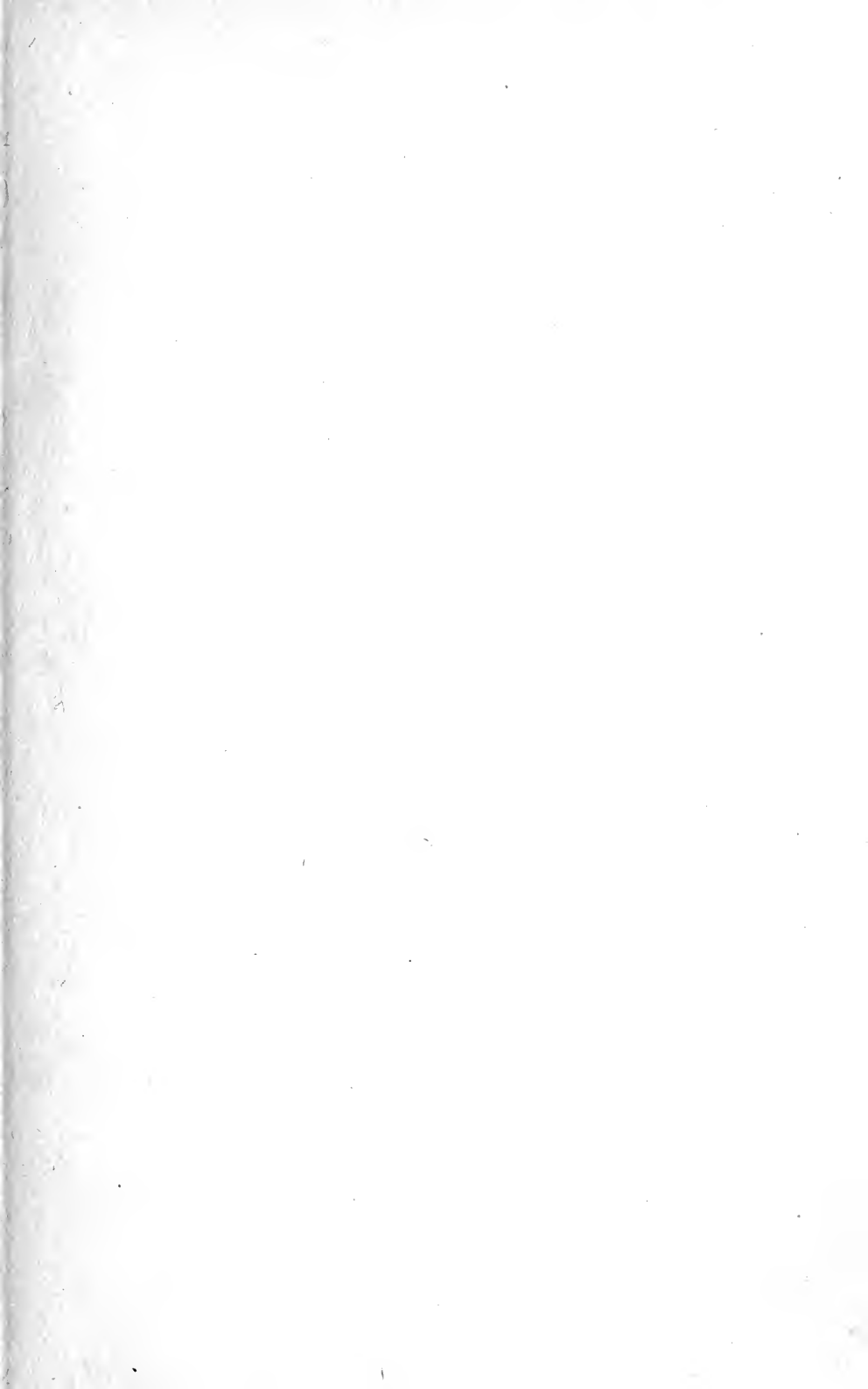




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TABLE OF CONTENTS, VOLUME V

ARTICLES

	PAGES
MARTIN B. RUUD: A Norwegian Supplement to Butler's <i>The Book of Machines</i>	1-6
GEORGE T. FLOM: Comments on a Commentary (Logeman's Commentary on the Norwegian text of Ibsen's <i>Peer Gynt</i>).....	7-14
ADOLPH P. BENSON: The English Element in Swedish Romanticism	47-71
GEORGE T. FLOM: The Norwegian Parts of the Old Icelandic MS. Cod. Reg. 3260, 4a.....	72-90
MARTIN B. RUUD: The Story of the Publication of Ibsen's <i>Brand</i> ..	91-95
OSCAR J. CAMPBELL: Ludvig Holberg, Liberal.....	97-101
ARTHUR H. PALMER: Bjørnson and the United States.....	102-109
A. M. STURTEVANT: <i>Olaf Liljekrans</i> and Ibsen's Literary Development.....	110-132
GEORGE T. FLOM: Norwegian Surnames.....	139-154
MARTIN B. RUUD: Shakespeare in Denmark.....	191-196
LEE M. HOLLANDER: Concerning a Proposed Translation of the Edda	197-201
A. M. STURTEVANT: Romantic Elements in Tegner's Religious Philosophy.....	213-245
JOSEF WIEHR: Arne Garborg.....	275-296
GEORGE T. FLOM: Tunamål Words. Dialect of Stora Tuna Parish, from South Dalarne, Sweden.....	253-274
A. HØBEK: "Maalstræv" in Norway.....	297-304

REVIEWS

JULIUS E. OLSON: <i>The King's Mirror</i> , by Laurence M. Larson.....	15-20
A. LOUIS ELMQUIST: The Northland Edition of the Works of S. Largelöf.....	21-23
ALBERT KEISER: <i>Die Prosaische Edda im Auszuge nebst Volsungasaga und Nornagestsþáttur</i> , von E. Wilken.....	24-25
GEORGE T. FLOM: <i>Om Präpositions-bruken ved islandske og norske gaardnavne</i> . Arnfinn Brekke.....	133-135
<i>Finländska ortnamn</i> . Hugo Pipping.....	202-205
<i>Eggjum-stenens indskrift med de ældre runer</i> , ved Magnus Olson.....	206-209
DANIEL K. DODGE: <i>Ordbog over det danske Sprog</i> . Grundlagt af Verner Dahlerup.....	210-212

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION

BULLETIN III

CHESTER N. GOULD: The Teaching of Foreign Languages in the Grades.....	30-32
Course of Study in Scandinavian. Committee Report.....	33-40
A. LOUIS ELMQUIST: Scandinavian Text-Books and Pedagogical Publications Dealing with Foreign Lan- guages. Notes.....	41-45

BULLETIN IV

MAREN MICHELET: Modern Language Study.....	246-247
Report	247-248

The Eighth Annual Report of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study.....	136-138
The Ninth Annual Report of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study.....	305-308
List of Members.....	155-168

A NORWEGIAN SUPPLEMENT TO BUTLER'S *THE BOOK OF MACHINES*

We realize now, as he himself could not realize, the force of Butler's dissection of the modern industrial order in the three chapters of *Erewhon*, "The Book of Machines." The great war, apparently, is no longer an affair of generalship or bravery or patriotism, but a conflict of deadly machines against machines yet more deadly. "The great war," says Mr. Hackett, "certainly tends to bear out this bitter impression of a race conquered by its own devices." I am convinced, however, that the most permanent thing in these chapters is not the satire, brilliant and telling though that is, but the idea which Butler attributes to an Erewhonian philosopher who attempted to answer "The Book of Machines":

"This was the conclusion of the attack which led to the destruction of machinery throughout Erewhon. There was only one serious attempt to answer it. Its author said that machines were to be regarded as a part of man's own physical nature, being really nothing but extra-corporeal limbs. Man, he said, was a machinate mammal. The lower animals keep all their limbs at home in their own bodies, but many of man's are loose, and lie about detached, now here and now there, in various parts of the world—some being kept always handy for contingent use, and others being occasionally hundreds of miles away. A machine is merely a supplementary limb; this is the be all and end all of machinery. We do not use our own limbs other than as machines; and a leg is only a much better wooden leg than any one can manufacture.

"Observe a man digging with a spade; his right fore-arm has become artificially lengthened, and his hand has become a joint. The handle of the spade is like the knob at the end of the humerus; the shaft is the additional bone, and the oblong iron plate is the new form of the hand which enables its possessor to disturb the earth in a way to which his original hand was unequal. Having

thus modified himself, not as other animals are modified, by circumstances over which they have had not even the appearance of control, but having, as it were, taken forethought and added a cubit to his stature, civilization began to dawn upon the race, the social good offices, the genial companionship of friends, the art of unreason, and all those habits of mind which elevate man above the lower animals, in the course of time ensued."

The conception of machines and tools as extra-corporeal limbs by means of which the efficiency of man is many times multiplied and civilization made possible, has been arrived at independently by the Norwegian critic Christen Collin, and developed into a theory of civilization which parallels in part, and supplements positively, that of Samuel Butler. Collin, now professor of comparative literature in the University of Christiania, won his spurs a good many years ago in a literary duel with Georg Brandes over naturalism in literature, and since then he has proved himself in many notable books one of the finest minds in the Scandinavian countries. A collection of essays by him on the war and its meaning has recently been published in this country, and may be the means of making his work as well known to the English speaking world as it deserves to be; for Collin's studies in English literature are in every way worthy of a place beside those of his great Danish contemporary.

Collin's theory may be found in his *Det geniale Menneske* (*The Man of Genius*), published in 1914. In a preliminary chapter he defines genius. His starting point is Carlyle's famous definition, "a transcendent capacity of taking trouble;" and Collin then shows from a number of typical cases, that the great discoveries have come as the final, mysterious bloom of endless toil and infinite patience. "Genius reveals itself in supreme endurance, in the power to turn the most arduous labors into play, and in the efflorescence of innumerable essays in one overwhelming result." The stigmata of genius are patience and an immense store of energy.

And these "overwhelming results"—what are they? At this point Collin joins hands with Butler. The creations of genius are the instruments by which the race progresses, and the sum of which at any moment constitutes the heritage of civilized man.

Butler calls them "extra-corporeal limbs;" Collin speaks of them as "psychic organs," as distinguished from physical organs. The theory is worked out in the chapter "What is Civilization?"

"The characteristic thing about human civilization in all its forms seems to be this, that the individual human organism grows out beyond itself—its vital energy overflows its bounds. The growth of civilization is a peculiar continuation of biological growth. After having developed the organs of the body, man builds a sort of auxiliary organs outside of himself, joined to him by consciousness alone. The biological growth is continued by the fashioning of what might be called psychic organs, or tools of consciousness. These loosely connected supplementary organs may be weapons and tools of stone or metal; for example, the war club, a prolongation of the human arm, with a clenched fist at the end; or clothes of hides and wool as additions to the thin skin and hair of the body; or fire, as an auxiliary to the natural warmth of the body. . . . Among the auxiliary organs, too, we may include the tent or house heated by fire, which shelters a whole family, and assures them a kind of year-long summer; or living beings, from the family itself to domestic animals and cultivated plants. We help them to thrive that they may help us; plants, for instance, which store up and manufacture chemical energy, the fuel of our bodies; domestic animals, which furnish us with food and clothes, carry us on their backs, or supply us with power; and the men and women who toil and battle at our side, and so make easier the struggle for existence. We deposit something of ourselves in these external organs, and we feel them to be parts of our larger selves. We can, as it were, incorporate ourselves in them, and perceive that we grow through and by means of them. Civilization consists in having more and more of the riches of life without, bound to us by consciousness. And the more of our vital capital we have outstanding, the more advanced is our civilization. High civilization is this: that the individual can encompass a great part of the world with his sympathy and his will to growth. Every man lives in many lives and in many forms. He includes in his will to live family and companions, fatherland, and, in rare moments, the universe. All things, animate and

inanimate, may become organs for the development and growth of the individual."

"Self expansion by means of psychic organs—this is the fundamental law of civilization."

The theory of civilization outlined in the paragraphs just quoted, is further developed, and related to the creations of men of genius in an essay on the song of the statue of Memnon in *Peer Gynt*.

"Civilization is the possession and use in common of the instruments of consciousness. This fact throws a flood of light on the important question: Why is it that man constitutes a kingdom apart, separate from plants and animals? What is it that has made him sovereign?

"The epoch-making thing in the contribution of man to the evolution of living beings is civilization—which, accordingly, consists in this: that the physiological development of organs is continued in a wonderful way by the formation of auxiliary organs, bound up with us through our consciousness.

"These instruments . . . , of which, indeed, certain rudiments are to be found in animals, have the distinguishing characteristic in common that they are not merely organs belonging to the individual, but at once personal and social.

"Let us suppose that there sprang up among the animals a number of remarkably well-developed individuals; for example, a red deer with incomparably large and powerful antlers, and suppose that these antlers could be screwed on and off at will and lent to other deer, or, better, reproduced and multiplied indefinitely; better still, suppose they could be further perfected by many individuals working together and used by the herd as weapons. Something of this sort is true of the organs of civilization.

"The glory of human civilization lies in this, that the most highly gifted individuals, whom, for convenience, we may call men of genius, create common life-organs for a whole tribe, now and then for hundreds of tribes and hundreds of generations. . . .

