for some Years the War has been carry'd on very *calmly*, and we were overjoy'd with the Success that attended Her Majesty's Arms there. I had the Curiosity to read all the Accounts that were given of it; but was more particularly pleas'd with the Relation, which the *Gazetteer* and the *Tatler* of the same Day (as indeed these *two* Authors are never asunder) oblig'd us with.
>
> Nothing can be more Instructive or Entertaining than to see in how different a Manner, and with what a variety of Stile, two eminent Pens may imploy themselves on the same Subject. We equally admire the same *Catiline*, as he is drawn either by *Cicero* or *Salust:* And after we have read that fine Description of the Battle of *Cannæ* in *Polybius*, we are not less pleas'd to read it over again in *Livy*.

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[23] The *Examiner*, begun because certain Tory men of letters thought the town "every day imposed upon by false wit, false learning, false politics, and false divinity," ran from August 3, 1710, to July 26, 1714. It was carried on by Dr. William King, Prior, Atterbury, Swift, Mrs. Manley, and others. See Nathan Drake, *Essays . . . Illustrative of the Rambler, Adventurer, and Idler*, I, pp. 10-11; Swift's *Works*, ed. T. Scott, Vol. IX; Catalogue of the Hope Collection (at the Bodleian), Oxford, 1865, pp. 19-21.

[24] *Examiner* No. 5 (from Thursday, August 24, to Thursday, August 31, 1710). It has the title *The Gazette and Tatler of August the 12th, compar'd*, and the appropriate motto, *Facies non una duabus, Nec diversa tamen; qualem decet esse sororum.*

The authorship of *Examiner* No. 5 is uncertain: Drake (*op. cit.*, I, p. 11) attributes it to Dr. William King; but the editor of King's Posthumous Works (as quoted by the editor of *The Original Works of William King, LL. D.*, London, 1776, I, p. xxi) tells us that King undertook the *Examiner* about October 10, 1710, which was some six weeks after the appearance of No. 5.

Nay, the different Portraitures of King *Charles I*, done by the same masterly hand of *Vandyke*, are more entertaining to a judicious Eye, than the Figures of two several Persons, that have no manner of Resemblance. The happy Mixture of Diversity and Agreement, the Art of so drawing the same Piece, as that it shall be both like and unlike it self, conveys an exquisite Pleasure to him, whose Taste is nice enough to relish it. Something of this Delight I found in comparing my two weekly Friends: And because the best way of improving a Pleasure is to communicate it, I will give my Reader a Specimen of those different Beauties, with which they have described the same Action.

Gaz. *Five thousand Men of his Catholick Majesty's Troops, under General* Wesel, in the Lampourdan, *were on their march, . . .*	Tat. *Five thousand Men were on their march, in the* Lampourdan, *under the Command of Gen.* *Wesel, having receiv'd Order from his Catholick Majesty. . . .*
Gaz. *His Catholick Majesty order'd General Stanhope to march with* 14 *Squadrons of Horse. . . .*	Tat. *The King of Spain commanded General* Stanhope *with a Body of Horse consisting of* 14 *Squadrons . . . .*
Gaz. *To disturb the Enemy in their Passage of the River* Segra *and* Noguera, *between* Lerida *and* Balaguer, . . .	Tat. *To prevent their Passage over the River Segra and* Noguera, *between* Lerida *and* Balaguer. . . .
Gaz. *All the Horse on both sides came to a general Engagement.*	Tat. *The Battle improv'd to a general Engagement of the Cavalry of both Armies. . . .*
Gaz. *The Duke of* Anjou *retir'd to* Lerida.	Tat. *That Prince was retiring towards* Lerida.

When I reflect upon these different Turns of Expression, equally Graceful, equally Numerous, I cannot but condemn the Judgment of *Longinus*, and the rest of the *Greek Criticks*, who would persuade us, that after a correct Writer has adjusted the due Order of his Words, there can be no Change of 'em but for the worse. We have here before us a plain Instance to the contrary, of two polite Authors, who relating the same Action have fallen upon much the same Words, and yet have been so happy in the different way of ranging them, as to make it doubtful, whose Periods are most Harmonious, whose Narrative most Beautiful.

Whether *Lampourdan* sounds best at the Beginning or End of the Sentence? Whether *14 Squadrons of Horse,* or *a Body of Horse con-*

***sisting of 14 Squadrons,* has a better Cadence? Whether their *Passage* OF *the River,* or their *Passage* OVER *the River,* is more Elegant and Tuneful, I defy any Critick living to determine.**

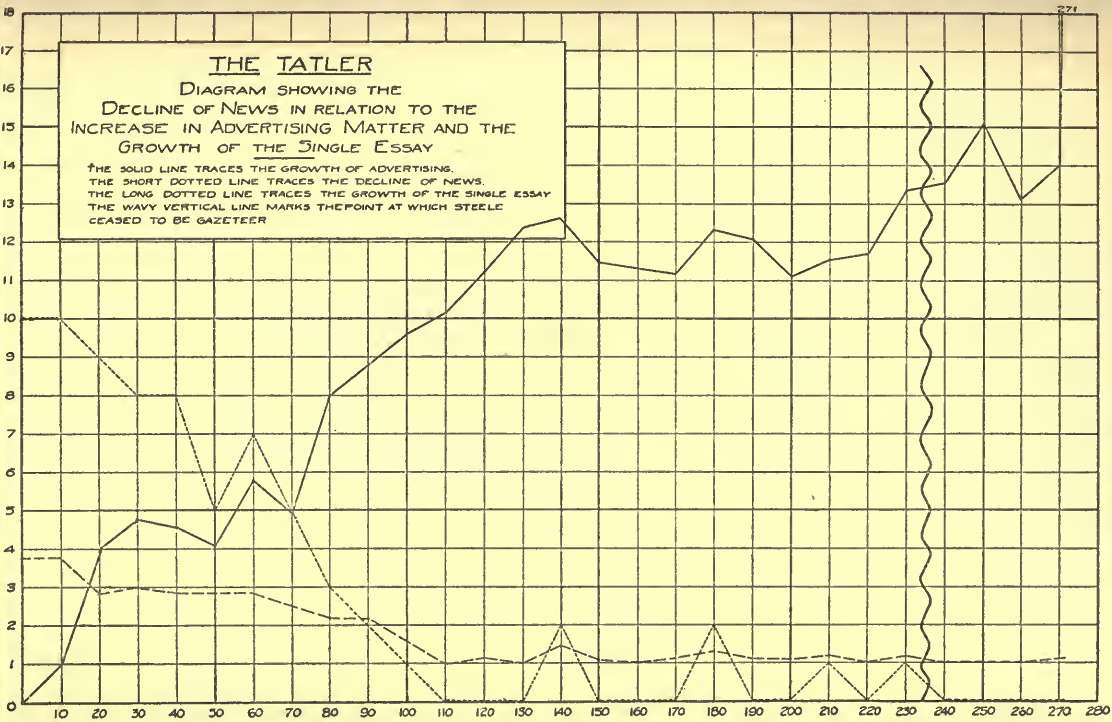
This, of course, is rather late in the history of the *Tatler*. The causes that we have mentioned—and perhaps others—had long been working. But if, as late as No. 210, Steele felt any strong impulse to continue the comfortable practice of using in the *Tatler* very slightly revised versions of *Gazette* items, that impulse was undoubtedly checked by this article in the *Examiner.*

On the opposite page an attempt has been made at a graphic representation of the principal data underlying this argument.

C. N. GREENOUGH.

EXPLANATION OF THE DIAGRAM

The figures at the bottom of the diagram represent the numbers of the *Tatler,* grouped by tens. Those at the left indicate inches in the case of the solid line, and actual numbers in the other cases. That is to say, the black line ends at 1 for the first ten numbers of the *Tatler* and at 4 for the second ten. This means that the average amount of advertising in Nos. 1-10 is one inch and in Nos. 11-20, four inches. The solid line is, in other words, the average, by groups of ten papers, of the figures given in Column F of Table I (pp. 639 ff.). The short-dotted line is merely a graphic representation of the figures in Column D of Table I, and the long-dotted line represents the average of the figures given in the extreme right-hand column of Table II (p. 656).


THE TATLER
DIAGRAM SHOWING THE
DECLINE OF NEWS IN RELATION TO THE
INCREASE IN ADVERTISING MATTER AND THE
GROWTH OF THE SINGLE ESSAY
THE SOLID LINE TRACES THE GROWTH OF ADVERTISING.
THE SHORT DOTTED LINE TRACES THE DECLINE OF NEWS.
THE LONG DOTTED LINE TRACES THE GROWTH OF THE SINGLE ESSAY
THE WAVY VERTICAL LINE MARKS THE POINT AT WHICH STEELE
CEASED TO BE GAZETEER
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280
271

XXIV.—THE EASTER *SEPULCHRUM* IN ITS RELATION TO THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE HIGH ALTAR

By the term 'sepulchrum' is designated that device or structure employed in churches—especially in the middle

TRACING FROM DRAWING IN THE *Antiphonal of Hartker*

ages—to symbolize, or in more complete manner to represent, the tomb of Christ. This *sepulchrum,* so named in

the liturgy, first appears in connection with the ancient office of the *Depositio Crucis*, or burial of the cross, which after mass on Good Friday typified the burial of Christ. Complementing and completing the *Depositio* was another office, privately celebrated by the priest and clergy before matins on Easter Sunday, typifying the resurrection, and called the *Elevatio Crucis*. When, after the tenth century, troping of the *Introit* for Easter morning—the famous *Quem Quaeritis*—developed into a little liturgical play with the impersonation of the angel or angels, and of the three Maries coming to anoint the body of the Lord, there was naturally a development of the heretofore symbolic *sepulchrum* in the altar,[1] into what resulted finally in a separate structure.

Father Feasey, in a chapter devoted to the burial of the cross and Host in the Easter sepulchre, in his *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial,* classifies the sepulchres in England under five heads:

> i. A simple walled recess,
> ii. A tomb under which a founder or builder either of the church or [of the] sepulchre, by special privilege was buried,
> iii. A temporary structure sumptuously decorated [a movable sepulchre of wood . . . surrounded by a frame],
> iv. A vaulted enclosure richly carved,
> v. A chapel.[2]

As to the sepulchre chapels, which are rare—occurring only in cathedrals or large churches,—Father Feasey in a later article dismisses them with brief mention. It is his opinion that they owe their name to the fact that they

[1] See Karl Young, *Officium Pastorum: A Study of the Dramatic Developments within the Liturgy of Christmas*, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVII, Part I.

[2] H. J. Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, London, 1897.

were formerly frescoed with representations, among others, of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, "an evidence too slight," he adds, "to associate them with the subject of the matter in hand." [3]

E. K. Chambers, who for the most part follows Father Feasey, says, in commenting upon one of these types of sepulchre:

> Many churches have a niche or recess, designed of sole purpose for the sepulchre. Several of these more elaborate sepulchres are large enough to be entered, a very convenient arrangement for the Quem Quaeritis . . .

and in a footnote explains that:

> The performers are sometimes directed to enter the sepulchre.

Chambers differs chiefly in that his familiarity with the liturgical plays and their rubrics enables him to bring this internal evidence to bear upon the matter. He does not, however, have occasion, in his enormous labors on the whole medieval stage, to do more than touch the point with which we are concerned.[4]

After going over the texts of the plays and tropes found in the Easter liturgy, in order to find out just what light they might throw on the form and appearance of the sepulchre as *mise-en-scène,* I have come to hold a new idea of the relative importance of the arched recesses, the elaborate permanent tombs, the chapels, and the crypts. I have become convinced that the temporary structure (number iii of Father Feasey's list) was for the greater number of churches the normal type. In this belief I am fortified by the evidence, which I shall quote later, of certain church accounts and testamentary documents.

[3] *The Easter Sepulchre,* in *Ecclesiastical Review,* Vol. XXXII, Nos. 4 and 5, Philadelphia, 1905.

[4] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage, Oxford,* 1903, Vol. II, p. 22.

The relation of art—in this case largely a matter of architecture—to the Easter sepulchre, my principal theme in this study, will be considered last, not more for the sake of emphasis than for the sake of clearness. But in anticipation of the argument which I shall present after the ground is cleared for it, let me give here an outline of the steps in the development of the Easter sepulchre, as I conceive it:

First there was the high altar, with its canopy (*ciborium*);

Next there was a side altar, also with a canopy, on the north side of the church: this step is not a necessary one;

Then there was a temporary altar with a canopy, called the *sepulchrum;*

Then there was a permanent tomb, the burial place of some person of the parish, either with a canopy over it, or adapted to the erection of a canopy on the occasion of the Easter play.

I

The Evidence From the Easter Plays

According to the rubrics of the plays themselves—some two hundred and sixty texts that are accessible in print—I have attempted a classification, which I believe will be found illuminating:

i. Plays indicating a procession to the *sepulchre* (*processio ad sepulchrum*) or a position at the sepulchre (*ad sepulchrum*) with the dialogue of the angel or angels and the Maries,—but giving no clue whatever as to the form of the sepulchre or its position in the church;

ii. Plays indicating that the *altar* (*summum altare,* or merely *altare*—meaning of course the chief altar of the church) is the *mise-en-scène.* That is to say, the cross has been laid upon the altar, or buried in some part of it hollowed out for the purpose, or in some device placed upon the altar to represent a tomb. This has long been recognized by students of the drama as the earliest form of the *sepulchrum,* related, moreover, with the earlier rite of the *Depositio Crucis;* [1]

iii. Plays indicating the position of the angels and Maries with respect to the *sepulchrum,* as *before* or *behind* it, *at* it, *near* it, *around* it, *at the corners, in* or *upon* it (i. e., *ante, retro, ad, iuxta, apud, circa, ad quattuor cornua, in, in dextera parte*), implying that the sepulchre is a separate structure;

iv. Plays indicating that there is a veil, a curtain, or a pall, which is raised to disclose the *sepulchrum.* With these I group also plays which may be interpreted to mean that the *coffer* has a lid or covering that may be opened or removed,—(*discoöperiunt sepulchrum; sepulchrum aperientes*);

v. Plays indicating a *sepulchrum* that is *entered* by those taking part in the dialogue; evidently a structure within which one or two persons may sit or stand. With these I associate plays indicating in their rubrics that the *sepulchrum* has a *door* or *window* (*ostium, fenestra*).

[1] Karl Young, *Some Texts of Liturgical Plays, Pub. of Modern Language Assoc.,* Vol. XXIV, No. 2; *Observations on the Origin of the Mediæval Passion-Play, ib.,* Vol. XXV, No. 2.

vi. Plays indicating the use of a chapel, crypt, or tomb of a saint.

Indications of a chapel or special crypt are so few as to be negligible.

Let us now consider these groups in detail.

i. *The mere procession, ad sepulchrum.*

This first group, simply indicating the visiting of the sepulchre, the following rubrics will serve to illustrate:

Passau III—(1490)[2]
Deinde fiat processio ad sepulchrum
St. Emmerau I—(Antiphonar saec. XI)[3]
Ad sepulchrum.
Interrogatio presbyteri:
Quis revolvet nobis lapidem?
Constanz I—(1570)[4]
fit processio ad sanctum sepulchrum.

One can draw no inferences from such meagre indications, unless it be from their very meagreness. That is to say, one might assume that the lack of more explicit directions indicates: (1) in the case of the earlier texts, that they belong to a stage in the development when the place of the *sepulchrum* was not complicated by any question of choice —i. e., still at the altar; (2) in the case of the later texts, that the place was so well established that there was felt to be no necessity for describing it.

ii. *The altar specified.*

Of rubrics indicating the altar as *mise-en-scène* I note seventeen.

1. an*te* altar*e* [vadat sacerdos]; Monte Cassino, saec. XI, Young,[5] p. 308.

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[2] Carl Lange, *Die Lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munich, 1887, p. 110.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 29. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[5] Karl Young, *Officium Pastorum* [See Note 1, p. 665.]

2. iuxta altare [duo pueri . . . sicut angeli]; Clermont I, saec. XIII-XIV, Lange,[6] p. 26.
3. retro altare [duo diaconi]; Bodl. MS. Douce 222, saec. XI, Young,[5] p. 309.
4. retro altare [cantor cum aliis]; Placentia MS. 65, saec. XII, Young,[5] p. 308.
5. retro altare [tres clerici]; Knights Hospitalers, Brooks,[7] p. 467.
6. ante principale altare [clerici]; retro altare [duo clerici]; Sens I, saec. XIII, Lange, p. 25.
7. retro altare [sacerdotes stent]; Metz, Brooks,[7] p. 464.
8. post altare maius [duas dominas ponat]; Brescia H. VI, 11, fol. 30, Bibl. Quiriniana, saec. XV.[8]
9. post altare [sacerdos]; Monte Cassino, saec. ?, Lange, p. 23.
10. ante altare [tanquam mulieres]; iuxta altare unus a dexteris et alius a sinistris [duo pueri]; Châlons, saec. XIII, Lange, p. 24.
11. unus ad dextram altaris, alius ad sinistram [duo pueri]; Tours II, saec. ?, Lange, p. 24.
12. ante altare . . . unus ad dextram altaris et alius ad sinistram [duo presbyteri]; Senlis I, saec. XIV, Lange, p. 27.
13. super pulpitum a cornu altaris sinistro [puer]; Sens. II, saec. XIII, Lange, p. 64.
14. iuxta altare, unus dexter et alius a sinistris [duo pueri]; ante magnum altare [tres clerici]; Le Mans, saec. ?, Lange, p. 66.
15. super altare [duo pueri]; Narbonne, saec. ?, Lange, p. 64.
16. à l'Autel [deux Maires-chapelains] derriere le drap [deux Corbeliers]; Angers, saec. XVIII, Lange, p. 39.
17. ad altare apostolorum. Et ibidem peragatur visitatio sepulchri; Polling, saec. XV-XVI, Brooks,[9] p. 303.

In the case of this last, it is likely that the "apostles' altar" is not the high altar but one in the north side of

[6] Carl Lange, *Op. cit.*, [Note 2, p. 669]; hereafter referred to simply as "Lange."

[7] N. C. Brooks, in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. VIII.

[8] Copy of original MS. made by Dr. Karl Young.

[9] N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum*, Vol. L. (After this I shall refer to this publication simply as *Zeitschrift*).

the church. The rubric of this same play speaks presently not of the altar but of the *sepulchrum:*

> tres presbiteri induti cappis choralibus accedentes ad sepulchrum. . .

Of the seventeen plays represented in the foregoing list, six give the action of the angel or angels in lifting a cloth from the *sepulchrum* proper (*i. e.,* the coffer, or the hollowed place whence the cross had been taken), or in raising the curtain of the altar itself with the words,

> *non est hic, surrexit.*

The passages, numbered with reference to the list, are as follows:

7. discooperiant capsam argenteam qua est super altare sublevando levamen cum duobus baculis [duo diaconi stantes juxta cornua ipsius altaris]
10. discooperientes altare de panno albo tamquam de sudario [duo pueri]
12. elevantes palium altaris [presbyteri]
13. sublevans tapetum altaris, tamquam respiciens in sepulchrum [puer in vestitu angelico]
14. sublevent palium cum quo sepulchrum fuerit coopertum
15. levent cum filo pannum, qui est super libros argenti super altare in figura sepulchri [duo pueri super altare, induti albis et amictibus cum stolis violatis et sindone rubea in facie eorum et alis in humeris]

These rubrics should be kept in mind when we come to consider the lifting of the veil and uncovering of the sepulchre in the other groups.

iii. *The positions of characters specified with relation to the sepulchrum:* implying that this is a separate structure.

1. levatur Crucifixus . . . de Sepulchro in locum suu*m* s*up*er altare S*anct*e Trinitatis [this is the *Elevatio* which precedes the play]

procedant [tres fratres in specie mulierum] lente usque ad ostium iuxta altare 7 unus frater in albis in specie angeli stans iuxta Sepulchrum,—Fécamp, saec. xiv, . . . Young,[10] [Cf. also Lange, p. 36].

2. iuxta sepulchrum residens [dyaconus solempni ueste uestitus . . . in persona angeli]; Wien II, saec. xv, Lange, p. 104.
3. ueniunt ad sepulchrum, et unus sedet ad caput et alius ad pedes [duo dyaconi];
   iuxta sepulchrum stantes [tres sacerdotes]; Speyer, saec. xv, Lange, p. 33.
4. retro sepulchrum [Diaconus];
   incensent sepulchrum et . . . vertent se ad chorum remanentes super gradum [duo sacerdotes];
   St. Blasien, saec. xiv, Lange, p. 30.
5. apud sepulchrum [duo dyaconi]; St. Maximin, Brooks, *Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, Vol. VIII, p. 469.
6. circa sepulchrum [diaconus . . . portans in manibus gladium multis luminibus circumscriptum . . . in persona angeli]; Klosterneuburg, 1570, Brooks, *loc. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 481.
7. deuant le sepulchre [les angels]; Paris II, saec. xiv, Lange, p. 60.
8. ante sepulchrum [mulieres stantes];
   ad sepulchrum [angelus sedens]; Prag IV, saec. xvi, Lange, p. 122.
9. ante sepulchrum [same as Prag IV]; Prag V, saec. xiv, Lange, p. 122.
10. ante sepulchrum [predicta persona,—i. e., Maria—steterit]; Prag XI, saec. XIV, Lange, p. 130.
11. inter sepulchrum et Altare S. Crucis [mulieres revertentes et stantes]; Erlangen, saec. xvi, Lange, p. 124.
12. ad 4 cornua sepulchri [quatuor pueri stantes]; St. Gallen VII, 1582, Lange, p. 69.
13. unus ad caput et alius ad pedes [duo angeli existentes et custodientes sepulchrum]; Paris, St. Chapelle, Brooks, *loc. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 472.
14. in dextra parte ad caput sepulchri [angelus sedens]; Passau, saec. xv. Brooks, *loc. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 484.
15. in dextera parte ad caput [diaconus . . . acturus officium angeli]; Melk I, 1517, Lange, p. 110.

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[10] Karl Young, *The Harrowing of Hell, Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, ii, p. 903.

16. in dextera parte ad caput sepulchri [angelus]; Melk II, saec. xv, Lange, p. 114.
17. in dextera parte praeter sepulchrum [angelus sedens]; Passau X, saec. xv, Lange, p. 118.
18. in dextera parte [angelus sedens]; Monsee IV, saec. xv, Lange, p. 119.
19. in dextra p*ar*te ad caput . . .
    in dex*tra* p*ar*te Sepulc*ri* [angelus sedens]; Passau, saec. xv, Young.[11]
20. in dextera parte sepulchri [Dyaconus . . . acturus officium angeli . . . sedeat];
    Aquileja I, 1495, Lange, p. 105.
21. in dext*era* p*ar*te [Dyacon*us* . . . actur*us* off*icium* angeli . . . sedeat]; p*ro*cedu*nt* u*er*sus Sepulchr*um*, 7 stantes [tres presbyteri . . . figuram mulierum tenentes]; Diessen, saec. xiv, Young.[12]
22. in dextera parte [substantially the same as Diessen and Melk I]; St. Florian VII, 1482, Lange, p. 119.
23. in dextera parte [substantially the same as above]; Salzburg, 1497, Lange, p. 99.
24. in dextera parte [substantially the same as above]; Chiemsee, saec. xv, Lange, p. 102.
25. in dextra parte [substantially the same as above]; Moosburg, saec. xv-xvi, Brooks [in *Zeitschrift*, Vol. L.] p. 307.
26. ante sepulchrum [Marie];
    in sepulchro [angelus]; Prag XVI, saec. xiii, Lange, p. 151.
27. vadunt in medium ecclesie ante sepulchrum ferreum [this is said of the apostles just after the scene in which they take the linen clothes from the tomb: it may be that the *sepulchrum ferreum* in this case does not signify the tomb of Christ]; Prag XVII, saec. xiv, Lange, p. 154 [begins p. 151].
28. in sepulchro [angelus sedens]; Nürnberg II, saec. xiii, Lange, p. 140.
29. in sepulchro [duo leuite . . . qui sedere debent . . . et representant angelos]; Augsburg VIII, 1547, Lange, p. 108.

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[11] Karl Young, *Some Texts of Liturgical Plays, Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXIV, p. 313.

[12] Karl Young, *The Harrowing of Hell, l. c.*, p. 909. The same text is inaccurately given by Lange, p. 99.

30. in[13] sepulchro [angeli sedentes];
surgentes de loco, ostendant sepulchrum esse vacuum . . .
Indersdorf, saec. xv, Lange, p. 107.
31. in sepulchro [dyaconi . . . existentes]; Worms, saec. xv, Lange.[14]
32. in sepulchro [duo angeli sedentes]; Halberstadt VI, 1515, Lange, p. 91.
33. in sepulchro [sedentes . . . i. e., the angels]; Fritzlar II, saec. xiv, Lange, p. 33.
34. *in* Sepulchro [angeli sedentes]; St. Gallen, saec. xv, Young.[15] Brooks calls this text 'Hersfeld,' in *Zeitschrift*, Vol. L, p. 310.
35. in sepulchro [duo scholares . . . respondent]; de sepulchro [exeant . . . cum linteo, quod ostendant precentoribus]; Eichstätt II, 1539, Lange, p. 72.

In regard to this group it is to be noted that nine plays station the angels *in sepulchro,* which may mean *at, on,* or *in.* In the last one, as the angels are bidden *exeant de sepulchro,* the *in* must mean *in.*

iv. *A veil, curtain, or lid indicated.*

1. deinde lapis sup*er*ponat*ur*: Munich, saec. xiv, Young.[16]
2. cumq*ue* i*n* predi*ctum* locum tapetum palleo auric*u*lari q*uoque* 7 lintheis nitidissimis decenter ornatum illa*m* cu*m* reuerencia locau*er*int, claudat sac*er*dos Sepulchrum; Barking (Oxford MS.), saec. xv, Young.[17]
3. surgat [angelus residens] et erigat uelum ostendatque eis locum cruce nudatum; England, saec. x, Lange, p. 38.
4. celicole in sepulchro . . .
Celicole leuantes velamen sepulcro superpositum; Strassburg II, 1513, Lange, p. 48.
5. caelicolae duo scilicet stantes in Sepulchro . . .

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[13] *cum,* in the more accurately reproduced text given by Young: *Harrowing of Hell* [see note 10, p. 672], p. 905. cum sepulchro . . . surgentes de loco ostenda*nt* Sep*u*lchr*um* esse uacuu*m*.

[14] In *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLI, p. 82.

[15] *Some Texts*, etc., *l. c.*, p. 322, date of MS. given, p. 318.

[16] Karl Young, ***Observations on the Origin of the Mediæval Passion-Play*, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.***, Vol. XXV, p. 343.

[17] ***Observations on the Origin of the Mediæval Passion Play,*** p. 346.

Caelicolae levantes velamen Sepulchro superpositum . . . ; Cologne, 1590. Young.[18]

6. Angelus in sepulcro . . .
   Item angelus aperto sepulcro . . . ; Prag XIV, saec xiii, Lange, p. 148.
7. Angeli in sepulchro . . .
   Angeli sepulchrum aperientes . . . ; Meissen, 1520, Lange.[19]
8. angeli discooperiunt sepulcrum; Paris III, saec. xiv, Lange, p. 60.
9. Statione autem facta circa sepulchrum, precedet angelus ad caput sepulchri . . .
   Hic discooperiat sepulchrum . . . ; St. Florian VIII, saec. xiv, Lange, p. 127.
10. Angelus discooperiat sepulchrum; St. Florian IX, 1512, Lange, p. 127.
11. Angeli discooperientes sepulcrum: Coutances, saec. xv, Lange, p. 157.
12. Ubi notandum est quod in templo designari, atque tapete vel antipendio claudi debet locus quidam ad repraesentandum Christi Sepulchrum conueniens . . .
    Angeli in sepulchro autem cantent . . .
    Interim dum Angeli hoc cantant, mulieres sepulchro appropinquent, Angeli vero illud subito aperientes atque mulieribus monstrantes, alacre voce cantent: *Venite* . . . Bamberg III, 1597, Lange, p. 93.

V. *The Entering of the Sepulchrum indicated; or the fact that it has a door or window.*

1. duo dyaconi . . . unus ad caput, alter ad pedes, in ipso sepulcro collocentur . . .
   et dyaconi deintus respondent . . .
   presbyteri predicti cum silentio introeant . . . et exeuntes foras cantent . . . Augsburg I, saec. xi-xii, Lange, p. 83.
2. elevans pallam monumenti ostendit eis . . .
   Johanne foris remanente Petrus in monumentum intrat tollens inde sudarium . . . Rheinau III, saec. xi-xii, Brooks.[20]

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[18] *Harrowing of Hell*, p. 913.

[19] In *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLI, p. 82.

[20] Brooks, in *Journ. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, Vol. X, p. 192.

3. sedent infra Sepulchru*m* [duo diaconi] intrant Sepulchrum [mulieres]; Prüfening, saec. xii, Young.[21]
4. invenire debent duos sacerdotes . . . in sepulcro, unum ad caput et alium ad pedes . . .
   Deinde dicere debent intra sedentes . . . ; Trier, saec. xiii, Lange, p. 71.
5. Diaconus, solemni ac alba veste vestitus intra sepulchrum residens in persona Angeli; Kloster-Neuburg, saec. xiii, Du Méril.[22]
6. sedent i*n*fra Sepulchru*m* [duo diaconi]
   Ang*elus* deint*us* . . .
   isti int*ra*nt Sepulchru*m* [mulieres], Germany, saec. xiii, Young.[23]
7. sae*cr*dotes int*ra*ntes locu*m* sepult*ure* . . . ; Germany, saec. xiii, Young.[24]
8. In sepulchro sedeant duo clerici in dalmaticis pro angelis. Sicque submissa uoce qui extra stant incipiant . . .
   Tunc intrant et thurificant locum; Gotha, saec. xiii, Lange, p. 45.
9. Puer uero, qui angelum representat, stans in sepulchro, palmam manu tenens, in capite fanulum largum habens . . . .
   Finita hac antiphona exeat angelus de sepulchro per hostium ante. Marie uero intrent per hostium retro et offerant uascula sua, osculando altare. Postea exeant de sepulchro per hostium, per quod angelus exiuit . . . Toul, saec. xiii, Lange, p. 39.
10. angelus sedens foris ad caput sepulchri . . .
    Tunc duo angeli exeant ad ostium sepulchri, ita ut appareant foris; Orleans, saec. xiii, Lange, p. 160.
11. intrantes locum sepulture [in Peter and John scene]; Sutri, saec. xiii, Lange, p. 81.
12. ante sepulchrum [puer, loco angeli]
    aperiens sepulchrum [angelus]
    mulieres intrent sepulchrum . . .
    Duo angeli, intus sepulchrum sedentes . . .
    Marie exeant de sepulchro . . . ; Rouen I, saec. xiii, Lange, p. 155.

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[21] Young, *Harrowing of Hell* [see note, p. 672], p. 943.

[22] Du Meril, *Les Origines Latines du Théâtre Moderne*, Leipzig and Paris, 1897, p. 89.

[23] Young, *Some Texts* . . . p. 312.

[24] *Harrowing of Hell*, p. 900.

13. intrabunt sepulchrum [duo canonici]; Hildesheim, saec. xiii-xiv. Brooks.[25]
14. Ille qui erit angelus, erit super altare, indutus de capa alba, tenens palmam in manu et habens coronam in capite . . .
    Duo fratres in sepulchro, qui erunt duo angeli . . .
    intrent Mulieres in sepulchrum . . .
    exeant et eant circa altare[26] . . . ; Mont Saint-Michel, saec. xiv, Lange, p. 157.
15. *in*censato Sepulc*ro* 7 ap*er*to ostio *p*re*dict*i sac*erdotes* cereos suos de lu*m*ine *in*fra Sepulc*rum* accendant . . .
    M*arie* Sepulc*rum* *i*ntre*nt*; Dublin, saec. xiv, Young.[27]
16. Angelus sedens in dextera sepulchri . . .
    angelus levat cortinam . . .
    Deinde Mariae intrant ad sepulchrum . . . ; Cividale I, saec. xiv, Lange, p. 58.
17. sepulcrum Domini reverenter intrant [mulieres];
    cereis ante sepulcri ostium duobus positis . . .
    revertuntur ad ostium sepulcri, foris tamen nòn euntes . . . .
    Postea egrediuntur sepulcrum; Parma, saec. xv, Lange, p. 28.
18. ante introitum sepulchri [mulieres]
    sedent infra sepulchrum [duo diaconi . . . uice angelorum]
    Mox ingressi inquisitores sepulchri turificant locum . . . Hirsau, saec. xv, Lange, p. 51.
19. ingredian*tur* Sepulcru*m* [mulieres]; Barking, saec. xv (instituted in latter xiv), Young.[28]
20. quidam puer, quasi angelus indutus alba et amictu, tenens spicam in manu, ante sepulchrum dicat . . .
    angelus dicat

    Non est hic, surrexit enim

    et locum digito ostendens—
    Hoc finito, angelus citissime discedat et duo presbyteri de maiori sede in tunicis, intus sepulcrum residentes, dicant . . .

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[25] Brooks, in *Journ. Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, Vol. VIII, p. 468.

[26] Apparently the chief altar serves as the *sepulchrum* in this highly elaborate play. One angel is above—possibly on the canopy itself—two are within the pillars of the canopy.

[27] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, p. 919 and p. 922.

[28] Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, p. 930.

Marie osculentur locum, postea exeant de sepulcro . . . Rouen III, saec. XV, Lange, p. 155.[29]

21. plebanus vadat ad sepulchrum, et ponat caput in fenestra sepulchri, et postea conuersus ad populum dicat uoce mediocri: Surrexit Christus. Eichstätt, I, 1560, Lange, p. 40.
22. descendit officians cum praedictis et aliis ministris processionaliter ad sepulchrum, et illud semel circumit, statque ante mensam in qua est monstrantia posita . . .
    Et postquam Introitus fuerit finitus, duo pueri veniunt ad ostium Sepulchri . . . Gran, 1580, Lange.[30]
23. angeli vero in sepulchro cantant . . .
    cantus Apostolorum ante ingressum sepulchri . . . Augsburg IX, 1580, Lange, p. 108.
24. sedent infra sepulchrum [angeli]
    isti intrant sepulchrum [mulieres]; Rheinau I, saec. ? Lange, p. 51.
25. sacerdotes intrantes sepulchrum . . . ; Regensburg, saec. ? Brooks.[31]
26. diaconi ad ostium sepulchri venientes . . .
    Clericulus stans in sepulcro . . . ; Laon, saec. ? Lange, p. 30.
27. Hi in similitudine angelorum ad fenestram stantes sepulcri, unus dextram et alius ad sinistram . . . Soissons, saec. ? Lange, p. 26.
28. iretur ad Sepulchrum per parvam Scalam Sancti Jacobi (prius amotis sedibus ad praedicationem ibidem praeparatis)
    Tunc Celebrans ascendit ad Sepulchrum et imisso capite, utrinque erigens se . . . in porta Sepulchri cantat v. *Surrexit Christus;* Venice—St. Mark's—, 1736, Lange.[32]

VI. *A Chapel, Crypt, or Tomb of a Saint indicated.*

1. per hostium chori iuxta altare sancti Petri descendunt in criptam, et quasi angeli super sepulchrum sedentes [duo Canonici dyaconi]; Würzburg II, saec. XIV, Lange, p. 53.

[29] See also, for accurate transcript of this whole text, Young, *Mod. Philol.*, Vol. VI, No. 2.

[30] In *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLI, p. 81.

[31] In *Zeitschrift*, Vol. L, p. 297.

[32] In *Zeitschrift*, Vol. XLI, p. 78.

2. Ingressa Processione in S. Findani sacellum canitur ab angelo primo: *Quem queritis . . .* Rheinau II, 1573, Lange, p. 68.
3. totus chorus cum clero procedunt processionaliter ad sepulchrum domini in Sacello S. Sebastiani. St. Gallen VI, 1583, Lange, p. 69.
4. duo vicarii levitae, revestiti in dalmaticis albis, stantes ante Sepulcrum beatissimi Martini, versis vultibus ad cantorem incipiant: *Quem queritis?*. Tours I, saec. ? Lange, p. 24.

Since there are so few of this last group, I am inclined to regard as quite exceptional the use of chapel, crypt, or saint's tomb.

Of group v, however, there are twenty-eight, of which four without saying that it is entered speak of an entrance or door of the *sepulchrum* (introitus, ingressus, ostium); three speak of, or imply, a window (ad fenestram stantes, ponat caput in fenestra, ascendit ad sepulchrum et immisso capite); and twenty-one direct the Maries or the apostle (Peter) to enter, or else speak of the angels as within the *sepulchrum*. It may be remembered here that nine of the plays in group iii speak of angels as *in sepulchro,* which in some cases most likely means *within;* certainly in the last of the group (Eichstätt II) we see that this is the case, for the angels are bidden *exeant de sepulchro.* Group iv, also, may be interpreted so as to contribute to the general impression of an enclosed place round about the actual coffer: for instance, number 2, *claudat Sepulchrum;* number 5, *stantes in Sepulchro;* number 7, *angeli in sepulchro,* and, *sepulchrum aperientes;* and especially number 12, *tapete vel antependio claudi debet locus quidam.*

Of all the plays known, then, scarcely more than half have any indication whatever of the *mise-en-scène.* Of these a great many are exceedingly vague, simply indicating that there is a *visitatio sepulchri,* without distinguish-

ing between the chief altar and special altars or separate devices. Thus we come down to about one hundred texts —just ninety-six in fact, as listed above—available as evidence:

ii.	*Altar* as sepulchre group	17
iii.	*Sepulchre* named	35
iv.	*Sepulchre* covered or opened . . .	12
v.	*Sepulchre* entered, etc.	28
vi.	*Crypt, chapel,* etc.	4

It begins to be apparent, I think, that we cannot be satisfied with Mr. Chambers's casual remark that many churches have a niche or recess, designed of sole purpose for the sepulchre, that several are large enough to be entered, "a very convenient arrangement for the *Quem Quaeritis*," and that "performers are sometimes directed to enter the sepulchre." For of the seventy-five plays (groups iii, iv, and v) in which there is evidence of a sepulchre apart from the chief altar, at least twenty-eight give unmistakable evidence that the sepulchre is a structure that may be entered; and in twenty-one more there is possible an interpretation which may—with further evidence—contribute toward assimilating these into the same class. Mr. Chambers is misleading in two respects: there are not a very great many churches which have the sepulchre niche or recess; and the rubrics directing the performers to enter the sepulchre are not unusual in their intimation that the sepulchre may be entered.

The thing that has troubled Mr. Chambers and other writers on this subject, I believe, is the meaning of the word *Sepulchrum*. If it is felt difficult to include in this word's meaning something more than the mere coffer or chest in which at the ceremony of the *Depositio Crucis* the cross was laid, or the cross and eucharistic bread to-

gether, then there will undoubtedly be trouble. For at first, as we have seen, the cross was buried (or cross and Host) in a hollowed place in the altar itself; and the priests or deacons representing the angels stood back of, or in front of, the altar. But later the holy women and the apostles are seen coming and going in and out of the *sepulchrum,* and the angels coming to the door so as to be seen from without, raising curtains, etc., in short doing a number of things quite incompatible with the restricted meaning. And in any dramatic representation that should pretend to adhere in the least to scripture it is necessary that they should do these things. St. Mark says the three women entering into the sepulchre saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; St. Luke says they entered in, and two young men stood by them in shining garments; St. John tells how Simon Peter went into the sepulchre, and how afterwards he himself went; St. Matthew and St. Mark both tell of Joseph of Arimathea's new tomb hewn out of the rock, and of the door thereof against which the stone was rolled. The *sepulchrum* must mean something more than a coffer. And inasmuch as the *sepulchrum* is an outgrowth of the altar, it is natural to look to the altar for light on the matter. As I have already hinted in my introductory remarks (see page 667), I believe the *sepulchrum* to have been at first just another altar on the north side of the church—an altar especially appropriated to this ceremony and therefore called the *sepulchrum.* This altar, like the chief altar of early times, undoubtedly had over it a canopy supported by pillars capable of being enclosed in curtains, or within a frame supporting candles. I shall show this later. The word *sepulchrum* applied to the entire structure. Doubtless the churches which had niches were simply carrying out more literally the scripture

story; the coffer instead of being placed on a low altar-table would be placed in the niche, but in all likelihood the canopy and curtains would be set up in front of the niche in order that the angels and the empty tomb might be concealed till the time came for the dramatic revelation, *non est hic, surrexit!*

II

External Evidence Compared With Internal

Let us now revert to the classifications of sepulchres given by Father Feasey. The first group, that of the walled recess or niche, seems to have gained unwarrantable importance because of its enduring nature. Unless the whole church in which such a niche existed fell into complete decay, the niche would naturally remain. I shall have more to say of this presently. It is clear that such a niche would not have a door.

Take the second group—tombs of founders either of the church or of the sepulchre. Father Feasey quotes the will of John Chandler, of Brasted, Kent, A. D. 1431, who desires his tomb "*ubi sepulchrum dominicum tempore paschali stare consuetum est;*" and the will of Thomas Windsor of Stanwell, Middlesex, 1485, who demands a plain "tombe of marble of competent height to the entent that yt may ber the blessid body of our Lord and the sepulture at the tyme of Eastre to stond upon the same." [1] Father Feasey cites five similar wills, all of about 1500:

Of Eleanore, widow of Sir Roger Townsend of Norfolk (1499);

Of Sir Nich. Latimer of Dorsetshire (1505);

[1] H. J. Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial,* London, 1897, p. 139.

Of John Pympe, Kent (1496);
Of Sir John Saron, London, (1519);
Of Thomas Fienes, Lord Dacre, Sussex (1531).[2]

It is noteworthy that all the testators choose to be buried in the place evidently well recognized as the place of the sepulchre, and are simply providing a handsome and durable tomb to take the place of a formerly used portable one.

"Upon these often richly sculptured altar tombs," says Father Feasey, "as also within the less elaborate and more simple arched recesses, the movable sepulchre of wood, richly carved, gilded, and painted with sacred Passion Story and legend, were set and surrounded by a frame which served a double purpose of keeping off the crowds of devotees as well as a support for the numerous lights by which it was illuminated."[3]

In this comment it is obvious that the writer is thinking of the casket or coffer alone when he uses the term *sepulchre.* But as I have already insisted—and I believe am abundantly borne out by the evidence from the plays which I have given—the term frequently implies the whole structure, canopy, frame, and coffer.

The third group in Father Feasey's classification, that of the temporary structure (a movable sepulchre of wood, surrounded by a frame), is in my belief the most important group of all, and the one chiefly to be looked to to furnish an explanation of the rubrics of the plays. For of the remaining categories the fourth does not seem to be sufficiently frequent, nor, in some cases, well enough adapted for presenting a play, to be important to the in-

[2] *The Easter Sepulchre,* in *Ecclesiastical Review,* XXXII, Nos. 4, 5.
[3] *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial,* p. 141.

vestigation. The fifth group, that of the special chapel, is rare.[4]

Although he gives us a considerable account of the dressing and adornment of the sepulchre, including the hangings, canopy, and curtains,[5] Father Feasey seems to lose sight of these adjuncts when he is discussing his fourth group. He is more concerned with the coffer—"a gabled coffer or coped chest" he says, "very similar if not identical with the portable shrine for relics, carried about in procession . . . This," he adds, "stood upon a frame fashioned as a bier . . . a fact proved by many inventories." Interested in this bier-like frame, he appears to overlook the inferences that may be drawn from the evidence which he adduces. I shall take the liberty, therefore, to quote him for my own purpose—using his material with a different emphasis.

Now as to the surrounding frame or house-like structure, I quote passages given by Father Feasey as from Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Inventories, "especially those taken at the Reformation period." [6]

1455. *St. Ewen, Bristol.*

"The apparail of the tre (wood) and the Ire (iron) made for the sepulchre with the clothes steyned ther to ordeyned."

1513. *St. Lawrence, Reading.*

"*Item,* payd for settying upp the frame aboute the sepulcre"; in 1514, five pence was paid to the carpenters at the removal of the sepulchre.

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[4] *Ibid.,* p. 151.

[5] The holy sepulchre being duly set up, its adornment was proceeded with. Hangings and curtains of rich brocade, silks, velvets, tapestries and cloths stained and painted with sacred story, were hung round about it, a canopy suspended over it, rich palls of work thrown over the sepulchre itself, while a veil of lawn or gossamer was drawn before it, to shield it in a measure from the view. *Ibid.,* pp. 151, 152.

[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 142-145.

1520. *St. Margaret, Westminster.*

"For setting up of *God's house* and taking it down again."

1552. *Thame, Oxon.*

"*Item,* for makyng . . . ye sepulcre iij^d^" . . . "for naile in settinge upe the sepulcrye, j^d^."

1552. *Kent (St. Elphege), Canterbury.*

"*Item,* a sepulcre with a frame whereof the parson hath the one side."

1554. *London, St. Michael's, Cornhill.*

"*Item,* paide for makynge of frame of the Sepulker." "Paide for hookes & staples to the same frame."

1555. *Ludlow.*

"Paid to John Blunt for the tymber of the sepulcre, and his help to makynge of the same, vj^s^."

"Paid to Stephen Knight, for makynge of viij rynges and viij staples and a hoke of yron for the sepulcre, xii^d^."

1555. *London, St. Michael's, Cornhill.*

"Paide for the Joyenour for makinge the sepullere, the Paskall and the Tenebras[7] to the same," and for the "nailes and tacks" for the sepulchre—a frequent charge in these accounts.

At *St. Mary, Woolnorth,* "a sepulchre chest that stood in the quere," cost xx^d^; mention being also made of "a sharyne [shrine?] for the sepulture covered with a cloth of tyssue."

1557. *Ludlow.*

"*Item,* to him for iij dayes worke in settynge up the sepulcrye, xvij^d^."

The foregoing items Father Feasey cites in illustration of his statement that the sepulchre (meaning the coffer) was set upon a 'frame fashioned as a bier.' It seems much more probable, considering the cost and the work involved in setting up and taking down these frames, that they were an enclosure about the coffer. The frame in the following description, also quoted by Father Feasey, has a door in it.

[7] I. e., the great Easter candle, and the lights to be extinguished on Good Friday.

Time of the Reformation, MS. of Sir Roger Martin, of Melford Place.

Suffolk: *Long Melford Church.*

"In the quire was a fair painted frame of timber to be set up about Maundy Thursday, with holes for a number of fair tapers to stand in before the Sepulchre, and to be lighted in service time. Sometimes it was set overthwart the quire before the High Altar, the Sepulchre being always placed and finely garnished at the north end of the High Altar; between that and Mr. Clopton's little chapel there is a vacant place of the wall, I think, upon the tomb of one of his ancestors; the said frame with the tapers was set near to the steps going up to the said altar. Lastly [i. e., *latterly*], it was used to be set up along Mr. Clopton's aisle, with a door made to go out of the rood-loft into it."—Neale: *Views of Most Interesting Churches*, etc., Vol. II.

The tomb alluded to, Father Feasey explains, is a rich canopied altar-tomb, on the north side of the chancel, between the choir and the Clopton chapel.[8]

Let us compare with the foregoing the account given by Alfred Heales, who, writing in *Archæologia,* in 1868, was the first to give anything like a complete account of the Easter Sepulchre:[9]

> There can be little or no doubt that it was a temporary wooden structure framed so as to be easily put up when required, and afterwards removed, and that it stood on the north side of the choir or chancel. There are, however, numerous high or altar tombs set in a recess in the like position, which were probably inclosed within the framework and served as the 'sepulchre' itself; some of these were expressly intended for the purpose, as appears by documentary evidence.

Heales thinks, moreover, that the *recess* in the wall, when it occurred, "served merely as a nucleus" within the

[8] *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 147.

[9] Alfred Heales, *Easter Sepulchres*, in *Archæologia*, Vol. XLII (1868), p. 288.

"temporary wooden structure." Of churches having the recesses, he enumerates the following:

> (1) St. Peter, Dorchester; (2) Writtle, Essex; (3) Tring, Herts; (4) Cheriton and Hythe, Kent; (5) Ravenham, Norfolk [engraved in Boutell's *Christian Monuments*]; (6) Stanton St. John, Oxfordshire; (7) Gorleston, Suffolk; (8) Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey; (9) Bosham, (10) Catsfield, (11) Eastbourne, (12) Lancing, (13) and Ore, all in Sussex; and (14) All Hallows, Barking.

In the overwhelming majority of churches, he remarks, there is no such tomb-like recess; but we do find, very frequently indeed, a small arched, or square headed recess to the north-west of the altar . . . always with marks of hinges. This is not a sepulchre but an *aumbry*, or closet for the sacred vessels.[10]

Heales cites as evidence of the temporary quality of the sepulchres the following passages from church accounts:

1551. *Reading, St. Mary* (accounts at rebuilding).
Receyvid of Henry More, for the sepulker xiiis, iiijd.
Receyvid of John Webbe for the toumbe of brycke, xijd.

1476. *St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London.*
Papur, nayles & paynt p' le sopokeyr canope . . . hokes . . . nayles . . . iijd.

1555. *Leverton, Lincolnshire.*
For maykking of the sepulkkure howyse . . . iijd.
For payntyng of a cloth for the saym . . . ijs.

The item of the canopy brings me to the consideration of the covering and adorning of the sepulchre. The earliest external evidence (supplementing the internal that I have given from the plays), is according to Father Feasey the following from the Treasurer's Inventory of Salisbury Cathedral, *circa* 1214-1222:

> *Item, velum unum de serico supra sepulchrum.*

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

This, of course, may mean a pall spread over the coffer. The following, however, are clearly different; they also are cited by Father Feasey,[11] and are from Churchwardens' Accounts:

1431. *London. St. Peter Cheap.*

"Item j canapy steyned with iij staves and iij boles of golde and iiij faynes and j cloth for the sepulcre steynede."

1470. *London. St. Margaret Pattens.*

"Item, a Grete Cloth of Tapestri werke for to hang upon the wall byhynde the Sepulcur."

1485. *Southwark. St. Margaret.*

"Item, a lytell Cortyn of grene sylke for the hede of the sepulture." (Same church and date, "ij blew Cortyns [to] draw afore the sepulture.")[12]

37. Henry VI. *Bristol. St. Ewen.*

"A batyment to hang a cloth on ye sepulcre in the chancel ixd."

1550. *London. St. Dunstan in the East.*

"*Item,* a Sepulture cloth of cloth of golde."

"*Item,* a Canepye of cloth of golde wt iiij staves paynted Red belonging to the same."

1557. *Bristol. Christ Church.*

"For a small corde to stay ye canabye over ye sepulcre."

Much fuller is the record of a sepulchre at St. Stephen, Coleman Street, London, in 1466. Though this may not have been connected with a play—the wooden (?) angels on the sepulchre, and 'set in the do'r,' as well as the knights 'on the poste' would be unnecessary—yet it undoubtedly gives a right idea of the setting of the plays.

1466. *London, St. Stephen, Coleman Street.*

"*Item,* j sepulcur' on gyldyd, wt j frame to be set on wt iiij poste and cryste 'p to."

"*Item,* iiij trestell to have the sepult' downe wt iiij ironys to be'r ht vp wt."

"*Item,* iiij Angell for to be set on the posts wt iij sencs 'ij gyldyd and ij not gylgyt."

[11] In *Ecclesiastical Review,* Vol. XXXII, Nos. 4 and 5.

[12] *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial,* p. 153.

"*Item,* iiij grete angell to be set on the sepulcur' wt dyu's small angell."

"*Item,* ij steyned clothes wt the apostoll and the ppete [prophets?] bettyn wt golde wt the crede."

"*Item,* viij bar'es bettyn wt golde to be set abowte the sepulcur' wt dyus small pyns."

"*Item,* iiij knyghte to be set on the poste befor the do'r."

"*Item,* j angyll to be set in the do'r."

"*Item,* j canape steyned wt a son of Golde to heng on the sepulcur' at ester'."

"*Item,* j Rydyl (canopy) steyned wt a chalix and the fygur' of the sacrament on hyt." [13]

The sepulchre according to the Durham Rites was "set up on Good Fryday after the Passion, all covered with red velvet and embroidered with gold." [14]

Other references to the rich hangings of the sepulchre are given by Father Feasey:

The inventory of 3 Edward VI. of *St. Dunstan in the East* shows the sepulchre cloth there to have been of Cloth of Bawdkyn; at *St. Stephen, Westminster,* of Cloth of Gold with red fygury and blue tynsyn. The inventories of the sixth year at *Ashford, Kent,* one of white sarcenet and two of green silk; at *All Saints, Canterbury,* red and blue chamlett; *St. Elphege,* "ij chaunge of hangynges;" *Lewisham* had three of linen and one of silk; at *Braborne* "a clothe of silke was used to be laid upon the sepulcre." Of the two at *St. Christopher le Stock* "one was steyned with the Passion, the other full of white leves;" *St. Mary, Wimbledon,* had two of "cors clothe of gold;" at *Bucklebury, Berks,* "ij paynted clothes wer wount to cover the sepulcre;" while at *Nattendon* in the same county, the sepulchre cloth was of black velvet with "a crosse of Clothe of Golde wrought Apon the same;" and at *Farley, Surrey,* of red and green silk. At *Sarratt* and *Hunsdon, Herts,* the clothes were of yellow silk popinjay.

Not infrequently rich articles of dress were bequeathed by will for this purpose, as the bequest of the wife of Lord Bardolph (Chamberlain to Henry VI.), who left by will to *Denington Church, Suffolk,* "a purple gown with small sleeves to adorn the Easter Sepulchre there."

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[13] *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial,* pp. 166, 167.

[14] *Ibid.,* pp. 170, 171. (*Durham Rites,* Surtees Society, pp. 10, 11).

> Frequent charges also appear in the accounts for "small cordes to the sepulchre," or for "whipcord to draw the curtain of the same sepulchre;" for "pynnys," "nailes," "greate tackes" and "sylke poynts" and "pack thred" to "pyne clotes" about it, and to keep the palls, etc., in place; likewise charges for dressing the Sepulchre,—the churchwardens of *Ludlow* in 1555-6 paying one Thomas Season xijd for thus 'dressing' the sepulchre.[15]

The bequeathing of arras or tester-beds to go to the adorning of the Easter Sepulchre, is a curious custom evidence of which is given also by Father Feasey. "It will be readily seen," he says, "that these handsome bequests were nothing less than the canopies and hangings complete of the tester-beds so highly prized in those days. . . . often splendid examples of the embroiderer's craft." Thus Elizabeth Hatfield of Hedon, York, bequeathed in 1509 to her parish church:

> "j ares (arras) bed *ea intentione quod quolibet anno die obitus mei cooperuerit super sepulchrum meum et mariti mei et ad ornamentum sepulcri Domini tempore Paschali et Sacramenti, dum valet et durabit.*"[16]

Alfred Heales, in the earlier article (in *Archæologia*) cites several instances of the bequeathing of rich cloths and tapestries for the decoration of the Easter Sepulchre.

III

The Form of the Altar

As I have already hinted in the first part of this study, and from time to time during the course of it, my theory as to the origin of the form of the *sepulchrum* is simply that it was an imitation of the high altar. First there

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 155, 156.
[16] *Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 4 and 5.

was the ancient office of the *Depositio Crucis,* which emphasized the symbolism of the altar as the tomb of Christ. When the *Quem Quaeritis* trope developed into a dramatic presentation of the Easter story, this took place first of all at the high altar. When, a little later, the Easter plays began to be enacted away from the high altar, it was either to a secondary altar in the north side of the church, or to a temporary structure called the *sepulchrum,* that they were first transferred.

Inasmuch as the ceremony of the burial of the cross came to be combined with the reservation of the Host (consecrated on Maundy Thursday to last over until Easter) this transference is natural. For the last time I quote from the learned author of *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial:*

> In the earlier times of tabernacles it would seem to have been necessary to reserve at a secondary altar, because it was not considered proper to say Mass at any altar at which the Blessed Sacrament was in reservation. Hence probably arose the custom of preparing a secondary altar on Maundy Thursday, which would naturally lead to the custom of providing some special place or Réposoir. Then by way of simplification (?) they began to combine this with the Sepulchre, as did the *Benedictines* of *St. Maur.*[1]

It is of prime importance, therefore, to understand the structure and appearance of the ancient altars.

Very anciently, probably from the time of the catacombs, when it was especially necessary to protect the holy vessels and elements, and the altar proper, from contamination, it was the custom to construct over the holy table a canopy supported by pillars. In the early centuries such an altar with its canopy resembled pretty closely the little shrines of the pagan deities: classic architecture, indeed, is a direct source here, as it was in the case of the first

[1] *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial,* p. 176.

Christian churches. For example, I may refer to an altar represented in a mosaic of *St. George, Thessalonica* (Saloniki), of which there is a cut in Lawrie's *Monuments of the Early Church.*[2] (See Figure 1). Gilbert Scott says that the canopy, or baldaquin, was common in England in Saxon times.[3]

At Coventry in the fifteenth century, the craft of wiredrawers had special charge of the maintenance of the canopy over the high altar of the church of *Saint Michael:*

> The crafte of the wiredrawers shall kepe the Canape ouer the hiȝe autur in saynt Michel in Couentre . . . the wich kepyng must haue cost & reparacion.

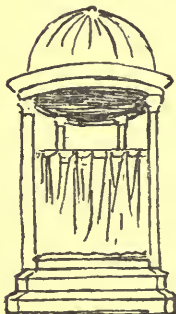

Fig. 1.

Thus reads an item under the date 1430 in the *Coventry Leet Book,* printed by the Early English Text Society.

Suspended from the canopy, and protected by it, hung the small vessel, called *ciborium,* which held the consecrated Host: for this reason the altar canopy is often spoken of as the *ciborium.* But since the term *ciborium* is properly restricted to the small vessel, or to the later developed *monstrance,* and tabernacle, I shall as far as possible avoid it in speaking of the canopy.[4]

The columns supporting the canopy were frequently—if not, in fact, always—fitted with rods running horizon-

[2] Walter Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church,* New York, 1901, p. 332.

[3] Gilbert Scott, *Essay on the History of English Church Architecture,* London, 1881.

[4] For full discussion of the canopies and their evolution see:

Wilhelm Lübke, *Ecclesiastical Art in Germany* (transl.), London, 1871, pp. 124 *et seq.*

Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine,* Macmillan, 1912, p. 27 *et seq.*

tally, on which curtains were hung so that the altar could be made private during the *secretum*.[5]

Yrjö Hirn says, "It appears from certain old pictures and from marks on the columns of some of the 'ciboria' preserved, that the altar space had earlier been closed in by movable curtains. It was thus a complete little house surrounding the place for the altar sacraments." [6]

Michel, in the first volume of his great *Histoire de l'Art*, says, "Entre les colonnes du ciborium, des rideaux de riches étoffes glissaient sur des verges de métal et se fermaient au moment de la consécration." [7]

The canopy over the high altar of *San Clemente* at Rome, which antedates the seventh century, is a representative of the rectangular type as opposed to the domed canopy seen in the Thessalonica mosaic.

The following somewhat random list of canopied altars, accompanied by references, wherever possible, to books containing illustrations of them, is given to show something of their evolutions of form and elaboration. At first classical or Byzantine, the canopies respond in succeeding ages to the varying types of medieval architecture, although some of the earliest forms are preserved or copied down to the present day. Thus the canopy of *San Clemente*, which is still preserved, is of a type always popular in Italy: Giotto pictures just such a canopy in his picture of the Jewish temple when he paints the Presentation of the Virgin for the *Capella dell' Arena* at Padua (see Venturi, Vol. v, p. 308); it will be recognized as a familiar type in Figure 2 (of my sketches), which is the altar of *S. Elia* near Nepi. A modern example of the Byzantine type is to be seen in the Church of *St. Michael*, Brooklyn (see

[5] Lübke, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[6] Yrjö Hirn, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[7] Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. I, p. 106.

Magazine of Christian Art, 1907, Vol. I, Number 2, page 57).

What form the ancient altar canopy of *St. Peter's* at Rome had in the ninth century I do not know, but it was made of silver; [8] perhaps it was similar to the canopy shown in Pinturicchio's painting of the interior of the old basilica of *St. Peter's* about 1500 (election of Æneas Sylvius to the Papacy); [9] but certainly it was not like the ornate canopy by Bernini which covers *St. Peter's* high altar today.

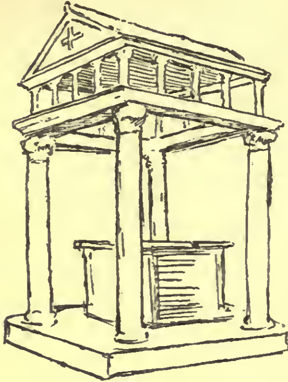

Fig. 2.

Altars and Pictures of Altars

1. Picture in mosaic of *St. George, Saloniki* (Thessalonica). Saec. VI. Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church,* New York, 1901, p. 332. (My Figure 1).
2. *Rome. San Clemente.* Before Saec. VII. (Leader Scott, *Cathedral Builders,* New York, 1899, p. 146).
3. *Milan. Sant' Ambrogio.* Saec. VIII-IX (Baedeker says XII):
   ". . . displays very clearly the mixture of Byzantine and Italian influence." (H. H. Cunynghame, *European Enamels,* London [1906], p. 58).
4. *Nepi* (near). *S. Elia.* Saec. X or XI. (Arthur L. Frothingham, *Monuments of Christian Rome,* Macmillan, 1908, p. 181). (My Figure 2).

[8] Lübke, *op. cit.,* p. 124.

[9] Fresco in Cathedral Library, Siena; painted between 1502 and 1509.

5. Picture in MS., *Vita Sancti Benedicti.* Saec. XI. This shows a very common type of representation of an altar, a plain dome supported by pillars. A coffin lies before it, and two great candles stand beside. (Venturi, Vol. III, pp. 753-754). (My Figure 3).
6. Picture in *Fresco,* Lower Church of *San Clemente, Rome.* Saec. XI. This shows canopy like the preceding, but with curtains. (Frothingham, *Monuments,* etc., p. 317).
7. Picture in MS. Bibl. Nat., lat. 17716. Saec. XII. This shows Pope Urban II consecrating canopied altar. (Michel, Vol. II, part I, p. 307).
8. Pictures in MS. Greek *Octateuch.* Saec. XII. Numerous pictures, meant to represent Hebrew altar, show form similar to Christian altar in the preceding pictures (5, 6, 7), even in some cases having a cross at the top of the domed canopy.

FIG. 3.

(*Miniatures de l'Octateuque Grec de Smyrne,* preface by D.-C. Hesseling, Leyden, 1909, *passim,* especially pp. 63, 66, 76; plates 197, 213, 256).
9. Picture in mosaic, *St. Mark's, Venice.* *Circa* 1173. This shows a slightly more decorated canopy, with rods for curtains. (*Burlington Mag.,* Vol. XVII, p. 41).
10. Picture in window at *Mans.* Saec. XIII. Meant to represent Hebrew temple, this shows canopied altar like those in the *Octateuch* of Smyrna (8), surmounted by a cross: picture is Presentation of the Virgin. (Michel, Vol. II, Part I, p. 383).
11. *Rome. S. Paolo-fuori-le-mura.* 1285. ARNOLFO DI

CAMBIO, the Florentine, designed the Gothic canopy (of the high altar) which rests on four columns of red porphyry. A modern canopy much higher and larger rises above that of Arnolfo. (Venturi, Vol. IV, p. 81 *et seq.*).[10]

ALTAR TOMBS AND CANOPIED MONUMENTS

It must be kept in mind that the altar constantly symbolized the tomb of Christ. And just as great dignitaries sought to be buried under or near the high altar, as that was the most holy and consecrated place, so others would have their tombs under secondary altars; or, as we have seen in the wills quoted by Father Feasey, would have their tombs made in the form of altars in that place where the body of the Lord (the cross with consecrated Host) was laid in Holy Week.

Altar tombs, therefore, I believe, have a direct bearing upon the main point of this study—*i. e.,* the influence of the architecture of the altar upon the Easter *Sepulchrum.*

The canopied tomb of the Emperor Federigo II, in the *Cathedral of Palermo,* though it has a coped coffer and six instead of four pillars, is plainly influenced by altars of the type of *San Clemente* and *S. Elia* (my Figure 2). The thirteenth-century Gothic canopy over the tomb of Dagobert I, in the Abbey of *Saint-Denis,* bears the same relation to the Gothic altar canopies.

Viollet-le-Duc gives an excellent example of a canopied altar-tomb with two sculptured *thurifers,* one on either side, drawing back curtains to disclose the recumbent image of the bishop whose monument it is: the image lies

[10] Numerous examples of Gothic canopies (he calls them *ciboria*) are to be found represented in Venturi. Almost any work on ecclesiastical architecture will give examples.

high upon a table-like coffer or altar.[11] These *thurifers* are wingless, but otherwise like the angels so often seen on altar-tombs.

The altar-tomb of the Cardinal d'Aquasparta in *Santa Maria in Aracoeli* [12] (and others like it, for it is a familiar type) is another example: here we have a Gothic canopy with rods (as if for curtains), and carven angels, on either side of the recumbent image of the Cardinal, holding curtains which enclose the back and sides. (My Figure 4). The image is sculptured as though lying on the top of a coffer over which a cloth is draped. So in stone is perpetuated the 'lying in state' of this dignitary. And the appurtenances of such a lying in state, if my hypothesis be correct, were distinctly reminiscent of the Easter sepulchre. The altar-tombs with their canopies, their table-like coffers, their angels upholding a pall or drawing curtains,[13] give us some idea of the canopied *sepulchra* with their choir-boy angels who on Easter morning showed that the tomb was empty:

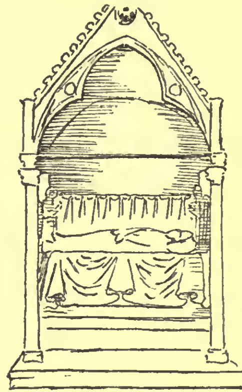

Fig. 4.

non est hic, surrexit!

Catafalques

Two contemporary records of early sixteenth-century catafalques will serve to emphasize the relationship be-

[11] Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture*, Vol. IX, p. 55 (article, *Tombeau*, Fig. 25).

[12] Frothingham, *Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 251.

[13] Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, Vol. IV, *passim*.

tween the architecture of the high altar and the appurtenances of burial. In these pictures we see also one characteristic of the Easter Sepulchre which does not appear in the sculptured altar-tombs—the numerous candles which were set upon it. After the darkness of Good Friday and Easter Eve, the Sepulchre was often brilliantly illuminated for Easter Day.[14]

Fig. 5.

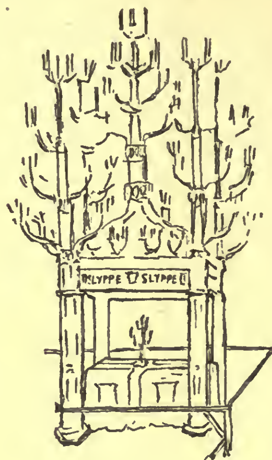

Fig. 6.

1514. Picture (miniature) in ms. *Trespas de l'Hermine regrettée;* in Library of M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot.[15] This shows the 'chapelle ardente' (catafalque) of Anne of Brittany, Queen of France, in the church of *St. Sauveur,* Blois, January 9, 1514. (See Figure 5).

[14] See Heales, *Easter Sepulchres,* and Father Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial,* for full evidence as to the 'Sepulchre Lights,'—the great 'Paschal' and the 'tenebrae candles.'

[15] Paul Lacroix, *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages,* New York, 1876, p. 495.

1532. Drawing on Mortuary Roll.[16] This shows the 'herse' (catafalque) of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, set with hundreds of candles, canopied, and 'fenced in' as it were by an additional frame. (See Figure 6).

The canopies of both these catafalques suggest at once the late development of altar canopies.

In connection with these catafalques, it is worth while to consider the custom of erecting canopies over low-lying table-tombs: temporary canopies of cloth supported upon a frame set up for a special occasion. Viollet-le-Duc gives a design showing a reconstruction of such a canopy, and showing also the disposition of candles about the tomb. Places for fitting in the pillars of the canopy are found at the corners of the stone base:

> C'est aux angles de ce socle de pierre que l'on retrouve presque toujours la trace de scellements de métal ou de bases de colonettes, soutenant l'armature de fer sur laquelle on jetait une étoffe aux anniversaires ou à certaines occasions.[17]

This, then, is not an altar-tomb nor a catafalque, but something that partakes a little of the nature of both. Inasmuch as it is temporary, set up just on anniversaries or special occasions, it is also suggestive of the temporary form of the Easter Sepulchre.

It remains now to speak of the representations in art of the Sepulchre of Christ. Thus may be completed the cycle of relationships between the high altar, the private tomb, and the *Sepulchrum*.

[16] W. H. St. John Hope, *English Altars from Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1899, plate xiii.

[17] Viollet-le-Duc, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 64. (*Tombeau*, Fig. 29.)

IV

The Tomb of Christ in Art

In this portion of my discussion I am not dealing with most of the representations of the *Resurrection,* which have been so fully dealt with by W. Meyer,[1] for that is a matter which concerns the *mysteries* rather than the *liturgical* plays,—but with the pictures especially which show the entombment of Christ or the visit of the holy women to the tomb on Easter morning.

The list which I shall give is not intended to be an exhaustive catalogue of the pictures of the tomb of Christ, but, rather a representative one. For my purpose (that of relating these pictures to the architecture of the altar, and to the form of the *sepulchrum* of the liturgical plays) it is sufficient to indicate three types:

i. The tomb represented as a little building with two folding doors, or a rectangular doorway.

ii. The tomb represented as an upright hollow in a rock. This more literally adheres to the biblical account (Matt. xxvii, 60: Mark xv, 46) of Joseph of Arimathea's sepulchre hewn out of the rock. It likewise bears some resemblance to the classical tradition of representing a grave—as seen in Pompeiian frescoes, and imitated in the raising of Lazarus in the Christian Art of the catacombs and earliest sarcophagi.

iii. The tomb represented as a structure almost or exactly identical with the canopied altars I have discussed in the preceding chapters.

[1] W. Meyer, *Wie ist die Auferstehung Christi dargestellt worden?* in *Nachrichten der K. Gesell. der Wissen.*, Philol.-histor. Klasse, 1903, Heft 2, pp. 236-254 (Göttingen).

There are also, it is no more than right to add, a number of representations of the coffer alone—in two cases very clearly related to Easter plays, too—without a sign of a canopy or enclosure. This, however, does not vitiate the hypothesis which I am endeavoring to establish, since either because of crowded space, or a desire to concentrate attention upon the figures, the artist might easily omit the superstructure of the tomb.

But that my third group should be so large and so circumstantial as it is, explaining so satisfactorily the rubrics of the plays, and the church records of the *sepulchra,* and illustrating so aptly the form of the medieval altar, is to my mind most convincing. To be sure, there are details of the decoration of the *sepulchrum*—the lights, the curtains and hangings, and the additional frame—missing from these pictures of the tomb of Christ, but the essential things which relate it to the architecture of the altar are there—the canopy and pillars. The purpose of the curtains on the *sepulchrum* to conceal the fact that the tomb is empty when the holy women come to anoint the body of their Lord, is, of course, purely dramatic, and has no importance to the artist who is supposed to be picturing not the *sepulchrum* of his parish church, but the tomb in the Holy Land in which the Lord was buried by Joseph of Arimathea and the Apostles. The curtains and appareling of the *sepulchrum* serve to make it an enclosure, but the artist knows that according to Matthew and Mark the tomb was hewn in rock. Even were he inclined in this particular, as in so many others, to be as it were obsessed with the spectacle that he has had before his eyes, and consequently tempted to include curtains in his picture—even so, the moment that he is picturing is that after the curtains in the play are withdrawn, when the angel point-

ing to the tomb and coffer cries, *non est hic, surrexit!* The soldiers guarding the tomb, however, are sometimes shown in the pictures as though still sleeping.

Pictures of Christ's Tomb

i. *Little Building with two folding doors or a rectangular doorway.*

1. *Egypt.* Ivory relief (Collection Trivulce). Saec. IV.

   The sepulchre has two folding doors (decorated with Raising of Lazarus, etc.) one of which is open.

   An angel,—haloed but wingless,—seated at the left of the picture, points to the open door.

   One women kneels at the angel's feet; another (there are but two) stands.

   The sleeping soldiers are represented, in a panel above, beside a cupola-shaped structure with three windows and a conical roof. (Michel, Vol. I, Part I, p. 263).

2. *Syria.* Miniature in Syrian *Gospel of Zagba* (in Laurentian Library at Florence). Saec. VI (A. D. 586).

   This is strictly speaking a representation or symbol of the *Resurrection* (see W. Meyer,—note, page 700). Three rays of light burst from the folding doors, one of which is open. (Franz Von Reber, *History of Medieval Art* [transl.], New York, 1887, p. 97).

3. *Palestine.* Silver Ampulla (phial) of *Monza.* Saec. VII.

   Here the tomb is a small houselike structure apparently with two folding doors closed. The angel, winged, and holding a long staff, is seated on the right of the picture with his right hand raised: two women are on the left side of the tomb. One carries a box or

vase. (Ch. Bayet, *L'Art Byzantin,* Paris [1904], p. 97).

4. *Metz,* Miniature (initial D) in MS. *Sacramentaire de Drogon.* A. D. 826-855.

Here the tomb is a small rectangular building surmounted by a domed cupola; it has a rectangular doorway, but instead of folding doors like the preceding pictures, has a rectangular slab lying before the doorway. On this the angel, winged and bearing a long staff tipped with a cross (the resurrection symbol) is seated; he points to the women, who in this case are three, standing close together on the right. One carries a censer.

The sleeping soldiers are represented on the left. (Michel, Vol. I, Part I, p. 365).

ii. *Upright hollow in the rock.*

1. *Constantinople* (?) Gold plate, low-relief (now in the *Louvre*). Saec. IX.

This beautiful example of Byzantine *orfèvrerie* shows the angel, large, winged, bearing an ornamented staff of rank, seated before a little hill in the side of which is an upright hollow to which he points: in it are to be seen the *sudarium* ("wrapped together in a place by itself"—John xx, 7) and the linen clothes, which show that the Lord has arisen. Two women, without censer or vase, stand at the left. Traces of two sleeping soldiers, very small, are to be seen in the broken portion of the plate just below the tomb. (Paul Lacroix, *The Arts of the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance,* New York, 1875, p. 472; also, Bayet, *L'Art Byzantin,* Paris [1904], p. 209.

2. *Italy.* Painted crucifix with small pictures of the Passion in Byzantine style. Saec. XIII.

Composition in every essential precisely like the preceding.

It is to be noted that this type, which is by no means unusual, is quite different from that prescribed by the Byzantine Guide to Painting discovered by M. Didron: the Guide says "A great square tomb" . . . "marble tomb" . . . "A mountain and a stone tomb on the side" . . . "outside the tomb" . . . "before the tomb."[2]

The picture is in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence: photog. Brogi, no. 14681.

iii. *A canopied structure, open, supported on pillars* (like an altar canopy).

1. *Germany* (?) Relief. *Early Romanesque* period. (Soltykoff Collection in Paris).

In this, a canopy of angular design, supported on pillars, frames the large angel,—winged, seated upon the lid of the coffer, holding in his left hand the resurrection cross, motioning with his right towards the three holy women who from the left approach singly, bearing vessels. The sleeping soldiers are seen below the tomb. (Lübke, *Ecclesiastical Art in Germany,* London, 1871, p. 164).

2. *St. Gall.* Drawing in Antiphonal of Hartker. Saec. x.

This drawing (which I have traced for the frontispiece of this study) is at once the most satisfactory illustration of the relationship between the form of the altar canopy and the representations of the tomb of Christ; and at the same time, the closest of this

[2] Didron, *Christian Iconography,* translated from the French by E. J. Millington, and completed . . . by Margaret Stokes, Vol. II, London, 1891.

group in its association with the liturgical Easter play. It stands on the page of the Antiphonal just preceding the text of the *Quem Quaeritis.*

The tomb is represented by a Romanesque canopy supported on pillars, and between the pillars is a black rectangle in which are displayed the *sudarium* and *linteamina* (napkin and linen clothes). This rectangle is obviously an elevation, in defiance of perspective, of the interior of the coffer: this is what the holy women see when they stoop over,—as they do according to the rubrics of some plays and according to some of the other pictures,—to look into the sepulchre.

The *sudarium,* wrapped in a place by itself, and the linen grave clothes, are here, I have not a doubt, displayed in precisely the manner in which they were arranged for the performance of the play.

The angel is seated upon a marbled rectangle that represents the stone rolled away; with respect to the tomb, he is on the right hand (*in dextera parte*).

The three holy women, with two vases and a censer, are ready to cense the tomb (*tunc intrant et thurificant locum.*) It may be stretching a point too far, but do not the faces of these women suggest the three priests (*tres sacerdotes*) who played their parts with amices over their heads?

The singular high position of the soldiers (one apparently awake) of the watch, and the smaller domed structure between them, puzzled me very much at first. But I believe this is just an example of progressive action on a single background (the *décor simultané*): that is, the little domed structure may not be, as at first appears, a cupola on the top of the tomb's canopy, but another representation of the tomb, at an earlier time—during the watch of Good

Friday and Easter Eve. The soldiers, who are in a position of rest if you imagine them upon the ground instead of jutting out like gargoyles from the roof, are then perfectly intelligible. They had been represented in earlier art which was largely symbolical, and are included now as part of the tradition. (*Cf.* I, i, Egyptian ivory; *Cf.*, also, *No. 8,* below.) (*Paléographie Musicale,* Vol. II, ii, p. 227.)

3. *Clermont.* Capital of a column of *Notre Dame du Port.* Saec. XII.

This sculptured design I should have taken for an altar merely, had it not been for the angel on the altar's right, and the bearded saint swinging a censer on the other side. The winged angel points to the tomb, which is a dome-canopied altar. The bearded saint is most likely St. Peter, the first after the holy women to enter the sepulchre (see the apostle's scene in many of the later Easter plays).

(P. Frantz Marcou, *Album du Musée de Sculpture Comparée* [Trocadero], Paris, [after 1892], Plate 10.)

4. *Léon.* Tympanum of San Isidro. Saec. XII.

The tomb is represented by a coffer, behind which the angel sits, and the arch of a canopy supported by two pillars. The composition is so crowded that the angel's head and wings project outward over the coffer and completely out of the canopy.

The three Maries are crowded close to the tomb. (Michel, Vol. II, Part I, p. 249.)

5. *Spain.* Bas-relief, Santo Domingo de Silos. Saec. XII.

Here the arch overhead, the pillar, and the three Maries, are similar to those in 4, save that the composition is less crowded; the angel, in this relief, how-

ever, is seated on the lid which lies diagonally across the coffer.

(Michel, Vol. II, Part I, p. 225.)

6. *Midlum.* Illumination in Missal of the priest Henri (Collection of the Count Fürstenberg-Stammheim). Saec. XII (end.)

The angel—haloed and winged, and wearing ecclesiastical vestments—is seated on the lid (marbled like that in Hartker Antiphonal) lying diagonally across the coffer. The canopy and pillars are clearly drawn and cover the whole composition.

The Maries, at the right of the picture, bear a *cartel* with the words "*Quis revolvet . . .*"; the angel, one with the inscription, "*Jhesum q. queritis n e hic,*" etc.

This picture is the central one in a page divided like the *Biblia Pauperum.* The other compositions, types of the resurrection, are: Elijah raising the widow's son; Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza; Isaiah; Banias and lion; Phoenix; David and Goliath. One compartment also represents the soldiers watching at the tomb.

(Michel, Vol. II, Part I, p. 328.)

7. *Benevento.* Relief on Cathedral door. Saec. XII (end).

a. Burial of Christ: two men (Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus?) [3] stand, one at each end of the coffer; the one at the left holds the lid in his hands. The body of Christ lies in the coffer. The coffer (rectangular, strigilated) stands just in front of the round domed four-pillared canopy, which is exactly like the most familiar pictures of altar canopies.

[3] St. John mentions Nicodemus also with Joseph of Arimathea (John XIX, 39).

b. In the Easter scene the angel—winged and haloed—sits upon the coffer (in this case raised on feet). The canopy is seen back of and above him; the *ciborium* proper is apparent hanging under it.

The three Maries are at the left, bearing vessels.

I consider this relief very important because of its obvious linking of the sepulchre with pictures of altars. Compare for instance the miniature from the Life of St. Benedict described above (my Figure 3).

(Venturi, Vol. III, pp. 703 and 705.)

8. *Padua.* Illumination. A. D. 1170.

The angel is seated, on the right of the picture; the (two) Maries, at left of the central pillar. The coffer flat on the ground shows the folded sudary; its cover is marbled.

The canopy bears upon its battlemented top two sleeping soldiers.

(Venturi, Vol. III, p. 452.)

9. *Mantua.* Illumination in Missal D iii, 15 of *Bibl. Civica.* Saec. XIII.

Pillars divide this picture into three compartments. The angel—haloed and winged, and bearing a staff—is seated upon the marbled lid which lies obliquely across the compartment at the right.

The middle compartment, like the Hartker Antiphonal drawing, shows the interior of the coffer—with the sudary—upright, out of perspective; but a lamp or *ciborium*(?) hangs in this arch, and the marbled lid of the coffer is continued from the angel's compartment into this one.

The three Maries, with vessels, are in the third compartment, on the left of the picture.

(Venturi, Vol. III, p. 447.)

10. *Flanders.* Xylographic book, *Servatius-Legende.* Saec. xv (mid.)

St. Servatius is represented at the Holy Sepulchre, to which the Patriarch of Jerusalem had appointed him guardian. An angel appears to him: "Adoncq vint ung angele et luy comanda quil allast a Tongre."

A sarcophagus is shown, over which is a canopy supported by pillars. The whole is very like the preceding representations of the tomb of Christ.

(Hymans, H. S. (ed.), *Servatius-Legende,*—Graphische Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1911.)

One may compare with these representations in art the following description from the fifteenth-century English version of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis:*

Christis Sepulture wit ze / is caved inwith a stone
Like til a double chaumbre / with*inne* othere be thaym one
A littel chaumbre men fynde / first in the forthemast entring
Caved in a stone above / and noght beneth erth ligging
In lenght and als in brede / oythere halds about feet eght
And als a man may his hande / reche vppe, holdis the heght
Be a dore for this Chaumbre / to ane othere bot littel lesse
Yt is to say als of heght / in lengthe and als of brodenesse
And fro man be the littel dore / is entred the chaumbre foresaide
On the right half is the stede / where cristis swete body was laide
The whilk is als it ware a fo*ur*me / about the brede of thre fete
And fro that one walle to yt othere / shalle men fynde the lengthe yr of mete.
The heght negh a fote and a halfe / is fonden of the fo*ur*me forsaide
And noght holowgh be cause yt above / & noght with*inne* it was the body laide
This forme of the Sepulcre onely / of the pilgrimes has the name
Bot the Jewes alle the stone / with the chaumbres calles the same
The dore of the monument / was stopped with a grete stone
(*The Mirroure of Mans Saluacionne,* London, privately printed, 1888).