"We may state, therefore, in very few words, what it is that has raised man so far above the other animals: Man employs not

only his own self-acquired and self-inherited organs, but an increasing number of social organs, created by richly endowed men in periods of great expansion."

"As a civilized man—through the organs of civilization which have learned to use—I am descended from a long line of men of genius. They have endowed me in miraculous fashion with organs of life, though I personally may be a very ordinary individual. In virtue of these organs I am the son of Homer and Shakespeare, Phidias and Beethoven—heir general of all they have wrought."

We do not, however, come into our inheritance by merely accepting things as they come. The machinist who mechanically tends his machine from day to day remains its slave; the reader who skims over the pages of *Hamlet* remains as poor as before. He who would appropriate the gifts of genius, make of them psychic organs of increased power, must grapple with them, put his own life and soul into them, incorporate them into his own being.

"To benefit from a great work of art, we must exercise ourselves in self-activity; we must give of our life. These works must be transformed into dynamic forces within us. They must be created anew in every man who uses them. As a matter of fact, there are as many editions of a piece of literature as there are readers. Everyone receives the work in a private edition—in most cases greatly abridged."

Collin's theory of civilization, of which I have given here only the crudest outline, is a remarkable development of the similar theory faintly adumbrated in *Erewhon*. Plainly Butler was not satisfied with it, or perhaps he simply failed to see its implications. The final impression of "The Book of Machines" is that of bitter satire, or, better, prophetic satire pointing to "a race enslaved by its own devices." Does not Collin afford a better philosophy—and a way out? We serve blindly only where we do not understand. If, on the other hand, mankind appropriates the works of genius with something of the energy which has gone into their making, fashions them anew in its own soul into psychic organs of power and growth and enrichment, the end

is not slavery, but freedom. There is sweep and vision in *The Man of Genius*; best of all, there is a poet's confidence and a poet's hope.

MARTIN B. RUUD.

The University of Minnesota.
January, 1918.

COMMENTS ON A COMMENTARY

[Professor H. Logeman's studies in the text of *Peer Gynt*, carried on for several years, appeared during the summer under the title: *A Commentary, critical and explanatory, on the Norwegian text of Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt, its language, literary associations and folk-lore*. It is printed at The Hague; the publisher is Martinus Nijhoff. It is a book of 484 pages. The work is of the greatest importance and a real contribution to the study of Ibsen's difficult drama.]

The following notes deal with pp. 18-80 of the *Commentary* before us. The first 17 pages are not here dealt with since they are discussed in connection with a review of the book in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Jan. 1918.

For *slikt et nemme*, line 229, Archer's word 'headpiece' will do, but *nemme*, dialectal *name*, is more abstract, about the same as 'aptness.' One says it of a child that is quick to apprehend, apt at learning. Of a grown-up one no longer uses it, hence not 'gift' or 'talent.'

The word *rukken* is made to rime, line 374, with *bukken*, line 377. This rime is in reality not so utterly to be condemned as Com.¹ would do, when he says: "it is bad enough as the latter word is pronounced *bokken*." For the benefit of the foreign reader it may be said that the *o* in the writing *bokken* is intended to be closed, very nearly the *u* in 'pulling.' It is first to be noted, that in dialectal pronunciation the *u* of *rukken* too (cp. *drukken*) would be pronounced a closed *o*, and Peer may perhaps be allowed to follow his local usage. In the next place it must be remembered, however, that, in reading, the *u* in *bukken* and in words of that class was not always, as now, pronounced with an open *u*, that is with a closed *o*, but with the pure *u*. As recently as the time of the writing of *Peer Gynt* this pronunciation was common, and many old people still pronounce so when they read, even though they always say *bokken* (that is *bükken*) when they speak. Now, of course, this only makes the rime allowable as a written rime, to be read, and not as a rime spoken by Peer; consequently from the point of view of Peer's speaking the lines we should, perhaps, have to pronounce *rokken: bokken*.

¹ Com. = commentator, Com. = commentary.

When Peer has put his mother on the mill-roof he warns her: ikke spark og spænd med benene, . . . du kan dratte ned. This verb *dratte* is, to be sure, not popular Norwegian, but often employed in literature and *Riksmåal*. So there is in reality no reason why Ibsen should have avoided it as a Danicism and used the thoroughly Norwegian *dätte*. But there is a very excellent reason why he does use *dratte* and not *dätte*. The latter means simply 'fall' or 'drop'; it is semantically a simplex.² But *dratte* conveys the idea of suddenness in addition to that of descent or falling. Consequently Peer does not say to his mother: "take care, be quiet, or you might fall down," but he says: "take care, be quiet, or you might topple down,"—the humor of which is instantaneous. It is merely another instance of always the right word, no purism here. Ibsen had no patience with the hyperpuristic language 'strivers.' There were times, and many, when he needed these naturalized words, and if he needed them he would use them.

Com. evidently looks upon *signe* of line 437 (*Signe reisen* Bless your passing) as the infinitive, which is strange, corresponding, as the word does here, exactly to the English. No auxiliary is to be understood, but *signe* is the optative (full form, *Gud signe* etc., as 'God bless' etc.). The word is common enough in popular and colloquial usage in just such cases as are illustrated in Aasen's *Norsk Ordbog* (Forøget udgave, 1873, p. 649). A little farther down Com. mistakenly regards the change from the form *Engelland* to *Engeland* in lines 498 and 499 as a change from the old name-form of the romances to the modern one. So, too, Archer, when he says: "Engelland—Engeland corresponds to Norroway: Norway." But the modern Norwegian name for 'England' is *England*; the form *Engeland* is also the romantic form with its *-e*. Hence the change made was merely an orthographic one, and the "dim country of romance" is still there, not the modern prose form *England*.

The Com. frequently refers to Danish usage and Danish forms; there is in the notes entirely too much reference to Peer Gynt's departures from good Danish. An example in point is the note to l. 523, Peer's words: jeg er like sæl. Why not have explained

² Or, at any rate, usually a simplex.

here that this is a common Norwegian idiom meaning: 'I don't care, it's all one to me, or it doesn't matter to me,' etc? Instead however, *Com.* has the remark "this expression sounds strange in Danish ears, where *sæl*, 'happy,' 'pleased,' is obsolete and sounds Norwegian." One would think that Ibsen's chief regard was for Danish usage and that he wrote primarily for a Danish public. Of course Ibsen did no such thing. He wrote for a Norwegian public and used its *Riksmål*. And particularly *Peer Gynt* is full of words and forms from the lower levels of speech, some of which had never been used before in literature. We may, perhaps, say that Peer speaks as Peer would in real life, except that his speech had been normalized according to *Riksmål* forms. The point of view should not be the so-called Dano-Norwegian, a name which it would be well to have discarded, but should be the present living speech of Norway,—the *Riksmål* and the local vernaculars.

Coming back to a matter of translation, I have always thought that Archer's 'galloping death' was peculiar and a rather unsatisfactory rendering of Peer's *piskende død* in line 535. Logeman deals somewhat at length with this in a note that is a distinct contribution; it is one of the many which reveals the extensive study that the writer has given to the drama and its language. Now words of this type, present participles in form, are not participial in function, nor is the case before us. They are in Norwegian usually strengthening adverbs, and *piskende død*, therefore, is somewhat unusual, for *død* must be taken as a noun. Some of these words in *-ende* are of course also adjectives; in fact those that are of participial origin are adjectives first before they become adverbs, though these are relatively few in number now, whereas as adverbs they form a distinct and in the dialects a rather extensive class. Here belongs also *piskende*, which I cannot imagine used as an adjective in any other combination than the one in *Peer Gynt*. *Piskende* seems alway to be used with *død*, but its form is most often, perhaps, not participial, a fact that *Com.* sufficiently illustrates. The etymology that *Com.* offers is, I believe, correct; cp. *beiske daue*, common dialectal form. Probably the form with *-ende*, therefore, is relatively recent; and it is at any rate a more or less local form (local east Norwegian).

The error in Archer's translation is that it gives the word adjectival force, unless Archer intends 'galloping death' as a whole to be taken as a mere asseveration corresponding to *piskende død*, but the former has the participial adjective, galloping, and *piskende* is not a participle.³ The latter means 'Zounds,' 'the deuce' 'by Jove' or some such expression. Com. would render 'God's death, which is too strong, or the German *Tod und Teufel*, or *zum Henker*, as perhaps the nearest approach.

The many differences in punctuation as between the rough draft, the final copy, and later editions are illustrated in such a case as line 567. Such changes as come from Ibsen himself may of course have a special importance, and deserve to be taken account of by the reader. The line in question is in the *Com.*: Ikvæld? Er du fra sans og samling? But in the later editions we have here a period after *samling*; in this they agree with the original draft. But Logeman notes that *R*, Ibsen's Ms. in its final shape, has: Ikvæld? Er du fra sans og samling! Then what is the reason for the change to the period in the editions (so *Mindeutgave*, V, and *Samlede Værker*, V)? Least satisfactory is the punctuation with a question mark. Professor Storm calls this kind of exclamation a *spørgende udraab*, that is an 'interrogative exclamation.' Now the instance in question is primarily an exclamation, as any *spørgende udraab* is which requires no answer. If it requires an answer the *spørgende udraab* becomes primarily a question. Here the question: Ikvæld? is followed by an exclamation which might as well have been worded: *du er da rent fra sans og samling*.

Anent the comments on the somewhat unusual idiom in line 580: saa skal du vel 'stikke paa kruset,' 'help one self,' 'partake of,' I shall call attention to an occurrence of the expression in Tegnér's *Fritiofs saga*, canto II, stanza 2:

En sed den gamle hade:
han jämt i botten drack,
och intet ord han sade,
blott hornet in han stack.

³ The form must have arisen in the following way: *Guds beiske* (= *bittre*) *død*, which was pronounced *Guss peiske dø* > *peiske dø* > *peiskende dø*.

Such an instance illustrates the origin of the idiom itself. Cp., in Ibsen's *Vildanden*, Werle's: *Stik dog paa glassene, mine herrer*. For the development of the unusual meaning 'to help one self' of something, cp. the dialectal-colloquial use of *stikke*, 'put out,' 'thrust out,' and the English use of 'send' and 'fork out.'

From *Com.* 586 it would seem that the word *salmebog* is taken as Archer's translation, 'psalmbook.' A foot-note reads: the book meant, as Dr. Western tells me, is likely to be a hymnbook rather than a psalmbook, and this the word *salmebog* notwithstanding, which Dr. Western thinks is 'hardly correct.' But in Norwegian a *salme* is a 'hymn,' and a *salmebog* is a 'hymnbook'; and of course it was a hymnbook that Solveig carried. Are Dr. Western's words correctly quoted, or has something dropped out of the sentence? As to *konster* in line 622, this is neither older Danish *konst*, as *Com.* suggests (and Dr. Western is quoted as rather thinking so also), nor is it a Sveacism. It is merely the popular Norwegian *konst*, 'trick,' plur. *konster*, 'tricks' ('feat,' 'feats'). The word is especially common in the Telemarken dialect (Skien, Ibsen's birthplace, lies in southern Telemarken). The Telemarken form of the sentence in question—*Paa Londe (=Lünde) viste du a høslag (or haaslag) konstir du konde* (o in all three cases—û). Also in 675 an erroneous translation is not corrected in *Com.* on Peer's words to Ingrid: *vær ikke tvær*. *Tvær* means 'cross,' 'stubborn,' 'contrary'; the last fits exactly here (Archer has 'wayward'). It may be noted that *tvær* here rimes with *hver*, hence has a long vowel. It is in this case, therefore, not the Nw. dial. *tvær* (which is pronounced *tværr*), but either the Danish *tvær*, or the local east Norwegian *tvær* that Ibsen uses.

Ingrid's words to Peer: *nu var du styg*, line 701, may be taken as the translations quoted have done: Archer, "Now you were grim," and German and French in the same way. But with the *Com.* I am rather inclined to take it as the characteristic Norwegian use of the past *var* for the present *er*, used commonly in remarking on the weather of the day, the remark applying as well to the weather at the time of making the remark as during the part of the day that has passed, and also used in characterizing an act or a word as kind, mean, etc. Now when Peer threatens Solveig with certain things

that he could do and might do, if he would, in case she does not dance with him, we can imagine that he emphasizes it in part also by some expression or gesture. And so Solveig might say: "how ugly you were then." But that which calls forth her remark is rather his whole bearing, his threat and the fact of his threatening, his having been so 'ugly' as to threaten. What she says, therefore, is 'how unkind you can be,' 'how ugly you can be,' 'it is horrible of you to say such things,' or 'it is ugly of you to be that way.'