Doubtful Examples

Soissons. Ivory diptyque, (now at South Kensington Museum). Saec. xiii (end.)

In one part of this diptyque are crowded three scenes: the burial, the resurrection, and the harrowing of hell; in the other, the Maries at the tomb, the *Noli me tangere,* and the appearance of Christ to the other women. The arched niches being the same for all, I am in doubt whether or not I should interpret them as sepulchre canopies.

(Michel, Vol. II, Part I, p. 469.)

Florence. Relief by ANDREA PISANO on the Baptistery gate. Saec. XIII.

Burial of Christ: a pendent canopy of Gothic style overhangs the coffer. The absence of pillars makes me doubtful, though the canopy is unmistakably part of the picture: it has nothing to do with the decoration or frame of this door-panel.

(Frothingham and Marquand, *Text-book of the History of Sculpture,* New York, 1904, p. 149.)

THE COFFER WITHOUT CANOPY

I shall add here five examples of representations of the *coffer* of the tomb of Christ, without a canopy.

1. *Reichenau.* Illumination in parchment MS. No. 60 at Karlsruhe. Saec. XII.

   The angel—haloed and winged—is seated on the sarcophagus, of which only the outline of the upper edge is apparent, and holds up his right hand in sign of blessing to the three Maries approaching from the left. Two of the women bear vessels, one a censer.

   (F. J. Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters,* Karlsruhe, 1846, p. 8.)

2. *Modena.* Relief. *c.* 1159.

   The coffer is a sarcophagus with a heavy lid upon it, from under which hangs, in the middle, a folded

cloth—doubtless representing the sudary. The side of the coffer is decorated with two rows of circular designs.

The three Maries are bending over the coffer.

There is no angel.

That this relief is closely related to the plays I am led to believe, because an accompanying relief shows the three Maries purchasing ointments from a merchant. This is the only instance I happen to know of this subject's appearing in art: but it is a familiar scene in the later development of the Easter Sepulchre play.

(Venturi, Vol. III, pp. 270-1.)

3. *Cagliari.* Relief on pulpit in cathedral. A. D. 1260.

The coffer, like the preceding, is a sarcophagus, with heavy lid, from beneath which in the middle hangs a folded cloth. Two circular designs decorate the side, one on each side of the cloth.

The angel (now headless) is above the coffer as though flying, and carries a censer.

The women approach from the left, bearing vessels.

(Venturi, Vol. III, p. 920.)

4. *Gaeta.* Relief on candlestick of cathedral. Saec. XIII (end).

The coffer is a strigilated sarcophagus.

Two Maries stand, one leaning over and peering into the coffer.

An angel stands behind it and speaks to them. The mutilated carving shows traces of what seems to have been another angel. Venturi says "in" the coffer. I cannot distinguish this angel. Perhaps he was seated on the side, or (like the Cagliari angel) flying

just above. I know of no case in which the angel is surely represented as being *in* the coffer.

(Venturi, Vol. III, p. 658.)

5. *Orvieto.* MAITANI's relief on pilaster. 1339.

The angel sits on a sarcophagus; clothes show under the lid, which is not removed; he points with his right hand over his left shoulder.

The three Maries approach from the left.

(Venturi, Vol. IV, p. 351.)

CONCLUSION

The Easter Sepulchre, to summarize, if my hypothesis is accepted, was characteristically a little structure comprising a canopy supported by pillars (usually four), and capable of being enclosed with curtains or rich hangings, within which was to be found a low altar-like table to hold the coffer or sarcophagus. This structure might be wholly temporary, or might be built permanently over an actual tomb. In either case it was reminiscent, if not directly an imitation, of the early form of canopied altar. The pillars of the temporary sort were painted or gilded, and the canopy was very likely decorated in gilt and carving as well. About this little sepulchre-house there was sometimes placed a frame to support lights and keep back the devout onlookers. One great candle, the paschal candle, was doubtless always there as long as the Easter Play was given in the church.

It is a growing conviction with me that the form of the pageant-wagon in England, and the form of the little houses (*mansions*) representing different scenes in the stationary plays on the continent, were directly modelled on the *Sepulchrum*.

JOHN K. BONNELL.

XXV.—SPENSER AND THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

The ensuing paper seeks to trace for the first time one of the most important formative influences on the poet Spenser's youth; to make clear that it was at work in his schooldays at the Merchant Taylors' School, during his years at Pembroke College, and thereafter; to show that it shaped no inconsiderable part of *The Shepheardes Calendar* and *Mother Hubberds Tale;* and that to this influence is due whatever disfavor he encountered before his so-called "exile" into Ireland. I allude to Spenser's relations with the Bishop of Rochester.

Until recently Spenser has been connected with the Bishop of Rochester only by Grosart's happy conjecture that "Roffy" and "Roffynn" in the September eclogue of the *Calendar* represent "Roffiniensis," the Latinized form for Rochester.[1] In 1907 Gollancz added to this, from a book which Spenser gave to Harvey, the item that in 1578 Spenser was the secretary of the Bishop of Rochester. In Gollancz's copy of *The Treveiler of Ierome Turler,* imprinted at London, 1575, is written in Gabriel Harvey's handwriting: "Ex dono Edmundij Spenserij, Episcopi Roffensis Secretarij, 1578."[2] Gollancz, however, goes on to infer that the office was "no doubt gained for him by Gabriel Harvey"; and in this inference he subscribes to the tradition of scholarship that Harvey's friendship advanced Spenser,—for example, as is commonly stated, by introducing him to the circle of Sidney and Leicester. With this surmise I take issue.

[1] Grosart, I, p. 62.

[2] *Athenaeum,* 7 Dec. 1907, p. 732. It should be added that Harvey mentions this book in his letter to Spenser dated 23 Octob. 1579.

To begin with, Dr. John Young, subsequently Bishop of Rochester, had been headmaster of Pembroke College throughout five of Spenser's seven college years there. An association of five years should have sufficed to enable Young to choose for himself without Harvey's assistance—especially when we consider that the college consisted then of but a few scores of persons. On the other hand, while Spenser and Harvey lived together for years in Pembroke Hall, we have no allusion that gives assurance of intimacy prior to their interchange of books in 1578, when Spenser was already secretary to Rochester, and when Harvey was interceding for influence to gain a renewal of his fellowship. In Harvey's books prior to this—the *Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus* of 1577-8—I have searched in vain for allusions to Spenser, allusions made so profusely after the publication of *The Shepheardes Calendar*. It is not Spenser, therefore, who appears in accessible records as the recipient of favors.

To the contrary, there are positive grounds for holding that Young had felt during some years an active interest in Spenser. Prior to becoming headmaster of Pembroke College, Young had served in London as chaplain of Grindal, then Bishop of London, later Archbishop of Canterbury. Grindal during these years officiated annually as a public examiner at the Merchant Taylors' School, where Spenser studied and was examined.

The scene which one should picture is that of the yearly visitation—drawn from data in the Rev. H. B. Wilson's *History of the Merchant Taylors School* (London, 1812). The schoolmaster Mulcaster with three ushers presides over a group of some two hundred and fifty scholars, ranging from boys just able to read and write the catechism in Latin or English (this being the admission requirement) to boys of sixteen or more, ready for examination in

Horace, Homer, and the Hebrew Psalter. They are assembled "in the counsell howse, or late chappell, scituate on the south side of the long court . . . accompanied with such learned men as they can gett conveniently." These boys have been working from seven to eleven and one to five, with additional morning, noon, and evening prayers. Perhaps one of them—Edmund Spenser—who would have little mind for the forbidden cock-fighting or tennis play, stands revisioning some such scene as that of January, 1559:[3] "When Queen Elizabeth rode through the city she was received with a pageant of great splendour. At Temple Bar the last show was that of the two City Giants, Corineus and Gogmagog, who had between them a recapitulation of the whole pageant. Here the singing children made a 'noise'; while one of them, attired like a poet, bade the Queen farewell in the name of the City." Such a scene might dwell in the mind of the London-bred author of *The Faerie Queene.*

The public examination occurred annually throughout Spenser's schooldays. Grindal regularly and *ex officio* as Bishop of London heads the list of public examiners. And Spenser in *The Shepheardes Calendar* again and again praises Grindal (as Algrind) in terms of reverence. Now, Grindal and his chaplain Young were both Pembroke College graduates, of that line from whom Pembroke came to be called *collegium episcopale.* Spenser is one of the very few Merchant Taylors' boys who then went to Pembroke College,[4] and he went the second year that Young became headmaster, taking the place held erstwhile by Grindal.

Whether Young observed Spenser at these examinations

[3] Besant's *London,* Tudors, p. 264.

[4] Thomas White had founded thirty-seven fellowships at St. John's, Oxford.

is uncertain. His name as an examiner does not appear till 1572, when Spenser had been three years at college. But it is at least probable that Young at some time accompanied or served for his chief, among "such learned men as they can gett conveniently." In any case the young poet's preferment seems to have begun here. It will be recalled that he was repeatedly a beneficiary of the charity of Robert Nowell—both before and after his going to Cambridge—four times in all. From *The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell* we find that such money—not (explicitly) this money—was paid repeatedly on behalf of Grindal (pp. 2, 32) and once (p. 154) "at the sute of Mr Yonge of Chambridge for one of his parishioners in St. Martin's Ludgate (15 martch 1568)." The net is drawn still closer by the circumstance that Nowell's brother, Alexander, was also a public examiner, appearing with Grindal at the Merchant Taylors' School. Grindal, indeed, advanced him from the deanery of St. Paul's to the archdeaconry of Middlesex.[5] Under him Young held a prebend in St. Paul's.

At distances in time a natural hypothesis which accounts for all the facts is too often our nearest approach to knowledge. Spenser became Young's secretary; he was given free instruction and exceptional aid both in school and in college when Young was either in authority or closely associated with those in chief authority; and he was drawn (somewhat exceptionally) to the college of Young and Young's patron Grindal. Therefore, when he repeatedly styled himself in his *Calendar* "the Southerne shepheardes boye" (April, l. 21; September, l. 177), he had in mind probably more than his secretaryship.

The exceptional nature of this aid at college requires

[5] *Nowell's Catechism*, Parker Soc., 1853, p. ii.

detailed attention. It is not solely from Robert Nowell's money. In the Treasurer's Account Book—which Grosart transcribed vaguely and inaccurately,[6] Spenser is recorded with suspicious frequency (five times) as receiving sick pay. The items are:

1571,	between Lent and Trinity,	11½	weeks.
1572,	Midsummer,	4	weeks and 2 weeks.
	Michaelmas,	7	weeks.
(1573,	April to July: down all in all).		
1574,	September,	6	weeks.
	October to Epiphany,	13	weeks (eight scholars were ill of the plague).

These figures excite at first only a tender solicitude for Spenser's health, until closer scrutiny reveals evidence of Elizabethan graft. The Merchant Taylors' boys have a disproportionate share in the sick pay.

1570:	1	of 1.	1573-4:	4 (or more)	of 9.
1571-2:	9 (or more)	" 13.	1574-5:	3	" 3.
1572-3:	2	" 2.	1575-6:	2	" 2.

The total is 21 of 29, surely a large proportion for a very small percentage of scholars. And 5 were for Spenser. The six boys involved were all either Nowell beneficiaries, or scholars chosen by Watts, another public examiner at the Merchant Taylors' School and chaplain of Grindal. When Young ceased to be head master, Spenser's chronic sick pay ceased.

It is clear, I hope, that Young was not indebted to Harvey for first calling his attention to Spenser. Indeed,

[6] The figures below are supplied from a transcription by Edward Mims, now Librarian of Pembroke College.

opportunities were plentiful for Young to have known Spenser in early boyhood. He, like Spenser, was London-born and London-bred. Born in Cheapside, he became a scholar of the Mercers' School nearby. In the early sixties he held a variety of ecclesiastical livings in London: St. Giles, without; the rectory of St. Martin's, Ludgate; the prebend of North Musgrave in Southwell Collegiate Church; and the rectory of St. Magnus by London Bridge. Whether Spenser lived in any of these parishes we do not know: if in East Smithfield, according to tradition, that was at least close by St. Magnus. Were we dealing with a problem in Cynewulf, these circumstances might permit sketching a picture of the youthful and active pastor drawn to a frail but promising boy.

However early the association began, it remains hardly disputable that the ecclesiastical patronage of Grindal and Young guided Spenser from his schooldays till he moved, as secretary of Rochester, in the better circle of London. For some reason not caring to enter the Church—a reason perhaps clear enough from his satires on worldly churchmen and pastoral neediness in the *Calendar* and *Mother Hubberds Tale*—and for some reason not securing a fellowship at Pembroke, where Young had ceased to be headmaster,—he went southward for his "more preferment." Then disaster befell his patrons. Grindal, having refused to carry out the Queen's orders to suppress irregular preaching, was dispossessed of civil jurisdiction: Spenser in the July eclogue (l. 216) alludes to it. With Grindal's eclipse, Young's promotion stopped for the rest of his life. Even Whitgift's friendship, even long after, failed to move Burleigh to advance Young. He died, in 1605, Bishop of Rochester.

Spenser's hope of preferment accordingly soon led him to another employment, just how soon is uncertain. It

was certainly before May 24th, 1580, when Harvey's last of the *Three Proper, and wittie, familiar Letters* recalls to Spenser "a goodly Kentishe Garden of your old Lords." The old (i. e., former) lord must be the lord bishop, and the garden his grounds at Bromley in Kent. Were the allusion made in July, when Spenser had become secretary to Lord Grey of Wilton, it might refer to a subsequent patron; but Spenser can hardly have been offered that employment before Grey's appointment as Lord Deputy to Ireland (made officially in July), and Grey wrote to Leicester as late as May 12th, still expressing doubt as to whether he would be appointed. The absence of any mention of Grey in the publication of the *Three Letters,* the preface to which is dated "This xix of June. 1580," also tells against an early association with Grey. And Geoffry Fenton sought the position, in a letter to Leicester, as late as July 10th.

Between his periods of service under Young and Grey, Spenser seems to have regarded himself as being for some time under the direct patronage of Leicester. In *The Ruines of Time* (l. 225) he styles himself Leicester's Colin Clout, and implies that he "did goodness by him gaine" and "his bounteous minde did trie." The association was sufficient to encourage Spenser to contemplate publishing poems in Leicester's honor; as, the dedication of *The Shepheardes Calendar,* a heroic poem suggested in the October eclogue, and the *Stemmata Dudleiana*[7] mentioned by him as already written (in the letter to Harvey dated 10 April, 1580). He did, in fact, dedicate to Leicester a translation of the Pseudo-Virgilian *Culex—Virgil's Gnat* (published in 1591), and prefixed

[7] This was in Latin. Harvey in his letter of 7 April, 1580 styles it "your Latine *Stemmata* Dudleiana" (p. 620).

a sonnet, proclaiming himself "wronged" and Leicester "the causer of my care." He dated a letter to Harvey from Leicester House, with tidings—which Harvey makes light of—that he expects to go to France: "which will be, (I hope, I feare, I thinke) the next weeke, if I can be dispatched of my Lorde. I goe thither, as sent by him, and maintained most what of him: and there am to employ my time, my body, my minde, to his Honours service." The allusions range from before 10 April, 1579 to 10 April, 1580.

How far these addresses imply that Spenser held a tangible place among Leicester's dependents is not clear. He was not at pains to minimize the association. Nor is Mr. Greenlaw (*Mod. Lang. Assn. Publ.,* Sept. 1910, pp. 535-561). Leicester's secretary Spenser certainly was not. William Atye held that post, as we know from Leicester's correspondence,[8] throughout 1579-80. The dating of a letter from Leicester House proves little. We have all, I suppose, written letters from places other than our residence. Spenser, in fact, wrote this letter at three sittings: at Leicester House, at Westminster, at Mistress Kirke's. He tells Harvey to address him "by Mistresse Kirke and by none other." This direction does not substantiate residence, and therefore employment, with Leicester. Mr. Greenlaw is disposed, however, to take seriously Spenser's letter and Latin verses—"Mox in Gallias navigaturi"—of 5 Oct., 1579 as evidence that Leicester contemplated sending the young poet on a confidential mission to France. Though in our day such a conclusion appear natural, amid Elizabethan literary artifices it amounts to a considerable assumption.

[8] 1579, Oct. 26 [No. 74]: R. Lloyd to Arthur Atye, secretary to the Earl of Leicester. 1580, Sept. 9 [CXLII, No. 9.]: Sir Henry Lee to Mr. Atey, Secretary to the Earl of Leicester.

In the first place, Harvey's reply of October 23d does not take Spenser seriously: " Me thinks I dare still wager . . . that you shall not, I saye, bee gone over Sea for all your saying, neither the next nor the nexte weeke." Secondly, Spenser, because of an accident, did not send his letter till October 16th, adding then two postscripts. In neither does he at all allude to this journey or any other participation in political matters. Mr. Greenlaw, to be sure, quotes: " Your desire to heare of my late being with her Maiestie, must dye in itselfe " as evidence (p. 537) " that he had been sent to the Queen on confidential business." But Harvey might as readily conclude that Spenser had not achieved the favor of an interview. If, therefore, Spenser really entertained such hope and was disappointed, the rebuff would seem to have been immediate, not postponed until after his publication of the *Calendar;* and this would be confirmed by his decision in the postscript of October 15th not to dedicate the *Calendar* to Leicester.

The ingenuousness, moreover, of the Harvey-Spenser letters is to be taken *cum grano salis.* Printed in the summer of 1580, the first three appeared with a preface dated " This xix of June "; the two others—those here in question—forming a second publication without preface. The preface apologizes for " not making them [the authors] privy to the Publications "; claims to have received them " at the fourthe or fifte hande." Few will credit the publication as uninspired by the authors. The author of the preface, in styling himself " a Welwiller of the two Authours " recalls the " Benvenuto Benevolo " of Gabriel Harvey's *Letterbook,* wherein Harvey represents a fictitious friend editing his writings. The preface, as well as the letters, serve chiefly as a puff for Harvey and advertisement of his writings, with minor but similar treat-

ment of Spenser. Popular interest is sought through "the Earthquake in April last." But here again the letters seem disingenuous. Harvey's "learned Judgement of Earthquakes" appears at great length in a letter dated April 7th when the earthquake occurred at 6 p. m., April 6th. Spenser's letter, however, contains a hint introducing Harvey's treatise. "I think the *Earthquake* was also there wyth you (which I would gladly learne) as it was here with us . . . *Sed quid vobis videtur magnis Philosophis?*" The letter bears the date April 10th, but crossed (or is made to seem to cross) Harvey's.[9] Spenser's single brief letter also does duty to introduce Harvey's other chief topic: "I like your late English Hexameter so exceedingly well" . . . whereupon Harvey devotes most of his long letter of May 24th to quotations from and discourses on his own verse. The "Welwiller" of the preface patronizes Spenser [10] and lengthily extols Harvey.

A similar self-seeking dominates the two succeeding, earlier dated letters. Spenser's letter for the most part consists of deferences to and compliments for Harvey: deference as to the dedication of the *Calendar,* compliments from Sidney and Dyer, deference to Harvey's counsel about versification, compliments on his verses, desire to "receive a Reciprocall farewell from your owne sweete mouth." Finally appear the hundred-odd Latin verses of farewell with apologies for sending no more. These, of themselves, are almost fulsomely flattering. Harvey, replying, styles them "a goodly braue yonkerly piece of

[9] Harvey's ensuing letter near the beginning declares intention of passing over Spenser's lead, "for of the *Earthquake* I presuppose you have ere this receyued my goodly discourse."

[10] "The first, for a good familiar and sensible Letter, sure liketh me verye well, and gyueth some hope of good mettall in the Author, in whome I knowe myselfe to be very good partes otherwise."

work, and Goddilye yes, I am alwayes maruellously beholding unto you, for your bountifull titles." Harvey makes the occasion serve for a brief discourse on travel.

Finally, the *Letterbook* of Harvey contains (pp. 58-68) a letter to Spenser of purely fictitious character, remonstrating with Spenser under the name of Benevolo for having published a volume of Harvey's poems. Spenser was guiltless. No such volume had been published. A bit further on we find it (pp. 89-158) fully equipped with a title page. On the title page it appears as issued by "Benevolo" (= "Welwiller") at the date of August 1, 1580—a fortnight before Spenser reached Dublin! Harvey dates the letter the tenth of a month left uncertain, in 1580. At just about the date he postulates for Spenser's editorial indiscretion, appeared the two letters on which we rely for Spenser's employment under Leicester.

The object of publication being mutual praise, primarily praise of Harvey, Spenser's providing an occasion for the Latin verses need have no very serious basis in fact. The verses are not realistic. Thus, Spenser could hardly have been meant to do more than reside in France, transmitting secret intelligence. Yet his verses range far:

> Quaesitum imus eam per inhospita Caucasa longè,
> Perque Pyrenaeos montes, Babilonaque turpem . . .

Poetic imagination has certainly transfigured the facts. Spenser's prose written on the same occasion in the same context may have also exaggerated a very faint and tenuous suggestion of his serving in France as an emissary of the Queen's favorite.

That Spenser entertained hopes and received some benefits from Leicester is inferrible; that he passed from these to definite service under Grey is historic fact. Mr. Greenlaw attributes this change of immediate patrons to

his having displeased Leicester by satirical allusions regarding the French marriage. These allusions he finds (p. 558) in *Mother Hubberds Tale;* and a confession of Leicester's displeasure in the sonnet prefixed to *Virgil's Gnat.* I cannot agree.

The sonnet, unmistakably, alludes to a *secret* fault:

> In clowdie teares my case I thus complaine
> Vnto your selfe, that onely priuie are:

Displeasure caused by satires could arise only from their publicity. It would require no "Œdipus" to "read" such a "riddle." Nor could Spenser in such a case declare himself "wrong'd," and name Leicester "the causer of my care." Furthermore, we do not know that the sonnet alludes to an occurrence prior to Spenser's departure to Ireland. His official life there offers an equally plausible field for conjectures as to occasions for giving such offence.

In the second place, another motive sufficiently accounts for Spenser's employment under Grey. Many writers regard his so-called "exile" to Ireland as no exile whatever. Ireland in prospect—where Sidney's father had served, where Raleigh was to prove Spenser's friend and inspiration—may not have seemed so very unattractive, especially to one going as secretary to the Lord Deputy. Be this as it may, Leicester's fortunes now, as Young's two years previously, had fallen to a low ebb. Simier's publication of his secret marriage had discredited him. Sidney, by formal remonstrance concerning the French marriage and by his quarrel with Oxford, had been exiled from court. In changing patrons Spenser had at the moment little to lose. By July 20th matters had gone so far that Leicester wrote from Kenilworth to his rival Burleigh, saying that of late he has "found less of her Majesty's

wonted favour" and "desiring a continuance" of Burleigh's friendship. Behold Leicester suing on his knees! Three weeks later Spenser arrived in Dublin.

Probably, too, Spenser owed his appointment to Leicester. A series of letters show Grey in communication with Leicester about his own appointment. Similarly, in the case of Geoffry Fenton, we find that Fenton applied in writing to both Burleigh and Leicester, but that he asked Leicester (July 10th) for the recommendation to Grey. It would seem that both Burleigh and Leicester were needed; and there remains no evidence that Spenser ever stood well, as he certainly later stood ill, with Burleigh. But these circumstances indicate equally that Spenser cannot have been greatly *persona non grata* with either the favorite or the Lord Treasurer, as Mr. Greenlaw would have Spenser held because of what he considers satirical attacks on Burleigh. Leicester, indeed, was in no position to suggest such a man to Burleigh for a confidential post. And if the two plotted to punish Spenser—the reputed poisoner and the master "fox" of Elizabethan diplomacy—their brains lay fallow if they could devise no better revenge on a poor rhymester than to place him with an earl.

But what are the facts concerning *Mother Hubberds Tale?* It was published in 1591. At that time it contained satires affecting Burleigh, as did other poems in the volume—with *double entendre* styled *Complaintes*—in which it appeared. The reason for such attacks was then sufficiently well known (*Engl. Stud.,* 1914, pp. 197-208), Burleigh having given occasion in 1590. But in 1578-9 Spenser might still hope for future favors from Burleigh, or, through Harvey, from Burleigh's son-in-law Oxford. Then, too, Spenser's sonnets to both, affixed to *The Faerie Queene,* and his avowal that Oxford is portrayed heroically in that epic, are inconsistent with an earlier open

and known attack. The sole tangible evidence of personal satire cited as belonging to the early form of this tale is the passage suggesting the Sovereign's displeasure at her favorite beast's (i. e. courtier's) "late chaine" (ll. 620-30). These lines commentators interpret as referring to Leicester's secret marriage of 1578, then a sore point,—but without significance in 1591. To the contrary: when the poem appeared in print, Essex, the Queen's favorite, had only recently displeased Elizabeth by his marriage to Sidney's widow.[11] Such is the allusion which readers obviously caught. Leicester, moreover, is celebrated by Spenser, according to his actual arms, as a bear (*Shep. Cal.,* Oct. ll. 46-7): the beast here is a lion.

Mr. Greenlaw makes a great deal (pp. 542-5) of the animal names which Elizabeth bestowed on her courtiers, calling Simier her "monkey," Alençon her "frog," Leicester the "bear," and so on. But this does not help his explanation of *Mother Hubberds Tale* (p. 547) as reflecting on Burleigh and the French marriage to the advantage of Leicester. In the *Tale* a lion lies sleeping. An ape, prompted by a fox, assumes the sceptre. Now, Burleigh may pass for the fox, though Leicester was commonly so called (as by Sir Henry Sidney). But Simier, Alençon's attendant, had no pretensions to kingship—that rôle being the *frog's.* Nor does the lion, if we substitute favorite for monarch, aptly represent the bear, Leicester. Also, Mr. Greenlaw would have Burleigh "foxlike" (p. 541) in that he "seemed in favor of the marriage" but "hoped the game might shape itself so that the Queen might avoid the marriage." But if the opponents of the marriage, as Leicester and Sidney, perceived this, his "foxlike" manœuvering was not inimical to them; if they did not perceive it, his

[11] Devereux: *Lives of the Earls of Essex,* I, p. 211.

consistent advocacy of the marriage did not appear "fox-like." Again, if Burleigh disliked the marriage, Spenser's attack on the foreigners could not displease him and would not furnish us (pp. 549-50) "reason for the traditional enmity of Burghley."

The inception and first form of *Mother Hubberds Tale* are traceable to the influence of the Bishop of Rochester. It appears to be part of the same general moralizing against ambition which figures in the February and July eclogues of the *Calendar*. The fox and ape who, in a series of episodes, succeed by turns as beggars, shepherds, pastor, court folk, and king and prime minister of the beasts symbolize upstart striving for place. All the germ of this is found clearly enough in Young's only extant published homily: *A Sermon Preached before the Queenes Maiestie, the second of March. An. 1575.*[12] Writing with Psalm 131 as a text, Young here inveighs at length against ambition. In *Mother Hubberds Tale* it is ambition which leads the Fox and the Ape to seek adventures and rise, through the estates of feigned soldier, shepherd, and clergyman, to court favor and lastly usurpation of the Lion's throne, when the Ape rules and the Fox acts as his prime minister. Young here has similar recourse to beast fable, and parallels rather closely the main situation. "The fables say," Young remarks (p. 14), "that amongst the Beastes, Jacke an Apes dyd once affectate the kingdome, but the Foxe was with him to bring, he drest him in his kinde, for he brought him into the briers ouer head and eares, or it were long. They saye also that on a time the Asse gat on his backe a Lions skinne, and persuaded him selfe that he lookt like a Lion, and beleeved that the Beests

[12] The book was printed in London by Rycharde Watkins. The Cambridge University Library possesses a copy.

of the field would so haue reputed and taken him." So general a parallel would certainly be of little significance, were it not for Spenser's position as secretary to the author. But it is accompanied by one still more striking; for Young at once continues: "And amongst the Trees the Bramble and Bryer dyd usurpe it: the parable is in the booke of Iudges. . . ." How a Brere compassed the overthrow of an Oake Spenser relates at length in the February eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calendar.*

Not only are the subjects the same; they are presented with the same moral application. Young hastens to his lesson: "The meaning of al which fables and parables (as I take it) is, that there is not so very a Jacke an Apes, *Tam magnus asinus,* so great a Dolt and Asse, so verye a Cowarde, or Meacocke, so improfitable a Bramble and member in the commonwealth, but he can thinke him selfe worthy of the best and hyest place, and seeke it too. It is commonly and truely sayde, that Jacke would be a gentleman, & no doubt so he would and a nobleman too, and a Prince if it might be." So speaks Spenser in this eclogue of "this Ambitious brere" (ll. 238, 166), "bragging brere" (l. 115); and E. K. in glossing ("There grew") declares the tale "altogether a certaine Icon or Hypotyposis of disdainfull younkers." It is not contended that Spenser derives solely or even primarily from the sermon, but from the habitual ideas and imagery of his daily association. Should further evidence of this influence seem necessary, it is offered in the last pages of Young's sermon, where he says: "It is much better for us *sperare quam aspirare,* to trust in almightie God, then to aspire . . . ye anchor of hope is fyrme and sure." The anchor of hope "Anchôra speme" is Colin's (i. e. Spenser's) emblem touched to another connotation at the close of the January eclogue, and again on the title pages of *The Faerie Queene.*

The inception of *Mother Hubberds Tale* is therefore explicable as a general satire, as indeed its wide survey of varied social strata would lead one *à priori* to expect; the individual political satire is explicable as due to finishing touches in 1590. For the hypothesis that unknown circulation in 1579 brought Spenser to ill favor no positive evidence exists. The ill favor itself is conjectural. But, finally, if such ill favor be surmised, another and seemingly sufficient cause presents itself in *The Shepheardes Calendar* in the personal satire directed against the then Bishop of London. I allude to Spenser's attack on Aylmer in the July eclogue. There Spenser, true to the theme of Young, writes, as the argument professes, "to the shame and disprayse of proude and ambitious Pastours. Such as Morrell is here imagined to bee." Thomalin perceives in him "a goteheard," which E. K. glosses as follows: "By gotes in scrypture be represented the wicked and reprobate, whose pastours also must needes be such." Thus Spenser not only praises Grindal and Young after it had become indiscreet to do so: he attacks the Bishop of London with vehemence and under a name closely like the name "Morelme," the nickname commonly given to Aylmer by Puritans (*D. N. B.*, p. 283).

Whatever Spenser's motive, he thus committed a marked indiscretion. The Archbishop had been deprived of civil jurisdiction solely for refusal to suppress irregular Protestant preaching. In vain he urged the necessity of such preaching [13] to prevent lapses into Catholicism: he stood out as one seeming to encourage Puritan tendencies. In vain he wrote to Elizabeth (20 Dec. 1576): "We admit no man to the office [of preacher], that either professeth papistry or puritanism." The Queen would have the

[13] Parker Soc., *Grindal*, p. 380.

preachings stopped. She averred: [14] "that it was good for the Church to have few Preachers, and that three or four might suffice for a County; and that the Reading of the Homilies to the People was enough." Here Spenser in *Mother Hubberds Tale* joins issue with the Queen. Describing a formal priest (ll. 392-5), he says:—

> All his care was, his seruice well to saine,
> And to read Homilies upon holidayes;
> When that was done, hee might attend his playes;
> An easie life, and fit high God to please.

And again, the priest, whose doctrine is (l. 440) "Al shall be taught of God," reiterates the point (ll. 456-8):—

> Now once a weeke upon the Sabbath day,
> It is enough to doo our small deuotion,
> And then to follow any merrie motion.

Spenser was less eager than his friend Harvey to avoid all semblance of being a Puritan. How dangerous this was may be illustrated by the fervency of a passage in the *Letterbook of Gabriel Harvey* (fol. 17). Harvey had been accused of Puritanism, though he had taken part in the Cambridge proceedings against the Puritan Cartwright. Harvey thereon says: "Let M. Phisician name the persons, and then shew that I have praised them, in that respect thai ar puritans, or that euer I haue maintained ani od point of puritanism, or praecisionism mi self, and I shal be contentid to be bard of mi mastership, and iointid of my fellowship too, yea and to take ani other sharp meddecine, that his lerning shall iudg meetist for sutch A maladi." Harvey's panic in a letter to a friend makes Spenser's attack, even when writing *incognito,* appear unduly bold.

Some explanation of Spenser's attitude is highly desir-

[14] Strype's *Grindal,* ed. 1710, p. 221.

able. The relations of Grindal, Leicester, and Aylmer had been excellent. In 1569 Grindal, through Leicester, had in vain recommended Aylmer to his bishopric;[15] in 1576, through Leicester, he had effected Aylmer's promotion (*ibid.,* p. 16); on March 24th, 1576 he had consecrated Aylmer, with Young among his four assistants. As it is natural to see Spenser pass from service under Young to hopes of employment under Leicester, so one expects in Spenser a cordial attitude toward Aylmer as a protégé of Grindal.

Aylmer, however, seems to have become a different man when once securely seated in authority. He became notorious for his harsh treatment of both Puritans and Papists —Spenser does not satirize him as a religious extremist. Later he was often and bitterly assailed in the Marprelate tracts. Spenser's bill of charge named him an example of "pride" and "ambition," "wicked and reprobate." And this indictment finds a close parallel[16] in his quarrel with Sandys, another protégé of Grindal, being his predecessor as Bishop of London. Sandys[17] "proceeded to charge his Successor with Ingratitude; that so soon as he [the Archbishop] had holpen him on with his Rochet, he was transformed, and shewed himself void of that Temper he pretended before: and with Envy, in that by the Note beforementioned of the Archbishop's Revenues, he laboured to hinder the Queen from shewing him further Favour; . . . charging him with *Coloured Couetousness, and an envious Heart covered with the Coat of Dissimulation.*" Whatever the merit of the controversy, Spenser's

[15] Strype's *Aylmer,* 1701 ed., p. 24.

[16] Aylmer was repeatedly accused, in the Marprelate tracts, of swearing and of playing bowls on the Sabbath. Cf. Wm. Pierce, *The Marprelate Tracts,* London, 1911, p. 24.

[17] Strype's *Aylmer,* ed. 1701, p. 27.

aptness in his satire is evident: for his motive we must look elsewhere.

The February eclogue suggests such a motive. There Thenot tells Cuddie a tale of a husbandman, a tree, and a briar. The briar complains of an oak; it is cut down; the briar perishes for lack of shelter. In addition to the "morall and generall" meaning of the eclogue, which E. K. declares to be Spenser's intent rather than that the eclogue is "bent to any secrete or particular purpose," a particular purpose is suggested by E. K.'s gloss: "Trees of state) taller trees fitte for timber vvood." Cutting down timber wood suggested then a topical hit at the clergy.

The plain truth is that cutting down timber trees had become a common expedient with churchmen to make both ends meet. In the *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic, cxxxvi, No. 33, § 45, and many others) are repeated inquiries into such spoliations of land. Evidently a protest against felling trees was timely and might be offered, as E. K. says, as "generall." But in May, 1579, Aylmer came before the Council on this charge.[18] He was charged [19] with felling and selling "'three hundred timber trees at one time, and an hundred at another, and some more besides at another.' . . . There appeared sufficient truth in the accusation to justify the Lord Treasurer in openly blaming him and bluntly reminding him 'that there was a bishop once displaced for such a deed.'" Aylmer, according to the claim of Bancroft, his successor, made from his trees £6000 (present value some $150,000). Regarding the charge, Aylmer wrote rancorously to Burleigh, claiming that they were pollards, decayed at the top. So the Briar represents the Oak (Feb., 169-171):

[18] Strype's *Aylmer*, pp. 46-7.

[19] Wm. Pierce, *The Marprelate Tracts*, London, 1911, p. 47.

> This faded Oake,
> Whose bodie is sere, whose braunches broke,
> Whose naked armes stretch unto the fyre . . .

The proceedings dragged on throughout 1579, and Aylmer never escaped memory of the reproach. The first *Marprelate* epistle exclaims: "Who hath cut down the elms at Fulham? John London."

If now we equate the Briar—Young's and Spenser's type of unseemly ambition—with Aylmer—Spenser's type of evil and ambitious pastors—a further step is inevitable. The elderly oak, under whose branches the briar was fostered, which now lies low, affording no hope of protection, must be Aylmer's former patron, Grindal, now fallen from favor. Such a connotation could hardly have escaped the allegorist Spenser.

That Spenser here offers a charge against Aylmer of undermining Grindal, comparable to the charge of Sandys (p. 731, *supra*) is an interpertation which the context will bear, but which no historical facts corroborate. The sole explanation of Grindal's fall as due to intrigue (gossip in *Leicester's Commonwealth*) charges Leicester with revenge for an adverse decision by Grindal against a certain Dr. Julio.[20] Mr. Harold Littledale privately points out as in favor of this contention the possibility of identifying Dr. Julio with Harvey's "M. Physician" (p. 730, *supra*), and the fact that Grindal's fall is mentioned in the July eclogue. If his conjectures have weight, the appearance of Aylmer in that eclogue would sufficiently confirm the tale of the oak and the briar. But Grindal certainly expected no such enmity from Leicester. It was through Leicester that Grindal (Dec. 1576) sent to the Queen his important refusal to comply with her orders.[21] The trans-

[20] Strype's *Aylmer*, ed. 1710, pp. 224-6.

[21] *The Remains of Archbishop Grindal*, Parker Soc., p. 391.

fer of Spenser from Young to Leicester ill sorts with such deadly estrangement, when Spenser continues to praise both in the same work. Probably, therefore, a charge of ingratitude constitutes all that Spenser intended, coupled with censure of the timber cutting which Grindal and Young refused to countenance.[22]

Spenser, indeed, offers more directly an account of Grindal's misfortune. At the close of the July eclogue he uses for this purpose the fable of the death of Aeschylus. His lines run:

> One day he sat upon a hyll . . .
> . . . sitting so with bared scalpe,
> and Eagle sored hye,
> That weening hys white head was chalke,
> a shell fish downe let flye:
> She weend the shell fishe to haue broake,
> but therewith bruzd his brayne . . .

Mr. Greenlaw interprets this story,[23] rendering: "The eagle (Elizabeth) who thought to crush the shellfish (the Puritans) by means of Algrind. . . ." He presents no evidence supporting the equation "shellfish (the Puritans)." The representation of Elizabeth under the name of eagle is familiar from Lyly's use in *Euphues,* and personification is clear, since the sea fowl (not eagle) of Spenser's original was male; but the shellfish which she thought to break is made significant only when one examines the heraldry of the Church (E. E. Dorling, p. 52). There it appears that a golden scallop dominates the arms of the Bishop of Rochester.

Spenser's use of the story gains a certain appositeness from Grindal's own use of it in a sermon which Spenser very likely heard as a boy, a sermon in St. Paul's "at the ffuneral solemnitie of the most high and mighty Prince

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 363.

[23] *Mod. Lang. Assn. Publ.,* Sept. 1911, p. 432.

Ferdinandus, the late Emperour." It was printed, shortly after delivery, in the autumn of 1564. There one of Grindal's first examples[24] is this story: "Aeschylus the poet lying on sleep bareheaded near the sea, a great sea-fowl, thinking his head to be a stone whereon he might break the shell-fish which he carried, let it fall on his head, wherewith he was killed out of hand." To be sure, Spenser alters the story. The seashore scene becomes a hill, for hills in this eclogue represent seats of eminence; the male sea-fowl is transformed into a female eagle. For local color perhaps the stone becomes chalk. The victim, instead of being killed, is bruised. One circumstance remains unaltered: though eagles are not wont to carry shellfish, this one carries nevertheless a shellfish. The classical legend provides a tortoise. The shellfish, clearly, is Spenser's point of departure; and no less than the bear meant Leicester did the shellfish suggest Rochester.

Spenser in effect declares that Elizabeth's command to suppress "prophesyings" contemplated specifically a removal of abuses for which Young was responsible. Her objections were especially directed against the employment of non-clerical college graduates in preaching (*op. cit.*, p. 385), and against frequent preaching. Spenser's convictions were in favor of the latter; his personal interests, certainly his class interests, in favor of the former. It is Spenser's faithful adherence to the patrons of his boyhood which conditioned his ecclesiastical satire, particularly his rather open and imprudent attack on the uncompromising Bishop of London. His rise from the rank of poor scholar, his moral and ecclesiastical ideas, and much of his early poetry were immediately conditioned by his close affiliation with the Bishop of Rochester.

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[24] *The Remains of Archbishop Grindal*, Parker Soc., p. 8.

XXVI.—WHITMAN AS A POET OF NATURE

I

The life of Walt Whitman may be divided roughly into two parts. The first extends from his birth on Long Island in 1819 to that "transparent summer morning" when he and his soul lay together on the grass and the sudden revelation came with its surpassing peace and knowledge; the second embraces the rest of his life, when he lived under the "potent, felt, interior command" and set forth his propaganda to America.

Like most modern mystics, Whitman was extremely sensitive to the voices of nature. Unlike most mystics, he travelled considerably and heard the voices of nature in many places. Thoreau, his contemporary, found nature communicative only when he stayed close to the house he was born in; Jefferies, another contemporary, limited his Continental wanderings to Paris and Brussels. But Whitman was almost equally at home in the Catskills, in New Orleans, in Missouri, in Colorado, on the Great Lakes, in Canada, in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. Twice in his life he made extensive trips; once, when he went to New Orleans and returned by way of Chicago and Niagara, again when he spent sixteen weeks in 10,000 miles of Western travel, extending his journeys to the Colorado Rockies. The prairies and mountains he found particularly eloquent; they seemed to breathe the spirit of his own poems. Everywhere the warmth of the day, the many shows of meadow and hill, the silent stars at night, uttered inarticulate but audible messages.

Yet, like most mystical poets of nature, he was passionately devoted to the country surrounding his birth-place.

He is the poet of Long Island, his fish-shaped Paumanok, almost as truly as Thoreau is the poet of Concord and Walden. This is but another way of saying that he is what no other American poet, save perhaps Longfellow, can pretend to be, the poet of the sea. West Hills, the birth-place of Whitman, is on the highest land of Long Island, three miles from the Sound and a dozen miles from the Atlantic. Here he spent his earliest years. At the age of four he was taken to Brooklyn, then a country village of 7,000 inhabitants, with muddy, unlighted roads as streets. Clam-digging, fishing excursions, bathing, eel-catching, gathering sea-gull's eggs, sailing along the shores amid the traditions of many wrecks, often to the eastern end of the Island, where he "spent many an hour on Turtle hill by the old lighthouse, on the extreme point, looking out over the ceaseless roll of the Atlantic"—such pleasures, together with walking inland, occupied the hours and days of his childhood, and gave him a peculiar intimacy with the dry uplands, the fragrant sedge-meadows, and the "passionless wet." This intimacy reappears again and again in *Leaves of Grass,* oftenest in the form of rhapsodical celebration, but often also in the form of scientifically accurate description. Although the essential Whitman was a poet, it is clear that he had also certain traits of the naturalist.

II

"Birds—And a Caution" is the title of a short entry in *Specimen Days.* The entry is characteristic of a mystical lover of nature, beginning as it does with a record of birds seen, and concluding with a stout apology for failure to name other species. The mystic or the poet of nature is not likely to be a good naturalist: he observes, not so much the facts, the external phenomena, as the

qualities that may be translated into terms of human emotion. A bird's song is less an approximation to music on the diatonic scale than a voice of nature which belongs to that bird peculiarly. Thoreau saw subtly rather than accurately; Lowell watched the birds of Elmwood sympathetically rather than closely; and Whitman, notwithstanding his friendship with Burroughs, was precise at one moment and heedless at the next. "I do not very particularly seek information," he says in this entry:

> You must not know too much, or be too precise or scientific about birds and trees and flowers and water-craft; a certain free margin, and even vagueness—perhaps ignorant credulity—helps your enjoyment of these things, and of the sentiment of feather'd, wooded, river, or marine Nature generally.

As a consequence one finds in Whitman's work frequent nondescript feathery things: "a" bird is singing, a sort of bird number A. Again, one may detect actual mistakes. The mocking-bird virtually never reaches Long Island—it is most improbable that Whitman ever heard of it there; yet he makes it the hero of one of his most intimate Paumanok poems, "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking." Down by Timber Creek of an afternoon late in June he hears a delightful "song-epilogue (is it the hermit thrush?)," at a time when the hermit is chanting pensively on the Presidential Range; and I strongly suspect that the hermit thrush of the memorable poem on the death of Lincoln is no other than the wood thrush. But, of course, Whitman was substantially right in his criticism—you must not be too precise or scientific.

Nevertheless this large soul, "wandering and peering, dallying with all," had sufficient scientific interest—or call it a childish collecting instinct—to make lists of trees and flowers and birds. Of the three the bird-list is perhaps the most unusual. At the opening of May he noted

over thirty species that he had observed about Timber Creek; a number hardly comparable with the one hundred or so which a trained ornithologist could have discovered, but still a number far greater than the average farmer ever names. It is a curious catalogue. A sub-list indicates the early birds, the first arrivals: some of them are not in the general list, the meadow-lark loses his hyphen, the high-hole becomes the flicker (another name for the same bird), and a Wilson's thrush enters demurely, as if the poet had been introduced to the whole thrush family—a possibility somewhat disturbed by his doubts as to the hermit of the song-epilogue.

But stranger than Whitman's interest in birds and plant life is his absorption in astronomy. Of what use are the names of the constellations to a full-fledged mystic? Part of his interest may be explained by the influence of a Mr. Whitall ("who posts me up about the stars")—but Walt was certainly ready enough to listen and to ask questions. Passages like the following are clearly no more than *tours de force,* executed for private joy, with a dim eye on the future reader:

> The moon in her third quarter—the clusters of the Hyades and Pleiades, with the planet Mars between—in full crossing sprawl in the sky the great Egyptian X, (Sirius, Procyon, and the main stars in the constellations of the Ship, the Dove, and of Orion;) just north of east Boötes, and in his knee Arcturus, an hour high—

Not from nature did Whitman learn this various language!

When we turn to his poetry, we find, on the whole, fewer birds and flowers and trees than we expect. Insects are celebrated—the little is as great to the mystic as the great—but rarely with any enjoyment of their queer conversation (to use an old and excellent word). There are ants and katydids and gnats and butterflies and bees and even tumble-bugs rolling balls of dung; but only the bees

occur with any frequency. Of miscellaneous animals (including snakes, fish, fur-bearers, etc.) Whitman employed a veritable menagerie: we see in turn the moose, the prairie-dog, sow, quahaug, hyla, panther, alligator, bat, whale, buffalo, polar bear, walrus, herring, raccoon, sting-ray, and even a mastodon; yet few of these were more familiar to the poet than the baleful colossus at the end of the list.

With the trees of America Whitman was better acquainted. He names at intervals more than thirty varieties, including the yellow pine, sassafras, cotton-wood, and hackmatack. Although he mentions the pines oftenest, his particular favorites were the cedar and the live-oak. The latter is the subject of a poem in the Calamus series: alone and mossy it stands in a wide flat place in Louisiana,—" uttering joyous leaves of dark green." He could not thrive so remote from his fellows:—

> . . . though the live-oak glistens there in Louisiana solitary in a wide flat space,
> Uttering joyous leaves all its life without a friend a lover near,
> I know very well I could not.

It does not appear that Whitman knew many flowers, but so far as he mentioned them they are the varieties which he had reason to know well. He ignores the pretty poseys of flower poetry—the violet occurs but twice, the arbutus once—and characteristically bestows his attention on the mullein, dandelion, and poke-weed. Of garden and door-yard flowers he admits only the two that were precious through reminiscence,—white and red morning-glories and white and lavender lilacs. He emphasizes the delicate-colored blossoms of the latter, " with the perfume strong I love," set off by " heart-shaped leaves of rich green." Lilacs blooming in the dooryard occur in two poems other than " When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd."

Whitman always associated this flower with his childhood years on fish-shaped Paumanok; that is no doubt why he mentions it at least thrice as often as any other blossom.

But of the various phases of nature lore, Whitman was manifestly most interested in birds. They far outnumber the trees and flowers of *Leaves of Grass;* for no less than forty species appear in his catalogues or descriptive passages. Among them are such recondite creatures as the yellow-crowned heron, the snowy heron, the man-of-war bird (who, in a translation from the French, gets a poem all to himself), the redstart, the wood-duck, and the razor-billed auk. The hermit thrush occurs twice only, the "thrush" twice more. With the exception of the spiritual thrush and the ecstatic mocking-bird (the brown thrasher is, possibly, the bird alluded to), Whitman's birds are mostly big and bold. "The hawk, the seagull," he says in *Old Age Echoes,* "have far more possess'd me than the canary or mocking-bird," on account of a distaste for warbling and trilling and a love of soaring "in the fulness of power, joy, volition." This attitude is abundantly supported by examples in *Leaves of Grass.* The hawk is a great favorite, the eagle sails aloft when the buzzard is not there; one finds also many gulls, herons, partridges, owls, and wild turkeys. It was only in Whitman's later summers, spent out-of-doors in New Jersey, that he was attentive to the smaller birds and their songs. Then he listened regularly to "copious bird-concerts" at sunrise and sunset, finding the sunset music "more penetrating and sweeter—seem'd to touch the soul." To the robin he usually attributed a "reedy" note or trill; yet he had been "trying for years to get a brief term, or phrase, that would identify and describe that robin-call."

Whitman combined, as few poets have combined, a love of both the gentler and the wilder aspects of nature. The

quiet pastoral country of New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania, and the boundless prairies and treeless mountains of the West were equally attractive to him. Born and bred on a large island, with clover and winding lanes and "cow-processions" about him and the moody ocean rolling its waves to the shore almost within hearing distance, he learned to love both pastoral and wild nature. The farmer constantly reappears in his poetry, and often enough "A Farm Picture" little inferior to the following:—

> Through the ample open door of the peaceful country barn,
> A sunlit pasture field with cattle and horses feeding,
> And haze and vista, and the far horizon fading away—

which is at once quietly colored and skilfully composed.

But however often the land—gentle or mountainous—is celebrated in *Leaves of Grass,* the sea unquestionably receives the chief emphasis and casts its spell over the whole book. Not forgetting Longfellow and Swinburne, one may perhaps assert that among Anglo-Saxon poets Whitman stands foremost and wellnigh alone as an ardent lover of the ocean.

Even as a boy, he says in *Specimen Days,* he desired to write a poem about the sea-shore, "that suggesting, dividing line . . . blending the real and ideal." Later this desire seemed either hopeless or insufficient: he would take the sea not as a theme, but as "an invisible *influence,* a pervading gauge and tally." Then he goes on to tell of a memory that at intervals for years haunted him:

> a stretch of interminable white-brown sand, hard and smooth and broad, with the ocean perpetually, grandly, rolling in upon it, with slow-measured sweep, with rustle and hiss and foam, and many a thump as of low bass drums. This scene, this picture, I say, has risen before me at times for years. Sometimes I wake at night and can hear and see it plainly.

This is the "influence" of *Leaves of Grass.* It appears and reappears in a score of forms. There are mid-ocean poems, such as "In Cabin'd Ships at Sea," pictures of steamers leaving the docks, harbor poems ("Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" and many others), poems on the foamy wake of ships, glimpses of Yankee clippers speeding under sky-sails, of regattas on the bay, of fleets of ice-boats, poems on ships wrecked at sea or on the rocks, retellings of old-time naval fights, a memory of the Great Eastern swimming up the bay, poems on Columbus, on fishermen fishing with nets, on clam-diggers, on views from Montauk Point, on bathers at the shore, on wild storms muttering and roaring and shouting. In "A Song of Joys" he exclaims:

> O to go back to the place where I was born,
> To hear the birds sing once more,
> To ramble about the house and barn and over the fields once more,
> And through the orchard and along the old lanes once more.
> O to have been brought up on bays, lagoons, creeks, or along the coast,
> To continue and be employ'd there all my life,
> The briny and damp smell, the shores, the salt weeds exposed at low water,
> The work of fishermen, the work of the eel-fisher and clam-fisher,
> . . . .
> In winter I take my eel-basket and eel-spear and travel out on foot on the ice . . .
> Another time in warm weather out in a boat, to lift the lobster-pots where they are sunk with heavy stones (I know the buoys,)
> . . . .
> Another time mackerel-taking . . .
> Another time fishing for rock-fish . . .

devoting almost ten times as much space to the sea surrounding Long Island as to the island itself. Virtually all of Whitman's truest poetry is concerned in some way with the sea: "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," "When Lilacs

Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," and such passages as that beginning "I am he that walks with the tender and growing night." He describes the aspects and moods of the sea with rare vividness and sympathy. Men and women, so like himself, and the curious liquid identity so unlike himself, with its "mad pushes of waves upon the land"—these two enkindled his imagination more readily than any other influences. The long sailing-expeditions of his boyhood and early manhood, the amorous bathing by the smooth seashore, the eel-spearing and clam-digging and fishing, the midnight rambles along the water with its white gleams fitfully leaping, these all return again and again in *Leaves of Grass*. Reminiscence, which Whitman indulged far less than his literary progenitors such as Rousseau and Wordsworth, brought the sea and its shores and joys no matter where he went—that dream of the white-brown shore and the thumping, rustling waves never forsook him.

When Whitman, in his collection of poems on comradeship, desired to present ideal friendship in ideal surroundings, he had recourse to the sea:

> . . . the day when I rose at dawn from the bed of perfect health, refresh'd, singing, inhaling the ripe breath of autumn,
> When I saw the full moon in the west grow pale and disappear in the morning light,
> When I wander'd alone over the beach, and undressing, bathed, laughing with the cool waters, and saw the sun rise,
> And when I thought how my dear friend my lover was on his way coming, O then I was happy,
> O then each breath tasted sweeter, and all that day my food nourished me more, and the beautiful day pass'd well,
> And the next came with equal joy, and with the next at evening came my friend,
> And that night when all was still I heard the waters roll slowly continually up the shores,
> I heard the hissing rustle of the liquid and sands as directed to me whispering to congratulate me,

For the one I love most lay sleeping by me under the same cover in the cool night,
In the stillness in the autumn moonbeams his face was inclined toward me,
And his arm lay lightly around my breast—and that night I was happy.

Again, when he wrote several poems on the death of President Lincoln, he included "O Captain! My Captain!" Here, as elsewhere in his writings, America (or Democracy) is a ship, with Lincoln as captain. The war is over, the nation is welded in blood, more closely than ever:

Exult O shores, and ring O bells!
But I with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead.

More conspicuous and significant, however, is Whitman's use of the sea as a symbol of life after death. It appears as the theme of no less than ten poems, including the long "Passage to India," "Joy, Shipmate, Joy," "New Finalè to the Shore," "Sail out for Good, Eidólon Yacht!" Among the "Songs of Parting" he writes:

Joy, shipmate, joy!
(Pleas'd to my soul at death I cry,)
Our life is closed, our life begins,
The long, long anchorage we leave,
The ship is clear at last, she leaps!
She swiftly courses from the shore,
Joy, shipmate, joy.

The green waves, rolling in on Paumanok, the far horizon faint against the sky, never lost their strangeness. The miracles of the land seemed to Whitman no less wonderful but certainly more tangible, but the miracles of the sea remained forever inscrutable. Liquidness was curious enough, but liquidness and vastness in one, constantly inconstant in mood, formed a mystery akin to that of death and new life.

III

Whitman had early developed an unusual sensuous receptivity, which was in part maintained in robustness—preserved from languor and purposeless enjoyment—by the masculine rudeness of shore life. The gray fogs of spring and autumn, the buffeting winds and leaping waves of winter storms, doubtless did something to keep his emotions from degenerating into unhealthy dreaminess. He was unduly excitable rather than dreamy; a lawless neurotic strain in the family (the youngest son was an imbecile, the oldest died a lunatic) seemed to show itself in the youthful Walt. "A very strange boy," his mother called him afterward, and he himself, despite his sailing-trips and clam-digging, described his boyhood as unhappy. Companionship, sensuously close, brought him pleasure scarcely second to that afforded by nature. He was tremulously stirred by the mere *nearness* of other human beings, other "identities," he would have called them later; it was a constant emotional surprise to him, as he wandered through the streets of New York, that so many creatures, outwardly and inwardly akin to him, should exist under the same sun and stars on this curious earth. Men and women here, by the millions, out there limitless waters, and overhead the uncountable stars throbbing in silence! A strange world indeed, whose strangeness pressed upon him more and more as he rambled alone, or sought companionship, or read the classics of literature out-of-doors, shouting passages to the booming surf, or went to the theatre, where he saw life concentrated, or to the opera house, where the melody and grandeur of music stirred him deeply. He had, moreover, encountered the mystery of sex, had felt the "amorous madness." His intellectual nature was, on the whole, being

ignored; some discipline he may have received from his reading and from his journalistic work and school-teaching, but it was certainly not proportioned to his emotional growth. The result of all these influences, affecting in order and in unison a receptive soul, was a mystical experience. Just when the revelation came we cannot say, but it was probably not many years before the appearance of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855. Walt was no stripling at the time, so much is certain—rather a man over six feet tall, almost passing the prime of life.

It was Dr. Bucke who first pointed out a certain paragraph in Whitman's "Song of Myself" as the expression of mystical revelation. Though familiar, it is worth quoting here; the poet is addressing his soul:—

> I mind how once we lay such a transparent summer morning,
> How you settled your head athwart my hips and gently turn'd over upon me,
> And parted the shirt from my bosom-bone, and plunged your tongue to my bare-stript heart,
> And reach'd till you felt my beard, and reach'd till you felt my feet.
> Swiftly arose and spread around me the peace and knowledge that pass all the argument of the earth,
> And I know that the hand of God is the promise of my own,
> And I know that the spirit of God is the brother of my own,
> And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, and the women my sisters and lovers,
> And that a kelson of the creation is love,
> And limitless are leaves stiff or drooping in the fields,
> And brown ants in the little wells beneath them,
> And mossy scabs of the worm-fence, heap'd stones, elder, mullein and poke-weed.

Two things are noteworthy in this passage; in the first place, a mystical sense of the unity of the universe, the feeling of kinship and equal divinity with all men and all things, down to the minute ants and mossy scabs, united by the spirit of love and total acceptance—in short, an expression of the foundation of Whitman's life and writ-

ings; in the second place, the fact that the sudden awakening came as he lay in the open air on a summer morning.

The awakening occurred under the blue sky. Nature was the source of Whitman's deepest impressions in his early years, and the source of his spiritual realization. Much has been said of Whitman's Christ-like brotherly love, of his celebration of democracy, of his frankness in sexual matters. Not enough has been said, I am inclined to believe, of his relation to outer nature, of the sensuous basis of that relation, and of the sensuous basis of his relation to man. The primary importance of sensuousness in his life and in his poetry seems to me unquestionable. His senses were unusually powerful and delicate. Virtually all the influences that led to his mystical awakening were, as we have seen, sensuous. He had done little thinking about life and men, but a great deal of feeling. He had read the Bible, Shakespeare, Homer, Greek tragedy, Dante, Hindoo poems, the *Nibelungenlied,* Ossian, and Scott; in them he found chiefly wondrous pictures of the past and resonant lines which he could declaim as he ran up and down the shore. He read them, not in the thoughtful surroundings of the library, but on the sand, beside the rocks, and under the trees. All books, he says, and all philosophy and religion, should be tested in the open air. He spoke his own poems to the wind and bade his readers do likewise. "Talk as you like," a cañon or a great stretch of plains can rouse "those grandest and subtlest element-emotions" as no sculpture, paintings, poems, or even music, probably ever can. The open-air test always, and the open air eventually more meaningful than the works of man reacting on earthly existence: thus does Whitman exalt the intuitions of the senses. That he possessed a fund of intellectuality is evident from a perusal of his critical estimates; that he possessed a fund of it

sufficient to counter-balance his sensuous alertness is not so evident; that he frequently exhibited the indispensable quality of common sense is denied by his *Leaves of Grass* and by the prefatory pronunciamentos which graced the various editions of that book. The natural health of his body was enough to make him rebel at the artistic productions of Europe, that "hysterical sick-chamber." It made him rebel at anything tainted with morbidness: health, not delirium, he writes in a passage about Poe, is always essential. In this way, a sensuous way, he could judge true values. From philosophy, especially from the romantics like Schelling and Hegel, he derived only a justification of his own sensuous way of life—he did not concern himself with Aristotle, or even with Plato. So far as he had them, Whitman's intellectuality and good sense sprang, somewhat like Keats's, from the feminine intuitions of the poet rather than from masculine reason. Health, sensuous spontaneity, decided all matters for him. But although he put aside what he called delirium, he was not aware, it seems, that there may be a delirium that comes from the excessive health and sensuousness of a robust nature.

"The exquisite realization of health" was the mainspring of all of Whitman's passions. He rhapsodizes over his "perfect and enamour'd body"; he sings the body and its parts and purposes endlessly; he celebrates the deliciousness of the sexes; there is not a trace of New England Puritanism in him, at least so far as the negative side of it is concerned. The body and the soul are his two themes, one as important as the other. "All comes by the body, only health puts you rapport with the universe." Without health there is nothing worth the having. Everything comes through the senses, those mysterious miracles and instant conductors. Who would condemn the body, when

" the spirit receives from the body just as much as it gives to the body, if not more ? "—the two are really inseparable. In most poets we can readily observe one sense which is of dominant importance; usually, of course, the sense of sight. But Whitman was abnormally developed: virtually every faculty was wide-awake and responded immediately. In a large number of his catalogues he jumbles impressions received through eye, ear, and the sense of touch. In his threnody on the death of President Lincoln, a more carefully elaborated poem than he usually composed, he chooses three *motifs*—

> Lilac and star and bird twined with the chant of my soul,—

employing the three senses of smell, sight, and hearing, in the fragrance of the lilac, the drooping shine of the star, and the tender chant of the hermit thrush. Everywhere in his poems we find the words " sight," " sound," and so on, commonly preceding a rhapsody on the sense mentioned. Sometimes the device is entirely deliberate, as in " Salut au Monde," in which he invites us to take his hand while we see

> Such gliding wonders! such sights and sounds!

After a score of lines, the poet prods us into asking " What do you hear Walt Whitman ?" which gives Walt permission to unload nineteen " I hear's." Then, by no means weary, we inquire, " What do you see Walt Whitman ?" Alas, he is more than ready with his " I see's " (including, if I recall aright, only two " beholds " and one " I look ") to the amazing number of ninety-seven! Whereupon he concludes by firing an endless salute of " You's," and returns from " all the haunts and homes of men " in triumph and with a sense of duty done.

Of Whitman's senses only one was normal—the sense of

taste. In his 430 pages of rather closely-printed poetry, one cannot, unless I have read hastily, find a single significant reference to the sense of taste. There is, to be sure, a juicy and flavorous blackberry, and casual reference to the taste of fresh air; but the latter is not so much a matter of taste as of pleasure in filling the lungs, and the former, a poor solitary berry, does not greatly affect the assertion that the sense of taste plays no part in Whitman's poetry. In his diary there is again only one instance,—" the wild and free and somewhat acrid " flavor of cedar fruit. Whitman had not the romantic desire to taste miscellaneous fruits and roots and berries, and took only normal pleasure in the foods and drinks of civilization.

To divine the importance of the sense of touch is not so easy. Often what seems a matter of touch proves on closer inspection to concern all the senses. Whitman was magnetically drawn to human beings, for instance—liked to join hands with friends when he talked, enjoyed feverishly at times the feeling of proximity, celebrated not only the love of the sexes but " the dear love of comrades " in terms of bodily contact—but how largely the sense of touch was concerned is by no means clear. " The float and odor of hair," involving two other senses, is a phrase that suggests the part played in this connection by senses other than touch. The song of the thrush may be enjoyed by only one sense, but the touch of human beings, " the souse upon me of my lover the sea, as I lie willing and naked," the whir and pressure of the wind as one races " naked along the shore," certainly involve other senses. In any event, however, it is obvious that Whitman responded powerfully to the touch of flesh on flesh, the heat of the sun that comes " streaming kissingly," the gentle caress of the wind, " laving one's face and hands," and the amorous weight and curious liquidness of sea-waves. " To touch

my person to some one else's is about as much as I can stand," he says in his "Song of Myself";

> Is this then a touch? quivering me to a new identity . . . .
> My flesh and blood playing out lightnings to strike what is hardly different from myself,

until the fellow-senses seem to slip away, "bribed to swap off with touch," and he is at the mercy of one sense:

> You villain touch! what are you doing? my breath is tight in its throat,
> Unclench your floodgates, you are too much for me.

Even when, as an old invalid, he was presented with a horse and buggy, he changed his gift horse for a livelier animal, and drove into the wind gloriously at the rate of eighteen miles an hour!

The sense of sight, the most abundantly used of the five, was of considerable moment to Whitman; "bereft of light," he would have suffered as keenly as most poets. Color always delighted him, particularly the colors of the sky both day and night. He does not celebrate wet, cloudy, colorless days, but gorgeous sunrises and sunsets and the delicate colors of clear or filmy days. When he lived at Timber Creek after paralysis attacked him, he paid special attention to "sky views and effects," which he watched from "peculiar spots" according to the views and effects that the hour promised. Late of a May afternoon he could see strange shows "in light and shade—enough to make a colorist go delirious," which implies a suspicious sympathy with the colorist. He had an eye for pictorial effect: "As I slowly hobble up the lane toward day-close, an incomparable sunset shooting in molten sapphire and gold, shaft after shaft, through the ranks of the long-leaved corn, between me and the west." On another day his only entry was an attempt to describe the various greens of trees:

"The rich dark green of the tulip-trees and the oaks, the gray of the swamp-willows, the dull hues of the sycamores and black-walnuts, the emerald of the cedars (after rain,) and the light yellow of the beeches." Liver-color and amber were two colors that he recorded frequently. At the shore he watched "amber-rolling waves, changing as the tide comes in to a transparent tea-color." In a St. Louis plate glass factory he saw molten stuff, "of a glowing pale yellow color," in a pot, and declared "that Pot, shape, color, concomitants, more beautiful than any antique statue," and he saw a glorious "pale redtinged yellow," and later an aurora borealis blue-green at a zinc smelter that gave him "new revelations in the color line."

The hours of darkness also showed him many hues and tints. Frequently his nights are blue-black and full-starr'd. He was extremely interested in the stars—though he named them so late in life that he produced no adequate catalogue in his poetry. Jupiter is a "huge hap-hazard splash"; he sees the branches of the Milky Way; the moon, a lady whom he loved as delicately as an Elizabethan, is dressed in shimmering "pellucid green and tawny vapor," or "a transparent blue-gray," or "an aureole of tawny transparent brown" and "clear vapory light-green." He delighted in making trips on the Delaware—or on the Mississippi—in the moonlight. Without the night and the stars, he says somewhere, there could not well be any spirituality.

The sense of hearing offered another inlet of spirituality. In *Leaves of Grass* it is as prominent as the sense of sight—"I hear" usually follows "I see"; and in *Specimen Days* he begins a typical entry with a picture, and then, after a mechanical "For Sounds" as a sort of For Sale sign, evaluates the delights which the place affords the ear. The bumble-bee bears down on him with "a loud

swelling perpetual hum, varied now and then by something almost like a shriek"; which seems a good background, he says, applying a term of painting to music, for some bumble-bee symphony. He catches well the quality of the tree-toads' chirrup and trill—they are "fretting" and they "purr." Several times he endeavors to describe adequately the song of the cicada and succeeds tolerably. In the winter the ice over the creek sighs and snorts. When the birds are migrating he hears overhead by night "a velvety rustle, long drawn out." He enjoyed the songs of birds so much that he attended their matins and vespers, and especially in the evening was "quite strictly punctual." Less conventional was his delight at hearing "the sound of the belch'd words of my voice loos'd to the eddies of the wind." From his earliest years he declaimed Homer and Shakespeare to the waves, and even when at Timber Creek, recovering from a stroke of paralysis, he concluded his wrestles with a sapling by bellowing "the stock poets or plays" and negro and army songs while the echoes reimbursed him fully, and an owl on the other side of the creek "sounded *too-oo-oo-oo-oo,* soft and pensive (and I fancied a little sarcastic)." In "A Song of Joys" he sang those of the orator,—not a placid, saintly orator like Emerson,—but one who could "roll the thunder of the voice out from the ribs and throat" and thus "lead America." He was passionately fond of music—heard operas with great enjoyment in his New York years, liking especially those of Verdi and Donnizetti; in "Proud Music of the Storm" he refers to "Italia's peerless compositions." Later a Beethoven septette affected him profoundly, more than anything he had heard previously. But cheap, everyday songs affected him no less: he lingered, of a February night along the Delaware, listening to "the echoing calls of the railroad men in the West

Jersey depot yard," calls with such "musical, emotional effects, never thought of before," that he could not leave the scene.

Even a cursory inspection of *Leaves of Grass* or of *Specimen Days* will suffice to show the unusual emphasis in Whitman on the sense of smell. He could detect fragrance in wellnigh everything. Not only summer but early-summer has a perfume all its own. There is an "exquisite smell of the earth at daybreak, and all through the forenoon"; the evening has its sweet and slightly aromatic air; and "the natural perfume belonging to the night alone" winds up the series, with only the afternoon omitted. The odors of apples, of the cedar, and of Indian corn pervade many of Whitman's pages. Corn when gathered has an aroma "rich, rare, ripe, peculiar," and at night is "just-palpable." He was fond of just-palpable odors, the most spiritual doubtless, but he also professed a love for the strong perfume of lilac flowers. He pulled everlasting and stuffed it in his trousers-pocket "for scent." The complex impressions of night came to him, he says, chiefly through the sense of smell. He discerned countless odors: those of grass, moist air, milk, willows, matted leaves, swamps, green leaves and dry leaves, hair, birch-bark, sea-rocks, shore mud. "There is a scent to everything," he wrote in his diary, "even the snow, if you can detect it—no two places, hardly any two hours, anywhere exactly alike. How different the odor of noon from midnight, or winter from summer, or a windy spell from a still one." Keenness of scent can hardly go farther, in man at least.

Obviously Whitman had a body admirably adequate to his demands on it. He gloried in his health, I have said, since from his point of view the spirit receives from the body as much as, if not more than it gives. One word that

recurs constantly in Whitman's prose and verse is "absorbing." It may be found in his earliest poem, in which as the caresser of life, he is absorbing all, "not a person or object missing"; and it may be found in the fragments written in his last years, when he looks back on his life of "wandering, peering, dallying with all—war, peace, day and night absorbing." Sometimes he drinks or takes in, or is filled, or deposits, or feasts, or gets nutriment, or is suffused, or finds sustenance, but most of these occur only once: absorbing was his favorite word for the idea of exaltation through the bounties brought by the senses. He absorbed anything as bulky as Canada, or as impalpable as the dusky green of the cedar. Everything was to him so much spiritual food—but food is a poor word, implying as it does only one channel of delight. With his whole body, with every sense, he absorbed the land, the people on it, the sea, and the interminable starry heights above. The absorption was so immediate that he even spoke of the "soul senses."

This desire to have all parts of the universe filter into his body was due to Whitman's mystical conception of the unity between man and nature, together constituting God. The universe is a "nebulous float," indestructible, eternal, and divine even unto the trees in the ground and the weeds of the sea. He himself is "effusing and fluid" in this divine solution,—"a phantom curiously floating." Sometimes he asserts that objects are merely the symbols of the unseen; such is his tenor when most deliberate. But elsewhere he proclaims, as in his "Song for Occupations," that "Objects gross and the unseen soul are one," and certainly in practice he embraces every object passionately, as if it were of final and infinite excellence. Objects have what he has, a body and soul strangely blended; and the separateness, or "identity," of each object is only an ap-

pearance, for any identity may be "of one phase and of all phases." All individuals, and all objects are thus at once microcosm and macrocosm. The unifying force in the universe is love, a passionate sympathy, by which all objects are, as it were, dissolved in the "eternal float of solution." This love is the sympathy which one feels in moving the hand over one's naked body; it is the flooding emotion which comes to one in a gathering of fellow men and women; it is the refreshing solemnity or the primitive joy one has in contemplating the clouds roving silent in the blue sky. This force, which radiates and transfuses the whole cosmos, makes life, all life, any manner of life, an endless blessing. It obliterates values, causes the here and now, no matter how mean or pitiful if judged conventionally, to be utterly glorious. "All goes onward and outward"; there is no pause in the everlasting, accumulating procession of the world's excellences.

This conception of existence, in its pell-mell acceptance of everything, and its passionate insistence on equality, and its conviction of perfectibility, is surely a philosophy of optimism raised to the highest degree—is, indeed, as William James somewhat bluntly called it, "an indiscriminate hurrahing for the Universe." Whitman suffered, one is compelled to admit, from a delirium of health: not the robust health of the athlete, but rather the too-eager health of the poet, not the health of the physical constitution, but rather the health of the senses. An exquisite sensuousness is not, indeed, to be shunned by the poet—far from it; but when (as Villain Touch overpowered good Walt) the poet yields to the senses and luxuriates in them and suffers his intellectual relation to life to go begging, one can no longer read his poems with full conviction of their authenticity. Whitman was no tower-of-ivory dreamer—he craved human companion-

ship to such an extent that he grew stale in solitude—but he was, what is less reprehensible though not much less deplorable, over-anxious to "get rapport" with the infinities, to go beyond "I and this mystery, here we stand." With all his senses alert, every pore open to hints and indirections, he would absorb spirituality till his soul was content. But true spirituality is not to be so easily won. He was inebriate; the true poet is serene.

NORMAN FOERSTER.

fe lafe ⁊ þone ænne heht golde fo 153
dan þone ðe grendel ær mane acwe
swa he hyra ma wolde nefne him wit
god wyrd forstode ⁊ ðæs mannes mod
metod eallum weold gumena cynnes swa
nu git deð forþan bið andgit æghwær
selest ferhðes foreþanc fela sceal
bidan leofes ⁊ laþes se þe longe her on
ðys sū windagum worolde bruceð þær
wæs sang ⁊ sweg samod ætgædere fore
healfdenes hildewi san gomen wudu
greted gid oft wrecen ðon healgamen
hroþgares scop æfter medo bence mæ
nan scolde finnes eaferum ða hie se
fær begeat hæleð healfdena hnæf
scyldinga infr[illegible] wæle feallan scolde
ne huru hildeburh herian þorfte
eotena treowe unsynnum wearð be
loren leofū æt þā hildplegan bearnum
⁊ broðrum hie on gebyrd hruron gare

Beowulf: The First Leaf of the Finn-Episode.
Cotton MS. Vitellius A. xv. p. 49.
Fol. 153r., ll. 1053-1075.

XXVII.—THE OPENING OF THE EPISODE OF FINN IN *BEOWULF*

I

The *Episode of Finn* presents perhaps greater difficulties to the critic than any other passage in *Beowulf*. The manuscript text is lacking in clearness and the narrative teems with obscure allusions. The complication is further increased by the fact that of the five extant epic monuments in Anglo-Saxon three contain references to the "matter of Finn" in a virtually discrepant form. In *Widsith* we find mention of the two principal antagonists of the saga,[1] and the *Finnsburg Fragment* clearly pertains to the subject-matter of the lay which the court minstrel chants at King Hrothgar's banquet and which the poet of *Beowulf* interpolates in what would seem to be a form of "headings."

The bare outlines of the Finn-saga—all we are justified in reconstructing from the evidence supplied by these three sources—might be rendered as follows: On account of some unknown ill-feeling, Finn, king of the Frisians, comes to blows with a Danish contingent under the command of Hnæf, son of Hoc and lord of the Hocings. In this clash, caused immediately by treachery, the leader Hnæf is slain, along with a son of Finn. The Frisian ranks, moreover, are depleted and peace is concluded between the Frisian king and Hengest, successor to Hnæf. This peace, despite its advantageous terms for the Danes, is in reality a bitter humiliation for them, since thereby they become thanes of the slayer of Hnæf. At the earliest

[1] Cf. *Widsith*, ll. 27 and 29.

opportunity, therefore, the pact is broken, and in the ensuing struggles Finn is slain, and his wife, Hildeburh, and his treasures are carried off over the seas.

The circumstances attending the recital of this feud are noteworthy. The song is sung in a Danish court, before a Danish assemblage; and, altho the real hero of the entire epic, Beowulf, is a Geat, the episode as well as the poem *Beowulf* is thruout a glorification of Danish prowess and adventure. In the lines preceding our episode a banquet is described which Hrothgar tenders to Beowulf on the occasion of the latter's conquest of the demon Grendel. The grateful king bestows costly presents upon the hero and his doughty rout, and in the course of the festivities the bard sings a lay to the sound of a harp. In Zupitza's transliteration the text of these opening lines is as follows: [2]

þær
wæs sang *ond*/sweg samod æt-gædere fore
healfdenes hilde-wisan *gomen-wudu 1065
greted gid oft wrecen. ðon*ne* heal-gamen
hroþ-gares scop æfter medo-bence mæ-
nan scolde finnes eaferum ða hie se
fær begeat hæleð healf-dena hnæf
scyldinga *in/fres-wæle feallan scolde. 1070

The tenth edition of Heyne-Schücking's *Beowulf* (Paderborn, 1913) presents these lines in the following metrical arrangement:

Þǣr wæs sang ond swēg samod ætgædere
fore Healfdenes hilde-wīsan,

[2] Zupitza, *Beowulf, Autotypes etc. EETS,* London, 1882, p. 49, ll. 1063 ff. Compare with the facsimile at the head of these pages. Zupitza hyphenates words or syllables belonging together and, in addition, separates by a vertical line two words wrongly written as one. The asterisk indicates the opening of the lines noted in the margin. Another hyphen between *wi* and *san* is needed in his text in order to visualize the lacuna in the manuscript.

gomen-wudu grēted, gid oft wrecen, 1065
þonne heal-gamen Hrōðgāres scop
æfter medo-bence mǣnan scolde,
Finnes eafer*an*, þā hīe sē fǣr begeat,
hæleð Healf-Dena, Hnæf Scyldinga,
in Frēs-wæle feallan scolde. 1070

The significant alteration in l. 1068 of MS. *eaferum* to *eaferan* furnishes also the starting-point of our discussion. For upon the interpretation of this word depends whether the episode, terminating in l. 1159, is to begin with l. 1068 or with l. 1069. In other words, whether, with Arnold,[3] "the tale opens with a fine abruptness," or in fact has no opening at all.[4]

Scholarly opinion with respect to this moot word has been varied and in just such a manner determinative of the commencement of the Episode. In general a threefold division can be arranged, comprising both the various

[3] Arnold, *Notes on Beowulf*, New York and Bombay, 1898, p. 22.

[4] As to the morphological aspect of *eaferum*, it will be noticed that l. 375 likewise offers a form of the word in a reading assumed to be faulty: MS. *eaforan* has been held to be nom. sg. *eafora* since the emendation proposed by Grundtvig, 1820, p. 272; also l. 19, MS. *eafera*, where Trautmann, Heyne-Schücking and Holthausen follow Kemble in reading *eaferan*, Klaeber, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXIX, p. 428, dissenting. In the manuscript, *eaferum* is written out in full, and is not abbreviated by means of the customary heavy hooked line over the preceding vowel. If the ending appeared as *ū*, which might stand for incorrectly transcribed *ā*, since the hook denoted *-n* as well as *-m*, there might be reason for emendation to *-an*. Even then, final *-an* abridged to *ā* is exceedingly rare in *Beowulf:* l. 60 rǣswa*n* (Kemble), is *ræswa* without a hook in the text, and l. 2996 *syðða*, altered by Gruntvig to syðða*n*, is similarly unmarked. Chambers's revision of Wyatt, (Wyatt-Chambers, *Beowulf*, Cambridge, England, 1914, p. xix, fn. 2), reads *forðā* in ll. 2645 and 2741 as *forðam*. On the other hand, acc. sg. *eaferan* appears in all clearness in ll. 1547 and 1847; nom. pl. *eaferan* in l. 2475; acc. pl. *eaferan* in l. 1185,—all three functions of the identical form at full length, whilst in l. 2470 MS. *eaferū* yields dat. pl. *eaferum* and in l. 1710 *eaforum* is unabridged.

editions of the text and the linguistically more valuable translations based upon them. The latter, mirroring in the concrete the textual conjectures advanced, must be regarded as of considerable significance, particularly so when prepared by the editors themselves, such as Heyne or Grein or Wyatt.[5]

A. In the first class stand Thorpe and Heyne-Socin who in their respective editions, 1855 and 1888 (the fifth edition of Heyne), felt the urgent need of some explicative preposition in front of *eaferum.* Accordingly Thorpe proposed *be* and read and translated the passage as follows, the introduction being mine:

(There song and music was mingled together
Before Healfdene's battle-leader,
The harp was struck, full many songs recited)

þonne heal-gamen	when *the* joy of hall
Hrôðgâres scôp,	Hrothgar's gleeman,
æfter medo-bence,	after *the* mead-bench
mænan scolde	should recount
(be) Finnes eaferum,	(of) Fin's offspring,
þâ hîe se fǣr begeat	when them peril o'erwhelmed;
hæleþ Healfdenes	when Healfdene's hero
* * * * *	* * * * *
feallan scolde.	was doomed to fall.

Holder,. whose *Abdruck* is based on a collation by Thorpe,[6] improves on the latter to the extent of a colon and marks of quotation before the interpolated (*Be*) and glosses the word as 'mit Bezug auf, für, um—willen, im Umkreise von.'

As recently as last year, Professor Klaeber[7] repudiates his

[5] For a tolerably complete account of the translations of *Beowulf* before 1903, consult C. B. Tinker, *The Translations of Beowulf, a Critical Bibliography,* New York, 1903.

[6] Holder, *Beowulf,* 3rd ed., Freiburg und Leipzig, 1895.

[7] *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* XIV, p. 548.

former endorsement[8] of Trautmann's correction, *q. v.* under B., of MS. *eaferum* to *-an,* and declares that "the insertion of *be* (Thorpe) in l. 1068: *be Finnes eaferum* 'about Finn's men' or 'about Finn and his men' (cp. *Hrēðlingas* 2960, *eaforum Ecgwelan* 1710) is after all more natural than the change to *eaferan* (*Bonner Beitr. z. Angl.* II, 183), tho the latter would be quite possible stylistically (*Angl.* XXVIII, 443)." It would then seem as if Klaeber were in reality quite uncertain which emendation to accept, Kemble's prefixal preposition or Trautmann's terminal change of the crucial word. What is important to note is that in both instances he proposes an alteration of the original text.[9]

Socin's edition of Heyne (5-7: 1888-1903) involves the addition of a postpositive *fram* to l. 1068,

mǣnan scolde
Finnes eaferum fram, þā hie se fǣr begeat,

somewhat in the sense of l. 875: *þæt hē fram Sigemunde hȳrde ellen-dǣdum,* 'concerning Sigemund, concerning his deeds of valor.'[10] I leave both suggestions, *be* and *fram,* with the remark that, besides the textual alteration they imply, they also disturb the metrical arrangement of the line in which they would have to be interpolated.