Regarding the smith's act of spitting in his hands, as he is preparing to 'fix' Peer, I do not believe, as does Com., that there is "more than meets the eye" in the act. It is merely the smith's usual way of going about a job, whether it is some other more than usually difficult one in the regular labor of the day, or the task before him:—and we can have no doubt that if he got after Peer, he was going to do a thorough job of it. So the wood-cutter, for the practical reason that the axe will stick better, so any other laborer when engaged in some hard work, and so the fighter when he goes into the bout. However, in the other cases cited the act is undoubtedly an instance of a survival.⁴

The word *yr*, line 762, (Ingrid: *tröstlös var jeg*. Peer: *Jeg var yr*) is by Com. classed as Swedish in form and meaning, in which view he also quotes Storm. Western, however, accepting the Swedish form of *yr*, considers it purely Norwegian in meaning, namely 'giddy, especially from drink,' and he compares with a later occurrence in the play, where *yr* rhimes with *gjør*. Thus it appears the word is purely Norwegian, for it is to be noted that also in the latter Ibsen writes it with a *y*. The precise meaning in Ibsen's use of it is best seen from its use in the second instance. Aase says to Peer: *kære gutten min, du var jo drukken; da ved en ei selv hvad en gjør, og saa havde du redet paa bukken, det var rimeligt nok du var yr* (that is, therefore,

⁴In the comment on line 717 *Aase og jeg* to the reference at the end (*Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Sc. Study*, I), should have been added one to Vol. III, p. 302, where the use in question was discussed and illustrated by Logeman with examples from Holberg and elsewhere. The Com. should also have mentioned the discussion of this point by Olson and Mauritzson, following the reading of Logeman's paper at the meeting of the Society (see Vol. I as referred to above).

'not yourself, unaccountable for what you did, not in full control of your senses, dazed'). And in line 762, it is the same occasion that Peer speaks of when he says he was *yr*. In this meaning the word is used in dialects from all parts of Norway; and, as Dr. Western notes, it has the Norwegian pronunciation in one of Ibsen's uses. But Aasen, *Norsk Ordbok*, gives both *ør* and *yr* as Norwegian, and Ibsen writes *yr* even when the rime requires the pronunciation *ør*. Now it must be emphasized that the Norwegian dialectal pronunciation is in western Norway more often *yr* (with an open *y*) than it is *ør*; the latter is of course the form in eastern Norway. As regards Archer's 'frantic,' that will hardly do; possibly this was suggested by the Swedish word *yr*, which most often means 'giddy, wild', as in *Fänrik Stål*, stanza 6; *jag var så yr, jag var så ung*, 'I was giddy, I was young.'⁵

In regard to the weak form of the adjective used without the prepositive article it seems to me that *Com.* to 871 does not distinguish between two kinds of cases which should be kept apart. One of these kinds of cases has the sanction of well-nigh universal Norwegian usage, which in a measure at least goes back to Old Norse times. The other kind of cases is in the nature of a recent extension of the construction in question; I must assume that it is these that Western has had in mind when he characterizes the construction as having grown alarmingly of late; and I must assume also that Logeman too meant only these when he used the words "already become common." The legitimate use of the construction in question is represented by such cases as *ældste gutten*, *travle onnen*, *hele dagen*, *halve aaret*, etc. Surely these are regular, and we should have objected to the use of the prepositive article here rather than to its absence. The case is somewhat different with *glohede jernet*, and with such a superlative construction as *høieste vælven*, line 923, and *strideste elven*, in 924. *Com.* seems to assume that in these cases the construction *det glohede jern* has been replaced by *glohede jernet*, that is: that the 'correct' *det*+wk.adj.+noun has been replaced by the wk. adj.+def. noun; however, such is, of course, not at all the case. Rather the latter is the outgrowth of the def. art.+wk. adj.+def. noun, by the disappearance of the first article on the analogy of such older cases as *halve dagen*, *ældste gutten*, etc.

⁵ I. e., the second poem of Runeberg's *Fänrik Ståls Sägner*.

I have examined so far the first 80 pages of the *Commentary*, covering Act I and 10 pages of Act II. If many passages or words have been found which in the writer's opinion require a different explanation from that of the *Com.*, be it said that these form a relatively small proportion of the vast body of critical material, in the main excellent, which the author offers to readers of *Peer Gynt*. The majority of them are of the greatest value to the student, especially to him who must use translations; on every page almost there is something that is a real contribution. The latter is true especially on the literary side. Students of Ibsen will be grateful for this new aid; doubly grateful that it was not given up, but brought to completion now, in spite of the difficult circumstances under which it was written and printed in war-ridden Belgium.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

November 2, 1917.

THE KING'S MIRROR (*Speculum Regale—Konungs Skuggsjá*). Translated from the Old Norwegian by Laurence Marcellus Larson, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1917.

The editors of the Norwegian text edition of the King's Mirror, Professors Keyser and Munch, spoke of it as "one of the chief ornaments" of Old Norse literature; and Dr. Finnur Jónsson, one of the great Scandinavian scholars of the present, calls it "the most important work" in old Norwegian. Other scholars have given it equally high rank.

In view of such praise it is strange that this exceedingly interesting literary document has never been made easily accessible to modern Scandinavian readers. A Danish translation appeared in the so-called Sorøe edition of 1768, containing also the original text with a Latin paraphrase; but this was an expensive work, intended primarily for scholars. In addition to this, a translation into *Landsmaal*, by K. Audne, was published in 1909-13 by *Det norske Samlaget*. But this idiom is a barrier to most Scandinavians. Beyond these two versions, no translation has been made into any of the modern Scandinavian languages. Only extracts have appeared in text books and histories of literature.

Many works of Old Norse literature have been translated into both German and English; but the King's Mirror is not one of them. A text edition, however, was published by the German scholar Otto Brenner in 1881.

It is, therefore, a noteworthy fact that the present edition is the first one within the reach of any considerable modern public. Hence it is gratifying that it is adequately presented both from the standpoint of the bookmaker's art and that of literary workmanship. Dr. Larson's translation is a distinctive achievement; and the long introduction is a model of historical survey and investigation.

In this connection it is a pleasure to call attention to the fact that in 1915 a photographic reproduction of the principal vellum, accompanied by a printed text, was published by the University of Illinois, under the editorial management of Professor George T. Flom. This paleographic and linguistic edition and Dr. Larson's literary and historical one cover all phases of the work. Together they represent a greater effort to make the King's Mirror known both to scholars and the general public than has been exhibited—one is tempted to say—by all other editions combined. The contribution of each shows a keen appreciation of this unique Norwegian opus, and is a credit to American scholarship.

Professor Larson says in his Foreword that "the author of the King's Mirror is one of the great masters of Old Norse prose." But it is the content, rather

than the style or its paleographic features, that makes the work one of general value and interest. As Dr. Larson has said elsewhere: "It is full of meaning for the history of the entire North. It was written in the most backward section of Scandinavia on the very edge of European civilization; and yet it reveals a knowledge of the world, an appreciation of culture, and a liberal outlook that we should not expect to find in thirteenth century Norway." In the matter of education, practical ethics, and urbanity of speech and conduct, it presents, in pedagogical fashion, ideals that are really startling. These ideals call for something more than the Latin and scholastic dialectics of continental curricula. Thus, for the prospective merchant, they demand Latin, French, and the mother tongue, besides geography, mathematics, astronomy, nautical knowledge, law, and a study of natural phenomena generally. Moreover, special stress is laid upon the necessity of the man of affairs being a Christian and cultured gentleman. All of these matters are discussed by the author, not in any abstract and theoretical manner, but in an eminently practical one, with a multiplicity of suggestions for application to practical life.

As told in the first chapter, it was the intention of the author to review the conditions of men in the four main orders of society, thus dealing with "the activities of merchants and their methods," with "the customs of kings and other princes and of the men who follow and serve them," with "the doings of the clergy and their mode of life," and with "the activities of the peasants and husbandmen." There are reasons for believing that the author was an old man, and he apparently covered only two of these classes. We can doubtless well spare what he might have had to say concerning the clergy, whose position and activities were about the same in all countries; but a disquisition on the peasantry of Norway in the thirteenth century by so keen and calm an observer would surely have been most interesting and instructive. That this was not written (and there is no evidence that it ever was) is an irreparable loss.

Like so many works by didactic authors in the middle ages, the King's Mirror is in the form of a dialog,—in this case between a father and son. It is, therefore, in both form and content, quite unlike the sagas. King Haakon Haakonson, whom the author surely knew, was fond of sagas. So was King Sverre. To judge from the contents of the book, the author never heard of a saga,—which is inconceivable. At any rate, it is very strange that there is not a single reference to any saga or saga character in the whole long book. In his covert championship of the majesty of kingship, the author seems cautiously to have avoided reference to local heroes. His examples and illustrations are drawn from the bible. On account of the lack of any local color, the work at first seems absolutely cold and apathetic with respect to home and country. One must live with the book, so to speak, before one feels the force and passion of the great argument that the author is constructing in defense of the monarchical principles and practices of the great Norwegian kings of his time. His seeming indifference to Norwegian conditions must be due to the fact that he is handling a vital and dangerous question. But his contemporary readers doubtless felt the full force of his presentation.

In regard to the chief value of the work, Dr. Larson says: "The importance of the King's Mirror lies in the insight that it gives into the state of culture and civilization of the North in the later middle ages." This will indicate that the work offers to the critical student ample opportunity for investigation and elucidation. In an introduction of seventy pages Dr. Larson reviews the contents of the work and discusses the various problems that it presents. Foremost among these, in the mind of the author, was doubtless the question of the divine character of kingship, with special reference to the place of the church in the Norwegian state. The geographical knowledge of the author is next in importance. As Dr. Larson puts it: "The author's own contribution to the scientific learning of his times lies almost exclusively in the field of geography." And Dr. Nansen calls the unknown author "beyond comparison the most important geographical writer of the mediaeval North, and at the same time one of the first in the whole of mediaeval Europe."

Other problems of special interest that present themselves and call for solution are the identity of the author and the date of composition. To the discussion of all of these matters Dr. Larson applies a mind well stored with both general and special knowledge and carefully trained in modern methods of historical investigation.

A number of learned men have given much attention and study to these questions, among them Keyser, Munch, Storm, Daae, Blom, and Heffermehl, not to mention the scholars who produced the Sorøe edition. It has, therefore, been one of the main tasks of Dr. Larson to examine the results of these earlier investigators, extract from them reasonable opinions that have stood, or are likely to stand, the test of time. Careful and conscientious scholar that he is, Dr. Larson is extremely circumspect in making positive and definite claims or in promulgating new theories.

Opinions as to the time of composition and the identification of the author have varied widely. Dr. Larson goes into both questions deeply, and leaves an impression of his convictions that is considerably stronger than his words warrant. Thus, in 1904, a Norwegian clergyman, A. V. Heffermehl, argued very emphatically that the author was a priest by the name of Ivar Bodde—one of the characters, by the way, in Ibsen's *Pretenders*. Dr. Larson takes up these claims for examination. He comes to the conclusion that the author was a professional churchman, but not Master William, one of the chaplains at the court of Haakon Haakonson (1217–1263), as contended by Professor Ludvig Daae. On the other hand he believes with Heffermehl that Ivar Bodde had the intellectual qualities and experience that would fit him for the task. A part of his argument runs as follows: "The author of the King's Mirror was a professional churchman who belonged to the anti-clerical faction; he was a master of the literary art. Ivar Bodde was a man of this type; nothing is known of his literary ability, but it is clear that a man who was entrusted with the king's correspondence can not have been without literary skill." Then comes this cautious statement, which plainly means more than it says: "There seems to be no reason why Ivar Bodde could not have written the

King's Mirror, and he may also have had a hand in the preparation of Sverre's Address; but that he actually did write either or both of these important works has not been proved; there may have been other priests in Norway in the thirteenth century who stood for the divine right of Norwegian kingship." To this last statement we may say that there doubtless were such priests. Dr. Larson does not, however, bolster up this concession by adding: "and who had the requisite qualifications for writing the book that Ivar Bodde apparently had." If the rank that scholars (Dr. Larson among them) have given the author is defensible, we may be sure that there was but *one* man in the land who was equal to the task. The possibility of "other priests" being within the range of this authorship is chimerical. Other arguments presented by Dr. Larson show this, for he says: "Even though the author of the work must be classed among the thinkers of his own time, his place is far in advance of most of his fellows. His outlook on the world is broader than that of most mediaeval writers; . . . on many subjects we find him giving utterance to thoughts which have a distinctly modern appearance. His theory of the state and its functions is distinctly unorthodox. But it is probably in the field of education where the great Northman is farthest in advance of his time."

This last point is one palpably in favor of Ivar Bodde. Dr. Larson knows this, for he says: "In King Inge's reign (1204-17) he served in the capacity of chancellor: 'and that besides, which was much against my wish, they relied on me for writing letters.' During the same reign he also served as Prince Haakon's foster-father, and was consequently responsible for the education of the great king." This surely means that the best man for that position among the prince's supporters was selected by his royal guardians—such a man as the author of the King's Mirror, who has so much to say about education. Ivar Bodde plainly had the qualifications for the practical job of educating the prince (the proof of it is found in King Haakon's accomplishments), and his position at court as secretary and chancellor and the trusted counselor of several kings, among them such notable rulers as Sverre and Haakon Haakonson, demonstrates that he had unusual qualifications for authorship, and unusual opportunities for acquiring a large and varied fund of knowledge—such as we find in the book. Other striking qualities of the man, quite in consonance with the fine traits that the author of the King's Mirror must have possessed, are revealed in a speech that he made under particularly trying and dangerous circumstances, as reported in the Saga of Haakon Haakonson.