[8] *Anglia,* XXVIII, p. 433.

[9] The provenience of the preposition *be* has given rise to misunderstanding. It is correctly given by Klaeber as coming from Thorpe, and incorrectly, let us say, by Holder as being Kemble's suggestion. Thorpe, to be sure, did not publish the results of his investigations until 1855 and one finds before this that both the German H. Leo (*Beowulf, Ein Beitrag,* Halle, 1839, p. 80, *bë Finnes ëaferum*) and Kemble's second edition, 1835, and his translation, 1837, submit the insertion. The well-known intercommunication between Kemble and Thorpe (cf. Wyatt-Chambers, p. xxi, and a footnote to be found in Kemble's text to l. 2129 "(*Be*) *Finnes. T.*") leave, I believe, no doubt as to the actual source of the suggestion.

[10] The emendation *Sigemundes* is Grein's.

J. Lesslie Hall's poetic translation [11] follows its prototype, the Heyne-Socin text, very closely:

> when the singer of Hrothgar
> On mead-bench should mention the merry hall-joyance
> Of the kinsmen of Finn, when onset surprised them:
> "The Half-Danish hero, Hnæf of the Scyldings,
> On the field of the Frisians was fated to perish.

B. The second class of critics attempts the transformation of MS. *eaferum* into *eaferan,* following therein Trautmann's scheme, allusion to which has just been made in connection with Klaeber's reversion to Thorpe. Trautmann has since similarly withdrawn his change and offered instead *gefēran,* an entirely new word,[12] but in his original conjecture he proceeds as follows: The court poet cannot be said to sing a hall-joy when he begins to chant the mournful lay of Finn's descendants. Hence *healgamen* must be *heal-guma,* a 'hall man,' in apposition to *scop;* then, in order to furnish another object to *mǣnan* Trautmann substitutes *eaferan* for *eaferum,*[13] the presence of which in the text he attributes to a Northumbrian *eaferu.* The resultant construction reads, 'Then must a hall-man, a bard of Hrothgar, laud (or lament?)[14] Finn's descendants along the mead-benches.'

Binz, in his review of Trautmann,[15] goes even farther and reads *ðonne healgumum . . . mǣnan scolde Finnes*

[11] Boston, 1892.

[12] He translates, 'besingen sollte den Finn und seine gefährten, als das verderben über sie kam'; cf. Trautmann, *Finn und Hildebrand, Bonner Beitr.*, VII, p. 11 (1903). This new version is quite superfluous; cf. Cosijn, *Aanteekeningen op den Beowulf,* Leiden, 1891-2, p. 26.

[13] Transversely, he alters l. 1064 *hilde-wīsan* into *hilde-wīsum,* pl., altho in *Finn und Hildebrand* he resumes the original form.

[14] *mǣnan* 2, English 'moan.'

[15] *Zs. f. deut. Phil.*, XXXVII, p. 529.

earfeþu ða hine se fǣr begeat, where the direct object of *mǣnan* is *earfeþu,* and the dative *healgumum:* the scop sang to the men in the hall of the tribulations of Finn. The sense is excellent but the emendation reckless.

Trautmann's recommendation, modified by Klaeber,[16] to the extent of retaining *heal-gamen* as the first, and *eaferan* as the second direct object of *mǣnan*—a stylistically unusual but yet justifiable juxtaposition,[17] with the meaning, 'when Hrothgar's minstrel proclaimed the joys of the hall: the descendants of Finn, when destruction fell over them,'—was adopted in the editions of Holthausen,[18] and Heyne-Schücking [10], 1913, and is considered by Professor Lawrence the best solution of the difficulty.[19]

Among the translators of *Beowulf,* Gummere renders in accordance with this conception [20]

> as Hrothgar's singer the hall-joy woke
> along the mead-seats, making his song
> of that sudden raid on the sons of Finn.
> Healfdene's hero, Hnæf the Scylding,
> was fated to fall in the Frisian slaughter.

Similarly Vogt, Halle, 1905:

> Als Lust in der Halle Hrodgars Sänger
> Zu verkünden begann die Metbank entlang:
> Von den Söhnen Finns, da sie Ueberfall traf
> Und Halfdenes Held, Hnäf der Skylding,
> In Fresväl sollte sein Ende finden.

Trautmann himself, in his translation [21] which carries

[16] *Anglia,* XXVIII, p. 443.

[17] Cf. *Herrigs Archiv,* CVIII, p. 370.

[18] Second and third editions, 1908-9 and 1912-3. The text of the first edition shows *eaferum,* but the notes, 1906, advocate Trautmann's acc. pl. form.

[19] W. W. Lawrence, *Beowulf and the Tragedy of Finnsburg,* PMLA, XXX, p. 397.

[20] Gummere, *The Oldest English Epic,* New York, 1909.

[21] *Bonner Beiträge,* XVI (1904).

out all the modifications proposed in his *Finn und Hildebrand,* writes

1066 als ein saalmann, ein sänger Hrothgars,
über die metbänke hin besingen sollte den
Finn und seine gefährten, als das verderben über sie kam:
('Hnæf, der held der Halbdänen, der Scildinge,
sollte auf einer Friesen-walstatt fallen.

Gering's version [22] follows Holthausen's text; consequently we find

1065 Die Harfe ertönte zum Heldenliede,
Das Hrodgars Sänger den Hörern zur Lust
Auf des Machthabers Wunsch an der Metbank vortrug,
Wie Finns Geschlecht das Furchtbare traf
Und Hnäf der Scylding, ein Held der Dänen,
Auf friesischer Walstatt fallen sollte.

C. The critical editors of the third class attempt no change in the text with respect to the word *eaferum,* altho their interpretation of the latter is twofold. Thus, Heyne [23] holds the form to be a dative plural, ends the clause introduced by *þonne* with *begeat,* and sets marks of quotation before the next line. On the other hand, Grein's *Sprachschatz* [24] lists *eaferum* as an instrumental plural, and in fact both Grein and Wülcker regard the form as an inst. pl. with reference to *feallan scolde.*[25] Arnold, who in general adheres to Grein's constructions, prints the passage without deviation from his prototype.[26] Wyatt approves of Grein's solution of the problem.[27] Sedge-

[22] Second edition, Heidelberg, 1913. Page xiv advises the reader that the author has had access to the proofsheets of Holthausen.

[23] First edition, Paderborn, 1863, l. 1069!

[24] First edition, 1864; new edition, by Köhler and Holthausen, Heidelberg, 1912.

[25] Grein, *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie,* I, Göttingen, 1857; 2nd edition, by Wülcker, Kassel, 1883.

[26] Arnold, *Beowulf,* London, 1876.

[27] Wyatt, *Beowulf,* Cambridge, 1894 and 1898.

field's edition—prepared upon an actual consultation of the manuscript—in a like manner retains the *-um* plural,[28] whilst the latest edition in the bibliography of the subject, Chambers's Wyatt,[29] remarks, "It is less satisfactory from the point of view of style [30] (than Trautmann's alteration) to make the lay begin, as in the text, with l. 1068; but it enables us to keep *eaferum*, which we must take as instrumental."

Heyne's translation, made from his first edition, being long out of print, was inaccessible to me, save in the second version,[31]

> 1072 und oft erklang die Harfe zu dem Liede
> von Halfdens Feldherrn und von Finnes Söhnen,
> als sie der Überfall betraf; der Sänger
> des Königs würzte so des Schmauses Freude:
> „Der Dänen Held, der Skylding Hnäf erlag
> „in Friesenburg. . . .

Garnett's English rendering [32] is based on Grein's text of 1867, but makes use of Heyne's fourth edition as well:

> 1066 When joy in hall Hrothgar's minstrel
> Along the mead-bench was to make known:
> "He sang of Finn's sons when that danger befell
> The heroes of Healfdene, when Hnæf of the Scyldings
> In Frisian land was fated to fall.

It is evident that the version of l. 1068 here advanced relegates Garnett to Class B, even tho his fundamental

[28] First edition, Manchester, 1910, follows Holthausen [1] as to text, but translates 'was to fall at the hands of the sons of Finn.' The second edition, 1913, harks back to Thorpe, without a change in the text, "The insertion of *be* would simplify the construction."

[29] Cambridge, 1914.

[30] As to this objection cf. pp. 776 ff.

[31] Paderborn, 1898; first edition, 1863.

[32] Boston, 1882; poetic, not prose, as Sedgefield lists it; 4th edition, 1900; the 2d edition, 1885, is consulted.

text is that of Grein. On the other hand, Ettmüller,[33] starting out with the following manuscript reading

552 þonne healgamen Hrôðgâres scôp
äfter medobence mænan scolde:
"Finnes eaforum, þâ hie se fær begeat,
* * * * feallan scolde!

arrives at an entirely different result:[34]

"Durch Finnes Nachkommen, als sie Fahr ergriff,
'Healfdenes Held, Hnäf der Skildinge,
'in den Frisen Lande fallen sollte.

Similarly Grein,[35]

1068 „Durch die Abkömmlinge des Finn, als der Ueberfall betraf
„die Helden Healfdenes, sollte Hnäf der Skilding
„fallen blutig auf der Friesenwalstatt.

Arnold imitates his prototype quite closely,[36] "By Finn's heirs, when the peril assailed them, Healfdene's hero, Hnæf the Scylding, in the Frisian slaughter was doomed to fall." Clark Hall, relying upon Wyatt's reading which, we recall, here agrees with Grein's, translates, ". . . the harp was played, a ballad oft rehearsed, when Hrothgar's bard was to proclaim joy in the hall along the mead-bench. 'Hnæf of the Scyldings, a hero of the Half-Danes, was doomed to fall in the Frisian quarrel, by the sons of Finn, when the alarm reached them . . ."[37]

[33] Ettmüller, *Engla and Seaxna scopas and bôceras*, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1837. In the footnotes he remarks, "Kemblius hunc versum (554) ad verba priora trahit, jungens eum cum *mænan scolde;* et Thorpius *be Finnes eaforum* legere vult."

[34] Cf. his alliterating translation, Zürich, 1840.

[35] Grein, *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*, Göttingen, 1857.

[36] Arnold, Text, London, 1878, p. 72 fn. and *Notes on Beowulf*, New York and Bombay, 1898. According to Garnett, *AJP*, I, p. 90, Arnold's text is Thorpe's, modified to suit Grein, 1857.

[37] Clark Hall, *Beowulf*, prose, London, 1901. His metrical trans-

Child's translation is but a variant of this[38]: "Through the sons of Finn, when the onslaught came on them, must Hnæf the Scylding, famed warrior of the Half-Danes, in the Frisian slaughter meet with his fall."

Lastly, Wyatt-Chambers's note, p. 55, "At the hands of the children of Finn . . . the hero of the Healfdene, Hnæf, was doomed to fall," corresponds in construction faithfully to Morris and Wyatt's alliterative version, London, 1895:

> The wood of glee greted, the lay wreaked often,
> Whenas the hall-game the minstrel of Hrothgar
> All down by the mead-bench tale must be making:
> "By Finn's sons aforetime, when the fear gat them,
> The hero of Half-Danes, Hnæf of the Scyldings,
> On the slaughter-field Frisian needs must he fall."

II

Chambers's defense of his interpretation of l. 1068 is of peculiar significance: "It is less satisfactory from the point of view of style to make the lay begin, as in the text, with l. 1068; *but it enables us to keep* eaferum, *which we must take as instrumental.*" (Italics mine.) The principle of basing conclusions preferably upon the unamended text receives here an important illustration. The present writer has before this brought the force and function designated by the *-um* ending in Anglo-Saxon in line with a

lation, Cambridge, 1914, based, as the author admits, no longer on Wyatt, but on a "catholic" collation of texts, reads differently:

> when Hrothgar's bard was to give sport
> to mead-bench folk about Finn's sons,
> on whom there came the sudden blow.
> "Hnæf of the Scyldings, hero and Half-Dane,
> was fated to fall in the Frisian slaughtér.

[38] Child, *Beowulf*, prose, The Riverside Literature Series, New York, 1904.

similar phenomenon to be found in all the chief Germanic languages,—the dative-instrumental of personal agency.[1] It is this dative of the agent which, without a specific name or a surmise as to its dialectal correlation, had been proposed for the rendering of *eaferum* by Ettmüller, Grein, Wülcker, Wyatt, Arnold, Chambers, and others referred to in the preceding pages. W. W. Lawrence[2] credits Grein and Wyatt with their share of the suggestion, but is unaware of the corroborative evidence collected by the writer. On the other hand, Professor Klaeber,[3] finds, after an investigation of the subject, that "a strong effort has recently been made to establish the use of this dative in Anglo-Saxon, . . . but the instances adduced are of questionable value and afford only very slender support." In view of the stand taken by these two scholars in favor of an unnecessary alteration in the *Beowulf* manuscript, it behooves us to state and stress the actual facts of the case.

It is well known that the Germanic, hence the Anglo-Saxon, dative is, like the dative form in Greek and the ablative in Latin, a syncretistic case and comprises the function of the instrumental as well, not to speak in this connection of the ablative and the locative.[4] It is admitted that instances of such personified action as Gothic, *uswagidai jah usflaugidai winda ƕammeh*, 'circumferamur omni vento doctrinae,' *Eph.* 4, 14; Old Norse, *ǫll hǫllin mun vera skipuð hræðilegum ormum, Fornm. Suð.* 70, 26; Anglo-Saxon, *dēaw-drīas weorðeð winde geondsāwen, Dan.* 277,—evidencing a synthetic 'dative' form, are nevertheless expressive of an instrumental func-

[1] Green, *The Dative of Agency*, New York, 1913, pp. 95 ff. and *JEGPh.*, XIII, pp. 515 ff.

[2] *PMLA.*, XXX, p. 398.

[3] *JEGPh.*, XIV, p. 548.

[4] Cf. Delbrück, *Synkretismus*, Strassburg, 1907.

tion. Such 'personified means' can and does gradate into the force of the 'personal agent' in Old Norse and Gothic; thus, Old Norse, *Norðimbraland var mest byggt Norðmonnum,* *Fornm.* I, 23, *ok vasat hann ósum alinn, Vm.* 38, 5 'er wurde nicht von den Asen erzeugt';[5] and similarly, *ráþ's þér ráþit, Fm.* 21, 1 in the sense of *af dig.*[6] Gothic, *ei ni gasaihvaizau mannam fastands, Mt.* 6, 18, which already Köhler[7] classes among the datives with passive verbs, "wie wir im Lateinischen gar nicht selten beim Passivum den Dativ . . . finden," and which is correctly rendered in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, *þæt þū ne sȳ gesewen fram mannum fæstende; Mk.* 11, 17 *þata razn mein razn bido haitada allaim þiudom* is shown by the Anglo-Saxon version to be instrumental in force, *þæt mīn hūs fram eallum þēodum bið genemneð gebedhūs.*

It is, thus, erroneous to say that, while the parallel syntactic development of Old Norse, Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon is not assailed, a dative-instrumental of agency in the last-named dialect is *à priori* out of the question.[8] It is our ill-luck that, while the use, in general, of the instrumental without prepositions is preserved,[9] the very idea of agency in *Beowulf,* as indeed in Anglo-Saxon poetry as a whole, is rare. It will be remembered that indefinite passives, *i. e.,* verbs with the psychological subject unmentioned, are common also to the poetically terse *Heliand.*[10]

[5] Delbrück, *op. cit.,* p. 173. Detter and Heinzel, *Sæmundar Edda,* Leipzig, 1903, II, p. 165, annotate this passage, "Der nackte Dativ kann in Passivconstructionen statt des mit *af* verbundenen stehen."

[6] Nygaard, *Norrøn Syntax,* Kristiania, 1905, p. 99.

[7] *Germania,* XI, p. 287.

[8] Klaeber, *JEGPh., loc. cit.*

[9] Brandl, *Pauls Grundriss,*[2] II, p. 991.

[10] Löffler, *Das Passiv bei Otfrid und im Heliand,* Tübingen, 1905, p. 11. The present writer has been collecting instances, from the older stages of various Germanic dialects, of stylistic *substitutes* for

However, there are at our disposal unmistakable examples from the later *Cædmon* which have a peculiar *à fortiori* bearing upon the existence of the personal agent in that *Beowulf* which is as yet entirely devoid of the analytic agent.[11] These examples are, *Gen.* 1553, *gefylled wearð eall þes middangeard monna bearnum; Gen. 1765, fromcyme folde weorðeð þīne gefylled,* 'the earth by your descendants shall be populated' [12]; *Gen.* 1967, *þā wæs gūðhergum be Jordane wera ēðelland geondsended, folde feondum,* 'then near the Jordan the dwellings of men were beleaguered with armies, the land by the enemies'; [13] *Gen.* 2001, *gewiton . . . secgum ofslegene,* 'sore pressed by the heroes' [14]; *Gen.* 2204, *þæt sceal fromcynne folde þine geseted wurðan,* 'settled by your descendants' [15]; *Sat.* 558, *þā wæs on eorðan ēce drihten feowertig daga folgad folcum,* 'drauf war auf Erden noch der ewigliche Herr gefolgt (oder, bedient) vom Volke vierzig Tage.' [16] The examples here cited cannot be called inconclusive. An instance like *Gen.* 1162, *he æðelinga rim feorum geicte,* 'he increased the number of the noblemen by means of children,'

the personal agency with passive expressions. An enumeration of the various types does not belong to these pages, yet it is interesting to observe that an almost lapidary sentence like *Beow.* 2202, *Heardrēde hilde-mēceas tō bonan wurdon,* manages to avoid altogether the modern 'slain-*by*-the-enemies' construction; that in *Soul,* 110 ff., *bið þæt heafod tohliden, handa toliðode, geaglas toginene, goman toslitene, sina beoð asocene, swyra becowen,* where at least in connection with the last phrase one expects an equivalent of 'a vermibus,' there is no agent expressed; that there is to be found at times even a studied omission of it, as in *Ps. C,* 33, *handgeweorces þines anes,* to render 'manu facti a te uno.'

[11] Cf. *The Analytic Agent in Germanic, JEGPh.,* XIII, p. 518.

[12] Grein, *Sprachschatz*[2], p. 229, '*inst.* fromcyme þine.'

[13] *Idem.,* p. 187: *inst. pl.* feondum.

[14] Grein, *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen,* I, p. 56.

[15] Grein, *Sprachschatz*[2], p. 229, *inst.* fromcynne þine.

[16] Cf. *idem.,* p. 204.

'liberis,' is a good illustration of what the dative-instrumental of personal agency is not: *he* is the subject, and *feorum* is the instrumental of personal means.[17] The causer of the increase, the source, is Cain, and not the children which he procreated during the 840 years alluded to by the chronicler. However, in *Cri.* 1593, *þonne heofon and hel hæleða bearnum fira feorum fylde weorðeð,* 'when heaven and hell become populated with the sons of heroes, the lives of men,' one can no more assume that *feorum* is a similar instrumental of means, since it at the same time denotes the actual doer of the action;—what other answer can be given to the question, 'who is to populate heaven and hell?' Moreover, what is to be said of the following instances? *Ps.* 106^{38}, *oft hi fea wurdan feondum geswencte,* 'vexati,'[18] where the 'enemy' is the immediate cause of the vexation; *Run.* 22, l. 67, *Ing wæs ærest mid Eastdenum gesewen secgun,* where the rune in question was 'seen first by men among the East-Danes'[19]; 14 *Ælfric* 16 (Sweet's Reader), *wearð ða him inweardlice gelufod,* 'beloved by him,' as against the analytic, *Ælfred, B.* 314, *he wæs fram eallum monnum lufað; Cri.* 625, *scealt eft geweorþan wyrmum aweallen,* where surely the 'worms,' living beings, represent the logical subject of the action, 'durchwallt von Würmern'[20]; *Jud.* 115, *wyrmum bewunden, witum gebunden* a striking example at once of the personal agent, *wyrmum,* and of the personified means of

[17] Similarly in *Gen.* 2235, *þa heo wæs magotimbre be Abrahame eacen worden,* the real agent of the passive expression is Abraham,—here analytically and not synthetically denoted—and the 'son' is a mere indication of the means of the action, 'when she with a man-child by Abraham was become heavy.'

[18] Grein, *Sprachschatz,*[2] p. 187.

[19] Jacob Grimm, Ettmüller, Grein: *secgum;* cf. Grein, *Sprachschatz,* p. 590.

[20] Grein, *op. cit.,* p. 86.

the action, *witum,* 'von Würmern umwunden, mit Wehqual gebunden'; *Mod.* 56, *fæst wyrmum beþrungen,* 'fest von Würmern bedrängt,' with which compare Old Norse, *í garð þanns skriþinn vas innan ormum,* 'perreptatum anguibus,' *Akv.* 34, 2; *Phoen.* 340, *Fenix biþ on middum þreatum biþrungen,* 'vom Vögelschwarm umdrungen.'

This is one of the cases where the writer cannot add, 'instances may be multiplied at will.' They cannot, and sufficient reasons have been given for the want. But instances there are, as we have seen, and enough in number to refute in themselves the complaint that to retain the MS. reading of *Beowulf,* l. 1068, *eaferum* would give rise to "a harsh and unusual construction." Significant in this connection is also Trautmann's notion of l. 1103, *þā him swā geþearfod wæs,* which he regards as a corruption of *geþeahfod,* in the sense, 'darauf war (ward) ihnen so überlegt = darauf überlegten, beschlossen sie dies.'[21] He correlates the construction with l. 1787, *þā wæs eft swā ǣr ellenrōfum flet-sittendum fægere gereorded,* 'da ward wieder wie früher von den streitbaren, den saalgästen, geziemend geschmaust.'[22] As to the interpretation of l. 1151, *þā wæs heal roden fēonda fēorum*[23] which Trautmann alters to *stroden fēonda folcum,* 'darauf ward die halle geplündert von den haufen der feinde,'[24] Klaeber himself operates[25] with the concept of agency as nearly as one can without defining his syntactical ground, "von lebenden wesen oder leibern," 'the hall was made red by living beings.' It is plain that the editors of *Beowulf* have from time to time felt the need of this category of agency,

[21] Trautmann, *Finn und Hildebrand,* p. 19; *Bonner Beiträge,* XVI, p. 63, 'Darauf ward von ihnen dies beschlossen.'

[22] *Bonner Beiträge,* XVI, p. 101.

[23] MS. *hroden:* Bugge, *roden.*

[24] *Bonner Beiträge,* XVI, p. 65.

[25] *Anglia,* XXVIII, p. 445.

but hesitated as to its logical general application because of a lack of collected evidence.

And lastly of all, the very word which has given rise to all this discussion and formed one of the pivotal points in the interpretation of the Finn Episode, actually exists in two other instances, a comparison with which would seem to allow no room for further doubt: a) *Gen.* 2222, *þæt ic mægburge moste þinre rim miclian roderum under eaforum þinum,* 'that I might increase the number of thy race with thy descendants,' where *eaforum* is the person used as the means,—the proximate agent, I have elsewhere called the type,—with *ic, sc.* Sarra, the subject; b) *Riddles* 21[21], *ne weorþeð sio mægburg gemicledu eaforan minum,*[26] 'shall not be increased by my posterity,'[27] where *eaforan* is what I have termed the ultimate agent.

It is this failure to detect, and accordingly recognize, the existence of the dative-instrumental of personal agency in Germanic which has led to unnecessary alterations in manuscripts transmitted to us. It moved, for example, Gering, in his third edition of Hildebrand,[28] to omit entirely the *mér* of the Codex Regius in *HH.* II, 8, 6, *því vas á lǿgi mér litt steikt etit,* because he did not comprehend its auctorial force and naturally could not find another meaning suited to the passage. It was for the same reason that Grimm, Ettmüller, and Vigfússon-Powell modified the Regius *ráþ's þér ráþit, Fm.* 21, 1 to *ráþ's mér ráþit,* thus substituting, in violation of the context, a dative of the indirect object in place of the logical subject, Sigurþr.[29]

[26] Grein, *Sprachschatz,*[2] p. 140, "*inst. pl.*"

[27] Cf. Grein, *Dichtungen,* II, p. 217.

[28] Hildebrand-Gering, *Die Lieder der älteren Edda,* 3d ed., Paderborn, 1912.

[29] I find solely Nygaard, *Norrøn Syntax,* 1905, p. 99, giving the correct meaning of the passage, *af dig.*

And, similarly, with respect to *Beow. l.* 2957 *þa wæs æht boden sweona leodum*,[30] Schröder would not have been impelled to search for a modification, *lēoda*,[31] if he had understood the force of the instrumental form in the manuscript.

III

We are now in a position to define the point at which the Finn-Episode opens. The stumbling-block, *eaferum*, manifestly need not be altered to *eaferan;* but what is the rationale of the verses 1066-1070? A glance at the varied texts and translations in Chapter I convinces us that the contested word has either been referred to the verb, *mǣnan scolde*,—as a direct object in the form of *eaferan*, or as a species of circumstantial dative, (*be* or *fram*) *eaferum*,—or, on the other hand, set off in a sentence of its own, as the efficient instrumentality of the procedure. In the instance of the prepositional phrase, both Thorpe and Socin construe *heal-gamen* as the object of *mǣnan*, and the gleeman 'excites joy in the hall, concerning Finn's descendants,' or 'mentions hall-joyance of the kinsmen of Finn.' With the adoption of the accusative form, *heal-gamen* becomes the first, and *eaferan* the second and appositive object of *mǣnan;* in other words, the minstrel 'proclaims the joys of the hall, viz. the descendants of Finn, when destruction fell over them.' Line 1068, *Finnes eaferan, ðā hīe se fǣr begeat*, would accordingly terminate the sentence introduced by *ðonne*. This demarcation, advocated by Klaeber,[1] is the division also of Kemble, Thorpe, Leo, Heyne, Socin, and Trautmann,[2] to

[30] Zupitza's autotype. [31] *Anglia*, XIII, pp. 346 ff.

[1] *Anglia*, XXVIII, p. 443.

[2] His latest conjecture appears in *Finn und Hildebrand*, p. 11.

enumerate only editors of the text. Schücking, accepting Trautmann's reading of *eaferan,* ends the sentence with *feallan scolde,* evades the issue, and presents a version which is well-nigh unintelligible, unless *ond* be understood before *hæleð*.[3] In this he is followed by Holthausen [3] (*Heidelberg* 1912-13). It is plain that, when the manuscript reading is retained, *mǣnan scolde* terminates one sentence, and *Finnes eaferum* begins another, which is closed by *feallan scolde.* This plan is endorsed by Grein, Wülcker, Arnold, Wyatt, Hoder, Chambers, and by both Holthausen [1] and Sedgefield,[1-2] since they assume a lacuna after l. 1067, in imitation, I believe, of Rieger's *Lesebuch.*

The interpretation of the passage by all of the critics, save a few, regards the Episode as a direct quotation, the actual reproduction of the minstrel's words; but opinion is not lacking as to the paraphrastic character of the so-called lay. Marks of quotation are placed before l. 1068, "*Finnes* . . by Ettmüller, Grein, Wülcker, Bugge, Wyatt, Holder, Arnold, Holthausen,[1] Sedgefield [1-2], and Chambers; before l. 1069, "*Hæleð* . . by Heyne, Socin and Trautmann;[4] before l. 1071, "*Nē hūru Hildeburh* . . by Schücking and Holthausen [3];[5] whilst Kemble, Thorpe, and Grundtvig—the latter assumes a considerable gap after *Scyldinga*—print no signs of division or of quota-

[3] Bugge, *PBB*, XII, p. 28, Grein, *Sprachschatz*[1], and Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge*, II, p. 183, construe *hæleð* as an acc. pl. parallel with *hīe*. More of this later.

[4] Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge*, II, p. 184 (1899): 1069[b] "*Hnæf Scyldinga; Finn und Hildebrand,* 1903, p. 30, and *Bonner Beiträge*, XVI, p. 60, 1069[a], "*Hæleð*.

[5] Schücking, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXIX, p. 106, construes l. 1069, *hæleð scolde*, as an asyndetic, second dependent clause, introduced by *ðā:* 'als der held—fallen sollte.' "Dann beginnt der erste hauptsatz der eigentlichen erzählung. So beginnt die Sigmund-geschichte erst mit langem indirektem erzählungssatz bis sie v. 885 in den hauptsatz übergeht."

tion. Among the translators, l. 1068 forms the commencement of the quotation in Ettmüller, Grein, Garnett, Clark Hall, Child, Tinker (based on Wyatt's text), Wyatt-Morris, and Gering[1]; l. 1069 in Lesslie Hall, Earle, and Trautmann, and l. 1071 in Gering[2]. As against all of these, Gummere has no marks of quotation, but a simple indentation in l. 1069, explained in the footnote, "As before about Sigemund and Heremond, so now, tho at greater length, about Finn and his feud, a lay is chanted or recited; and the epic poet, counting on his readers' familiarity with the story, . . . simply gives the headings."

The retention of *eaferum* is closely bound up with the question as to whether the Episode is directly quoted or paraphrased. For, with a paraphrase at hand, it makes decidedly better sense to alter the grammatical form of the word in favor of an accusative. And, vice versa, such a modification enables those in favor of an indirect quotation to point to the Sigemund-tale, ll. 871-915, and to the strikingly similar method of introduction in both episodes.[6] On the return journey from the mere, we are told, the warriors eagerly echo Beowulf's glory, and a thane of Hrothgar improvises a rhythmic vaunt in honor of Grendel's bane:

871 this warrior soon
of Beowulf's quest right cleverly sang,
and artfully added an excellent tale,
in well-ranged words, of the warlike deeds
875 he heard in the saga of Sigemund.
Strange the story: he said it all,—
The Wælsing's wanderings wide, his struggles,[7]

and with this he has already plunged *in medias res* and enumerates the chief points of interest in this subtly fused lay.

[6] W. W. Lawrence, *loc. cit.*, p. 400. [7] Gummere's rendering.

If however the other episodes of *Beowulf* are examined, the parallel drawn between the stories of Sigemund and Finn turns out to be only partly true, and the argument itself inconclusive. There is indeed a quality which sets them apart from the other episodes in the poem; it is not their reminiscential tone, for in *Beowulf* all episodes are recounted in a reminiscential tone,[8] but the fact that, together with the Song of Creation, ll. 90-98, they form a triad of lays chanted by professional scops in the epic. All the other episodes may be disregarded in this connection; not because they are irrelevant parentheses,—for, in general, only a few of the digressions, as such, have their logical justification—but on account of their method of admission into the poem. Merely a small fraction of the parenthetic passages is introduced by means of a transitional step; most of them appear abruptly, with only "a tacit understanding between poet and hearers as to their nature."[9] Thus the tale of Freawaru and Ingeld, one of the clear-cut episodic narratives, is not told directly, but only incidentally, as part of the hero's report of his adventures to his uncle. The episode of the shrewish Thrytho, suggested by the mild grace of queen Hygd, is—just as the contrast between Beowulf and Heremod—referred to in an entirely disjointed manner. Ongentheow's deeds of valor at Ravenswood are but another of the many signs of Anglo-Saxon poetic discursiveness. The function of such lines of ancient gossip is to enrich and embellish the narrative with which they stand in no organic relation.

Of the three minstrel-sung lays, the first one is indirect. It begins,

[8] Cf. Pizzo, *Zur frage der ästhetischen einheit des Beowulf*, *Anglia*, XXXIX, p. 1.

[9] Cf. Routh, *Two Studies on the Ballad Theory of the Beowulf*, Diss., Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1905, p. 44.

þǣr wæs hearpan swēg,
90 swutol sang scopes. Sægde sē þe cūþe
frumsceaft fīra feorran reccan,
cwæð þæt se Ælmihtiga eorðan worhte,

Its setting aligns it with that of the Finn-tale and against the Lay of Sigemund. For, whereas the latter is recited in a quite informal manner, while the warriors make merry with racing and anecdotes, the Song of Creation and the Lay of Finn are of a solemn and formal character. In both instances the scop, a man greatly sought after and honored by kings, ceremoniously takes up his harp in the feast-hall and recites his song to the accompaniment of the glee-wood. The method of introduction in the case of the Sigemund episode, it need not be stressed, is substantially different, altho superficially similar. That they both have an introductory passage is natural: narrative technic required something more than the bare announcement by the poet of *Beowulf* that "a professional improvisator performed."

The Lay of Finn, moreover, seems rather to stand in a class of its own. Its insertion is more artistic than that of the two other episodes, in that it is no mere Christian moralizing as the Song of the Creation,[10] nor, on the other hand, one of the numerous irrelevant poetic "tags," as is the Sigemund episode,—altho the motivation of the latter

[10] It has not yet been brought out that this "song" is interpolated for the express *purpose* of depicting the state of mind of the evil spirit.

86 Ðā se ellen-gǣst earfoðlīce
þrāge geþolode, sē þe in þȳstrum bād,
þæt hē dōgora gehwām drēam gehȳrde
hlūdne in healle;

the aptest subject-matter for his especial exasperation; hence it is manifestly not of the ordinary run of capriciously selected extraneous tales, nor an episode in the anecdotic sense.

is without doubt of a superior quality. Alone of the three bardic tales it appears to be least dragged in by main force, but to have a distinct beginning and a distinct end. The reader is prepared for it by a graphic picture of the feast and revelry within the hall, the rise of the minstrel and the "greeting" of his harp.[11] And when the song comes to an end, the *Beowulf*-poet uniquely adds,

. Lēoð wæs āsungen,
1160 glēo-mannes gyd. gamen eft āstāh.[12]

Compare with this the mere continuation of the account previously given of the clansmen's daily doings in l. 99,

Swā ðā driht-guman drēamum lifdon,

and with the resumption of the spirited horse-race at the conclusion of the tale concerning Sigemund,

916 Hwīlum flītende fealwe strǣte
mēarum mǣton.

Finally, if we are to believe Boer,[13] l. 864 ff., the opening of the Sigemund episode, is an imitation by the epic poet of l. 916 ff. "Um die Sigemundepisode anzubringen, hat er den umweg [14] vom vermeintlichen wettrennen auf anderen zeitvertreib, von einem vortrag über Béowulfs reise auf einen solchen über Sigemunds taten nicht gescheut,

[11] There is, of course, as the modern critics rightly reason, absolutely no need to assume a gap in the MS. after l. 1067.

[12] The episodes "of Sigemund and Finn (vv. 871 ff.) are introduced as sung by Hrothgar's scop, tho the former is in indirect discourse only. An account of Heremod follows it, and after this the return is abrupt and unexpected (v. 1063). In the case of the Finn episode both departure and return are made much more emphatic (vv. 1065, 1159)" (Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, Boston, 1907, p. 189). Cf. also Boer, *Die altenglische Heldendichtung*, Halle, 1912, p. 30.

[13] Boer, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 27, 48.

[14] The long transition has, indeed, the effect, even tho not the character, of a "parenthetic exclamation"; cf. Krapp, *MLN*, xx, p. 33.

aber dass an der stelle, von der er ausgeht, von einem wettrennen als zeitvertreib die rede sei, hat er fälschlich in den text hineininterpretiert." A statement not at all improbable, when we remember the rather astounding shift from the warriors on the road to the clansmen in the high-built hall, l. 919.

From the foregoing we conclude that the stressing of a similarity between the transmitted form of the Sigemund-episode and of the Lay of Finn, having for its object the establishment of the latter as a paraphrastic account of the *Beowulf*-poet, is unwarranted by the external or stylistic facts of the case. The Finn-episode may, indeed, be an episode of "headings"—allusive clues to a familiar story—but of headings as put in the mouth of the singer of Hrothgar: not the totality of a large Lay of Finn, such as critics and commentators dream of, but as much as the epic poet prefers to have his scop represent in an interlude. The question, as the present writer conceives it, is not whether the minstrel chants such a Lay intact, but purely what the *Beowulf*-poet's sense of epic technic prompted him to entrust to one of his poetic characters. And in the general framework of the entire epic the scop's words are neither prolonged, nor disproportionately abridged. All the varied digressions of the *Beowulf* taken together measure but about four hundred lines.[15]

But little reflection is wanted to convince one that this question of "headings" itself, much made of in behalf of the paraphrase-theory,[16] cannot vitally militate against

[15] Of the entire epic Sedgefield says, "Our poem seems to represent as much as an entertainer could recite at a stretch without fatigue. The whole may be comfortably read without haste and with moderate pauses in about three hours" (*Beowulf*², Introduction, p. xxvii).

[16] Commentators seem not to have noticed that, whereas the general action of the Episode is hurried, for a mere *résumé* the account

the Finn-episode being an exact reproduction of the scop's chant. The same undeveloped elements, the same suggestiveness, and the same suppression or suspension of motives can be discovered in the various specimens of accessible ballad poetry. The dramatic impetuosity of Browning's *How They Brought the Good News from Ghent,* the spirited dash of Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade,* or, for that matter, the spectacular—and, one might say, spasmodic—*Battle of Brunanburh,* all assume a certain familiarity which probably stands in need of no contemporary justification. With but a matter of a half-century between this generation and the Crimean War, and with the defiant bugle-call of the Six Hundred still fresh in our ears, we experience little or no difficulty in grasping the full import of the *Charge.* It is a "current" lay. But, without a full knowledge of the historical circumstances, the poem would prove to distant posterity to be a bundle of cryptic allusions, "discovered" mayhap by an artful critic to be a mere paraphrase. Set in the chant of a future scop, this defect could not be charged to the method of the "legendary poet" Tennyson; the obscurity would be due solely to the ignorance of the auditors.

IV

It now remains for us to consider what readjustments are necessitated in the legendary lore of the Episode by the conservative view taken of the MS. reading. With the discrepancies confronting us in the text, this is a difficult task.[1] That the Finnsburg Fragment and the attack

of the sorrowful funeral rites of Hnæf and his kinsman is entirely too leisurely and full of genuine poetic beauty.

[1] It is conceivable that the poet of *Beowulf* is not the source of the various discrepancies. Cf. Brandl, *Pauls Grundriss,*[2] II, p. 1008;

therein depicted stand in vital connection with the subject-matter of the Episode, is agreed upon on all sides. Furthermore, the textual position of the Fragment relative to the Episode has also ceased to be a subject of serious controversy. As against a possible theory to the effect that the Fragment accounts for the last struggle in which Finn was slain, but especially against Möller, who maintained [2] that the fight portrayed in the former belongs between ll. 1145 and 1146 of *Beowulf,*—in other words, that the Lay represents a supposititious second clash in which Finn breaks the treaty concluded with Hengest [3]—modern editors are, as a rule, at one on Grein's conjecture that the incidents of the Fragment must have taken place prior to those recorded in the Episode, and that the narrative of the former breaks off abruptly just before the death of Hnæf and of Hildeburh's son.[4] Our immediate concern ends with the

cf. also Pizzo, "Allerdings können widersprüche in der verfassung vorhanden sein; wenn aber dies der fall ist, dann war der dichter, als er sie durchgehen liess, nicht der gestalter, sondern das opfer seiner materie," *Anglia*, XXXIX, p. 4. As to the "episodic" poet, in particular, cf. Boer, *Die altenglische Heldendichtung*, I, pp. 45 ff.

[2] Möller, *Das altenglische Volksepos*, Kiel, 1883, p. 65. Möller's interpretation of the Finn-saga has recently been resuscitated by Sedgefield, *Beowulf*², p. 258, s. v. *Finn*, and by M. G. Clarke, *Sidelights on Teutonic History during the Migration Period*, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 181 ff.

[3] Cf. also Schilling, *MLN*, I, pp. 178 ff.; II, pp. 291 ff. That the epic poet would not, if the Fragment represented the second struggle, omit the mention of such an important event, one which really motivates the second part of the Episode, was ably pointed out by Bugge, *PBB*, XII, pp. 1 ff.

[4] There is, of course, no warrant for a belief that the Fragment ever formed part of *Beowulf*. Simrock's insertion of it into the epic, in connection with the Finn-episode, stands to-day deservedly repudiated. Brandl, *Pauls Grundriss*², II, p. 985, considers it to be, rather, an independent poem,—not part of a longer epic,—with a more detailed version of the same subject-matter as is to be found in the Episode. Ker's hypothesis (*Epic and Romance*, London, 1897,

sorrows of Hildeburh. The subsequent course of the hostilities; the pact of peace plighted by the combatants; the plots of vengeance planned by Hengest; the moot interpretation of l. 1142 *worold-rǣdenne;* the exact part played by "Hūnlāfing,"—formerly held to be a sword, but at present, what is more likely, a Danish personage—; the obscure details of the mission of Guthlaf and Oslaf,—all these points present problems that are enticing,[5] but not relevant to the opening of the Episode as such.

The questions of content vitally important for the determination of this opening may be grouped as follows.

(*a*) What is the point of contact between the contending parties?

(*b*) What is the cause of the hostilities culminating in Finn's death?

(*c*) Which of the combatants is responsible for the outbreak of the feud?

pp. 81-84) makes the Fragment the elaboration of but a single scene, the battle in the hall.—Carrying out Brandl's suggestion somewhat farther, may we not see in the Episode and in the Fragment, two poems with closely related but distinct subject-matters? A case in point would be Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade* and his less well-known *Charge of the Heavy Brigade.* Both refer to the Crimean battle of Balaclava, and are absolutely similar in theme and execution. Even as to form,—altho the latter poem is preponderantly anapestic in movement, were it preserved only as a fragment, consecutive lines, such as (III)

Fell like a cannonshot,
Burst like a thunderbolt,
Crash'd like a hurricane,

could well be assigned by a commentator, not conversant with the circumstances, to the dactylic rhythm of the *Light Brigade.*—Such a view cannot, of course, be substantiated. But we may safely say that the poet of the Fragment could not have made use of the saga in the same form as the Episode depicts it. Cf. Heinzel, *Anz. f. deut. Altert.*, x, pp. 228 ff.

[5] An eminently fair discussion of the vengeance of the Danes is given in Professor Lawrence's above-cited article in the *PMLA.*

The reconstruction of the entire story cannot, as has so often been pointed out, be accomplished with final certainty. After all, the two passages at our disposal elucidate but a limited number of data. However, as far as the opening lines are concerned, there is actual warrant for gathering that the far-famed warrior of the Half-Danes, referred to as Hnæf of the Scyldings, meets his death in a Frisian encounter. Thus, thru the treachery of the Frisians, the contending parties: Danes or Half-Danes or Scyldings and Frisians or Eotens, clash in a bloody fray at the residence of the Frisian chieftain, Finn,—most likely the *Fin Folcwalding Frēsna cynne* of *Widsith,* l. 27.

There have been advanced two typical attempts to explain the presence of the Danes at the "court" of Finn. According to the first version,[6] a contingent of Danes under the command of Hnæf,—chief of the Danes, son of Hoc, and probably the ruler of the Hocings mentioned in *Widsith,* l. 29—are staying as guests with Finn (whose wife is Hildeburh, Hnæf's sister), when they are perfidiously attacked by their host. The other explanation would have a war of invasion waged on the Frisians by the Danish aggressors. Omitting, for the sake of argument, the philological consideration embodied in l. 1068, *eaferum,* we find no definite support, in the shape of direct statement, either in the Fragment or in the Episode, that Finn was the aggressor, or, for that matter, the Danes themselves. All that can be assumed, from reading in and not

[6] It would fulfil no purpose at this point to tabulate critics and editors according to their adherence to one version or the other. Suffice it to note that Grein, *Jahrb. für Rom. u. Eng. Lit.*, IV, p. 269, is one of the early and important editors to maintain the views of a treacherous night-attack upon the Danish guests, and that, in connection with the theory of a Danish raid, Möller, *Altengl. Volksepos,* had best be referred to.

between the lines, is that relations between the two races may have been strained before the actual combat. All further hypotheses, having in view either the temporary settlement of this state of friction thru the marriage of Hildeburh to Finn, or a revenge subsequent to an abduction of the Danish princess by the Frisian chief, involving the pursuit of the raider by the irate father, the latter's ignominious defeat and death, etc.,—are fabricated out of whole cloth and receive no warrant from the original versions. The rebuilding of the cause and sequence of events is one of the legitimate results of textual criticism, but such experiments, as the history of the Finn-saga shows, rest on tenuous foundation. A careful scrutiny of the actual available evidence, we then conclude, fails to disclose either the exact nature of Hnæf's mission at Finn's burg or the cause of the hostilities which ultimately compassed the fall of both.

The lodging of the responsibility for the outbreak of the feud, however, lends itself to a more than hypothetical reasoning. Möller attaches the blame to the Danes, in natural accordance with his general theory.[7] The Trautmann-Klaeber reading of l. 1068, *eaferan,* as well as the older insertions of *be* or *fram,* on the other hand, represent the Danish visitors being attacked in their quarters. The present writer believes that, once the relation existing between l. 1068 *hīe,* l. 1069 *hæleð,* and l. 1072 *Eotena trēowe* is satisfactorily ascertained, the rationale of this question will no longer be in doubt, especially since the manuscript reading of the crucial word, *eaferum,* has been shown to be both linguistically and stylistically tenable.

[7] Möller, *Altengl. Volksepos,* p. 69, "Dass im ersten kampfe Hnäf der angreifer, die Friesen die angegriffenen waren, ist ausdrücklich gesagt in den ersten worten der episode: (*Finnes eaferum*) *ða hie se fær begeat.*" This view has the support of M. G. Clarke, *Sidelights,* p. 181 ff., but cf. Heinzel, *Anz. f. deut. Altertum,* x, p. 227.

Bugge, who regards l. 1068 as the commencement of the Episode, repudiates Grundtvig-Kemble's unnecessary emendation of l. 1069 *Healf-Dena* into *Healfdenes,* because a leader is not designated a *hæleð* of his king, and interprets the latter word not as a nom. sg., parallel to Hnæf, but as an acc. plural, the object of *begeat,* anticipated by the appositional *hīe.*[8] Trautmann adopts Grein-Bugge's conception of *hæleð,* but solely in order to harmonize it with his proposal, *eaferan,* "da musste ein saalmann . . . Finns nachkommen preisen (beklagen), nachdem das verderben über sie, die helden der Halbdänen, gekommen war."[9] Wyatt[1], however, definitely objects to the construction resulting from the equation of *hīe* with *hæleð:* it would force the former from its natural and obvious meaning, as referring to *eaferum.* This arrangement may be seen in the concrete in Morris and Wyatt's rendering:

> By Finn's sons aforetime, when the fear gat them,
> The hero of Half-Danes, Hnæf of the Scyldings,
> On the slaughter-field Frisian needs must he fall.

The interpretation here advanced, namely that the Danes formed the attacking party and that Hnæf was slain by the Frisians, "when the fear gat them," is possible only on condition that, wind of the designs of the Frisians having reached the Danes, the latter resolved to forestall their murderous assault. Such a view would reconcile the tale of the immediate attack with Hildeburh's lament concerning the "good faith of the Eotens," and even redound to Danish alertness and valor, but suffers from one grave

[8] Bugge, *PBB,* XII, p. 28. In Grein's *Sprachschatz*[2] the word is listed similarly as an accusative plural, whilst Grein's *Dichtung,* I, p. 251, translated the passage, "als der Ueberfall betraf die Helden Healfdenes."

[9] *Bonner Beiträge,* II, p. 183.

defect: there is no actual support for it in the deplorably brief account of the story. And with reference purely to the latter it is a logical fallacy to have either the Danes or the Frisians overtaken by the sudden attack.

Who were, now, the Eotens whose good faith is impugned by the sorrowful queen? The name itself appears in ll. 1072, 1088, 1141, and 1145. According to Möller, p. 69, the Eotenas were the Danes, hence "*Eotena trēowe,* v. 1072 macht notwendig, dass Hnäf und Hengest die angreifer waren." Rieger,[10] interprets the word in all instances as 'supernatural creatures,' 'giants,' hence simply 'enemies.' These theories are to-day generally discredited and scholars follow Bugge,[11] in equating the Eotenas with Finn's men, the Frisians, or, more accurately, (Siebs)[12] in the transference of the name from the Eotenas or Jutes, living in a territory contiguous to that of the Frisians, to the Frisian conquerors of the Jutish territory. It is recognized that Möller's identification of them with the Danes was necessitated by his peculiar conception of the source of the opening attacks. If, then, it was the Frisians whose good faith the bereaved Hildeburh could not praise, then the inference is that it was the Half-Danish warriors who were assaulted by Finn's men, and that it was in the ensuing self-defence that Hnæf was slain. This much it is not only permissible but even important to hold and to emphasize, since thereby Wyatt's argument is robbed of its point and the appositional relation of *hīe* to *hæleð* is decisively vindicated.

According to Professor Klaeber,[13] such a relation is "far-fetched." It is to be regretted that he does not back

[10] Cf. *ZZ*, III, p. 400.

[11] Cf. *PBB*, XII, p. 37.

[12] Cf. *Pauls Grdr.*[2] II, p. 524 and I, p. 1158, *apud* Lawrence, *loc cit.*, p. 394.

[13] Klaeber, *Observations on the Finn Episode, JEGPh.*, XIV, p. 548.

his view with actual proofs. As a subjective impression, the *obiter dictum* is of interest, yet the condemnation it voices is too sweeping to be left unanswered. If it is a question of a general negative statement which we have before us, the one example cited already by Bugge should be a positive proof sufficient for refutation. This example, l. 1075, *Eal þū hit geþyldum healdest, mægen mid mōdes snyttrum,* 'thou dost carry it calmly, the might with discreetness of spirit,' is a good counterpart of our construction in *Beowulf*.

This species of, what might be termed, the 'proleptic pleonastic personal pronoun' must not be confounded with the combination of the prepositive pronoun and the subject of the sentence, as in Ælfred, *ic Beda Cristes ðeow and mæssepreost senda gretan,* Be. 471, 7, or in modern legal phraseology, 'he the aforesaid party of the second part'; it is a species where pronoun and noun are separated by a verb, as in the sentence under consideration. It has been possible to gather more examples of this sort; we cite them as found in the respective texts:

Cædmon's *Hymnus: He ærest sceop eorðan bearnum heofon to hrofe, halig scyppend;*

Ælfred, *Be.* 489, 19, *sende he eac swylce on ða ylcan tid se eadiga Papa Gregorius;*

Ælfric, I, 146, 34, *hē cwæð ðā, sē apostel Paulus;*

Blickl. Hom. 225, 35, *him . . . þæm eadigan were;*

Cædmon, *Gen.* 2504, *Unc hit waldend heht for wera synnum Sodoma and Gomorra sweartan lige, fyre gesyllan,* 'them the Lord commanded for the sins of men, Sodom and Gomorrha, to be given over to the black flame, to fire.'

Gen. 403: *Uton oðwendan hit nu monna bearnum, þæt heofonrice,* 'Lasst uns es den Menschen nun entwenden, das Himmelreich.'

Riddles, 23, 19, *þæt hy stopan up on oþerne ellenrofe weras of wæge and hyra wicg gesund,* 'so that they could ascend the other (*sc.* shore) the heroes, the warriors and their steeds unharmed.'

More modern examples are, 'He was the founder thereof Ioseph of Armathyes sone,' Mallory's *Morte d'Art.;* 'I had it just now, the reason, but it has escaped me,' *Sir Charles Grandison.*

Taken, then, all in all, the results which have been gained from the preceding pages correspond *materially* with the opinions entertained by modern scholars: it is the Danes who are overtaken by the swift attack, and it is the Frisians who fall upon them in a treacherous manner. From the standpoint of *form,* we have been obliged to dissent. The application of the proper linguistic and text-critical principles (*a*) has confirmed the latent suspicion of the older editors,[14] that the conception of a dative-instrumental of personal agency was the correct interpretation of the instrumental form, *eaferum,* in the manuscript; (*b*) has demonstrated that neither on the score of actual occurrence nor on stylistic grounds can there be any valid objection entertained to the employment of an anticipatory pronoun in the passage under scrutiny; (*c*) has consequently vindicated the possibility for the Finn-episode of a lay of non-paraphrastic character.

The Opening of the Finn-episode, thus, assumes the following textual appearance:

1063 Ðǣr wæs sang ond swēg samod ætgædere
fore Healfdenes hilde-wīsan,
gomen-wudu grēted, gid oft wrecen,
ðonne heal-gamen Hrōþgāres scop
æfter medo-bence mǣnan scolde.
"Finnes eaferum, —ðā hīe se fǣr begeat,
hæleð Healf-Dena,— Hnæf Scyldinga,
1070 in Frēs-wæle . feallan scolde.

Rendered into English,

[14] Kluge, *PBB,* IX, p. 187, has an interesting remark as to the treatment which the conjectures of commentators receive.

1063 There was song and music mingled together
Before[15] Healfdene's[16] wielder of war.[17]
The glee-wood was struck, songs many recited,[18]
What time[19] the hall-glee Hrothgar's scop
O'er mead-benches must make known:
1068 "By Finn's battle-fighters,[20] —when onset befell them,
The heroes[21] of Half-Danes,[22]— Hnæf of the Scyldings
In Frisian slaughter[23] was fated to fall.

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[15] Möller, *Eng. Stud.*, XIII, p. 28, alters *fore* into *ofer*. Grein, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. Lit.*, 1862, p. 269, interprets the word as 'concerning,' *i. e.*, Hnæf, as in *Panther*, l. 34. Cosijn, *Aanteekeningen*, pp. 18 ff., advanced 'before,' 'coram,' which is now finally accepted; cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1215, *Widsith*, ll. 55, 140 and 104, *for*.

[16] Sedgefield, *Beowulf*[2], still thinks that MS. *Healfdenes* should be *Healfdena*, as below, in l. 1069. Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge*, II, p. 183, holds that *Healfdenes* is an error for *Hrōðgāres*, but in *Finn und Hildebrand*, p. 11, he advocates *Healf-Dena*. But the alteration is unnecessary. *Healfdene* here is in all likelihood the father of Hrothgar, mentioned in ll. 57, 189, 268, etc.

[17] Grein's *Sprachschatz*[1-2], *s. v. hilde-wīsa*— "*fore Healfdenes hilde-wīsan, i. e., fore Hroðgare, filio Healfdeni.*" This is the most sensible view. Trautmann's change of *hilde-wīsan* into *hilde-wīsum*, *Bonner Beiträge*, II, p. 183, "wie umgekehrt *eaferan* (ist verborgen) in *eaferum*," is interesting, in that we may then have 'before Healfdene's veterans,'—a view similar to that which Chambers, p. 54 fn. suggests if *hilde-wīsan* be taken as a dat. pl. *i. e.*, like l. 2020 *for duguþe*,—it seems best to interpret the passage as an anachronistic reference to Hrothgar in the capacity of his father's war-leader; cf. Klaeber, *Anglia*, XXVIII, p. 449. Also Holthausen, *Beowulf*[3], II, p. 127, "Vgl. *Wald.* I, 6: *Ætlan ordwynga*."

[18] Sievers, *PBB*, XXIX, p. 571, "Manch ein Spruch wurde vorgetragen." Cf. also *Anglia*, XXVII, p. 219; *Mod. Phil.*, III, p. 249; as against this, see Lübke, *AfdA.*, XIX, p. 342, *eft*, rendered by Trautmann, *Bonner Beitr.*, XVI, p. 61, 'wieder ein lied vorgetragen.'

[19] For a similar transition, cf. l. 880, noted in *Anglia*, XXVIII, p. 443.

[20] Trautmann's *gefēran* and Binz's *earfeþu* have been mentioned before. Cosijn, *op. cit.*, p. 26, refers to l. 1710, and shows that neither 'sons,' 'children' nor 'descendants,' but 'warriors' is the term suited to the passage.

[21] We follow Bugge, *PBB*, XII, p. 29.

[22] The MS. reading *healf-dena* was modified into *Healfdenes* by Grundtvig, Translation, 1820, p. 283, Kemble, ed. 1835 and, as a

In the course of the foregoing discussion we have refrained from more than alluding to the theory which would identify the contest mentioned in l. 1068 as the last of the series of struggles, the one in which Finn met his doom, and not the fight which was followed by the Dano-Frisian armistice. "This is the fight in which the Danes are the aggressors, in which 'a sudden attack fell upon the men of Finn,' whereas everything goes to show that in the earlier contest, related in the *Fragment,* the attack was made by the Frisians."[24] As far as we can see, the plan of the so-called Episode, under this scheme, would be as follows:

(*a*) The *Beowulf*-poet represents his scop as rising to sing of the vengeance taken upon Finn, ll. 1065-1068, inclusively;

(*b*) Hnæf's fall, *i. e.* the treacherous attack upon the Danes, fragmentarily related in the *Lay of Finnsburg,* is alluded to, ll. 1069-70;

(*c*) Hildeburh's sorrow and the tale of Danish injuries in Friesland are recounted, l. 1071 onwards.

The difference in the interpretation of the moot lines between this view and the one advocated by the present writer is, of course, in the division of the lines. According to our division the account of the ultimate Danish revenge opens with an emphatic statement to the effect

rule, inclusive of Wülcker, by all earlier editors. However, cf. Grein's separate edition, Cassel und Göttingen, 1867: *healfdena.* Since Bugge, *PBB,* XII, p. 29, the MS. form is current. The leaders are not called the '*hæleð*' of their kings; *Healf-Dene* is a tribal name, like *Hring-Dene, East-Dene, Gār-Dene;* lastly, the expression is paralleled by l. 1154, *Scēotend Scyldinga,* and *Hell.* l. 13, *hæleð Jūdēa.*

[23] The expression is Gummere's, 1909. Wyatt-Morris, 1895, have 'slaughter-field.'

[24] Cf. W. W. Lawrence, *PMLA,* XXX, p. 399, for the most recent statement of the case.

that the blame for Hnæf's death rests upon Finn's warriors; whereas the former view begins with an anticipatory reference to the final conquest of Finn's men. Such is the explanation of the lines already advanced by Trautmann in his change of the word *eaferum* into *eaferan,* and in his translation,

> als ein saalmann, ein sänger Hrothgars,
> über die metbänke hin besingen sollte den
> Finn und seine gefährten, als das verderben über sie kam:
> 'Hnæf der held der Halbdänen, der Scildinge,
> sollte auf einer Friesen-walstatt fallen.'

Professor Lawrence's departure, then, from this point of view, which is also that of Gummere,[25] consists merely in the insistence upon the paraphrastic character of ll. 1069 ff. This has been shown to be far from an absolute necessity. But, granting for the sake of the argument that the epic poet here deals with a list of episodic summaries: the alteration in the MS. reading may still be avoided and the grammatical construction kept within the bounds of sound linguistic usage. Namely, Hrothgar's scop announced the joy of hall "by means of Finn's thanes (MS. *eaferum*), when the attack befell them," i. e. by reciting the disaster overtaking them. This would be an instance, not infrequent, of the 'person employed as the means of the action,' as in l. 1018, *Heorot innan wæs frēondum āfylled.*[26]

As to the anticipatory reference to the conclusion, there is indeed a stylistic gain in emphasis in such a topic sentence, as one might term it; but it is just as forceful, from a Danish patriotic standpoint, for the bard to make known

[25] Gummere, *The Oldest English Epic,* pp. 69 ff.

[26] For Old Norse, cf. Dietrich, *HZ.*, VIII, p. 62, "als werkzeuge können auch personen dargestellt sein."

at the outset the one vitally telling incident, Hnæf's death, in the tale of Frisian perfidy, and strike thereby the very keynote of his motivation, the leading count in his list of grievances. The impressiveness of the recital is further enhanced by the circumstance that the scop has artfully kept back this lay of all lays, until first "many a song was recounted," and then strikes his harp to sing his solemn interlude of Hildeburh's sorrow and of Danish vengeance. "Such as it is," says Professor Ker,[27] "it may well count as direct evidence of the way in which epic poems were produced and set before an audience, and it may prove that it was possible for an old English epic to deal with almost the whole of a tragic history in one sitting." But the Episode is emphatically not the reduction of a poem of full length which is "delivered in one evening by a harper," as he maintains,[28] for the sufficient reason that, according to the evidence of the text, l. 1065^b, it was not the sole event but merely a relatively brief incident, albeit the *pièce de resistance,* of the entire course of festivities, accounted for in detail by the epic poet from l. 1008 onward: Healfdene's son proceeds to the hall; Heorot is filled with friends; the king makes his distribution of gifts, war-steeds and weapons to Beowulf; the revel is enlivened by music and songs, among which a scop's Lay of Finn is recited; then the Scylding queen makes her speech of admonition to Hrothgar and of presentation to Beowulf;

Syþðan ǣfen cwōm,
ond him Hrōþgār gewāt tō hofe sīnum,
rīce tō ræste, reced weardode
1238 unrīm eorla, swā hīe oft ǣr dydon.

[27] Ker, *Epic and Romance,* p. 81.
[28] *Op. cit.,* p. 83.

Conclusion

Boer [1] is the latest original investigator of the episodes in *Beowulf* to voice the common complaint of scholars with respect to l. 1068. The real meaning of *Finnes eaferum* is obscure, and this circumstance renders the question of the entire opening of the Finn-episode extremely complex. "Hier liegt also entweder ein fehler in der überlieferung vor, oder es mangelt uns nur an dem richtigen verständnis der stelle." The preceding study has, it is believed, demonstrated with reasonable certainty that the pivotal point of the misunderstanding is connected with the second alternative. A comparison of the episodes, and especially of the scop-sung interludes in *Beowulf,* has established the unique problem of style and delivery relative to the Finn-story. An unbiased search for the underlying syntactical principle has not only yielded an explanation of the grammatical interrelations involved, but has, in addition, confirmed what has thus far been regarded by careful scholars as a satisfactory adjustment of the legendary material.

This investigation could not have led to the desired results without harking back to Grein's words of admonition to textual critics: [2] "Bei der Behandlung des Textes galt es als erste Pflicht, handschriftliche Lesarten, wo es nur immer möglich war, zu retten und namentlich auch angezweifelte, den Lexicis fremde Wörter—and he might have added, constructions,—als wolbegründet nachzuweisen." It is not blind and uncompromising reverence for the text that is here advocated, but an upholding of the transmitted reading whenever and wherever it yields a tolerable sense, particularly if this sense can be confirmed by the linguistic

[1] *Altengl. Heldendichtung,* p. 29.

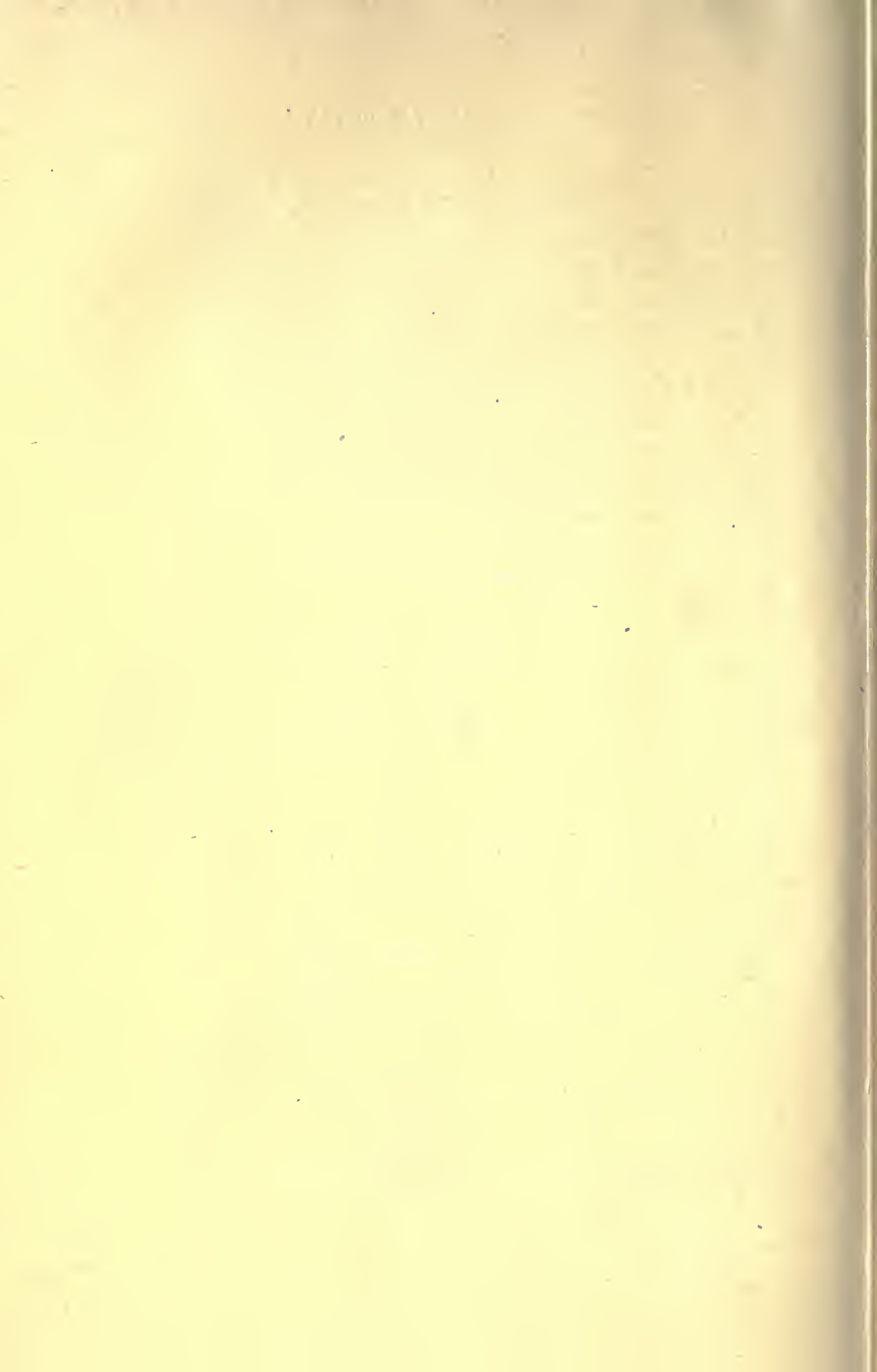
[2] Grein, *Bibliothek,* I, Vorwort, p. iv, 1853.

usage of cognate dialects. Only thus have we a weapon against riotous subjectivism. The path of the *Beowulf*-scholar is beset by such an astounding number of fluctuating linguistic, literary, and metrical annotations,—*swā monig bēoþ men ofer eorþan, swā bēoþ mōdgeþoncas*[3]—that their mere enumeration forms a source of endless confusion. That this betokens an interest in the great Anglo-Saxon epic is a rejoicing circumstance, but scarcely a plausible excuse. The time has clearly come, before the evil is hopelessly aggravated, to adopt a conservative viewpoint in textual criticism and to insist that a good interpretation should speak for itself, without violence to linguistic usage and without a patchwork of capricious alterations. The true critical faculty is sceptical but not supersubtle.

The more the literature of the subject is delved into, the less room and ground there seem to be for new opinions. When Justinian began his codification, there could be found no library spacious enough to hold the Roman Law. When he ended his work, the libraries were practically of no use, for the law became the matter of a single book. It is hoped that some *Beowulf*-scholar will put forth a text and a digest of textual institutes which will supersede all prior particularizations and render all further glosses supererogatory. The present study has had for one of its aims a contribution to such a critical pandect.

ALEXANDER GREEN.

[3] *Gn. Ex.* 168: cf. Williams, *Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon,* New York, 1914, p. 125.



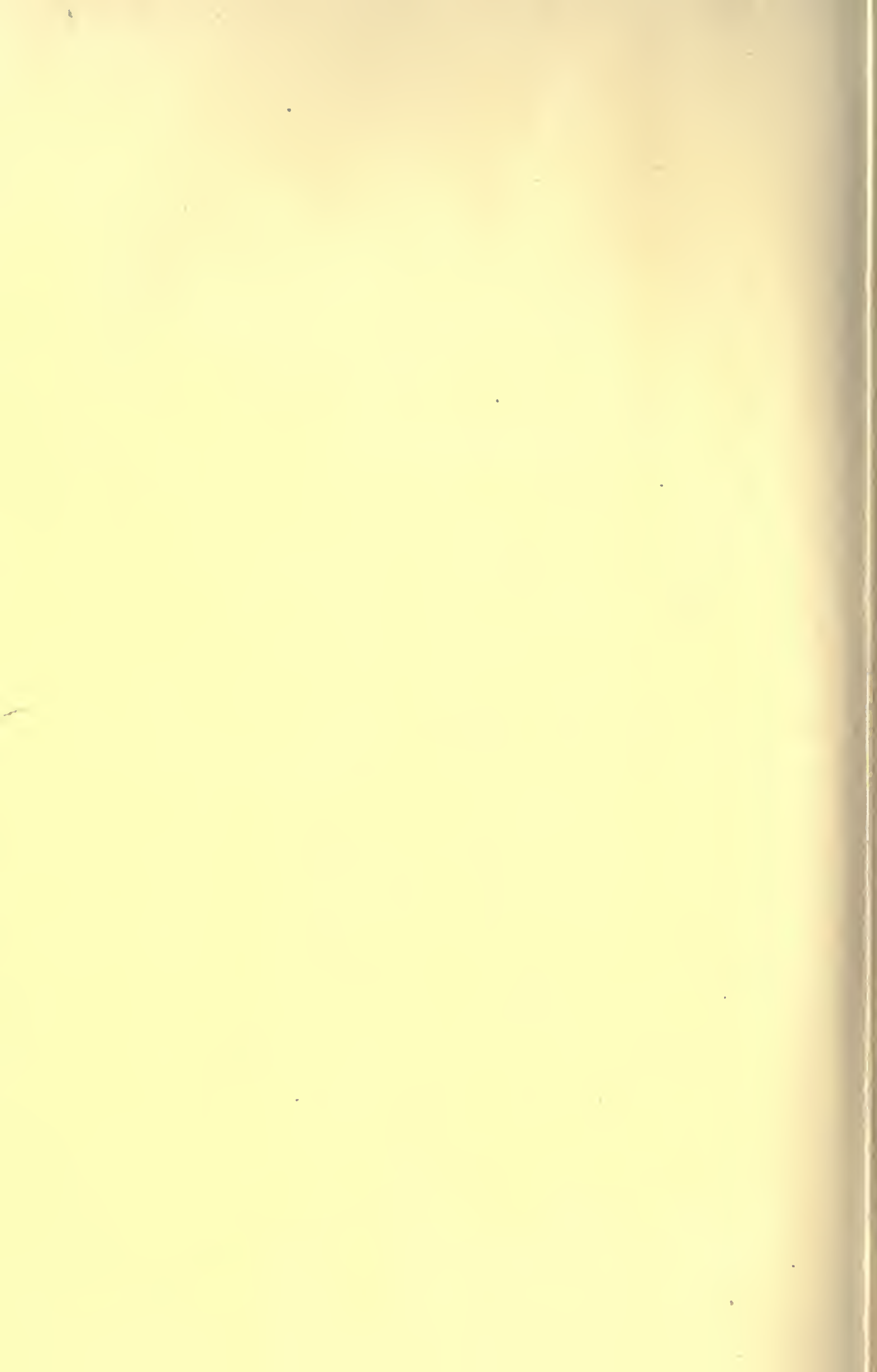
APPENDIX

Procedings of the Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America

Third Union Meeting

held under the Auspices of Western Reserve University and Case School of Applied Science at Cleveland, Ohio

December 28, 29, 30, 1915



THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

THIRD UNION MEETING

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, third Union Meeting, was held under the auspices of Western Reserve University and Case School of Applied Science at Cleveland, Ohio, December 28, 29, 30, 1915, in accordance with the folloing invitations:

President's Room
Western Reserve University
Adelbert College
Cleveland

18 *December*, 1914.

My dear Mr. Howard:

I am grateful for the intimation made to me by Professor Emerson that general conditions might permit your Association to hold its next annual meeting in Western Reserve University. I trust these intimations are confirmed and reinforced by the desire of the members themselves to give to Western Reserve University this great advantage. For it would be a peculiar pleasure again to receive your members and to do all that can be done to make your presence in Cleveland a cause of happiness to yourselves.

May I not have the honor of conveying to my associates your acceptance of this invitation, an invitation which, however informal, is most hearty?

Believe me, with considerations of great respect and regard,

Ever yours,

Charles F. Thwing,
President.

W. G. Howard, Esquire,
Secretary, The Modern Language
Association of America.

CASE SCHOOL OF APPLIED SCIENCE
CLEVELAND, OHIO

President's Office *December* 23, 1914.

PROF. W. G. HOWARD,
Secretary, Modern Language Association.

Dear Sir:—

On behalf of the Trustees and Faculty of Case School of Applied Science, I wish to extend a cordial invitation to the Modern Language Association to hold its next meeting in Cleveland. On many accounts we are deeply interested in the work which your Association is doing. I think I can assure the Association a pleasant time if they accept our invitation, and I believe the meeting will be of great advantage to the educational institutions centering here.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES S. HOWE,
President.

The sessions wer held in the Assembly Room of the Hollenden Hotel, at Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, and in the Physics Lecture Room of Case School of Applied Science. The President of the Association, Professor Jefferson B. Fletcher, of Columbia University, presided at all.

FIRST SESSION, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28

Assembly Room of the Hollenden Hotel

The meeting was cald to order at 2.40 p. m.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, presented the folloing statistics:

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS

Dec. 1911		Dec. 1915		
		New Engl.	248	
East	516	Mid. Atl.	366	614
South	81	South		122
Middle West	234	Middle West		335
Far West	147	Far West		145
Canada	14	Canada		16
Europe	6	Europe		8
Mexico	1	So. America		1
Philippines	2	Asia		1
	1001			1242

DISTRIBUTION BY DEPARTMENTS, 1915

Department	
English	444
German	325
Romance	278
Mod. Langs.	85
Comp. Lit. and Phil.	6
Miscellaneus	104
	1242

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTICLES AND AUTHORS IN *Publications*, 1912-1915

English	52	New England	25
Romance	21	Mid. Atlantic	17
German	4	Mid. West	38
Comp. Lit.	14	Far West	10
General	5	South	6
	96		96

The Secretary presented as his report Volume xxx of the *Publications* of the Association, containing the minutes of the last annual meeting; and the same was unanimusly accepted.

On motion of the Secretary it was

Voted: that the thanks of the Association be exprest to Professor C. Alphonso Smith for representing the Association at the inaugura-

tion of President Graham of the University of North Carolina on April 21, 1915.

The Tresurer of the Association, Professor A. F. Whittem, presented the folloing report:

A. CURRENT RECEITS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEITS

Balance on hand, Dec. 21, 1914, - - - -			$ 861 57
From Members, for 1909, - -	$ 6 00		
“ “ “ 1910, - -	6 00		
“ “ “ 1913, - -	57 00		
“ “ “ 1914, - -	182 00		
“ “ “ 1915, - -	3,098 20		
“ “ “ 1916, - -	57 00		
“ “ of the Philological Assoc. of the Pacific Coast, -	34 50		
		$3,440 70	
From Libraries, for Vol. XXVII, -	$ 2 70		
“ “ “ “ XXVIII, -	2 70		
“ “ “ “ XXIX, -	16 20		
“ “ “ “ XXX, -	209 25		
“ “ “ “ XXXI, -	82 35		
		313 20	
For *Publications*, Vols. VIII-XX, -	$ 170 10		
“ “ “ XXI-XXX, -	177 08		
		347 18	
For Reprints, Vol. XXIX, - -	$ 4 00		
“ “ “ XXX, - -	56 00		
From Advertizers, Vol. XXIX, - -	127 50		
“ “ “ XXX, - -	27 50		
Miscellaneus, - - - - - -	83		
		215 83	
Interest, Current Funds, Charles River Trust Co., Cambridge,	$ 43 34		
Interest on Permanent Fund, - -	266 00		
		309 34	
For Reprinted Vol. I, Old Series, -	$ 16 00		
“ “ “ II, “ “ -	18 00		
“ “ “ III, “ “ -	75 40		
“ “ “ IV, “ “ -	74 70		
		184 10	
			4,810 35
			$5,671.92

EXPENDITURES

To Secretary, for Salary, - -	$ 400 00		
" " " Stationery, - -	70		
" " " Postage and Expressage, - -	30 47		
" " " Proof Reading, -	21 00		
		$452 17	
To Secretary, Central Division, for Salary, - -	100 00		
" " for Postage and Telegrams, - -	2 90		
		102 90	
To Tresurer, for Salary, - - -	200 00		
" " " Stationery and Printing, - -	9 50		
" " " Postage and Expressage, -	123 64		
" " " Clerical Services, -	48 50		
" " " Expenses, - -	12 06		
		393 70	
For Printing *Publications,*			
XXX, 1, - - - - - -	820 70		
XXX, 2, - - - - - -	1,024 00		
XXX, 3, - - - - - -	973 16		
XXX, 4, - - - - - -	908 90		
		3,726 76	
To Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature, - - - -	150 00		
" Managing Trustee of Permanent Fund, - - - - - - -	37 00		
" Committee on Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foren Languages, - - - -	35 70		
For Printing and Mailing Program of 33d Annual Meeting, - - -	136 84		
For Exchange, - - - - -	6 24		
		365 78	
			$5,041 31
Balance on hand, Dec. 22, 1915, - - -			630 61
			$5,671 92

B. INVESTED FUNDS

Bright Fund (Eutaw Savings Bank, Baltimore),			
Principal, Dec. 21, 1914, - -	$1,804 28		
Interest, April 1, 1915, - -	63 00		
		$1,867 28	
von Jagemann Fund (Cambridge Savings Bank),			
Principal, Dec. 21, 1914, - -	1,252 90		
Interest, July 22, 1915, - -	56 99		
		1,309 89	
			$3,177 17

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT FOR 1911–1915

A. CURRENT FUNDS

Balance on hand, Dec. 22, 1915, -	$ 630 61		
" " " Dec. 23, 1911, -	463 78		
Increase,		$ 166 83	

B. INVESTED FUNDS

Principal, Dec. 22, 1915, - - -	$3,177 17		
" Dec. 23, 1911, - - -	2,781 05		
Increase,		396 12	
Total Increase since last Union Meeting,			$562 95

The President of the Association appointed the folloing committees:

To nominate officers: Professors F. N. Scott, W. A. Nitze, B. P. Bourland, Raymond Weeks, Max Poll.

To audit the Tresurer's report: Professors M. B. Evans, J. P. W. Crawford, Hardin Craig.

On Resolutions: Professors L. F. Mott, W. W. Comfort, T. J. C. Diekhoff.

The Chairman of the Central Division, Professor W. H. Hulme, of Western Reserve University, announced that

the Secretary of the Division, Professor C. B. Wilson, had resignd his offis, and appointed as a committee to nominate his successor Professors S. H. Bush, B. J. Vos, A. C. L. Brown.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Shakespeare's Pronunciation." By Professor Harry Morgan Ayres, of Columbia University.

[Possibility of knowledge in this field. The sources of evidence. What may be said to be known. Some uncertainties with regard to Elizabethan pronunciation. Some uncertainties with regard to Shakespeare's position in questions of divided usage. Attempted reconstructions.—*Thirty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors F. N. Scott and Raymond Weeks.

2. "The Siege of Paris—by the Saracens." By Professor William Wistar Comfort, of Cornell University.

[Introduction of this episode in the French epic. Professor Bédier's theory applied to it. Its wide extension in the Italian poems. Some illustrativ details of the siege. Occurrence of the episode as late as the nineteenth century.—*Twenty minutes.*]

3. "The Aunters of King Arthur." By Professor Arthur C. L. Brown, of Northwestern University.

[In Robson's edition of the Ireland MS., 43 out of the 55 stanzas of the *Aunters* ar linkt. Other MSS. supply links for all but two of those stanzas which ar unlinkt in Robson. The conclusion is that all copies of the *Aunters* go back to one archetype, which was the work of a rather skilful versifier, doutless the man who combined into one romance the Guinevere and Galeron incidents.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

4. "The Rhythmic and Melodic Form of Schiller's *Lied von der Glocke.*" By Professor Ernst Feise, of the University of Wisconsin.

[The aim of the paper was to exemplify modern methods of metrical

investigation by analyzing in detail a wel known poem and by describing its *Schallform* from an historical and an esthetic point of view.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor B. Q. Morgan.

5. "The English Moralities and Spenser's *Faerie Queene,* Book I." By Mr. Robert Shafer, of Princeton University.

[The allegory in the first book of the *Faerie Queene* is of the same nature as that allegory—usually cald "Conflict of Virtues and Vices"—which predominates in the English morality plays. Definit morality plays from which Spenser obtaind the whole groundwork of his conception and treatment in this book of the *Faerie Queene.* —*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor W. A. Neilson.

6. "The Religious Experience of Coleridge between 1794 and 1798." By Professor Solomon F. Gingerich, of the University of Michigan.

[The period between 1794 and 1798 witnest not only the expansion of Coleridge's literary powers to complete maturity, but also a rapid growth in his religius ideals, markt chiefly by a change from a religion of opinions to a religion of experience. Evidence of this growth in his letters, poems, and other documents of the period.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

At eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, December 28, members of the Association gatherd in the Assembly Room of the Hollenden Hotel. They wer welcomd to Cleveland by President Charles F. Thwing of Western Reserve University and Professor Arthur S. Wright of Case School of Applied Science. Thereupon the President of the Association, Professor Jefferson B. Fletcher, of Columbia University, deliverd an address entitled "Our Opportunity."

After this address there was a reception for members of the Association at the home of Mr. Samuel Mather, 2605 Euclid avenue.

SECOND SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

Adelbert College of Western Reserve University

The session began at 10 a. m.

The Secretary presented a communication from the chairman of the Committee on the Reproduction of Erly Texts, as folloes:

The Committee on the Reproduction of Erly Texts, which was continued at the last Union Meeting "in order to safeguard the interests of American contributors to the Cædmon facsimile," regrets to report that the issue of this facsimile, undertaken by Professor I. Gollancz on behalf of the British Academy, has not yet been achievd. A further continuance of the Committee is therefore suggested.

On motion of the Secretary the Committee was continued.

For the Trustees of the Permanent Fund Professor W. A. Neilson, managing trustee, reported that the fund amounted December 22, 1915 to $6,650.

On behalf of Professor W. G. Hale, chairman, the Secretary moved that the representation of the Association upon the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature be continued; and the motion was unanimusly adopted.

The Executiv Council proposed the folloing amendments to the Constitution, according to which the offices of Secretary and Tresurer shal be combined, the Editorial Committee shal be increast by one, and all officers of the Association shal constitute the Executiv Council. As amended, Articles III, IV, and V wud then read:

Article III: Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary-Tresurer may become a member on the payment etc.

Article IV, Section 1: The officers and governing boards of the Association shal be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Tresurer; an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shal be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and three other members; and an Executiv Council consisting of the afore-mentioned officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members.

Article V: The President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary-Tresurer shal perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shal etc.

On motion of the Secretary the proposed amendments wer unanimusly adopted and the Constitution was amended accordingly.

On motion of Professor James Geddes it was unanimusly

Voted: that there be paid annually to the Secretary-Tresurer for salary and clerical servises the sum of $750.