With these and similar arguments Dr. Larson was doubtless duly impressed, but as a cautious investigator and calm judge he refuses to declare emphatically for Ivar Bodde. But despite this reserve he nevertheless succeeds in convincing the reader that Heffermehl's argument is sound. It is significant that he raises no objection to any part of it.

The author of the King's Mirror states in the first chapter that he desires to conceal his identity. Dr. Larson almost seems inclined to respect that desire.

On the question of the date of composition Dr. Larson has done some careful thinking. The dates advocated by various editors and commentators range from 1164 to 1260. Heffermehl holds for the decade 1230-40, or possibly a little later, but without giving any definite foundation for his belief. Dr. Larson presents a new and ingenious argument, based on incidents connected with the tragic death of Duke Skule, in 1240, at the hands of King Haakon's followers. There is no mention of either Skule or Haakon; the King's Mirror, as has been noted, mentions no Norwegian by name. But the facts of the tragedy are nevertheless plainly implied by the telling of the story of Adonijah and the consequent death of Joab in the days of King Solomon. For Adonijah tried, as did Duke Skule, to displace the Lord's anointed, and was slain; and Joab, the captain, who had conspired with Adonijah, fled to God's tabernacle to seek the protection of sanctuary, but he was slain by order of Solomon notwithstanding the right of sanctuary, just as Skule was slain within the precincts of an Augustinian convent.

The rehearsal of this biblical episode, Dr. Larson thinks, has a direct purpose: the defense of the slaying of Duke Skule; for the author defends King Solomon's action, and lays down the principle that the right of sanctuary does not hold against a king. Three years after the death of Duke Skule, the ecclesiastical opponents of Haakon revived the claim to supremacy in the state. "Soon after this series of events," says Dr. Larson, "the political chapters of the King's Mirror must have been composed. In 1247, the year of Haakon's coronation, the hierarchy was once more reconciled to the monarchy, and nothing more was heard of ecclesiastical pretensions during the remainder of the reign." He then gives it as his opinion that the closing chapters of the King's Mirror were written after 1240, perhaps after 1243, but some time before 1247.

Despite Dr. Larson's reluctance to press the contention, his argument seems to be a clever find and to constitute a real contribution to the controversy. It is not unlikely that Scandinavian critics will accept it as definitive.

The first part of Dr. Larson's introduction gives a survey of the thirteenth century in the history of human achievement. He notes that politically as well as intellectually this century was a great age in the Scandinavian countries, that in every field of national life there was vigor and enterprise, and that the real greatness of the century in the North lay in the literary achievements of the age. It is, therefore, not surprising that such an extraordinary work as the King's Mirror should appear in that age.

The excellence of Dr. Larson's translation deserves very particular commendation. He says he has striven to retain the flavor of the original. In this he has succeeded admirably. The mark of a good translation—correctness being assumed—is that it does not seem to be a translation. This is strikingly true of Dr. Larson's version. What could be more daintily done than this sentence: "The north wind gently clears up the face of heaven with a light and cool breeze, brushes away the restless and storm-laden clouds, and with blithe persuasiveness asks for a new covenant." And how satisfying is

not this passage, in a different style: "Take heed lest you vacillate in friendship among several chiefs, as fickle men do; for no one who acts thus can be firm in purpose. Love your lord highly and without guile as long as you stay in his service, and never seek the society or confidence of his enemies, if you wish to remain a man of honor."

Dr. Larson's cleverly conceived Foreword is a well-timed pronunciamiento against that political philosophy of the present day which declares that it is the destiny of the smaller states to be absorbed into the larger and stronger, on the assumption that these alone are able to render the higher forms of service to civilization. In few but pregnant paragraphs he shows that the history of the Scandinavian lands provides a complete and striking refutation to this theory.

It is a puzzling feature of the King's Mirror, though it has several chapters of political history that plainly apply to Norwegian conditions, that no name of a Norwegian individual occurs in the book, and not even the name Norway, only several Norwegian place-names: Andenes, Vaag, Halogaland, and Möre. Nor is there any reference to any literary or historical document of the North, except the Bjarkey code. No critic has commented on this strange aloofness.

This American edition of the King's Mirror is Volume III in the series of Scandinavian Monographs, published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation. These volumes are uniform in appearance, are fine specimens of the art of bookmaking, and if continued, will make a formidable array of Scandinavian erudition in America.

JULIUS E. OLSON.

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THE NORTHLAND EDITION OF THE WORKS OF SELMA LAGERLÖF. Nine volumes, translated into English by Velma Swanston Howard, Pauline Bancroft Flach, and Jessie Brochner. Doubleday, Page and Company, Garden City, New York, 1917.

The *Northland Edition* of Selma Lagerlöf in English contains the following titles: *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils*, *The Further Adventures of Nils*, *Invisible Links*, *From a Swedish Homestead*, *The Story of Gösta Berling*, *The Emperor of Portugallia*, *The Girl from the Marshcroft*, *The Miracles of Antichrist*, and *Jerusalem*. The volumes are artistically and uniformly bound in limp green leather with gilt tops; though the number of pages varies, the volumes are all of approximately the same thickness, the total thickness of the set being about half that of the original editions of the translations. The price per volume is \$1.75. In the publication of the *Northland Edition*, Doubleday, Page and Company have accomplished two things: 1) they have brought together under one publisher most of the translations of Selma Lagerlöf (the set does not contain quite all that has been issued elsewhere in America), and 2) thereby they have made possible the publication of a uniform edition with an attractive exterior.

The nine volumes are, however, without exception, printed from the old plates, which results in great unevenness within the covers. There are different styles and sizes of type in different volumes; the width and length of the type-page differs, though the uniform cutting of the paper makes the paper page always of the same size. Not even in matters where uniformity could easily have been achieved do we find the necessary changes. For example, the words "The End" which stand at the close of most of the volumes could easily have been removed or vice versa. *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* alone contains a supplementary note on the pronunciation of words in that volume. This could have been removed, or similar helps could have been added to each volume (which would have been highly desirable).

Of more consequence to the reader is the fact that, whatever improvements may have been made in the plates in the various publishing houses since the time of the original publication, they have clearly not undergone a thorough revision for the present issue, which would have been distinctly in place. Not even have misprints been corrected. I shall call attention only to a few instances. In the page heading of p. IX of *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* we find in the present and in the original edition the *s* of *Nils* missing; on p. XII of the same we find *Goteborg Morgon Posten*; on p. 83, both *allée* and *allé*; on p. 256, *Nelja* and *Kunsi* for *Neljä* and *Kuusi*; on p. 213 of *The Emperor of Portugallia*, *Stovik* (cf. p. 104, *Storvik*).

Between different volumes of the set there are also various inconsistencies; most examples of such will naturally be found in the two *Nils* Holgersson

volumes, which I shall here designate as I (= *Adventures*) and II (= *Further Adventures*). In I we find the inexplicable form (easier to pronounce?) *Vemminghög* (e.g., p. 134) for the Swedish form *Vemmenhög*, which is used in II (e.g., p. 228); in I we find the spelling *Lappland* (e.g., p. 41), while in II, *Lapland* is used (e.g., p. 169); in I, one of the wild geese is called *Iksi* (e.g., p. 52), in II, *Yksi* (e.g., p. 309). Undesirable inconsistency within a volume we find in the use in I of *West Bothnia* (p. 201) and *Westbottom* (p. 221). In I and II the spelling *Vermland* is used; in *The Story of Gösta Berling*, *Värmland*.

There are also other matters in the case of which it would seem that improvements would have suggested themselves. The forms of the proper names strike the critical eye as being most inadequately handled, and while no two persons could agree on every detail, the inconsistencies are very evident as the names stand. Translation of the whole or a part of a proper name is very often resorted to, but very often not in cases where it seems to the reviewer that much would be gained by such interpretation. Cases are so numerous that I need cite no examples. A queer form of related type is *Söder Ridge* for the Swedish *Söderåsen*. *Åsbjörn* of the original Swedish is transformed into *Ashbjörn* (II, p. 137). In I, p. IX even the well-known Norwegian writer becomes *Ashbjørnsen*. I can see no objection to the form *Smålander* in I, p. 308, but can see no reason for the addition of an *e* in the Anglicized *Skåninge* on the same page. Surely the reader would have been better served by an interpretation of *Östersjön* as *Baltic* (so II, 320) and not as the *East sea* (I, p. 26) and elsewhere *East Sea*; when Selma Lagerlöf used the word *Östersjön*, she did not aim at any special effect, as this is the regular name of the Baltic in Swedish.

I have spoken above of the note on pronunciation at the close of I. In the original English edition, as in the present edition, the rules for pronunciation given do not cover by far all difficulties that occur in the text of the volume. Let it suffice to give here just three out of many unexplained pronunciations: *Kuusi* (p. 52), *Vittskövle* (79), and *Tjust* (299).

The accuracy of the translation as such I have not now examined anew, but I have found inaccuracies in earlier perusals, and there is clearly little likelihood that these have been corrected for the present edition. In my present examination from other points of view only one new case has occurred to me: the word "Township" is used to translate both *socken* (I, p. 7) and *härad* (I, p. 299).

As a consequence, I suppose, of the printing of many impressions from the plates, the type is in very many instances more or less badly worn and ragged, especially in certain of the volumes.

On the inside of the covers of all the volumes there are maps of the *Värmland* and the *Dalarna* regions that Selma Lagerlöf has made famous. I would call attention to the fact that they contain several quite explicable, though unfortunate, misspellings; as, *Curlitta Cliff*, *Duncer Cliff*, *Lövdalla*. A good addition to the *Nils Holgersson* volumes could have been made in the form of a map of all of Sweden, showing the route covered.

In the interest of a more worthy treatment of our Scandinavian authors in American translation, it has appeared to me to be my duty to point out these inequalities. I am well aware of the fact that the re-issue of the various works of Selma Lagerlöf in entirely uniform volumes, except for the exterior, would have been practically out of the question; I am also aware of the fact that an accurate and detailed revision in the spirit of my review would have entailed possibly too great expense. But with only a moderate outlay many an important improvement could have been made.

In pointing out the editorial shortcomings of the *Northland Edition*, I do not want to detract from the importance to the spread of acquaintance with Swedish literature that such a publication brings with it. The publisher has beyond question improved greatly on the exterior attractiveness of the Lagerlöf translations. To the average reader that means much.

Further volumes can be added to the set, as occasion presents itself, and the publishers are planning this fall to issue the second part of *Jerusalem*.

A. LOUIS ELMQUIST.

July, 1917.

DIE PROSAISCHE EDDA IM AUSZUGE NEBST VÖLSUNGA-SAGA UND NORNAGESTS-ÞÁTTUR. Mit ausführlichem Glossar herausgegeben von Ernst Wilken. Zweite verbesserte Auflage.¹ Teil I: Text. Paderborn, 1912. XV+264. Teil II: Glossar. 1913. VII+284.

The revised edition of Wilken's *Prosaische Edda im Auszuge*, etc., the first edition of which was published between 1877-83, appears here as volumes XI and XII of the *Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Literatur-Denkmäler*. The new edition shares with the old an attractive dress, and is printed in clear type upon good paper. The student will find it useful and valuable, though opinions may differ in regard to the new arrangement of having text and glossary in separate volumes. In the interest of convenience many would undoubtedly prefer the old plan of one handy volume. As might be expected, the text and especially the glossary contains a large number of alterations. It is not our intention to enter here into a discussion of their merits or demerits; we merely wish to point out a few of the mistakes and discrepancies of the otherwise valuable and meritorious publication.

It would seem that the author has not been able to bestow upon the revision that amount of painstaking care which an edition of this kind, intended as a class book and mainly used by beginners, may rightfully claim. The text is marred by not a few misprints, and the references in the glossary to the text are by no means reliable. Already at the outset the title in Volume II with its *Volsunga-saga* instead of the correct form challenges attention. Though there are two pages of "Druckfehler" at the end of Volume I and no less than six closely printed pages of "Berichtigungen und Nachträge" at the end of Volume II, many more corrections need to be made. We call attention to some of the uncorrected mistakes appearing in the text of the *Gylfaginning* and in the glossary dealing with it, the corrections which we have jotted down in the course of our reading being arranged under three heads.

I. Misprints in the text.

Page 46, line 13, misprint *oh* for *ok*.

P. 48, l. 1, *at þár* instead of *at þá*.

P. 51, the numeral 5 is placed beside line 4, and 10 beside line 9.

P. 51, on corrected line 4, appears *njóla*, while we should have *njóta* as given correctly in the glossary.

P. 58, 4, we have *ok þá*, should be *ok þá*.

P. 58, 24-25, we read *vaknar sá maðr/stöð sup্প skjótt*. Either a comma or *ok* has been omitted after *maðr*.

P. 58, 25, we have *stöð sup্প skjótt* for *stöð upp skjótt*.

P. 71, 15, has *þórr* instead of *þórr*.

P. 81, 8, occurs *bræðr* instead of *bræðr*.

¹Part II has: Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage.

II. Discrepancies of forms between text and glossary.

Page 12, line 1 of *Grimn.* 41 has *En ór hans brœm*; in glossary under *brá* we find *brám*.