On behalf of the Executiv Council the Secretary nominated for Honorary Membership in the Association

Charles Harold Herford, University of Manchester
Sir Sidney Lee, University of London
Kristoffer Nyrop, University of Copenhagen
George Saintsbury, University of Edinburgh

and they wer unanimusly elected Honorary Members.

The reading of papers was then continued.

7. "The Literary Criticism of Anatole France; its significance in the Development of his Ideas." By Professor Lewis Piaget Shanks, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[Subjectivity in the erly literary biographies (*Génie latin*); the dilettanteism of *La Vie littéraire* (1888-1892), and the reaction

foreshadoed in the third and fourth volumes of these *causeries* on contemporary life and literature.—*Twenty-three minutes.*]

8. "Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* and the *Volksstück* of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." By Professor Adolf Busse, of Hunter College of the City of New York.

[Conscius of the concessions to popular taste in the style and form of *Wilhelm Tell*, Schiller elevated the *Volksstück* to the dignity of a work of art, and became the forerunner of Raimund, Nestroy, and Anzengruber.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professor Camillo von Klenze.

9. "An Eastern Model for the Setting of Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose.*" By Professor Frederick Morris Warren, of Yale University.

[While the material for Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose* can be largely assignd to Western sources, its setting seems to hav been Byzantine in origin. The first six books of Eustathius Macrembolites' *Hysmene and Hysmenias* (before 1186?) locate the action near and in a park which is surrounded by a wall decorated with allegorical caracters, including Eros and his worshippers. The lover has visions of Eros, of his mistress bringing a rose to him, and the conversation with his mistress, when he is awake, contains the metaphor of the hedge protected flower.—*Twenty minutes.*]

10. "Why did Shakespeare create Falstaff?" By Professor Albert H. Tolman, of the University of Chicago.

[It has been thought by some that Falstaff is merely the comic caracter, the fun-maker in Parts I and II of *Henry IV*. The view here taken was that this caracter is indispensable to Shakespeare's serius purpose, that Falstaff is a structural necessity.—*Twenty minutes.*]

11. "Negro Spirituals." By Professor John A. Lomax, of the University of Texas.

[Unedited matter taken down at Negro Camp Meetings. The psychology of the Negro as reveald in his spiritual songs. Caracteristic songs groupt about his theological notions.—*Thirty-five minutes.*]

At one o'clock on Wednesday, December 29, luncheon was servd to members of the Association at Hayden Hall on the campus of the College for Women, Western Reserve University.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, December 29, Professor Dayton C. Miller, of Case School, spoke to members of the Association in the Physics Building of Case School on "The Physical Analysis of Speech Sounds."

THIRD SESSION, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 29

Adelbert College of Western Reserve University

The session began at 3.10 p. m.

Professor James Fleming Hosic, chairman, made a brief statement concerning the progress of the Committee on the Preparation of College Teachers of English.

The reading of papers was then continued.

12. "A Further Study of the Heroic Tetrameter." By Professor Charles W. Cobb, of Amherst College.

[Definition and illustration. Heroic tetrameter distinguisht from other ten-syllable tetrameters (1) not in heroic verse, (2) in heroic verse. Heroic tetrameter distinguisht from heroic pentameter. Readers read the line as tetrameter and scan it as pentameter. Poets hav used the line as a tetrameter (1) to reliev the monotony in heroic verse, (2) in cases where two consecutiv dimeter lines make a heroic tetrameter, (3) in recognized tetrameter.—*Twenty minutes.*]

This paper was discust by Professors W. A. Neilson, F. N. Scott, and C. H. Page.

13. "The Rise of a Theory of Stage Presentation in England during the Eighteenth Century." By Miss Lily B. Campbell, of the University of Wisconsin.

[I. Classical tendencies from 1690 to 1741: dependence on authority in the interpretation of caracter, conventionalized tone and gesture in the presentation of tragedy. II. Revolt against classicism, 1741 to 1776: interpretation of caracter in the light of nature, realistic or imitativ method of presentation. III. The "Grand Style" after 1776. IV. Parallel development of a theory of acting and the theory and practis of painting and other fine arts.—*Twenty minutes.*]

14. "Matthew Arnold's Interpretation of 'Hebraism' and 'Hellenism' as compared with the corresponding Formula of Heine." By Mr. Hermann J. Weigand, of the University of Michigan.

[I. Significance of the *Schlagwort.* II. Arnold's relation to Heine: (1) Nature and extent of Arnold's acquaintance with Heine's works; (2) Comparison of Arnold's and Heine's formulas; Arnold's formula a radical reinterpretation of Heine's. III. Other possible sources: Arnold's father; Renan. IV. Conclusion.—*Thirty minutes.*]

At the close of this session there was a meeting of the American Dialect Society.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, December 29, there was at Adelbert College a meeting for informal discussion of the forthcoming report of the Committee on the Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foren Languages; and at four o'clock in the same place a meeting for the organization of an association with primarily pedagogical aims, one of the purposes of which is the establishment of an organ for the exchange of ideas and the discussion of problems.

From four to six o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, December 29, the gentlemen of the Association wer receivd at the Rowfant Club.

At seven o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, December

29, the ladies of the Association dined together at the Hollenden Hotel.

At half past eight o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, December 29, the gentlemen of the Association wer entertaind at a Smoker at the University Club.

FOURTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

Physics Lecture Room, Case School of Applied Science

The session began at 10.07 a. m.

Professor Hardin Craig reporting on behalf of the Auditing Committee that the Tresurer's accounts had been found correct, it was unanimusly

Voted: that the Tresurer's report be accepted.

On behalf of the Committee on the Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foren Languages Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, chairman, presented the folloing report:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your Committee on the Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages regret to say that they are not yet prepared to submit a definitive report. We have sent out during the present college year an extensive questionnaire, thru which we have attempted to establish in considerable detail how the general problem appears to a large number of German and Romance departments in the different types of colleges and universities all over the country, and what steps toward its solution have already been taken or are under consideration. In this connection we desire to express our thanks to all of those colleagues who aided us in this endeavor by furnishing replies, many of them prepared with admirable patience, candor, and accuracy; and the chairman in particular is glad of this opportunity to express his gratitude not only to his colleagues on the committee but also, in large measure, to some of his colleagues in his own department, without whose ready and able assistance even the preliminary report herewith submitted could not have been completed.

The committee not only feel convinced, from the number and tenor of the answers received, that in the large majority of institutions there exist genuine interest in the problem and candid recognition of its importance and of our responsibility, but it also appears that the needs and possibilities of the local situations have already found expression in a considerable number of definite provisions and regulations.

In the preliminary report which we submit herewith we have collated this large amount of valuable and interesting information—about 70 correspondents having answered the majority, if not all, of considerably over 200 questions. Omitting a great deal of detail, we have tried to present in as clear an outline as possible the attitude of our profession toward the more important phases of the problem, (a) in regard to the broader aspects of policy, organization, and administration and (b) in regard to the content, method, and sequence of those more advanced courses thru which candidates receive whatever departmental training, in the most comprehensive sense of the term, we are willing and able to give them. Our attitude toward this second part of the report, *i. e.*, toward the description of the advanced courses in language, literature, phonetics, method, etc., was largely influenced by the consideration that the methodology of the more elementary language courses has been the subject of repeated careful investigation by committees of this and of other associations, whereas hardly any information is so far available on the methods and aims of the more advanced undergraduate or less advanced graduate courses in college or university. And while of course everybody would readily agree that questions of methodology have quite a different importance for the more elementary types of work from that which they have for advanced courses, it would still be a grave mistake to assume that, in regard to the latter, we could afford to sacrifice that availability of accumulated experience without which continuity of tradition and hence natural progress become impossible in any science, art, or profession.

Our preliminary report is at present purely objective and descriptive in character. It outlines existing conditions, but does not recommend action, except in so far as a mere description of things found carries with it an inherent element of criticism and suggestion. Should this Association be of the opinion that in proceeding in this inductive manner we are on the right track, or at any rate that we are on a track which you would like to see us follow further, we should be willing to prepare a definitive and comprehensive report, approximately 50 to 100 printed pages in length, which, if finally approved, we should like to have made generally available in printed form.

In such a final report we should certainly not restrict ourselves to the rôle of an impersonal recorder of fact. We should freely express opinions and add comment, pointing to advantages and disadvantages as we see them; but in the main we should even then rely on a full and impartial presentation of different methods of dealing with the problems in question as the best means of promoting a real clarification of opinions and a reasonable unification of practice.

For it must be borne in mind that only in this way shall we be able to discuss with freedom and propriety certain important aspects of the situation in regard to which the advisability of definite action on the part of our Association might well be questioned. Considerable improvement in the training, certification, and method of appointment of secondary teachers of modern foreign languages can no doubt be accomplished thru efforts within the departments of German and of Romance languages. But in many of its aspects the problem transcends entirely departmental jurisdiction. Many phases of it touch, and touch vitally, the relation of the different departments of instruction to the departments of education and to the general policy and organization of at least the so-called colleges of Liberal Arts; and still other aspects of the problem lie even outside the immediate realm of the colleges and universities and depend on the one hand on state boards and state legislatures, and on the other, on the local school authorities. As regards these aspects of the situation, and they are among the most serious, the language departments merely share the fate of all other departments whose subjects belong to the high school curriculum and they should therefore be handled by general educational associations, or they are interwoven with the widely different local conditions of the various states and can then be solved only by efforts within the suitable organizations of the individual states.

In view of all these considerations your committee, if asked to prepare a final report along the lines indicated in the present preliminary one, will not invite this Association to commit itself by a formal vote to any definite set of resolutions or recommendations. For we feel that by proceeding in this freer and less dogmatic manner we can best serve a cause in which we apparently are all deeply interested, yet not always of one mind in regard to the best methods of attaining the object sought.

Respectfully submitted,
On behalf of the Committee,

A. R. Hohlfeld, *Chairman.*

On motion of Professor J. P. Hoskins it was unanimusly

Voted: that the Committee on the Collegiate Training of Teachers of Modern Foren Languages be continued and requested to submit its final report in accordance with its intention.

On motion of Professor W. H. Hulme it was unanimusly

Voted: that the thanks of the Association be exprest to Professor Charles Bundy Wilson for his ten years of servis in the difficult offis of Secretary of the Central Division, in which offis he has always shown curtesy, consideration, and zeal.

On behalf of the Committee on Resolutions Professor L. F. Mott proposed the folloing expression of thanks, and it was unanimusly agreed to:

To all who hav welcomd us to Cleveland and who hav contributed toward making our stay agreeable the Modern Language Association of America expresses its appreciation.

We thank President Thwing and the authorities of Western Reserve University and President Howe and the authorities of Case School of Applied Science for their hospitality;

Mr. Samuel Mather for his kind invitation to the reception tenderd to members of the Association at his home;

The Rowfant Club for its invitation to the reception tenderd to the gentlemen of the Asociation at its club house;

The University Club and the Case Club for extending their visitors' privileges to the gentlemen of the Association;

And, with special emphasis, the local committee for its thoughtful arrangements for our comfort, convenience, and entertainment.

On behalf of the Committee of Nominations Professor F. N. Scott presented the folloing nominations:

President: Professor James Douglas Bruce, of the University of Tennessee.

Vice-Presidents: Professors Edward C. Armstrong, of Johns Hopkins University, Charles Bundy Wilson, of the State University of Iowa, and Louise Pound, of the University of Nebraska.

Secretary-Tresurer: Professor William Guild Howard, of Harvard University.

Editorial Committee: Professors M. Blakemore Evans, of the Ohio State University, George L. Hamilton, of Cornell University, and John L. Lowes, of Washington University.

Executiv Council: Professors George O. Curme, of Northwestern University, Oliver F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University, James Geddes, of Boston University, T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago, John A. Lomax, of the University of Texas, William Allan Neilson, of Harvard University, and Hugo K. Schilling, of the University of California.

On behalf of the Committee to Nominate a Secretary of the Central Division, Professor S. H. Bush presented the name of Professor Bert E. Young, of Vanderbilt University.

Professor O. F. Emerson moved that the report of these committees be adopted. The motion was unanimusly carried and the nominees wer declared elected to their several offices.

The reading of papers was then continued.

15. "Wyclif the Reformer Warden of Canterbury Hall." By Professor William P. Reeves, of Kenyon College.

[By putting together entries in the Records hitherto unnoticed, and documents and records alredy known but freshly studied, it is now possible to identify John Wyclif the Reformer with the Warden of Canterbury Hall, an Oxford College founded by Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1362. The contemporary and later annalists, unfrendly to Wyclif, thus identified him. For varius reasons critical opinion in England has hesitated to accept this identification.

With the identification establisht, new values must be given to the Canterbury Hall affair. The writer maintaind not only that Wyclif's contemporaries had reason for attributing to him resentment, but also that Wyclif was justified for his contentions, and felt compeld to regard the decision of the Papal Consistory and its ratification in England as involving the origin and special issues of some of his most important arguments.—*Thirty minutes.*]

16. "The Date of the Composition of *Hudibras.*" By Professor Hardin Craig, of the University of Minnesota.

[The title page to *Hudibras* states that it was "Written during the Late Wars." This statement refers to the years 1642 to 1648. It was publisht in three parts in 1662, 1663, and 1678 respectivly. A study of the historical and local allusions in the three parts indicates that Part I was written during the war, Part II probably between 1649 and 1656, and Part III, a portion of it at least, between 1658 and 1662.—*Eighteen minutes.*]

17. "A newly discovered copy of an American Edition of Rousseau's *Contrat Social.*" By Professor Christian Gauss, of Princeton University.

[A seemingly unknown edition in French of Rousseau's *Contrat Social* bears upon its title page:

A Philadelphie
Chez John Robert
Imprimeur du Congrès Général
M DCC LXXV

The question of its provenance.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

18. "The Dates of Some of the *Canterbury Tales.*" By Dr. Ernest P. Kuhl, of Dartmouth College.

[The localizing of tales at Cambridge, Oxford, and in the "north contree" helps to establish the dates of composition. Of great interest is the fact that the *terminus a quo* can be definitly given.—*Ten minutes.*]

19. "Gottfried Keller and the Problem of Tragedy." By Professor Charles Hart Handschin, of Miami University.

[Keller grew more and more averse to tragedy as he grew older.

This was a natural result of his *Weltanschauung.* Analysis of his conception of the problem of tragedy.—*Ten minutes.*]

20. "Swift and the Stamp Act of 1712." By Professor Joseph M. Thomas, of the University of Minnesota.

[On very slight evidence taken from the *Journal to Stella,* Swift has been held largely responsible for the passage of the stamp act which compeld the suspension of the *Spectator* and other periodicals. The Journals of the Houses of Parliament, as wel as newspapers and private journals of the period, sho that this tax was proposed as erly as 1702. The preponderance of evidence seems to indicate that Swift had little or no part in initiating the tax or in securing its final adoption.—*Twenty minutes.*]

21. "The Irony of Swift." By Dr. Henry M. Dargan, of the University of North Carolina.

[Irony in the satiric writing of Swift owes most of its force to the depth of pessimism in his nature; but, from the technical point of view, it may be studied as the "serius conduct of an absurd proposition," as a variety of dramatic impersonation, and as intentional ambiguity or hoax.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

At one o'clock on Thursday, December 30, luncheon was servd to members of the Association at the Case Club.

FIFTH SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 30

Physics Lecture Room, Case School of Applied Science

The session began at 2.30 p. m.

The reading of papers was continued.

22. "The Translation of Dialect Literature." By Professor Bayard Quincy Morgan, of the University of Wisconsin.

[Modern means of communication and transportation stimulate growth of local pride, with cultivation of common speech. Dialect as literary medium; consequent problem for translators. Dialect defined and caracterized. Two methods of dealing with it: (*a*) Arti-

ficial dialect, its merits and demerits; (*b*) Adaptation of existing dialect similar to the original. Despite serius difficulties, this method must represent the ideal.—*Twenty minutes.*]

23. "Sedaine's Operetta *L'Isola Incantata.*" By Mr. Francis A. Waterhouse, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[The aim of the paper was to present the available evidence for and against the authenticity of this recently discoverd operetta; to comment on the work as a drama and as a libretto; and to discuss the composer's score.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

24. "The William A. Speck Collection of Goetheana." By Dr. Carl F. Schreiber, of Yale University.

[A general survey of the collection. Mr. Speck's original aims. The present condition of the collection. Every branch of Goethe's activity represented—as a poet, scientist, artist, statesman. First editions of most of Goethe's works. Letters by Goethe and to Goethe. A very valuable collection of medallions of Goethe. Original drawings. A voluminus collection of pictures of Goethe and the whole Weimar circle. The collection especially strong in *Faustiana.* An almost unbroken succession of *Faust* material from Johannes Tritemius, 1536, to the present time. Translations of Goethe's works into English, French, Italian, etc., wel represented. Work which is being done under Mr. Speck's guidance. The ultimate aim of the collection.—*Twenty minutes.*]

25. "Fourteen Unpublished Letters by Henry Crabb Robinson; A Chapter in his Appreciation of Goethe." By Dr. Adolph B. Benson, of Yale University.

[In 1832 and 1833 Robinson publisht in the *Monthly Repository* a series of articles on Goethe and his works. These letters, a part of the William A. Speck collection of Goetheana in Yale University, ar addrest to the editor of the *Monthly Repository* and deal with the publication of these articles. The letters thro new light on the contemporary English attitude toward German literature and make significant references to Carlyle and Coleridge. It is a delicate problem to introduce Goethe to a public which is not interested in him. Several times Robinson, discouraged, thretens to giv up the work, but is persuaded to complete the series.—*Twenty minutes.*]

26. "Some Forerunners of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator.*" By Dr. Willard H. Durham, of Yale University.

[This paper attempted to make somewhat clearer the transition from the Caracter Books to the periodicals of Addison and Steele, by shoing that between 1700 and 1709 Caracters wer popular, that they wer then incorporated into familiar essays, that such productions presented groups of Caracters suggestiv of the Spectator's Club, and that they appeard as periodicals.—*Twenty minutes.*]

27. "The Pastoral Element in Wordsworth." By Dr. Leslie N. Broughton, of Cornell University.

[A survey and analysis of the transition which took place in pastoral poetry between the age of Pope and that of Wordsworth, shoing that pastoral literature did not cease to exist at the end of the eighteenth century, as often stated, but in the poetry of Wordsworth regaind many of its true and enduring elements found in the poetry of Theocritus. Wordsworth's use and theory of the pastoral as set forth in his prose and poetical works.—*Twenty minutes.*]

28. "Spenser's Early Associates." By Dr. Percy W. Long of Harvard University.

[A critical reconstruction of Spenser's life prior to his secretaryship in Ireland, especially in his connection with Bishop Young; together with the apparent source of *Mother Hubberd's Tale* and a new interpretation of it as it affects Spenser's political affiliations.—*Fifteen minutes.*]

At 5.12 p. m. the Association adjurnd.

PAPERS RED BY TITLE

The folloing papers, presented to the Association, wer red by title only:

29. "The Legend of Saint Alexius in Grand Opera." By Professor Rudolph Altrocchi, of the University of Chicago.

[That such a severely ascetic legend as that of Saint Alexius should hav been taken as the subject for operatic treatment is certainly peculiar. This was done, however, in the eighteenth century in France, and in the seventeenth century in Italy, where the composer was so prominent a man as Luigi Rospigliosi, later Pope Clement IX. This givs another proof of the extraordinary vitality and diffusion of this ancient legend. A careful study of these operas

wil sho, moreover, what strange literary changes the austere story of the "man of God" had to undergo in order to adapt itself to melodramatic form.]

30. "Christine de Pisan and her *Vision*." By Professor Earle B. Babcock, of New York University.

[New details of Christine's biography to be gleand from the *Vision*, written in 1505. Tho clothed in medieval garb, like the other visions of the middle ages, and full of patriotic citations, the *Vision* is a very human document. Christine in many respects a modern woman. From the linguistic point of view the *Vision* presents interesting and valuable phenomena.]

31. "A Neglected Source of Milton's *Lycidas*." By Professor Edward C. Baldwin, of the University of Illinois.

[Milton's invectiv against the corrupt clergy of his day has a striking counterpart in a passage in Ezekiel's prophecy. The Hebrew text helps to elucidate the veild thret at the end of the passage in the elegy, and also the reference to the sword of Michael in the epic. These two passages, red in the light of Ezekiel's prophecy, appear to be closely related. Indeed, it appears not improbable that the "two-handed engin" of the elegy is the sword of God's justis, and, so, identical with the one that Michael wields in the epic.]

32. "The Medieval Legend of Judas Iscariot." By Dr. Paull F. Baum, of Harvard University.

[The story of homicide, parricide, theft, incest, and suicide which past in the Middle Ages for the life of Judas Iscariot is found in almost every language and cuntry of Europe, but was apparently never recognized by the Church. The erliest MS. which contains it was written in twelfth-century Latin at S. Victor; the erliest form of the legend is in the fourteenth-century Gascon *Passion*. It may hav been (as is generally held) an adaptation of the Œdipus myth, and therefore of monkish origin; or since its motifs ar all folk-lore motifs, it may hav originated among the *people*. Very interesting ar the chap-book versions in England, France, Denmark, and Sweden. It was taken down from oral recitation in the last century in Galicia.]

33. "The French Glosses in Rashi's Talmudical Commentary." By Professor David S. Blondheim, of the University of Illinois.

[The Hebrew commentary of Rashi of Troyes (1040-1105) upon the Babylonian Talmud contains some twenty-one hundred French glosses written in Hebrew caracters. The interest and importance of

these glosses hav been briefly indicated by Arsène Darmesteter in *Romania* I (1872), pp. 146 ff. A forthcoming edition of the glosses, based largely upon Darmesteter's unpublisht materials, as wel as upon additional manuscripts and printed texts, wil provide examples of many French words hitherto not cited from so erly a date, present certain words in forms more primitiv than those found in our ordinary texts, render the meaning of some terms clearer than it heretofore has been, and establish the existence of certain words hitherto unknown. The lexicographical data thus obtaind thro some light upon French phonology and ar of high value for the study of French etymology.]

34. "Stray Notes on Ibsen." By Dr. J. Lassen Boysen, of the University of Texas.

[The source of the 'tør ikke' motif in Ibsen's *Folkefjende* is a letter from Director Schröder of the Christiania Theater, dated Dec. 20, 1881, and quoted in Blanc, *H. I. og Christiania Theater 1859-1899*, Christiania, 1906, pp. 45 f. Camilla Collett's *Amtmandens Døttre* the source of the 'miracle' motif in *Dukkehjem* and *Fruen fra Havet*.]

35. "Longfellow's Relation to German Literature." By Professor Willis A. Chamberlin, of Denison University.

[Longfellow's visit to Germany (1835-6) coincides with a distinct advance in his writings. He was benignly influenced by German literature; he gaind new conceptions of poetry and enlarged visions of life; he was in sympathy with romanticism as it was modified by Goethe's philosophy. *Hyperion* indicativ of his views. Longfellow interpreted to America the spirit of German life; he presented idealism to a practical age, and exerted wide influence.]

36. "The Miracle Play in England—Nomenclature." By Professor George R. Coffman, of the University of Montana.

[This paper makes a critical study into the actual use of the term *Miracle Play* in England from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The present state of opinion among historians of the English drama is that the term during that period came to include all religius plays. An examination of the dramatic nomenclature as employd in medieval popular references and official records leads to the conclusion that there is no sound basis for the present belief.]

37. "La Bruyère and the English Periodical Essay." By Professor Ronald S. Crane, of Northwestern University.

[Altho some consideration has been given by scholars to the influence of La Bruyère's *Caractères* on the essays in the *Tatler* and

Spectator, no one has defined accurately either the nature and extent of this influence or the channels thru which it workt. The present paper is an attempt to thro fresh light on these two questions.]

38. "Middle English *grey eyes* and *brent browes*." By Dr. Walter Clyde Curry, of Vanderbilt University.

[The ME. term, *grey eyes,* has the definit significance *light blue eyes* because it translates regularly (*a*) *oculis glaucis* from the Latin, and (*b*) *les yeux vair* from the Old French. Both *glaucus* and *vair* mean a *light bluish-green or blue.*

Brent browes (plur.), before Douglas, means *high eyebrows,* since it is found to translate *supercilia....elevata.* After Douglas, *brent brow* (sing.) signifies *a high, smooth, forehed.*]

39. "The Origin and Development of Herbert Spencer's Principle of Economy Applied to Literature." By Mr. George B. Denton, of Northwestern University.

[Spencer's presentation of Economy as a dynamic principle, organic, evolutionary, and social, in the last few paragraphs of *The Philosophy of Style* is out of harmony with the presentation of Economy as a static principle, mechanical, psychological, and individual, in the major part of the essay. To account for this discrepancy, the folloing hypothesis is offerd: *The Philosophy of Style* is largely the same in substance as an erlier, unpublisht essay, written about 1844 and no longer extant, entitled *Force of Expression;* the last few paragraphs wer added in 1852 when the essay was prepared for publication. The proof shoes, in the first and major part of *The Philosophy of Style,* the presence of (1) ideas in regard to words, similar to those set down in memoranda by Spencer in 1844, (2) traces of Phrenology, of which Spencer was an adherent in 1844, tho not in 1852, (3) quotations and allusions which ar more likely to hav been chosen in 1844 than in 1852, and, in the last few paragraphs, the presence of (4) von Baer's formula, unknown to Spencer until 1851.]

40. "Luther's Use of the New Testament in German before December, 1521." By Professor Warren Washburn Florer, of the University of Michigan.

[An examination of all the passages of the New Testament used by Luther before December, 1521, shoes that the *September-Bibel* is a revision of a version practically complete before Luther went to the Wartburg. This version was the product of careful study, observation, meditation on linguistic problems, and intelligent use of erlier German versions.]

41. "The Katharsis-Theory in Germany Before 1730." By Dr. Jos. E. Gillet, of the University of Illinois.

[The development of the Aristotelian katharsis-theory is traced from what seems to be its first appearance in Germany (1534) to the publication of Gottsched's *Critische Dichtkunst*. A gradual shifting from a broadly social aim to a standpoint of individualistic hedonism is illustrated and discust.]

42. "Jonson's *Epicoene* and Lady Arabella Stuart." By Professor Thornton Shirley Graves, of Trinity College, N. C.

[On February 18, 1610, the Venetian representativs in England wrote that a certain comedy was suppress because it containd an objectionable allusion to Lady Arabella Stuart and "the part playd by the Prince of Moldavia." Since Jonson's *Epicoene* met with disfavor when it was acted at about the time of the letter above, and since the play contains a passage which might wel hav been construed as an uncomplimentary reference to Lady Arabella at a period when gossip was especially busy with her affairs, it is highly probable that Jonson's drama is the unfortunate production referd to by the Venetian representativs.]

43. "Transitive Verbs in Germanic." By Dr. Alexander Green, of the University of Illinois.

[The paper presents a discussion of the interrelations observable between the transitiv and intransitiv concepts in the Germanic languages, especially with a view to defining the conditions under which intransitivs seemingly may pass over into the transitiv category.]

44. "The Influens of Harmonic Melody on the Development of Strofic Form in Poetry." By Professor George Pullen Jackson, of the University of North Dakota.

[The important medieval evolution from unrimed non-strofic poetry to that which used end-rime in comparativly complex strofic types syncronizes quite exactly with an equally momentus development in music from a non-harmonic to a harmonic era. The author defends the hypothesis that the two developments bear to each other a direct causal relationship; that is, that the evolution in music has been the main factor in giving direction to the development of poetic form.]

45. "Friedrich Hebbel is the Superman." By Dr. Heinrich C. Keidel, of the Ohio State University.

[I. Nietzsche's Superman. II. Hebbel's ideas, ideals, and life; (*a*) humility and sympathy with the weak; (*b*) destruction, (*c*) "eleva-

tion of man"; (*d*) the "wil for power"; (*e*) heroes and tribal morals; (*f*) the Superwoman. III. The nineteenth century.]

46. "About Face in Fonetics." By Professor Robert J. Kellogg, of the James Millikin University.

[The grafic speech records of experimental fonetics demonstrate speech-flo to be a continuum caracterized at every point by constant gradual changes of volume, pitch, and quality. It is not resolvable into discrete sounds, but into sloer or more rapidly shifting fases corresponding respectivly to so-cald fixt-position sounds and glides. It folloes that the changing continuum of speech-flo is the fundamental datum and starting point of fonetics. We must therefore exactly reverse the former procedure of that science. As illustrations of the new method, two problems, (1) syllabication and (2) the psychological analysis of speech-flo into quasi unitary sounds, ar considerd from this point of view.]

47. "Analysis of Style in Composition." By Dr. Percy W. Long, of Harvard University.

[A new method for courses in literary criticism or composition by which technical caracteristics and devices of structure, diction, texture, movement, and tenor, ar isolated for individual study or imitation *seriatim*. The aim is to place the student in possession one by one of a number of features of literary technique and enable him to see the means by which writers hav achievd specific effects.]

48. "Spenser's *Muiopotmos* as an Allegory." By Miss Jessie M. Lyons, of the University of Chicago.

[Folloing Craik's suggestion that the poem is a veild representation of recent events, the writer attempts to sho what was in Spenser's mind when he wrote *Muiopotmos*. The theory takes into consideration the first two stanzas of the poem, which ar usually cast aside, and emphasizes their part in giving direction and allegorical import to the story. By considering contemporary events, the personal relations of Spenser at the time, and the veild allusions in the story of Clarion, we may fix upon the person whom the poet has in mind.]

49. "Spielhagen's Theory of the *Novelle:* 1863-1898." By Professor McBurney Mitchell, of Brown University.

[Spielhagen's theory of the *novelle* is based on two main dicta, neither of which seems to hav been discust in any theory of the short-story: 1) *novelle* and *roman* ar essentially different, in that

the former deals only with fully developt caracters, the latter chiefly with caracters stil in process of development; 2) *novelle* and drama ar so closely related as literary *genres* that the *novelle* is almost always capable of successful dramatization, the novel never. Neither of these conceptions was original with Spielhagen. The first goes back directly to Theodor Mundt (*Kritische Wälder,* 1833). The second had its inception in Lessing's *Literaturbriefe* (1767), receivd its first real development at the hands of A. W. Schlegel (*Berliner Vorträge,* 1803-04), and is first boldly carried out to its logical conclusion by Spielhagen.]

50. "The Narcissa Episode in Young's *Night Thoughts.*" By Mr. Horace W. O'Connor, of the Indiana University.

[The untenableness of Professor Walter Thomas's theory that the Narcissa mentiond in Night III was an illegitimate daughter of Young, buried clandestinly shortly after his wife's deth in 1740. The strong likelihood that Young got his idea from a comedy by George Farquhar. The Narcissa episode is a poetic fusion of the Farquhar incident with Young's own experience when he took his step-daughter to France.]

51. "Auerbach and Nietzsche." By Dr. Allen W. Porterfield, of Barnard College.

[After commenting on Nietzsche's critical references to Auerbach and listing a number of expressions which Auerbach coind and Nietzsche used, the author has made a study of *Auf der Höhe* (1865) and *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1885) by way of attempting to prove that the latter contains echoes of the former.]

52. "New-World Analogues of the English and Scottish Popular Ballads." By Professor Louise Pound, of the University of Nebraska.

[Analogies hav been drawn recently, as to manner of composition, between the English and Scottish popular ballads, and certain groups of folk-song arising in America. This paper inquires how far these analogies hold. It also concerns itself with the question, Is the making of popular ballads really an "extinct process"?—To appear in *The Mid-West Quarterly,* April, 1916.]

53. "Chaucer's Dares." By Professor Robert K. Root, of Princeton University.

[Tho Chaucer several times mentions Dares, there is no clear evidence that he ever used the *De Excidio Trojae Historia.* There was, however, another work which past under the name of Dares, a

poem in Latin hexameters, written late in the twelfth century by Joseph of Exeter, which in the surviving MSS. bears the title *Frigii daretis ylias.* From this poem Chaucer drew suggestions for his portraits of Diomede, Criseyde, and Troilus in Book V of *Troilus;* and in two of the MSS. of *Troilus* the scribe has written lines from Joseph's poem beside the corresponding lines of Chaucer. The catalog of trees in the *Parliament of Fowls* seems also to sho Joseph's influence. When Chaucer bids us read Dares, it is probably the poem of Joseph of Exeter that he has in mind.]

54. "*Il Principe* of Machiavelli in Spain." By Mr. Vincenzo de Santo, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[This study consists of four parts: (1) a brief consideration of the translations of the *Principe* into Spanish; (2) an examination of the principal Spanish *Antimachiavellisti,* Pedro Rivadeneyra, Juan Marquez, and Claudius Clement; (3) the influence of *Il Principe* on the works of Baltasar Gracian and of Diego de Saavedra Fajardo; (4) a study of Feijoo and "Azorin" as defenders of Machiavelli.]

55. "The Historical Value of Barbour's *Bruce:* a Comparison of Bks. XI, XII, and XIII with the Chronicles." By Professor Grace F. Shepard, of Wheaton College.

[This paper, preliminary to a similar examination of the whole poem, arranges in actual juxtaposition the text of Barbour and passages from chronicles or state papers which either corroborate or contradict the Scottish poet. The examination, in the writer's opinion, shoes the essential truthfulness of Barbour's account of Bannockburn. He may perhaps exaggerate numbers, he may put words into the mouths of kings and generals, as Thucydides did before him, he may giv a few unsupported but perfectly feasible details, and he is perhaps unjustly contradicted with regard to a few others; but with regard to *most* of the incidents of the conflict, and with regard to *all* vital matters, he is abundantly approved.]

56. "Cantos X and XI of the Fifth Book of the *Faerie Queene* in the Light of Historical Documents." By Dr. Winifred Smith, of Vassar College.

[Spenser moulds historic fact to his poetic purpose. He poetizes Leicester's unlucky campaign in the Netherlands in such a way that it appears a symbol of justis and mercy combined. He represents both Leicester and Elizabeth as moved by the most generus of motivs in their interference between the States and Spain, suppresses the meannesses, the mismanagement, and the horrors of the expedition,

and turns its concluding failure into a glorius success for his hero. The diplomatic correspondence of the period reveals the true story.]

57. "The Usurer in Elizabethan Drama." By Professor Arthur Bivins Stonex, of Trinity College, Conn.

[The usurer, possibly a descendant of the Avarice of morality drama, was one of several stock caracters that appeard in some sixty Elizabethan plays, the most of which conformd to one of two fairly distinct and sloly developt plots. The surprisingly frequent use of these plots, caracters, and even minor situations throes a not very favorable light upon the practices of certain representativ playwrights of the time.]

58. "The Elizabethan Tragedy of Revenge." By Miss Mary Rebecca Thayer, of Vassar College.

[The Elizabethan tragedies of revenge should not be regarded as forming a "type" of drama. A type is made up of plays possessing resemblances which ar essential features and without which, therefore, the *genre* cannot exist: examples of such types ar chronicle and pastoral drama. A careful examination of Elizabethan revenge tragedies, beginning with the erliest-known specimens, shoes that their many and striking similarities ar not of such a caracter, but ar due merely to their writers' appropriation of incidents and situations alredy proved successful; in other words, there is not one of these similarities which cannot be, and has not been in some one of the plays, dispenst with. The consideration of such adventitius resemblances as composing a type leads to such a grave misapprehension as puts *The Atheist's Tragedy*, where there is no personal vengeance, but where the familiar *motifs* are abundant, into the class of revenge tragedy, and omits therefrom *Titus Andronicus*, which is full of revenge, but has comparativly few of the imitativ features.]

59. "The Place Given to Dramatic Instinct in Theodor Fontane's Theory of the Drama." By Professor Bertha E. Trebein, of Agnes Scott College.

[Theodor Fontane's theory of the drama has to do rather with the balancing of esthetic values than with the fixing of principle. The distinction between comedy and farce, the use of situation, the possibilities of the problem-play, the lyric element, external form, and language ar all approacht from the point of view of dramatic instinct, and the dramatist is granted freedom in method so long as he shoes an unfailing sense for artistic adjustment.]

60. "The Dialects of Basilicata and the Puglie." By Professor Herbert H. Vaughan, of the University of Pennsylvania.

[In the dialects of this region the Greek element is of considerable importance. Greek accents hav been retaind in many places, and the phenomenon of iotacization has taken place locally. The influence of the final vowel upon that of the tonic syllable and the development of Latin *ll* present many interesting problems.]

61. "Some Tendencies of Italian Lyric Poetry in the Trecento." By Dr. Charles E. Whitmore, of Harvard University.

[Many of the developments of Italian lyric in the fourteenth century result from the conflict of the realistic tendency latent in the *dolce stil nuovo*, and past on after the dissolution of the school, with varius dispersiv tendencies—the incessant internal strife of the age, the humble estate of many poets, and their consequent dependence on capricius patrons. These tendencies produced others of a more purely literary nature—abuse of erudition, decay of lyrical technique—and eventually caused the downfall of the sounder tradition. The influence of Petrarch, which would hav workt in the same direction, was not fully manifested until later.]

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DELIVERD ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1915, AT CLEVELAND, OHIO, AT THE THIRTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING (THIRD UNION MEETING) OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BY JEFFERSON B. FLETCHER

OUR OPPORTUNITY

All the world has mobilized, or is mobilizing. American commerce has mobilized, or talks of mobilizing, for the conquest of the markets of the world. American finance brags of mobilizing the imperial seat of credit from London to New York. Daily the prophets of our press exhort us to seize the golden moment, the golden opportunity,—perhaps for the chivalrous spirit all too literally golden. They have invited also American scholarship to go in and win,—now that Europe in her folly has temporarily thrown away her leadership.

It is not wholly glorious to prosper by others' beggary. The Spanish have a proverb,—"In the country of the blind the one-eyed man is king." Yet surely, the true man would rather be a plain citizen where all have clear vision. Especially he would in competitions of the mind, where, as Dante says,

> By so many the more there are who say 'Ours,'
> So much the more of good doth each possess.

If battling Europe were indeed to become bankrupt in learning, it would be small matter of congratulation for

American scholarship to be appointed receiver. Should the Dark Ages return overseas,—the really Dark Ages, in deference to our ex-president,—would it comfort that our universities become walled-in strongholds of learning like the early monasteries, desperate fastnesses, lonely in an enemy world of barbarism? What but a lean and starveling wisdom could there survive?

I predict no such extreme disaster. The veneer of European civilization is not, let us hope, as thin as that. Yet her situation is bad enough, and grows worse. In her halls of learning are only old men and strangers; and her young men—teachers, scholars, writers with the rest—are falling like leaves. And those who may survive, in what mood can they be for calm and disinterested scholarship? And what response can they expect in their war-torn, impoverished lands? Europe must brace herself against the hard material needs of a broken life. She would seem little capable of inviting her soul to arts and letters. Conquest for us in these realms, therefore, might well appear to be pathetically easy.

Yet we may not be too sure. There is another side. As Professor Leonhard has recently said, "This war recalled people to the sense of life which obliges us to regard our existence as a continual duty to self-sacrifices." The war has brought Europe to a tragic sense of life. There should follow the katharsis of tragedy for those who have come to feel deeply that sense of life, and in self-devotion to act upon it. In spite of exposure, privation, strain, men seem to have grown stronger of body in the trenches, stronger of mind and will. Mean souls may be merely calloused by constant deadly peril, by constant call to sacrifice; but the brave soul is raised above itself.

Reaction there may be afterward; but, in spite of the pessimists, I cannot believe that this testing by fire must

wholly consume the good will with the evil. When the teachers and scholars who may survive, go back to class-rooms and study, they must bring with them some spirit of the open—and of the deeps. That tragic sense of life, to which they have been recalled, must, it seems, cleanse their minds of the dry-rot of pedantry and the mildew of dilettantism. Their learning may take on the perspective of wisdom. We in our fat peace have the leisure, the money, the trained men, but can we surely contest with Europe's remnant of scholars the deepened insight and the strengthened will?

At least, there may be small danger of our becoming the one-eyed master in any schoolroom of the blind. To make good our opportunity, we shall need more than ever both eyes of the mind,—the eye of understanding and the eye of imagination. It takes two eyes, I believe, to see things in the round. The one eye of him who has learning without imagination reports only surfaces.

Is our own learning at all lacking in imagination? I ask the question; for prudence demands that we look into our equipment before undertaking the offensive against European scholarship. I ask the question; but have not myself imagination enough to answer it fairly. Evidences of imagination in the greater part of our learned writings escape me; but the defect may well be mine.

I feel more confident in asserting that we could, as a class, show a higher seriousness of purpose. I do not mean solemnity. We are solemn enough. There is indeed a kind of flippancy which may be called professorial; but there is commonly something forced and conscious about it, like the forced impudence of a bashful man.

I say we could have a higher seriousness of purpose. I find a goodly number in our profession—by no means always the younger ones—who are frankly willing, even

eager, to admit that the little things we fuss over are of no great importance. Shop is just shop—a job to be lived up to decently, and to live by—as decently as possible. The attitude is assumed even by some who take a keen sporting interest in literary problems. I use the word sporting advisedly. A friend of mine, internationally known for his literary researches, once confessed to me that he took up his problems for the same reason that others took up chess-problems,—as a cure for boredom. Of course, he said, I don't care a rap for the solutions: who does? Now no doubt my friend may have been posing a little. His attitude may have been a bit Byronic, certainly defensive. Academic people nowadays are mortally afraid of appearing to take themselves too seriously. The mood is wholesome, but also dangerous. Habitual self-depreciation in the long run really depreciates the self. The dog that gives himself a bad name comes not unlikely to deserve it. At any rate, I cannot but contrast the languid cynicism towards his job of my friend, the professor, with the eager enthusiasm of a physician under whose care I happened to be not long ago. There was a medical congress going on at the time. He used to come from its sessions like a college boy from a football victory. His zeal made him try out certain therapeutic novelties on me,—with results I care less to remember. But his enthusiasm was impressive, contagious.