P. 26, 12, we find *arnar ham*, but in glossary it is listed under *arnarhamr*.

P. 34, 9, has *hverrar bænarinnar*, but in glossary under *bæn* it appears as *hverjar bænarinnar*.

P. 71, 14, we have correctly *flata fiska*, but in the glossary under *flatr* appears *plata fiska*.

P. 73, 11, has *ok alls konar málmr*, while the glossary under 1. *konr* cites it as *allskonar*; the same applies to page 213, lines 15-16 in the *Völsungasaga*.

P. 78, 7, 2, we have *tœrum*, but in glossary under *tár* it is cited as *tárum*.

P. 81, *Völ.* 45, 7, we have *skálmöld*, while the glossary has *skalmöld*.

III. Incorrect references in the glossary to the lines of the text.

On page 26, line 15, *vitu* is given in the glossary under *vita* as page 26, line 21.

P. 32, 7, has *á þá konu*, but in the glossary under *eiga* 2, it is quoted as 32, 8.

P. 36, 4, *þyrfti* is given in the glossary under *þurfa* as 36, 3.

P. 36, 5, *lengi* is quoted in the glossary as 36, 4.

P. 51, *skemt/-un* on corrected lines 5-6 is given in glossary as 51, 6.

Page 57, 7, *heimamenn* is quoted in the glossary under *heimamaðr* as 57, 6.

P. 57, 10, *í öttu* is referred to in the glossary under *ötta* as 57, 9.

P. 57, 13, *talði*, is given in the glossary under *telja* as 57, 12.

P. 61, 15, *bæði*, is quoted under *biðja* in glossary as 61, 16.

P. 69, 17, *vélum*, is given under *vél* in the glossary as 69, 16.

Numerous minor points in regard to punctuation and other matters might be referred to, but some of these are of secondary importance and enter the realm of taste. But to mention a more important matter, the beginner and student certainly would have welcomed explanatory notes to difficult or disputes passages, however brief they might have been, which would have facilitated an understanding of Snorri's work and enhanced the pleasure of reading.

ALBERT KEISER.

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January, 1918.

SOME ICELANDIC AND NORWEGIAN PUBLICATIONS

Norske Gaardnavne. Oplysninger samlede til brug ved matrikelens revision. Af O. Rygh. Bind X, 1915, Pp. 510. This latest continuation of Rygh's great work, covering the county of Stavanger, has been prepared by Magnus Olsen. It follows, of course, the general plan of the earlier volumes, and is edited with the care and scholarship which characterizes all of Olsen's work and the series as a whole. The forms of place-names as they appear in the documents of the different periods are recorded according to Rygh, amplified, however, by information from other sources used by the editor. In such a work the pronunciation of the names is of the greatest importance; here, too, the materials left by Rygh are added to by the editor from notations made by him on his journeys through Stavanger Amt. In this respect, then, the volume before us is fuller and better than preceding volumes in the series. There is an index to all names of places, rivers, fjords, islands, etc., and also to personal and mythological names occurring in compounds. Of the latter only those of Njǫrðr, Þórr, Ullr and Freyja appear; Thor's name does not appear nearly as often as we should expect. There is finally also an index of compound place-names listed according to the second part of the compound. Here the word *-land* is more than twice as numerous as those next in frequency, namely *-staðir*, *-víkr*, and *-dal*; *-nes* also is found in considerable number, followed by *-vollr*, *-þveit*, *-heim* and others.

A memorial address to Professor Dr. Alf Torp delivered by Magnus Olsen at Christiania University, October 20, 1916, is now printed in *Oversigt over Videnskabselskabet's Møter*. The eminent philologist's life-work is here appreciatively reviewed through nearly forty years of scientific labor. We follow him from his first studies in Pali and Sanskrit inflexions (1881) and those in the Greek noun declensions, through those in Greek literature, and back again to the field of comparative philology, represented during these years by publications on the Messapean inscriptions, 1893, on Phrygian, 1893, and twenty other works on the Phrygian, Venetian, Lykian, Etruscan and Hittite languages published from 1894 to 1907. "And yet this," adds the writer, "is but a small part of his total production during these years." In the final phase of his work Torp turned to Old Norse and the Modern Norse of his native Norway. His *Etymologisk Ordbog*, written in collaboration with his colleague, Hjalmar Falk, was here the beginning, 1901-1906; there followed many articles and critical reviews of Norwegian philological works (here also that of Ross's dialect dictionary). In joint authorship with Falk again were issued *Dansk-Norskens Lydlære* and *Dansk-Norskens Syntax*. When it was decided to publish an exhaustive *Nynorsk Ordbok* it naturally fell to his lot to be requested by the Government to undertake the preparation of this work. Of this the

first 672 pages, as far as *sno*, had been printed at the time of his death, and the Ms. was ready as far as the letter T, and in part also beyond that. And when also in the order of publication of the various parts of Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch* in Germany the publishers sought a man to undertake the preparation of the dictionary of primitive Germanic, the general Teutonic or West-Aryan wordstock, it fell to the lot of Torp to be asked to do that (Torp: *Wortschatz der germanischen Spracheinheit*, 1909). In the fields of comparative philology and Scandinavian philology, few, if any, in his time accomplished more.

In *Altnordische Waffenkunde*, Christiania, 1914, Pp. 211, published also by the Scientific Society, Christiania Hjalmar Falk offers a philological examination of all passages in Old Norse literature where a weapon or a part of a weapon or the use of a weapon is mentioned. Aside from the direct results the study, which is illustrated with 37 figures, is interesting just now as an account of ancient Scandinavian warfare and the general West European method of attack and defence in the Viking Age and the following 200 years. The hurling (by machines) of burning coals, sulphur, birchrind and oakum was practiced in Scandinavia, but the hurling of pitch and brimstone was practiced only by the enemy.

Bemerkninger, Rettelser og Supplerer til min "Norrøn Syntax" av M. Nygaard. Christiania, 1917, Pp. 54, has just been received. These are notes and minor additions left by the author now printed as he left them, edited by M. Olsen. The materials are mainly addenda and discussions under: omission of parts of the sentence, syntax of the cases (mainly the dative), and the indicative and the subjunctive in subordinate clauses. There is also new material on the definite article, on the reflexive verb, etc., and, especially to be mentioned, a somewhat fuller account than that in his *N. Syntax* of a use of the particle *ok*. It is well known to students of Old Norse that this particle is often found in constructions where it seems to function as either a relative, or sometimes in the meaning 'if,' 'since' or 'that,' and these cases are usually so given in Fritzner's *Ordbog*. With this Nygaard took issue in his *Syntax*, but there somewhat briefly. Now the development in the conjunction *ok*, 'and', of the meaning 'if' or 'that,' or into the function of a relative (here then replacing *er*), is something so unexpected and so unnatural as to lead one to suspect that there was something wrong in the lexicographer's classification of such cases. The native Norwegian who is familiar with the syntax of dialectal speech, and who would also remember that the masters of Old Norse had their model in the flexible living speech of the time, will look for another explanation. He will not hesitate to accept Nygaard's many new examples here given in further substantiation of his explanation of these cases that: *ok* is here, as elsewhere, purely a conjunction, there is an omission of the subject or of the verb *vera*, perhaps, in the subordinate clause, but *ok* is a conjunction. Hence in such an instance as: *Gylfi sá mann í hallardurum, ok lék at*

handsqum, we must understand *hann* with *ok lék* (and he, that is this man, was playing at anlaces).

Diplomatarium Islandicum. Islenskt Fornbrefasafn, XI, 2. Reykjavik, 1916. Pp. 369-528. This continuation of the *DI* gives the charters, deeds, registers, and other public documents for the years 1544-1546. Valuable especially for the political and the cultural history of Iceland, they are also of great interest to the linguistic student. The documents are printed with the usual Roman types, except that the uncials of E and N, which are found quite frequently in the Icelandic documents, are retained. Letter- and sign-abbreviations are also kept. It may be noted that all letters written in Iceland were written in Icelandic, none in Danish.

As a supplement to *Norsk Folkekultur*, 1915, reviewed in this journal, pp. 247-49, was issued the text of the ballad of "Aasmund Frægdagjæve," restored, with accompanying critical apparatus by Rikard Berge, a pamphlet of 16 pages, and in the same year a number on "Storegut-Visa," as number VII of *Bygdedigtning fraa Telemark*. The supplement for 1916 is a study of the ballad of "Aanund Gangsei," Pp. 40, also by Berge.

Volume VIII of "Scandinavian Classics" just issued by the American-Scandinavian Foundation is represented by a reprint of Wm. Morton Payne's translation of *Arnlfot Gelline* by Björnstjerne Björnsoh. Payne's translation, which is fairly well known I take it, was an excellent piece of work, and it is gratifying that Björnson's great poem is now made accessible in attractive form to a wider public in this rendering. It is, however, hoped that distinctly new things, translations of Scandinavian masterpieces which have not yet been made accessible to English readers, will hereafter be published exclusively, and that the Foundation may not depart from the original plan, which was to do this. The volume appears in the same neat format as earlier ones and is excellently printed and carefully edited.

After long delay issues 2 and 3, 1917, of *Edda. Nordisk Tidsskrift for Litteraturforskning*, Christiania, have appeared. Like previous numbers these contain a great deal of interesting and very valuable material, articles dealing with problems in Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, French, Greek, Italian, and German, literature,—American and English not happening to be represented in these numbers. Of some contemporary interest is Fernand Baldensberger's discussion of "Goethe et la guerre actuelle," in number 2. M. Baldensberger is a captain in the French Army, and at present lecturing in this country, having been sent by the French Government. He was, before the war, a professor in the Sorbonne. Hans Berg deals with "Nietsche og La Rochefoucauld"; H. Logeman with "The caprices in Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt"; I.C. Normann with "Drachmann og Det var engang," to mention only a few of the articles. Number 3

contains, among other things, an article on "Filosofien i Norden" by Anathon Aal and one by J. L. Heiberg on "Græske sundhedsregler." The publisher is H. Aschehoug & Co.

Since this number went to press Vol. X of *Islandica*, An Annual Relating to Iceland and the Fisk Icelandic Collection, 1917, has appeared. It is an edition of Gísli Oddsson's *Annalium in Islandia Farrago* and *De Mirabilibus Islandiae* prepared by Halldór Hermannsson. We can only call attention to it. Students of Icelandic literature and life will no doubt find much of interest in this "first collection of Icelandic folklore," and its treatise on the animal life of the island.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

November 9, 1917.

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION

BULLETIN III. FEBRUARY, 1918.

Devoted to the Interests of the Teaching of Scandinavian Languages in America.

THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN THE GRADES

In some parts of the Northwest instruction in the Scandinavian languages is given in the elementary schools. It is my belief that this should be discouraged and that English is the only language that should be taught in the grades and the common schools.

The overwhelming majority of our public school pupils do not go beyond the eighth grade. They pass out into life with a pitifully insufficient equipment. Owing to the vast numbers of pupils involved, the choice of the matter of instruction for the common schools is of far greater importance to the nation than the determination of the curricula of the high schools, colleges and universities in the land. It is the sacred duty of all who are entrusted with this task to see that this brief period is utilized to the utmost, that the coming men and women may have as much equipment as possible for their duties as citizens and heads of families, that they be prepared as well as possible for the economic struggle, and that all possible light and joy be spread over their lives—a herculean task for the short years of childhood.

The foremost instrument for the acquisition of all this is the English language. Through its use our citizens must acquire all other knowledge, it is their daily instrument of communication, its correct and effective use is a mark of superiority and a means of advancement in every walk of life. Moreover, through it alone can they enter into the spiritual unity of the American people and know the pride and joy of being an American. Only the best of the eighth graders can spell and punctuate the English language correctly, but few speak it correctly or read more than simple prose and verse understandingly. Then there are American history, civics, geography, arithmetic and hygiene, all of which

are necessary for the young citizen. His great educational need is English and there is not time for another language.

This is even more the case where the pupil is of foreign parentage and speaks a halting and unidiomatic English. Few realize that there are thousands of native born Americans who are in the tragic situation of having no mother tongue. They know only half way the language of their foreign-born parents, and they speak a debased and denatured English, bare of pungent and racy idiom, replete with awkward translations of foreign phrases. The peasant lad of the old world feels his heart swell at the ancient ballads of his race. The uneducated American thrills at the majesty of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech. The soul of a man or woman with little learning is set tingling by the beauty of a swinging line if he has bred in heart and bone a sure feeling for his mother tongue. But these unfortunate thousands have no such feeling. Linguistically they are still strangers in a strange land, for they have not yet drunk from the deep wells of English speech, but rather from a roadside trough. They are profoundly unfortunate.

These unfortunate ones who are thus set off from all other people in the world by not possessing a mother tongue are not in isolated groups, but they occupy whole counties and groups of counties, great portions of states. Unless some agency comes to their help they will perpetuate this state of things to future generations, as in the case of the Pennsylvania Germans. The only agency upon which we can count is the public school. And the time it has is so short.

Even if we rob the pupils of the needed instruction in the language of their native land, the brief time that is given them will not suffice to give them instruction of real value in the foreign language, it will but serve to increase the confusion by weakening their feeling for English.

I have had considerable experience in giving German instruction to college students who had begun that language in the grades and had continued it in the high school and later in college, the fortunate few who were able to continue the subject beyond the grades. With hardly an exception they were not so well founded in the fundamentals as pupils who had started German in the high school. They had acquired a false feeling of assurance and spoke

rapidly a large amount of exceedingly bad German, bare of endings and in English order. It is always very difficult to induce these students to correct such early ingrained faults, as they are confident and stiffnecked in their errors. Undoubtedly one reason for this is that they had been under such poor instruction. A good many teachers of German in the grade schools of a large city have been in my classes. They are as a rule the American born children of German parents and speak glibly the "Kauderwelsch" of the second generation, unacquainted either in practice or theory with the commonest principles of German grammar, unable to form a correct sentence, except here and there by chance, and utterly unfitted to teach German. It is difficult to get any other kind, for the imported teacher is not successful as a rule, and anyone who equips himself by thorough study and foreign residence can get a much better position than teaching in the grades. I doubt if the teaching conditions would be more favorable for any other foreign language.

As the overwhelming majority of the pupils in our common schools do not go beyond the eighth grade, the time of the pupil is exceedingly brief and only the most important subjects can be taught. One of the most important is English, especially for the child of foreign-born parents. There is therefore not sufficient time to spare for a foreign language. If time is spared for a foreign language, it will be too brief to give the pupil a solid foundation. My own experience with pupils who have had such instruction is that it is a detriment to them, and I have found the instruction exceedingly inferior. For these reasons I think that instruction in foreign languages should be deferred until the first year of the high school.

CHESTER N. GOULD.

The University of Chicago.

COURSES OF STUDY IN SCANDINAVIAN

Below are printed the courses of study in Norse and Swedish used in the Minneapolis High Schools. The *Course of Study in Norse* has been prepared by a committee consisting of Maren Michelet (chairman), Dikka Reque, Inga Bredesen, and Ida Hagen, and the *Course of Study in Swedish*, by Victor Erickson (chairman), Ebba Norman, Axel Brett, and C. Arthur Carlson. In order that they might be more useful for teachers in other schools desiring to get suggestions, the courses of study as here printed have been made complete as far as text-books are concerned, and by the use of the word "or" it has been indicated where there is a choice between several books of the same nature or degree of difficulty, usually that between a book used in the Minneapolis High Schools and one not used there. In the Swedish course two text-books have been added where it is not a question of alternatives, namely the *Swedish Phonology* and the little comedy *Det ringer*. For editorial reasons (space, as well as the advantage of making the two courses of study mutually consistent), the printed form differs somewhat from the official form in the matter of the arrangement of various details. Aside from one or two minimal adjustments necessitated by the inclusion of alternative text-books and by the rearrangement mentioned, none but insignificant changes have been made in the wording; and in no case has a change been made that would modify the meaning of the original.

These courses of study are published for two reasons. Teachers of Scandinavian in schools (colleges as well as high schools) that in the future will introduce the subjects, and perhaps some who already are teaching Scandinavian, will be able to get good guidance from them. It is further to be hoped that a free discussion in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes* of "the best" course of study for Norse and Swedish will hereby have been opened. Communications to the Associate Editor or contributions for publication that offer suggestions along this line will be welcome; especially

are teachers who have prepared other courses of study invited to send them in for possible publication. A critical and comparative study of such courses should result in great good, both for high schools and colleges. Even in the case of the two courses of study herewith published, though they deal with different languages, the reader will find a comparison useful. They will be found to have differences as well as similarities, perhaps other than those required by the differences of language and conditions involved.

I. COURSE OF STUDY IN NORSE

Note.—Throughout the entire course the following points should not be lost sight of in connection with the work planned for each semester: (1) Daily conversational Norse, (2) Dictation, (3) Letter writing and reproduction, (4) Study of idioms, (5) Constant drill and review of the fundamentals of grammar.

FIRST YEAR NORSE

NORSE I

During the first semester the elements of grammar are taken up, supplemented by special drill in pronunciation, sentence construction, dictation, and easy composition work: four days a week. Reading and translation: one day a week. Daily conversational Norse. One brief letter is written. The following five poems, or their equivalents, are memorized: *I en tung stund* (Björnson), *Sjöfuglen* (Welhaven), *Vuggevisen* (Ibsen), *Smaafuglene paa julenekt* (Wergeland), *Ja, vi elsker*, stanzas 1, 7, 8 (Björnson). Texts: Maren Michelet's *First Year Norse*, to Lesson XXI.

Or, Holvik's *Beginners' Book in Norse*, to Lesson XVIII.

Boken om Norge: Vol. I, *Norsk Barnelev*, by Nordahl Rolfsen (*Vocabulary and Notes* by Reque and Hjelmstad). The reading should include especially the fairy tales and simpler short stories.

NORSE II

During the second semester the study of the elements of grammar is continued. Dictation exercises, reproductions, and more advanced composition work: three days a week. Reading and translation: two days a week. The following five poems, or their equivalents, are memorized: *Ederfuglen* (Ibsen), *Træet* (Björnson), *Mit hjem* (P. A. Jensen), *Et fjeldvand* (A. Munch), *Sæterjentens søndag* (Moe).

Texts: Maren Michelet's *First Year Norse*, to Lesson XXXI.

Or, Holvik's *Beginners' Book in Norse*, completed.

Boken om Norge (see above).

Supplementary Reading: Selections from the following writers may be assigned for outside reading; each pupil should report on at least one short story thus assigned: Hans Aanrud, Bernt Lie, Jacob Bull, Barbara Ring, Amanda Sevaldsen, Dikken Zwilgmeyer, Julli Wiilborg, etc.

SECOND YEAR NORSE

NORSE III

Complete the grammar and give a general review: one day a week. Special drill on idioms and particular emphasis put on the idioms which abound in Björnson's peasant stories. Study of Björnson and his peasant stories. The following five poems, or other selections from Björnson's folk stories, are memorized: *Løft dit hode* (in *En glad gut*), *Ingrid Sletten* (*Arne*), *Over de høie fjelde* (*Arne*), *Synnöves sang* (*Synnöve Solbakken*), *Jeg vil værge mit land* (*Fiskerjenten*).

Texts: Maren Michelet's *First Year Norse*; complete book and give general review.

Or, Holvik's *Beginners' Book in Norse*; general review.

Björnson's *Synnöve Solbakken*, edited by George T. Flom.

Or, Björnson's *En glad gut*, edition of G. R. Vowles or of J. A. Holvik.

Supplementary Reading: For outside reading select one of Björnson's peasant stories not read in class. Give review of it in outline, in English.

NORSE IV

Stories from Norse mythology, folklore, and history. Emphasize the industrial, economic, and social life of Norway today: four days a week. Discussion in Norse of current topics: one day a week. The following five historical poems, or their equivalents, are memorized: *Island* (A. Munch), *Olav Trygvason* (Björnson), *Fædrenes minde* (Lie), *Kong Haakons gildehal* (Ibsen), *Ja, vi elsker*, remaining stanzas (Björnson).

Texts: Jens Hæreids *Norges historie*.

Or, *Boken om Norge*: Vol. IV, *Norge gjennom tiderne*, by Nordahl Rolfsen.

Or, *Second Book in Norse*, by J. A. Holvik.

Supplementary Reading: *Snorres Kongesagaer*.

THIRD YEAR NORSE

NORSE V

Study of Björnson and his plays. Sketch of Björnson and his works. Reading of *En fallit*. Memory work: Selections from Björnson's dramatic works and from his prose.

Texts: Björnson's *En fallit*, edited by J. A. Holvik.

Björnson, by D. F. Knudsen.

Supplementary Reading and Study: *Han fikk ei lov, Bergliot, Arnljot Gelline*.

NORSE VI

Study of Ibsen and his plays, or of Jonas Lie and his works. Reading: *Kongsemnerne* or Lie's *Stories*. The following poems, or their equivalents, are memorized: Ibsen,—*Lysrød, Bergmanden, Agnes, Solveigs sang, Örnulfs draapa*; or Lie,—*Femböringen, Tankerne længe, Nylænde, Furuen, Sangen for Norden*.

Texts: Ibsen's *Kongsemnerne*, edited by Eikeland and Holvik.

Lie's *Stories and Poems*, edited by I. Dorrum.

Læsebok i morsmaalet, by Broch and Seip.

Supplementary Reading: Selections from Ibsen's *Hærmændene paa Helgeland* and Ibsen's *Terje Viken* (edited by Michelet and Vowles) or Lie's *Familjen paa Gilje*. For college classes Ibsen's *Et Dukkehjem*, edited by Flom, may be added.

FOURTH YEAR NORSE

As there has been no demand for Fourth Year Norse, no definite courses have as yet been planned.

II. COURSE OF STUDY IN SWEDISH

Note.—The material for special topics mentioned below will be found in *Sweden* (a historical and statistical handbook issued by order of the Swedish Government and edited by J. Guinchard), in *Nordisk familjebok* (and other encyclopedias), and in biographies of the persons concerned. All the books mentioned under "Supplementary Reading" may be secured from the Minnea-

polis Public Library; if found desirable, a novel by some modern author might be assigned as supplementary reading for each semester, in addition to the works noted below.

AIM IN TEACHING SWEDISH

The aim in teaching Swedish should be threefold: First, to teach the pupils to converse in Swedish. In a state like Minnesota, where such a large percentage of the population is of Swedish descent, the ability to speak Swedish should be of practical importance. Secondly, to teach the pupils to read the language fluently. In the development of science the Swedes have held and still hold a foremost place. Hence the ability to read the varied scientific works and periodicals should be of great value to those who intend to do scientific work. Thirdly, to teach the pupils the cultural value of Swedish. Swedish culture is of a very high order, and America should profit by the infusion of the best of this culture into its composite civilization. This means that the pupil should be made acquainted with Swedish history, geography, and literature, past and present, that he may be able to interpret Sweden to America,—that he may become a bearer of culture.

FIRST YEAR SWEDISH

SWEDISH I

During the first semester three-fifths of the time is occupied with grammar (the alphabet, articles, declension of nouns and adjectives, the personal pronouns, the conjugation of verbs in all tenses of the indicative, etc.). Two-fifths of the time is occupied with reading, translation, and daily conversation. Five poems are memorized: *Till en fågel* (Runeberg), *Tre gyllene regler* (Bremer), *Svenska språket* (Tegnér), *Barnens sång på trefaldighetsnatten* (Strindberg), *Din sorg är din* (Rydberg).

Texts: Vickner's *Swedish Grammar*, to Lesson XIII.

Or, Elmquist's *Swedish Grammar*, to Lesson XVII.

Magnusson's *Min andra läsebok* (Vocabulary edition).

Or, Elmquist's *Swedish Reader*.

Elmquist's *Swedish Phonology*, for reference (also in II, III).

Supplementary Reading: *Femtio småhistorier*, by Anna Holge.

SWEDISH II

During the second semester two-fifths of the time is occupied with a continuation of the elements of grammar (the subjunctive, compound verbs, passive, modal auxiliaries, pronouns, etc.). Three-fifths of the time is devoted to dictation, reading, translation, and daily conversation in Swedish. Five poems are memorized: *Vårt land*, stanzas 1, 2, 11 (Runeberg), *Du gamla, du fria* (Dybeck), Twenty-third psalm, *Tillbörlig vrede* (Karlfeldt), *Till ungdomen* (Grafström).

Texts: Vickner's *Swedish Grammar*, to Lesson XXVII.

Or, Elmquist's *Swedish Grammar*, to Lesson XXII, with review.

Geijerstam's *Mina pojkar*, edited by Joseph Alexis.

Or, Elmquist's *Selections from Selma Lagerlöf's Nils Holgersson*.

Or, Mauritzson's *Tredje läseboken*.

Supplementary Reading: *Gustav Vasas äventyr i Dalarna*, by M. Roos.

SECOND YEAR SWEDISH

SWEDISH III

One-fifth of the time is devoted to a review of the grammar covered in I and II (three weeks) and to the completion of the grammar. Four-fifths of the time is occupied with reading, daily conversation in Swedish, dictation, three business letters, sketch of the life of Selma Lagerlöf (in English), and the geography of Sweden. Five poems are memorized: *Vågen* (Nicander), *Näcken* (Stagnelius), *Dalmarsch* (Karlfeldt), *Lördagskväll* (Strindberg), *De bondsnåle* (Fröding).

Texts: Vickner's *Swedish Grammar*, completed.

Or, Elmquist's *Swedish Grammar*, completed.

Lagerlöf's *En herrgårdssägen*, edited by A. Louis Elmquist.

Or, *Valda berättelser av Selma Lagerlöf*, edited by Jules Mauritzson.

Helena Nyblom's *Det ringer*, edited by A. Louis Elmquist.
Geografi, by F. Berg.

Supplementary Reading: *Byhistorier och skämtsägner*, I-IV, by Eva Wigström.