Frankly, how many of us are following the sessions of this Association with any such enthusiasm? Of course, I recognize that our issues are less exciting. We are not discussing questions of life and death. True, we as teachers are making for the health of the mind, for culture. But people can live without culture. And, in any case, our bookishness is not the sole means to culture. As makers of books about books, we are not even bookmen by first

intention. We are critics; and Bacon reports that "Sir Henry Wotton used to say that critics are like brushers of noblemen's clothes." At least, it is a useful, though menial, service; but in war-times it may be dispensed with. In fact, outside folk take small note of us. When recently, a friend told me of an article in the *Hibbert Journal* by President Thwing on The Effect of the European War on Higher Learning in America, I was disquieted. Had the President stolen my small thunder? On the contrary. He considered various and sundry departments of higher learning. Literary scholarship he not even mentioned. Strange: in an issue touching so deeply the imagination and emotions of mankind as this world-war, one would suppose literature, intimate expression as it is of human imagination and emotion, would have been an unescapable topic. But was it literature, or American learning thereanent, that President Thwing considered negligible? I do not know; but I know that others will not take our results seriously, if we do not take them seriously ourselves.

I have spoken of what may be called our defensive self-depreciation. We would steal, as it were, the world's laughter. There is also a certain condescension in literary scholars towards their job due to the conviction that a diviner fire than of learning burns in them. They languish in scholastic meadows like Ruth "amid the alien corn." For they came not to criticize literature, but to create it. Want, spiritual and material, not will, keeps them with us. They serve *Alma Mater* as Dante the *donna pietosa*—as a lady of consolation. They deprecate as earnestly as he, anybody taking her for their first choice.

And naturally, these 'hyphenates' cleave, within bread-and-butter limits, to the higher and secret allegiance.

With Longfellow they sigh: "This college work is like a great hand laid on all the strings of my lyre, stopping their vibrations." To hide the menial livery of cap-and-gown, they put on cap-and-bells. They lecture by epigram, and will mar sense to "make the unskilful laugh."

This last is indeed a temptation to even our soberer sort. Every profession has its special danger. Our danger is the seduction of the immature mind, our intellectual target. In sterner patriarchal days, the pedagogue dominated, and became, by excess of quality, the pedant. In this day and land of equality, when youth will be served, we pedagogues placate. We become entertainers. Already the 'movie' has been introduced into the classroom. And youth—literary youth—has a keen palate for spiceries of phrase. To titillate the taste, there has been evolved a peculiar wit,—peculiar, I mean, to academic lectures. If I may venture a definition which is also—by intention, at least—an illustration, I should say that this manner of wit prefers the paradoxology to any plainsong, that it is a second classroom facetiousness, a spot-lighter vein of hypercriticism, devoted to splitting March-hairs on the temples of truth, and putting the sob into sobriety. I don't know if you recognize the type? Well, here is a real, if milder, specimen from a learned journal. The writer wished to say that, in renaissance opinion, a poet is inspired, yet must perfect his gift by labor and learning. What he did say was: "To put it Elizabethan-wise: it is true, poeta nascitur non fit; ergo, once nascitur, it devolves upon him to fit himself." Well, the original classroom smiled,—grimly, but smiled. And any classroom smile is precious. I forbear to name the author. But—"he that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone!"

Now there is a larger scale temptation for us to commit adulteration on sober speaking. Lengthened across our

broad land, the stony-eyed classroom front is the front of the American public. Only recently an American professor of literature has told us again how crude we are, how cruder still we are bound to become. "In the thorough-going democracy of the future, to which all the signs are pointing," he says, "literature, in this sense" (he has just defined its true sense), literature "seems likely to be an anachronism." For, he says, the taste of the masses will rule; and what Walt Whitman calls "the divine average" will give the one universal standard. Personally, I question the depressing forecast. We are not now altogether governed by plebiscite. We are rather increasingly ready to surrender our average or collective judgment to experts. Why must the average man remain stiff-necked about literature alone? We follow the leader gladly,—when he appears. When a William James comes along, he gets a hearing and a following,—not so much for his metaphysical thought, which is caviare to the general, but for his humanity, his high seriousness, his eloquent sincerity. And humanity and high seriousness are attainable virtues. Once possessed, they make for the eloquence of sincerity. And more of all three qualities among us would have made it impossible, I believe, for President Thwing to ignore us in his survey of higher learning in America.

But temptation to cater to the Philistines undoubtedly exists. There is a bastard-spirit of humanity about, which makes not for true intellectual leadership, but against it. I mean that apostleship of a so-called "broad human appeal," which keeps its ear to the ground to hear how the cat jumps. It moves in academic, as in political, circles; although, fortunately, our professional stakes are not such as to attract the full-sized promoter, the real 'get-rich-quick-Wallingford.' But now and then, some educational drummer does hawk about his cheap, machine-made

samples, and exploit to the extent of his moderate ability the gullible female mind; or, beating his loud tom-tom in the classroom, may attract æsthetes and " such small deer " of the student-herd. Sometimes, by sheer publicity he climbs, and, like Milton's " wary fiend,"

> As in a cloudy *chair*, ascending rides
> Audacious; but [*as Milton adds*] that seat soon failing, meets
> A vast vacuity.

Such commercial smallfry is indeed negligible.

> Let us not speak of them; but look and pass.

But a subtler temptation to pander to the crowd assails us. Theologians talk justifyingly of an accommodation of truth. It is manifestly right to accommodate one's wisdom to the capacity and needs of one's pupils or public. One must not talk over people's heads, or cram them to mental indigestion. But the principle can be overworked. There is such a thing as making knowledge too easy. Wholly predigested foods are as little sustaining as foods indigestible. And what anyone who runs can read, is scarce likely to be worth reading. I remember a lady, who has since cut some figure in certain literary circles, telling me with enthusiasm some years ago that she had at last found her true spiritual guidance in Bergson. Being interested and ignorant, I asked her about him. And she brought me forthwith her own source of enlightenment,—a column and a half in the *Literary Digest.*

Now the joke is not altogether on this sister of Hermione, as we call the type in New York. What about us, who are constantly in classroom and print feeding out such sugared and sublimated pillules of theory to half empty and wholly untrained minds? Victor Cousin once asked Hegel for a brief statement, in French, of his philosophy.

Hegel is said to have replied that his philosophy could not be stated briefly, nor in French. Possibly, the French might take it for a compliment. But Hegel was certainly right about the brief statement. Knowledge by summary only is about as satisfactory as swallowing a pumpkin-seed for a Thanksgiving pie. We are amused by the crudely uncritical 'accommodations' of medieval writers, who naively transform the elegant courtier, Virgil, into a solemn and pious doctor. But I am not sure that more important misunderstandings are propagated by putting Virgil in a cassock than by putting Bergson in a nutshell,—especially if the meat must be made soft for any teeth, and palatable.

Easy learning means unreal knowledge. A clever writer in the *Unpopular Review* has called a benevolent dealing out of realities, "soft sentimentalism." Thus the "snap course" in college is a species of soft sentimentalism. So is much of Sunday supplement and Chautauquan circuit and extension lecture. But there is also, as the Unpopular Reviewer adds, a "hard sentimentalism." This, too, dispenses unrealities, but in a spirit other than benevolent. And there is a kind of scholarly teaching and writing which properly, I think, may be classed under hard sentimentalism. It is a kind that rejects all spirit of accommodation. It explodes erudition like shrapnel, but aims—not infrequently—at men of straw. In monographs, it proceeds with foot-notiose precision to a ponderous inconclusion, lightening its solemnity with gestures of ironic scorn for all past or possible contradiction. Through these monographs wander, lonely and mysterious, unattached letters of the alphabet, capital A's and B's and C's, or these are linked together into diagrams subtler than Arachne's web. Far from catering to the many, hard sentimentalism in scholarship repels even the few. Not

Brunhild in her fire-ringed sleep, was more unapproachable. Within the covers of our learned periodicals, how much sleepy wisdom still awaits the paper-cutter of some unflinching Siegfried?

I do not mean to be unfair. Of course, between experts a technical short-hand is as justifiable as his signs and symbols to a mathematician. The layman, not being addressed, has no right to complain of its unintelligibility. By all means, let technical literary scholarship observe the rigor of a symbolic logic. Let it observe a rigorous logic of any kind. Frankly, it does not seem to me that in our literary scholarship, the sense of logic has at all kept up with the sense of fact.

From the days of their examinations on, our novitiates of learning have been made to feel that a full mind rather than an orderly one is what chiefly counts. The most esteemed doctor's examination I ever attended must have sounded from without like a continuous popping of corks, question, answer, question, answer, tic-tac. The candidate was as highly charged with the facts of literary history as a bottle of bock beer with gas. He fairly went to our heads. Among his facts were, of course, formulas and 'isms.' I don't know whether they meant anything in particular for him or not.

Formulas and 'isms' are, as it is well known, effective things to conjure with. Our students also find that out early. I used to be astonished at the ease and apparent accuracy with which they juggled them in examination-books. But one year I tried an experiment. Instead of the usual written examinations at mid-years, I gave each student an oral quiz in the Socratic manner. The experiment cost both students and myself a good many bad quarter-hours, but it paid. The particular students were by no means a stupid or ignorant lot. In the final

examinations of the same year the majority of them handed in excellent examination-books. In the oral quiz, only a few went widely astray in matters of fact. The trouble was, that nearly all regarded literary formulas and 'isms' as also mere matters of fact. For instance, a Platonist represented to them what Sidney, or Spenser, or Shelley *was*. *Platonism itself?*—Well, Platonism was a religion of beauty in woman. *Did Plato himself say that?* No, sir, you did. *Yes, but would Plato have said it?*—I . . . I suppose he would have—in principle. *What do you mean by* "in principle?"—Why . . . er . . . the logic of his ideas. *What is that logic?*—I never had a course in Plato, sir.

Well, that specimen-fragment of a quiz is not strictly historical, but neither is it a parody. These students, I repeat, were conscientious. They were listening, reading, taking notes. They had had little or no time for close-grappling with the ideas they were listening to or reading about. When they found these ideas packed for them into convenient formulas or 'isms,' they made mental note of these, and could attach them as labels with curious parrot-like precision. And with that, they—most of them—stopped.

Naturally, they carry a similar spirit into their research, as their theses and first drafts of their doctoral dissertations prove. Almost always these show industry, and the abundant information that comes of industry; almost never close thinking and orderly presentation. They lack composition. I mean logical composition, not correct English or effective style. These last are indeed 'another story,' on which I forbear to dwell. We have heard too much of 'atrocities.'

The worst of it is that these same students—for I am speaking of graduate students, nine-tenths of whom are

intending teachers—are, to use Dante's picturesque term, *ombriferi prefazii,* "cloudy prefaces," of ourselves. Our formulas and shop phrases—*disjectissima membra scholae* —are carried off in their note-books, to serve as a very present help in time of trouble. What they have learned under us, and the way they have learned it, is passed on to their students, and, I suppose, by these in turn to theirs. Talk of the *aurea catena* of the Fathers!

But, it may be replied, our lectures are but a small part of our courses. Our students work when we are not talking. That is true, and there is comfort in it. But what kind of work are we setting for them? I am dealing in generalities. And it is true, generally speaking, that upon our graduate students we force almost exclusively literature. Each of our departments appears to have hung up on its walls the motto,—"The whole literature, and nothing but the literature." To be sure, in most institutions, a so-called "minor subject" is required. It is generally very minor indeed. It is often another literature.

The danger of this literary inbreeding is not, to speak accurately, over-specialism. A mere grammarian is like a mere physicist. Either may be over-specialized in the sense of lacking a broad culture, and yet be a master in his own field. The literary student, on the other hand, who has merely read poems, novels, essays, plays—no matter how many or in how many tongues—is not over-specialized. I would not call him a specialist at all, but rather a generalist, or a superficialist. In so far as he has merely read and remembered, his mental stock can be but a more or less neat alignment of surfaces. The lady who discovered Bergson in her *Literary Digest* certainly did not get beyond his surface. But is not literature itself also a literary digest? Does not dramatist, poet, essayist, novelist

each hold up his polished mirror to a nature and a human nature already made up and posed by philosopher, historian, scientist? The literary mirror, however, rarely reflects more than the shadowy *ensemble,* or some effective detail, or a subjective impression. Even if the image reflected have wider and deeper perspective, its more insistent appeal as a work of art is that of Dante's *canzone.* Understand me or not, he makes it say; but

> Give heed at least how beautiful I am.

I know that there are those who assure us that when we have realized "how beautiful" a literary masterpiece is, we have gone far enough. I am not at all sure that I understand these Impressionists, Intuitionists, Croceans, Bergsonians. Dante's *canzone* is quite clear in its appeal to the reader. It frankly offers its beauty as a consolation. If you cannot reach up to my fruit, stand below and enjoy my graceful form, my brilliant foliage. But frankly, you will never so get all, even the best, of me. But the abstraction is false, retort the Intuitionists. The fruit is part of the beauty of the tree, its sense of the *canzone;* the only true appreciation is that which intuits all component beauties as one. The critic must become, as one enthusiast puts it "(if only for a moment of supreme power) at one with the creator." The idea is a little giddying. One thinks of Dante's ultimate vision, of his intuition of the Book of Truth.

> I saw within its depths enclosed all that,
> Which in the universe is scattered leaves,
> With love as in a single volume bound;
> Substance and accidents and properties
> Fused as it were together in such wise,
> That what I speak of is one simple Light.

In this mystic vision, Dante did become "(if only for a moment) at one with the Creator," and saw the universal

masterpiece as the Creator sees it. But in the miracle of his intuitive insight, he was raised above humanity; he, the mortal, had put off mortality. But mortal understanding moves not by raptures. Dante was well aware of the fact; and if we desire to become really, to the limits of our human individual power, at one with him as the creator of the Divine Comedy, to enjoy the fruit as well as the foliage of his tree of wisdom, we must piece together, bit by bit, life as he saw it, think out his problems, step by step, as he conceived them; we must climb slowly and laboriously, branch by branch, his tree of wisdom. The Divine Comedy epitomizes the wisdom of the middle ages. As truly, it presupposes that wisdom. For it is, after all, but a poet's literary digest of the chroniclers, astronomers, geographers, philosophers, theologians, who in their dry and difficult pages alone can make Dante's meaning clear, definite, and particular. Otherwise, our understanding of him is little more than ingenious, but capricious, guesswork; or we must confess as Lowell confessed for Edmund Spenser, that "the true use of him is as a gallery of pictures which we visit as mood takes us."

Dante's thinking is hard scholastic thinking. Do we prescribe hard scholastic thinking for our students of Dante? On the contrary, we give them other literary digests, more poetry, contemporary or antecedent, Italian or Latin, Provençal or French. They may discover so possible patterns for the form and vesture of the Comedy; but its body of thought remains as heavily veiled as ever, to say nothing of the mystic soul within that body. I am not forgetting that we lecture to them on such matters, formulate the grand tenets of Dante's thought for them. But again, another literary digest! We cannot do these things *for* them; they must do them for themselves.

I have been led to speak of Dante. Substitute any

other great author you please. The fact remains, that for the student of belles lettres alone, those letters spell knowledge in a simplified spelling. It sounds like knowledge, but it isn't knowledge. Of course, I am far from meaning to deny the value for culture of wide reading in good literature, however casual and impressionistic the reading. There is justification for the tradition of our French Departments that no student may elect courses in later literature until he shall have taken one in the classics of the seventeenth century. The chastity of Racine, the dignity of Corneille, the nobleness of Bossuet should be for him some defense against romantic or realistic aberration of taste. The holy armor of classicism, even though in his case thin, should serve as in the dark forest of Error, the Red Cross Knight's

> glistring armor made
> A little gloaming light, much like a shade,

yet enough to show the monster to be fought.

Valuable as may be such discipline of taste, yet values are relative, and to a certain extent, mutually exclusive. We cannot eat our cake, and have it. To spread our students' minds out thin over centuries of belles lettres is to leave little of their mentality for those other disciplines which alone can make belles lettres themselves richly meaningful. What light can the eloquence of Racine, Corneille, Bossuet throw on the encyclopedic outlook of Voltaire or Diderot, the social and political theories of Montesquieu or Rousseau, the religion and philosophy of Chateaubriand or Lamartine or Renan, the historical world-perspective of Victor Hugo? A little, perhaps,—so far as the great abstract issues of life are touched by all great literary artists; but in any concrete and particular way, how negligibly little! When or how are our literary

students encouraged, nay, permitted to acquire and digest that complex of ideas historical, philosophical, scientific, without which any considerable work of imagination is as pleasantly sounding brass or a sweetly tinkling cymbal? No doubt, in course or later, the intelligent student works at these matters for himself. The odd thing is that we insist on giving him a surplus of assistance in precisely the field where by predilection he is most at home, and leave him to his own unaided resources in those alien and vastly more difficult territories. I sometimes think that the one subject an intending literary scholar ought not to elect in course is literature.

In making these charges of academicism, dilettantism, belletrism, I have spoken, as I suspect and hope, with exaggeration. But I do believe them not wholly groundless. We as a people, however, have always prided ourselves on our power to rise to an opportunity. Certainly, if American literary scholars were given to realize a new human and practical usefulness in their job, they would become more vitally interested in it; they would make the rest of the world more vitally interested in it.

Now there is, I think, an opportunity growing out of this world-war, which, if seized, should make literary scholarship more humanly and practically useful. It is an opportunity not of competition, but of help. We shall not prove our quality by beating Europe now she is down, but, by so far as in us lies, helping her up. And helping helps the helper. When the sickness of this war is over, I believe that for Europe in her moral convalescence literature can be made a healing power. Matthew Arnold sang powerfully, if with cacophonous opening, in his sonnet:

> Who prop, thou ask'st, in these bad days, my mind?—
> He much, the old man, who, clearest-souled of men

> Saw The Wide Prospect, and the Asian Fen,
> And Tmolus hill, and Smyrna bay, though blind.
>
> Much he, whose friendship I not long since won,
> That halting slave, who in Nicopolis
> Taught Arrian, when Vespasian's brutal son
> Clear'd Rome of what most shamed him. But be his
>
> My special thanks, whose even-balanced soul,
> From first youth tested up to extreme old age,
> Business could not make dull, nor passion wild;
>
> Who saw life steadily, and saw it whole;
> The mellow glory of the Attic stage,
> Singer of sweet Colonus, and its child.

What can we scholars and teachers of literature do for those who turn to it in that spirit? who turn to 'beautiful letters' not for any mere passing sensuous thrill, or impersonal curiosity of knowledge, but for propping of their minds in days how bad? who find in poetry the Red Cross of the wounded spirit?

It seems to me that their need and our task are clear. If literature is to be a real guide and support, and no mere sentimental escape from the realities of a broken life, it must be in the fullest sense understood. Arnold gave special thanks to Sophocles, not as to

> The idle singer of an empty day,

lulling him into a pleasant forgetfulness, but as to one

> Who saw life steadily, and saw it whole.

But to share the courage-giving wisdom of Sophocles in its wholeness, or the vision of Dante, or of Goethe, or of Shakspere, or of even lesser prophets, means, as I have been saying, not merely to read and passively meditate their poetic digests of thought and experience, but intellectually to realize for ourselves their problem of life as it was presented to them, and in their way. When we shall

have ourselves gained such insight, we may rightly offer ourselves as their interpreters. Otherwise, *traduttori, traditori.*

Our present opportunity lies, as I say, through a renewed emphasis on interpretative criticism. Since the introduction some thirty years ago of the doctorate from Germany, the emphasis of American scholarship has been historical. The passing generation has industriously accummulated facts. It has evidentially established who's who, what's what, when's when in the chronicle of the realms of gold. Also, stimulated by French theories of literary evolution, it has tried to trace causal nexuses between established facts in the literary chronicle. Its literary research has chiefly lain—as casual inspection of its publications will show—in the quest of literary relations, sources, influences, developments of theme or form. Or it has busied itself assiduously with literary personalities, with the doings of writers when not writing. It has grown lean over questions of authorship and text, of dates and places of publication, of the ways plays were staged.

We have every reason to be grateful for this historical research. Thanks to it, we know many things unknown to our grandfathers, and we know more accurately the things they knew. Even more importantly, we have acquired through it a new scholarly conscience. Easy generalization is no longer as easy as in the days of Taine. To a conspicuous degree, we would rather be right than interesting.

But, having these stores of fact and this disciplined critical conscience, are we not in a position to be both right and interesting? I mean interesting to others besides our scholarly selves. And for most people now, the interest of literature is more than ever in its evaluations of life. Nations are fighting for their ideals of life; and their great writers are chiefly held great for having beautifully

and movingly voiced these ideals of life. But it is easy, especially in a time of extreme partisanship, to misinterpret great writers to partisan ends. The written word is indeed potent, yet nothing is more helpless. The Devil, they say, can quote Scripture to his ends. For without the sealing spirit, the letter is as malleable wax. During the past year, both sides in the conflict have called upon Goethe to attest the right of each. Is the great poet really so Janus-faced? Or has the letter on which his spirit set its seal been blurred by hot prejudice? Who shall answer unless the scholar, armed with the facts, a trained mind, and a judicial conscience?

But we show ourselves still averse to discussion of ideas and ideals in literature. The reason may be intellectual timidity, well-grounded fear of the difficulty of the matter. We think shudderingly of the vague volubility of the Mid-Victorians, of Carlyle's ejaculations on the 'immensities' and 'eternities,' of Matthew Arnold's acrimonious unction, of Ruskin's opinionated truculence. From all such logodædalian vanity, we say, good Lord deliver us! Indeed, we elders here can remember when the dry, white light of historical and comparative research broke upon the metaphysical shadows and hortatory moonshine in which our undergraduate minds had been groping. We felt like exclaiming with Rabelais: "Out of this thick Gothic night our eyes are opened to the glorious torch of the sun." And we have been valiantly winning our place in the sun—of science. But too much sun parches a soil, and leaves it sterile. Our pastures need watering from the older critical spirit, even if with the revivifying shower there must come some cloudiness.

Certainly, the kind of thing Mid-Victorian critics talked about is what this world-war is forcing again upon the attention of serious persons. Many hold that, which-

ever side wins, civilization has lost. They warn against the seeming consolations I awhile ago spoke of, and still believe in. The heroism and devotion and sacrifice born of the crisis, will pass, they say, with the crisis. Moral reaction, enervation, relative barbarism, must follow the declaration of peace. Whether they are right or not, the expediency of preparedness against such a possibility is not debatable. There must be a munitioning of the spirit. Compared with our need, the need of Arnold's generation to hold fast to the "best that has been thought and said in the world," was trifling. Already, familiar assumptions are being questioned, faiths shaken, conventions broken down. Questions come thronging back from the Limbo of half-forgotten debate.—What is true culture? true efficiency? Does might make right? Is patriotism a fetich? peace a pure negation? international law a bluff? Are there more tribal Gods than one?—These are not now 'academic' questions. Indeed, they have not been for some time: the academic mind—at least our part of it—has regarded them as irrelevant to the study of letters. And yet men of letters have had much to say on such matters.

Hate, which must surely in some degree spring from misunderstanding, is building such walls between nations as hardly generations may wholly break down. As interpreters of the written word of nations to themselves and to their neighbors, we scholars might do something towards the correction of misunderstanding, the purging of hate. Last summer at the University of Zürich there was given a course of lectures, the aim of which was, in the words of the *New York Evening Post,* "to raise thought about the war above the level of ordinary discussion, and to make serious studies of the meaning for history and for culture of the belligerent nations." According to the *Post,* these

lectures were impressive. "They suggest," it says, "the spirit in which the world should look forward to peace; when the nations will perforce leave off their revilings of each other, and seek again to establish friendly relations upon the basis of what is best in the civilization of each."

The meaning for history and for culture of nations is revealed in other ways besides literature, but in none more intimately. It is the medium by which the ideas of the master-thinkers are brought home to the many. But the medium itself is bound to be colored by the poet-interpreter's personality. According to Professor Kuno Francke, German *Kultur* means an institutionalizing of the ideal of absolute Duty, Kant's categorical imperative. It may be so; but Professor Francke, if I remember, makes the poets, especially Goethe and Schiller, Kant's apostles to the Gentiles. But which emphasis, Goethe's or Schiller's, truly represents Kant? Can both? Dante has popularized Aquinas, but in important ways has modified the emphasis of his doctrine. St. Paul surely modified vastly the message of Christ. That is the way of poet-apostles, imaginative interpreters. If we would talk intelligently about the meaning for history and for culture of national literatures, we need to apply to representative authors a sober and exact comparative exegesis.

If, as I think, the moment calls for that emphasis of criticism, the state of our scholarship itself also calls that way. There has been much fault-finding with us of late. I dislike to pose among the scolders, who have given out perhaps rather more heat than light; but nevertheless by my own wee rushlight I am led to observe that our training of our professional recruits is too narrowly literary, and that as a consequence our research is too narrowly into literary facts and relations. We have been working so hard to get the literary record straight, that we are in danger of

forgetting what the record itself is about. We should enrich and humanize our learning by bending our attention more inward to the heart of the matter, by defining with a sharpness and fulness proportionable to our increased historical and comparative knowledge the meanings contained in books. The critic's business is not with the writer, but with the reader. That principle nineteenth-century critics recognized, and established. None now need bewail "art made tongue-tied by authority." Critical authority would direct the reader only, and only in that aspect of literature in which he may be presumed to have defect of understanding. "Poetry interprets in two ways," wrote Matthew Arnold; "it interprets by expressing with magical felicity the physiognomy and movement of the outward world, and it interprets by expressing, with inspired conviction, the ideas and laws of the inward world of man's moral and spiritual nature. In other words, poetry is interpretative both by having *natural magic* in it, and by having *moral profundity*. In both ways it illuminates man; it gives him a satisfying sense of reality; it reconciles him with himself and the universe." Accepting this distinction, one must say, I think, that critical authority properly concerns itself with the second of the two aspects of imaginative literature. "Natural magic," where it exists, looks after itself. Critical analysis is rather likely to spoil it. But the inexpert reader may easily get over his depth in any "moral profundity," and be drowned unless he receives help. Critical analysis may make clear and explicit what the literary artist has presented synthetically and implicitly.

But I cannot conclude without reinsisting upon our special opportunity in this moral crisis to abate misunderstandings. I am not proposing to man a 'peace-ship.' I would not even desire any one of us to stop paddling his

own canoe in the waters of scholarship, deep or shallow as they may be. I would merely re-establish a neglected emphasis on interpretative criticism, now largely left to journalists or to our own journalistic moments. I should like to see built up a new interpretative criticism, new in that it would respond to the interests and needs of our generation, and would be informed by our scrupulous learning. It would have again, on the other hand, the old human interest which, as our critics say, our present scholarship lacks. We should be taken seriously—and gratefully. We should count in any survey of higher learning in America. Otherwise, playing with literary chess-problems, we may well be called "slackers." There is warning in the indifferentism of fifteenth-century scholars, humanists by *lucus a non lucendo.* Said one of these humanists, Poggio Bracciolini: "I fear this Italy of ours is to be torn to pieces, first by ourselves, next by barbarians strong through our weakness. But let those take thought whom it may concern. I shall follow letters." We also shall, and should, follow letters. Let the cobbler stick to his last. But we may follow letters into waste places, unpeopled save by ourselves; or we may follow them into the profitable house of the interpreter. You remember what the Interpreter showed Christian in that house. "Then he took him by the hand, and led him into a very large parlor that was full of dust, because never swept; the which, after he had reviewed a little while, the Interpreter called for a man to sweep. Now, when he began to sweep, the dust began so abundantly to fly about, that Christian had almost therewith been choked. Then said the Interpreter to a damsel that stood by, Bring hither the water and sprinkle the room; the which, when she had done, it was swept and cleansed with pleasure."

CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1903

AMENDED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1915

I

The name of this Society shal be *The Modern Language Association of America.*

II

1. The object of this Association shal be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures thru the promotion of frendly relations among scolars, thru the publication of the results of investigation by members, and thru the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shal be held at such place and time as the Executiv Council shal from year to year determin. But at least as often as once in four years there shal be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the cuntry shal be chosen.

III

Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary-Tresurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Persons who for twenty years or more hav been activ members in good

and regular standing may, on retiring from activ servis as teachers, be continued as activ members without further payment of dues. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successiv years. Persons who for fifteen years or more hav been activ members in good and regular standing may become life members upon the single payment of twenty-five dollars. Distinguisht foren scolars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executiv Council. But the number of honorary members shal not at any time excede forty.

IV

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shal be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Tresurer; an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shal be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and three other members; and an Executiv Council consisting of the aforementiond officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shal be elected by the Association, to hold offis for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shal be chosen by the respectiv Divisions.

4. The other officers shal be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold offis until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shal be fild by the Executiv Council.

V

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary-Tresurer shal perform the usual duties of such officers.

The Secretary shal, furthermore, hav charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the program of the annual meeting.

2. The Executiv Council shal perform the duties assignd to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII, and VIII; it shal, moreover, determin such questions of policy as may be referd to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shal render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual program.

VI

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shal be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shal form a standing committee of the Association, and may ad to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII

1. When, for geografical reasons, the members from any group of States shal find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executiv Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shal select; but no Division meeting shal be held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shal be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shal not at any time excede three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shal pay their dues to the Tresurer of the Association, and shal enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shal be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shal, moreover, hav power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The program of the Division meeting shal be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has receivd the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executiv Council.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1916

President,

JAMES DOUGLAS BRUCE,
University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

Vice-Presidents,

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Md.

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON,
State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.

LOUISE POUND,
University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.

Secretary-Tresurer,

WILLIAM GUILD HOWARD,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

CENTRAL DIVISION

Chairman,

WILLIAM H. HULME,
Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.

Secretary,

BERT E. YOUNG,
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

W. G. HOWARD,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

B. E. YOUNG,
Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

M. BLAKEMORE EVANS,
Ohio State University, Columbus, O.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON,
Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES,
Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

EXECUTIV COUNCIL

THE OFFICERS NAMED ABOVE AND

GEORGE O. CURME,
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

OLIVER F. EMERSON,
Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.

JOHN A. LOMAX,
University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

JAMES GEDDES,
Boston University, Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

T. ATKINSON JENKINS,
University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

HUGO K. SCHILLING,
University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

ACTS OF THE EXECUTIV COUNCIL

I. In accordance with propositions of date February 23, 1916, *Voted:*

1. That the invitation of Princeton University to hold the next annual meeting under its auspices be accepted.
2. That the Regulations of the Executiv Council be amended, so that the last day for receiving applications for places on the program of the annual meeting shal be November 1 insted of November 15.

II. In accordance with a proposition of date May 10, 1916, *Voted:*

That Professor Christian Gauss, of Princeton University, be appointed Delegate, and Professor George M. Priest, of Princeton University, be appointed Alternate Delegate, to represent the Association at the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Rutgers College.

III. In accordance with a proposition of date June 7, 1916, *Voted:*

That the Association present to the Southwark Public Libraries in London a complete file of the *Publications* of the Association to date.

IV. In accordance with propositions of date October 2, 1916, *Voted:*

That the Council recommend the election of Professor Michele Barbi and Mr. Alfred W. Pollard to Honorary Membership in the Association.

W. G. Howard,
Secretary.

MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE ASSOCIATION

Names of Life Members ar printed in small capitals

Abbott, Allan, Assistant Professor of English, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Adams, Arthur, Professor of English and Librarian, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

ADAMS, EDWARD LARRABEE, Assistant Professor of French and Spanish, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1333 Washtenaw Ave.]

Adams, John Chester, Assistant Professor of English and Faculty Adviser in Undergraduate Literary Activities, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Adams, Joseph Quincy, Jr., Assistant Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [169 Goldwin Smith Hall]

Adams, Warren Austin, Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Adler, Frederick Henry, Instructor in German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Alberti, Christine, Head of the French Department, Allegheny High School, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. [318 W. North Ave.]

Albright, Evelyn May, Instructor in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1227 E. 57th St.]

Alden, Raymond Macdonald, Professor of English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

Alderman, William E., Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1216 W. Washington Ave.]

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Alexis, Joseph Emanuel Alexander, Assistant Professor of Swedish and Germanic Languages, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [1420 Garfield St.]

Allen, Beverly S., Assistant Professor of English, New York University, New York, N. Y. [611 W. 113th St.]

Allen, Clifford Gilmore, Associate Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

ALLEN, EDWARD ARCHIBALD, Professor Emeritus of the English Language and Literature, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

Allen, F. Sturges, Springfield, Mass. [83 St. James Ave.]

Allen, Hope Emily, Kenwood, Oneida, N. Y.

Allen, Louis, Assistant in Romance Languages, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1002 W. California Ave.]

Allen, Philip Schuyler, Assistant Professor of German Literature, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1508 E. 61st St., Jackson Park Sta.]

Allen, William H., Jr., F. C. Stechert & Co., 29 W. 32nd St., New York, N. Y.

Almstedt, Hermann, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

Altrocchi, Rudolph, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5756 Blackstone Ave.]

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Babson, Herman, Professor of German and Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.

Bach, Matthew G., Instructor in German, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Furnald Hall]

Bachelor, Joseph Morris, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia.

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Baker, Asa George, In Charge of Editorial Work, G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers of Webster's Dictionaries, Springfield, Mass.

Baker, Fannie Anna, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Fort Smith High School, Fort Smith, Ark. [515 N. 15th St.]

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Brewer, Theodore Hampton, Professor of English Literature, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.

Brewster, William Tenney, Professor of English and Provost of Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Briggs, Fletcher, Professor of Modern Languages, Iowa State College, Ames, Ia. [Station A]

Briggs, William Dinsmore, Associate Professor of English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

BRIGHT, JAMES WILSON, Professor of English Philology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

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Bronson, Walter C., Professor of English Literature, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Brooke, C. F. Tucker, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [725 Yale Station]

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Brown, Frank Clyde, Professor of English, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. [410 Guess St.]

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Henry Bradley, Oxford, England
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W. Braune, University of Heidelberg
Ferdinand Brunot, University of Paris
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Benedetto Croce, Naples, Italy
Francesco D'Ovidio, University of Naples
Francesco Flamini, University of Pisa
Charles Harold Herford, University of Manchester
Alfred Jeanroy, University of Paris
Otto Jespersen, University of Copenhagen
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Fr. Kluge, University of Freiburg
Eugen Kühnemann, University of Breslau
Gustave Lanson, University of Paris
Sidney Lee, University of London
Abel Lefranc, Collège de France
Ramón Menéndez Pidal, University of Madrid
Paul Meyer, Ecole des Chartes, Paris
W. Meyer-Lübke, University of Bonn.
Ernesto Monaci, University of Rome
Fritz Neumann, University of Heidelberg
Adolf Noreen, University of Upsala
Kristoffer Nyrop, University of Copenhagen
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Pio Rajna, R. Istituto di Studi Superiori, Florence
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H. Schuchardt, University of Graz
Eduard Sievers, University of Leipzig
Johan Storm, University of Christiania
Antoine Thomas, University of Paris
Francesco Torraca, University of Naples

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ROLL OF MEMBERS DECEAST

J. T. Akers, Central College, Richmond, Ky. [1909]
Graziado I. Ascoli, Milan, Italy [1907]
Elysée Aviragnet, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. [1908]
T. Whiting Bancroft, Brown University, Providence, R. I. [1890]
David Lewis Bartlett, Baltimore, Md. [1899]
George Alonzo Bartlett, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1908]
W. M. Baskervill, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1899]
Alexander Melville Bell, Washington, D. C. [1905]
A. A. Bloombergh, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. [1906]
Frederick Augustus Braun, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [1915]
Daniel G. Brinton, Media, Pa. [1899]
Frank Egbert Bryant, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kas. [1910]
Sophus Bugge, University of Christiania [1907]
Frank Roscoe Butler, Hathorne, Mass. [1905]
George Rice Carpenter, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1909]
Joseph W. Carr, University of Maine, Orono, Me. [1909]
Henry Leland Chapman, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. [1913]
Charles Chollet, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. [1903]
J. Scott Clark, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1911]
Palmer Cobb, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. [1911]
Henry Cohen, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [1900]
William Cook, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1888]
Adelaide Crapsey, Rochester, N. Y. [1914]
Susan R. Cutler, Chicago, Ill. [1899]
A. N. van Daell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1899]
Alessandro D'Ancona, University of Pisa [1914]
Edward Graham Daves, Baltimore, Md. [1894]
W. Deutsch, St. Louis, Mo. [1898]
Ernest August Eggers, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1903]
A. Marshall Elliott, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. [1910]

Francis R. Fava, Columbian University, Washington, D. C. [1896]
Wendelin Foerster, University of Bonn [1915]
Alcée Fortier, Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans, La. [1914]
Frederick James Furnivall, London, England [1910]
William Kendall Gillett, New York University, New York, N. Y. [1914]
Leigh R. Gregor, McGill University, Montreal, Canada [1912]
Gustav Gröber, University of Strassburg [1911]
Thacher Howland Guild, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1914]
L. Habel, Norwich University, Northfield, Vt. [1886]
James Albert Harrison, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1911]
James Morgan Hart, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [1916]
B. P. Hasdeu, University of Bucharest, Bucharest, Roumania [1908]
Rudolf Haym, University of Halle [1901]
Richard Heinzel, University of Vienna [1905]
George A. Hench, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1899]
John Bell Henneman, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. [1908]
Rudolf Hildebrand, University of Leipzig [1894]
Jules Adolphe Hobigand, Boston, Mass. [1906]
Julian Huguenin, University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, La. [1901]
Thomas Hume, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. [1912]
Andrew Ingraham, Cambridge, Mass. [1905]
J. Kargé, Princeton College, Princeton, N. J. [1892]
Gustaf E. Karsten, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1908]
F. L. Kendall, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. [1893]
Paul Oscar Kern, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1908]
Eugen Kölbing, University of Breslau, Germany [1899]
Christian Larsen, Utah Agricultural College, Logan, Utah [1913]
Eugene Leser, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [1915]
J. Lévy, Lexington, Mass. [1891]
August Lodeman, Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti, Mich. [1902]
Jules Loiseau, New York. [1890]
James Russell Lowell, Cambridge, Mass. [1891]
J. Luquiens, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1899]
Albert Benedict Lyman, Baltimore, Md. [1907]
Thomas McCabe, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1891]
J. G. R. McElroy, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1899]
Edward T. McLaughlin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1893]

James Macnie, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D. [1909]
Edward H. Magill, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. [1907]
Francis Andrew March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. [1911]
John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [1910]
Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, University of Madrid [1912]
Louis Emil Menger, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1903]
Charles Walter Mesloh, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1904]
George Henry Meyer, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [1915]
Jakob Minor, University of Vienna [1912]
Samuel P. Molenaer, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1900]
Edward Payson Morton, Chicago, Ill. [1914]
James Augustus Henry Murray, Oxford, England [1915]
James O. Murray, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [1901]
Adolf Mussafia, University of Vienna [1905]
Arthur Sampson Napier, University of Oxford, England [1916]
Bennett Hubbard Nash, Boston, Mass. [1906]
C. K. Nelson, Brookville, Md. [1890]
W. N. Nevin, Lancaster, Pa. [1892]
William Wells Newell, Cambridge, Mass. [1907]
Amalie Ida Frances Nix, St. Paul, Minn. [1913]
Conrad H. Nordby, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [1900]
Francesco Novati, University of Milan, Italy [1915]
Frederick Curry Ostrander, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [1913]
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]
Herbert T. Poland, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1906]
Samuel Porter, Gallaudet College, Kendall Green, Washington, D. C. [1901]
Frances Boardman Squire Potter, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. [1914]
Murray Anthony Potter, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1915]
F. York Powell, University of Oxford, Oxford, England [1904]
René de Poyen-Bellisle, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1900]
Thomas R. Price, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1903]
Sylvester Primer, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. [1912]

Eugen Reinhard, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1914]
Lewis A. Rhoades, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [1910]
Henry B. Richardson, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. [1906]
Charles H. Ross, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala. [1900]
Olive Rumsey, Westfield, N. Y. [1912]
Mary J. T. Saunders, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, College Park, Va. [1914]
M. Schèle De Vere, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898]
Jakob Schipper, University of Vienna [1915]
Erich Schmidt, University of Berlin [1913]
O. Seidensticker, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1894]
James W. Sheridan, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [1902]
Walter William Skeat, University of Cambridge, England [1912]
Max Sohrauer, New York, N. Y. [1890]
Carlo Leonardo Speranza, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1911]
F. R. Stengel, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1890]
Carlton Beecher Stetson, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [1912]
Caroline Strong, Portland, Ore. [1908]
Hermann Suchier, University of Halle-Wittenberg [1914]
Henry Sweet, Oxford, England [1912]
H. Tallichet, Austin, Tex. [1894]
Adolf Tobler, University of Berlin [1910]
Rudolf Tombo, Jr., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [1914]
Hiram Albert Vance, University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn. [1906]
E. L. Walter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898]
Karl Weinhold, University of Berlin [1901]
Carla Wenckebach, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1902]
Hélène Wenckebach, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888]
Margaret M. Wickham, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [1898]
R. H. Willis, Chatham, Va. [1900]
Edwin Campbell Woolley, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [1916]
Charles F. Woods, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. [1912]
Richard Paul Wülker, University of Leipzig [1910]
Casimir Zdanowicz, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1889]
Julius Zupitza, University of Berlin [1895]

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