SWEDISH IV

Study of Tegnér's *Fritiofs saga*. Some attention paid to versification. Conversation, study of idioms, dictation, letter writing. Special topics (in English) such as Linné, Berzelius, Nobel, John Erickson, Celsius, Wallin. The following from Tegnér is memorized: *Isfarten*, *Ingeborgs klagan*, *Fritiof och Björn*, *Fridsroster*, shorter quotations from *Fritiofs saga*.

Text: Tegnér's *Fritiofs saga*, edited by A. A. Stomberg.

Supplementary Reading: *Nordiska gudasagor* by Kata Dahlström, and *Vikingar och deras üttingar* by M. Anholm.

THIRD YEAR SWEDISH

SWEDISH V

Three-fifths of the time is devoted to Swedish history from the beginning to 1648, with emphasis on the period 1521—1648. Two-fifths of the time is given over to *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, with special topics in English, such as a sketch of Runeberg's life and an account of the Finnish War. Study of idioms. Memorize: *Sven Duva*, *Torp flickan*, *Den döende krigaren*, *Sveaborg*.

Texts: Grimberg's *Sverges historia för folkskolan*, No. 1, pages 1-158.

Runeberg's *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, edited by A. Louis Elmquist; first half.

Supplementary Reading (for V and VI): *Livknektens berättelser*, by Starbäck, *Great Captains*, by Dodge, *Gustavus Adolphus*, by Fletcher, *Scandinavia*, by Bain.

SWEDISH VI

Three-fifths of the time is occupied with a continuation of Swedish history. The commercial, industrial, and cultural development is emphasized. Special topics on present day trade relations with the United States. Two-fifths of the time is given to the continuation of the study of Runeberg, with special topics on modern authors. Memorize: *Bonden Paavo* (Runeberg), *Landshövdingen* (Runeberg), *Min lilla vrå bland bergen* (Wadman), *Längtan till landet* (Sätherberg).

Texts: Grimberg's *Sverges historia för folkskolan*, No. 1, page 158—end.

Runeberg's *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, edited by A. Louis Elmqvist; second half.

Supplementary Reading, see under V.

FOURTH YEAR SWEDISH

Note.—The work of the fourth year should be conducted entirely in the Swedish language.

SWEDISH VII

Reading, conversation, composition on special topics, such as Nordenskiöld, Andrée, Hedin. Memorize: *Aftonen* (Nicander), *Åkallan och löfte* (Heidenstam), *Vikingen* (Geijer), *Svensk lösen* (Wennerberg).

Text: Sven Hedin's *Från pol till pol*, pages 1-192.

Supplementary Reading (for VII and VIII): *Svenska sången*, by Warburg, or Mauritzson and Olson, *Svensk diktning*, I, II.

SWEDISH VIII

The work of this semester is a continuation of Swedish VII. Memorize: *Vackert så* (Sehlstedt), *Noli me tangere* (Snoilsky), *Den tjänande brodern* (Snoilsky), *Tiggaren* (Fjalar, i.e., Östergren).

Text: Sven Hedin's *Från pol till pol*, page 192—end.

Supplementary Reading, see under VII.

SCANDINAVIAN TEXT-BOOKS AND PEDAGOGICAL PUBLICATIONS DEALING WITH FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Two text-editions by Professor George T. Flom which have been announced in an earlier number of this publication will soon be issued. Björnson's *Synnöve Solbakken*, edited with an introduction, notes, and a vocabulary, is in press and will be published about March 25, 1918. Ibsen's *Et Dukkehjem*, with similar equipment, is announced to follow soon after. Both books will give the text in the new spelling. The publisher is the Free Church Book Concern of Minneapolis.

A previously announced text-edition of Björnson's *En fallit*, prepared by Professor J. A. Holvik, is now in press and will be issued shortly by the Augsburg Publishing House of Minneapolis.

A recent addition to the equipment for the teaching of Swedish is entitled *Svensk diktning, I* (Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Illinois, 1917, pp. 211, 75 cents). The volume contains thirty-one selections from nine poets from Dalin to Stagnelius. The text, including brief literary introductions (in Swedish) to each poet, fills eighty pages. The literary introductions are by Professor Jules Mauritzson; his was no doubt also the task of making the selection. The volume is equipped with a vocabulary and notes prepared by Ernst W. Olson. A review of this book will appear in a future number of this publication. Volume II of *Svensk diktning* will follow shortly.

In its series of text-books for *Public and Parochial Schools*, the Augustana Book Concern has very recently issued *Tredje läseboken, För skolan och hemmet*, utarbetad av Jules Mauritzson (1917, pp. 336, 65 cents). The text, in poetry and prose, is divided into (1) Blandade stycken, (2) Sveriges folk i äldre och nyare tid, (3) Från Amerika. A large number of the selections are from Swedish *belles lettres*. The volume contains abundant illustrations. In its present form the reader contains only the text, but it is the plan of the publishers to issue in the near future an edition with notes and a vocabulary by Ernst W. Olson. The review of Mauritzson's book will be withheld until this school-edition has appeared.

Many of our readers have no doubt through the Swedish American Press learned that the Augustana Book Concern of Rock Island, Illinois, has purchased the business of the Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company of Chicago. Consequently four text-books for the study of Swedish in American schools have been transferred to the Augustana Book Concern, namely: George T. Flom's edition of Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*, Elmquist's *Swedish Grammar*, *Swedish Phonology*, and *Swedish Reader* (the last-named in press). The *Swedish Reader* will be issued at an early date. The Augustana Book Concern now controls eleven of our Swedish text-books, including two in press but not including the three volumes of the *Series for Public and Parochial Schools*.

Under the caption *Why Teach and Study German in Public Schools* the September (1917) number of *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik* contains a statement of nine reasons (from a circular published by the Committee on Modern Foreign Languages in Public Schools in Cincinnati, Ohio). I quote here items that would apply also to other foreign languages: "Because of the ever increasing importance of a knowledge of modern foreign languages. Because the study of a foreign language leads to a better understanding of our native tongue, English. Because the acquisition of a foreign language is in later life a difficult undertaking, while in childhood, when the vocal organs are most flexible and the memory most retentive, languages can be learned with comparative ease."

From William A. Cooper's *The Ideals of the Profession (Modern Language Journal* for October, 1917) I quote a few salient statements: "The time in life when it is easiest to learn modern foreign languages is early childhood. Isn't it strange that this fact, so well known to the world as well as to educators, is not reflected in the course of study of our schools? . . . Instead of giving children the one important thing they could most easily learn, while young, viz. a modern foreign language, but which they will find more and more difficult the older they grow, we give them some other things which are hardest in childhood and easiest later on. . . . Perhaps I ought to say in this connection that the foreign language instruction I am advocating for elementary schools is intended for American children, not for children of foreigners."

In *Education* for September, 1917, Charles W. Super, in *Foreign Languages in our Public Schools* urges Latin as the most important language because it is fundamental for so many things in our modern life. Most of our readers will not agree with the author when he says: "The practical value of any language other than English is very slight in the United States." From the foreign commercial point of view he mentions as the most useful Spanish, Portuguese, and Russian.

Concerning the comparative value of the study of Latin and modern languages we find an interesting contribution in *School and Society* for July 14, 1917, entitled *Does the Study of High-School Latin Improve High-School English?* by Myron J. Wilcox. In view of the assertion often made that students who have had Latin are better students afterwards, the writer contends that this is because only the stronger students venture to undertake the study of Latin. By studying the high school record (for first, second, third, and fourth year) of students taking German and of students who chose Latin, he finds that the grades of the former were lower in the first year than those of students who then began the study of Latin; further, there is no marked change in the general grade-average from year to year during the four years either in the group of those electing German or of those electing Latin. Similar scrutiny was also given to records of students who had had less than four years of language.

In *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik* for September, 1917, Anton Appelmann (*The Essentials of the Direct Method*) calls attention to the fact that even the native teacher easily drops into certain provincialisms, and

the writer correctly asserts that for each foreign language there should (in instructional work) be but one standard of pronunciation. Appellmann there-upon gives an outline of what, in his opinion, the essentials of the direct method are: much use of grammar in talking rather than the giving of grammatical rules, confining oneself to the essentials, but learning them thoroughly, free composition, thorough discussion in the foreign language of the assigned lesson before the daily reading is taken up, intelligent reading as the center of instruction, ample use of Realien, some use of translation (especially for more advanced work and for difficult passages; translation to be as literal as possible, and as free as necessary), no black-board work (instructor must correct all written work at home).

In the *Educational Review* for November, 1917, there is a study by Clarence Paschall entitled *Modern Language Study*. He indicates why the study of Greek and Latin once held such sway, and points out that modern languages have now stepped into their place not because they have as yet proven their worth, but because it was natural that they should succeed those languages. The argument for the cultural value of modern languages is now no longer placed first. Yet their utilitarian value is in fact weak, largely theoretical, and affects only few students. "The truth is that modern language study must justify itself, as language study has always justified itself, mainly through its cultural and disciplinary value." Owing to the growing use of a sane direct method the author is hopeful of success for modern language work. The writer points out that reading ability develops faster than speaking ability and that to some extent the tendency in direct method work is for the former to be unduly slowed up in advanced classes because of the latter. He also charges that it is a fact that grammar is to a certain extent neglected, and that when not neglected—except for elementary work—it is apt to become as much of a bore as ever. Finally there are some interesting, and in part valuable, details on teaching syntax with an appeal to reason rather than to memory or imitation.

In a paper entitled *Redemption through Realien* in the *Educational Review* for November, 1917, Frank R. Arnold urges the use of many and good Realien. He stresses particularly the use of posters and pictures, newspapers (both magazines and dailies), and foreign-published texts (for display). Emphasis is placed on the need for teachers of foreign languages to keep well acquainted with the life of the foreign country concerned. Teachers are urged to make a collection, as time goes on, of Realien, a sort of a "museum,"—post cards and other pictures, wedding invitations, theater programs, wooden shoes, business letters, photos, maps, books, and even bric-a-brac. The writer thinks that proper attention to Realien will result in greater practical as well as cultural value for the study.

In the *Educational Review* for October, 1917, Gary C. Meyers (*The Examination and the Learner*) urges frequent unannounced tests with a limited time for writing (3-10 minutes). The papers should be returned promptly, to make the tests more effective. In respect to subject-matter the tests should overlap, so that things once asked might be asked again. The writer does not believe

in final tests. A suggestion as to *Quick Correction of Quiz Papers* is found in the *Modern Language Journal* for October, 1917 (author's name not mentioned). Confronted by large classes and a heavy schedule, the writer found it impossible to correct all papers, and had to work out a system for self-correction in class by the students. "They almost never skip an error, because they know that if I find an error which they have overlooked, I take off 20 per cent" (twice the original 10 per cent). Another writer in a recent pedagogical article insists that students find great difficulty in seeing their own mistakes.

Welcome studies for publication could be written for each of the Scandinavian languages on a subject similar to that of L. H. Péchin's *The Place of Poetry in the Teaching of French* in the *Modern Language Journal* for October, 1917.

In the September number of *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik* we find the conclusion of John C. Weigel's *Qualitative vs. Quantitative Standards*. Speaking of what can be done with the best students, he suggests (well-advised) promotion or the formation of "flying sections," the formation of which would be especially easy where over-large sections have to be reduced. In speaking of the poor students, he believes that students fail because the quantity of work is too great for them or because they do not know how to study; the immediate result in both cases is lack of interest. "But we also do too much hearing of recitations and too little teaching, i.e., showing students how to attack a given piece of work." Weigel recommends placing the poorest students into a section by themselves; he also suggests supervised study for these. Special emphasis is given to the need of (1) a greater number of exercises about essentials and omission of extraneous materials likely to confuse, (2) supervised study, (3) smaller classes; at the University (of Chicago) High School 16-17 students to a class seems to be the average for modern language work.

Our teachers of Scandinavian, especially those having classes that contain also pupils who do not know any Scandinavian, should see to it that they get the linguistic view-point of the American student. It is frequently difficult for a teacher who has not had to learn the language and the grammar from a foreign view-point to present the grammar in a clear and simple way; no doubt there are also such teachers who rely chiefly on their own speaking knowledge,—a condition which should be remedied. Our teachers of Scandinavian extraction (in high schools there are no other teachers of Scandinavian, I believe) should bear in mind Marian T. Whitney's statement in *Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik* for October, 1917 (*The American-Born Teacher of Modern Languages*): "Men and women of foreign birth have done and are doing fine work in teaching their mother tongue in our schools and colleges. We owe them much and shall probably long need their help, but in the countries where education has reached the highest development, in France as well as in Germany, it has been found that the best teachers of foreign languages are those who have themselves had to acquire their knowledge by hard study, those who know the difficulties which must be surmounted before a pupil can gain the power to use the language freely, who are not disheartened by the slowness and blundering

of the early stages and who also know what the cultural value of the language and literature they are teaching may be to those of their own nationality and education." The writer seems entirely to have ignored, however, an important difference in conditions here and in Europe. Our American born teachers of foreign extraction are at least in some respects differently predisposed from foreign-born teachers (in America or in the European countries with which the author makes comparison). For Scandinavian, it might be desirable to call attention to the fact that the usual situation in high schools is for an American-born teacher of foreign extraction to be teaching American-born students of similar foreign extraction. Such a teacher, naturally having linguistic tendencies similar to those of his students, will have to make careful and intensive studies of the language concerned and from the proper view-point, if anything worth while is to be accomplished.

The October (1917) number of the *Modern Language Journal* contains *Literature of Modern Language Methodology in America for 1916* by Carl A. Krause, with a total of 69 items by 59 different writers.

Attention should be called to *Suggestions and References for Modern Language Teachers*, Second edition, revised and enlarged, by Thomas Edward Oliver (Bulletin No. 18 of University of Illinois School of Education, University of Illinois Bulletin, XIV, 43, 1917, pp. 84, 25 cents). The work consists almost wholly of bibliographies helpful in the study and teaching of French, German, and Spanish. In the preface the author says: "Owing to the fact that . . . Norwegian and Swedish . . . have as yet little place in the secondary school curriculum, the editor has not felt the need of including them in this second edition, despite several requests to do so. Perhaps the need of such inclusion will become more imperative later." Nevertheless teachers of Scandinavian will find several of the bibliographical lists helpful, especially those dealing with methods of teaching, as well as what there is of general comment. The pamphlet deals with the following subjects: *The Training of the Teacher* (Opportunities for travel and study, Books of travel, Political histories, Methods of teaching modern languages, Books on phonetics and other aids to correct pronunciation, Histories of literature, Journals for the teacher, Dictionaries, Grammar and supplementary grammatical aids, Miscellaneous reference books), *The Teacher in the Class Room* (Newspapers and periodicals for class room use or for outside reading, Illustrative material, Outline courses and examinations), *The Teacher outside the Class Room* (Songs, Games, School Theatricals, Reading outside the class room, International correspondence between schools, School libraries), *Appendix* (Addresses of American dealers, publishers and importers mentioned in the bulletin, Addenda, Index). In the *Editorial* in Volume IV, 3 of *Scandinavian Studies and Notes* I have pointed out the need of bibliographical helps of this type for the use of our teachers of Scandinavian. We hope that some of our contributors will undertake this most important task; bibliographies (and any other helpful comment) for any one of the Scandinavian languages or for any special phase of one of the languages would be welcome.

A. LOUIS ELMQUIST.

November, 1917.

46

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THE ENGLISH ELEMENT IN SWEDISH ROMANTICISM

Fransosen och Engelsmannen

FRANSOSEN

*Denna scen är för rå, och denna frasen för nedrig.
Väl är den liflig och sann; smaken den sårar likväl.*

ENGELSMANNEN

*Er ja, och edra härmares smak!—Men mins dock att icke
Hos oss en Akademi slagit det sköna i jern.*

Hammarskjöld

Sweden is usually thought to be aristocratic and conservative, but at the same time partial to things foreign. The study of outside influences in Swedish literature, therefore, offers a field of unique interest and often presents problems of the utmost com-

¹ This paper deals primarily with the English influence upon the philosophizing group of Romanticists known as the Fosforists (from the name of their famous periodical, the Fosforos).

In this connection, it may be in order to make a brief statement in answer to the kind review of the writer's dissertation on *The Old Norse Element in Swedish Romanticism* (Columbia University Press, 1914). This work, which purported to show first of all that the Fosforists were "thoroly imbued with Gothicism" or national tendencies, just as the "Goths" themselves, proved more convincing than the author had expected. In fact, two readers at least believed that the writer intended to obliterate the traditional distinction between Goths and Fosforists in every particular. Not at all! Even in their glorification of the national element, their methods were different. But the members of the so-called Gothic School confined their efforts within national lines, for the most part, and represented a more homogeneous group as far as aspirations were concerned. The more studious and heterogeneous groups of Fosforists, on the other hand, were not only national in their sympathies but also international. They were pro-everything except French classicism. In general, then, the Goths preferred to remain Goths only; while the Fosforists were both Goths and a vast number of other things besides. The national element was only a part of the Fosforistic program, but the absolute value of this part compared extremely favorably, and often surpassed, the work of the Goths. Naturally, a sharp line of distinction between the two groups can never be drawn.

plexity. The geographical position of Sweden, also, helps to make this study both intricate and fascinating. An influence from abroad may be slow in coming—for it has a long, and often difficult road to travel,—but it is all the more liable to come with an accumulated violence which is unknown elsewhere; and having once broken thru and been adopted by some leading group of writers, it is still more slow to leave. This is well illustrated by the history of Romanticism in Sweden.

During the last two or three decades, stimulated by a pride in the ever increasing number of prominent Swedish writers of both sexes, native scholars have devoted, successfully, a great deal of time and thought to critical investigations of Swedish literature, and not a small part of them deal particularly with foreign influences. The conclusion seems to be that literary elements from abroad are more numerous and more deep-rooted than we at first supposed. This is especially true of the influence from England during the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

An understanding of the traditional English elements in European Romanticism is indispensable to an adequate understanding of the Romantic movement in Sweden. These elements are well known to students of comparative literature and need not be enumerated here, but it should be remembered that, to a very large extent, they came to Sweden indirectly, and principally thru Germany. In so doing, they often assumed a form which was no longer recognized as English by the time they had crossed the Baltic, since they had undergone transformation and entered into composition with other elements on the way. It is safe to say, then, that much of the foreign influence upon the Swedish Romanticists which was superficially accepted as German was fundamentally English. However, it was the Germans who had so loudly proclaimed these Romantic fundamentals from the British Isles and who had so completely made them their own; and so when the storm between the old and the new schools broke out in Sweden, we find little or no attack upon the English constituent, as such, but much upon the German. The English element was but rarely heard in the din of battle between the French and German influences.

About 1810 we have a situation something as follows. Very few Swedish writers of any kind possessed a first-hand information about the English language or literature. The omnipotent conservatives, and many others, employed French mediums to catch an occasional glimpse of England and its culture. Pope and Addison, who had exercised such an epochal influence on the Swedish periodical literature of the Dalin period, were still treated with respect, to be sure, for they had worshipped French models like the conservative Academicians themselves; but even Pope had been compelled to yield to the literary giant Voltaire. A few neutrals (i.e. neutrals in a somewhat aggressive sense) and Academicians who, like Franzen and J. G. Oxenstjerna, could read the English poets in the original, seemed to have kept their opinions and admiration to themselves. Undoubtedly they felt that the time for a public expression of enthusiasm had not yet arrived, and that it might prove unnecessarily disagreeable to themselves to proclaim English sympathies too soon. There was the all-powerful Leopold on the throne of Swedish letters, looking down upon anything really new with the utmost contempt and clinging to his pseudo-classical models with dogged tenacity! Woe to the would-be reformer who dared to offend Gustaf af Leopold! Even Geijer, who had just returned from England, kept his new literary and political impressions private for the time being, tho they were both to bear fruit later. The influence of Milton, Ossian, Thompson, Young, Gray, and Sterne upon the progenitors of Swedish Romanticism had been greatly retarded by the deaths of Lidner,² Thorild, and Kellgren, and the English element in the Swedish national movement (See Anton Blanck: *Den nordiska renässansen*, 1911) had not yet burst out into full bloom. Only one young radical, Clas Livijn, had begun in earnest to champion the cause of English letters, but his proclamations had been limited, for the most part, to his correspondence with literary friends and could not have any far-reaching influence immediately.

² When Bengt Lidner (1757-1793), in his opera *Medea*, has the heroine murder her children before the eyes of the spectators, we recognize at once new tendencies in Swedish literature. In the preface to the same opera, Lidner makes also the following revolutionary confession: "En enda rad, som är mäktig att pressa tårar, betyder oändligen mer än alla regler i Aristoteles."

Such, then, was the state of affairs when the Fosforists entered the arena as a polemic body of enthusiasts and sworn enemies of the old standards. Their chief model was the new Romantic Germany; their chief enemy Voltaire and his admirers. They also looked with favor upon Spanish and Italian works of art, as Germany did, and paid some attention to England. To give a brief but specific idea of this attention from about 1810 to 1825 is the theme of this article.

In the third part of *Illustrerad svensk litteratur-historia*, second edition, by Karl Warburg (Stockholm, 1913, p. 69), we read this statement: "Den engelska litteraturen var under årtiondet 1810-1820 rätt mycket förbisedd, frånsedt att Shakspere nu och först nu började komma till heders. . . . De svenske nyromantikerna visade sig ock som svurne Shaksperebeundrare." Nothing could be more true, as we shall see presently, but the first clause must not be interpreted too literally. To be sure, there was no widespread attempt to study all English contemporaries—the Swedish Romanticists were too busy studying German philosophy;—but on the other hand, Shakespeare was by no means the only Englishman known or lauded. Clas Livijn knew Smollett, Shenstone, and Swift. *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning*, one of the organs of the Fosforists, devotes twenty columns of its space in 1815 to Oxenstjerna's translation of *Paradise Lost*. *The Vicar of Wakefield* was not forgotten by the Swedes any more than *Robinson Crusoe*, and Dryden is heralded as the greatest writer of odes in modern times. In comparison with the insipid French authors of the same genre, he is "truly sublime." The English novel is treated at considerable length in Palmblad's article on this literary type in *Fosforos* for 1812; the Waverly poet is known; Ossian is revived; and a respectful attitude is adopted toward practically all of the modern English scholars and writers. Pope did not fare so well, for obvious reasons, but he received a great deal of negative attention, in the form of destructive criticism, from the Fosforists, and this part, tho unjustified, forms one of the most interesting phases of Swedish Romanticism.

The first Fosforist to proclaim the virtues of English literature was the above-mentioned Clas Livijn. Like so many members of the new school, he talked a good deal without transforming

his verbal eulogies into original and positive creations; but he kept on talking and writing letters about Englishmen for a whole decade at least (1802-1812), urging that they be studied more diligently, so that much of the credit for rehabilitating the interest in the British poets must be given to his curious enthusiast. This part of Livijn's work can best be followed by turning over the pages of his correspondence (especially with Hammarskjöld) of which a selected portion has been published by Hjärne and Frunck.³ Livijn, also, was eager to translate and imitate English authors, and in particular Shakespeare, but he never got beyond the mere plan or, at the most, a small fragment. Johan Mortensen in his exhaustive *Clas Livijns dramatiska författarskap*, 1911, (which is, incidentally, prefaced by a good resumé of Shakespeare in Sweden) publishes fragments of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*⁴ which were found among Livijn's posthumous papers. These show that Livijn made a serious attempt to follow the original as faithfully as possible, tho the fragments at hand show lack of polish. Livijn also commenced a translation of Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* and a kind of imitation of Richard Cumberland's *The Cholerick Man* (1774).⁵ English elements also entered into the polemics of the new school, and the writer is inclined to believe, with Mila Hallman,⁶ that Livijn had something to do with the glorification of Shakespeare in the famous *Kapten Baggfots papper*, by Hammarskjöld, in *Polyfem*.⁷

It must be admitted that in comparison with German models, the Fosforists themselves did very little to infuse English products into their own poetry or to make translations of any importance. What they did was to break the ground for others. But even here the influence is not lacking. When Elgström writes elegies, especially on a churchyard,⁸ we must think unconsciously of that

³ Rudolf Hjärne: *Dagen före drabbningen, eller nya skolan och dess män i sin uppkomst och sina förberedelser 1802-1810*. Stockholm, 1882.

Gudmund Frunck: *Bref rörande nya skolans historia 1810-1811*. Upsala, 1891.

⁴ Pp. 196-201.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁶ *Clas Livijn*, pp. 23-24.

⁷ *Första samlingen*, No. 16, 1810.

⁸ See Fosforos for 1810.

trend in Romanticism which originated with Gray, even if the direct influence is indefinite. Elgström also wrote a long dramatic fragment in iambic pentameters on *Romeo i Julias Graf*, which was published after his death in *Poetisk Kalender* for 1815⁹ and was based on an obvious source. It was neither an imitation nor a translation, according to the author, but "ett originalförsök att framställa några scener af en högre tragisk ande."¹⁰ Hammarskjöld translated the ballad *Robin Gray* into Swedish as early as 1804 and prefixed, perhaps later, an appropriate motto from *Twelfth Night* which is quoted correctly in the original.¹¹ This does not prove of course that Hammarskjöld knew much about the English language, but neither is it fair to suppose that he knew nothing about it. That Shakespeare should be honored in one of the numerous Fosforistic sonnets is not surprising;¹² among the *xenia* in *Polyfem* he was remembered also;¹³ Hammarskjöld devotes a strong epigram to praise the English at the expense of the French;¹⁴ and the leader of the Fosforists, Atterbom, tried with considerable success to penetrate the spirit of Ossian in his *Sångerna i Selma; Fantasi efter Ossian*.¹⁵ Karl Warburg has pointed out the influence of Walter Scott and Gray upon Geijer,¹⁶ who had so much in common with the Fosforists during his early life, and later Geijer voiced the sentiment of the whole Swedish Romantic movement about Ossian in his article on the introduction of Norse myths into art, which appeared in *Iduna* for 1817:

⁹ Pp. 6-24.

¹⁰ P. 6.

¹¹ *Poetiska Studier*, Stockholm, 1813, p. 148.

¹² *Poetisk Kalender* for 1821, p. 205.

¹³

Shakespeare

Skräckliga vålnad, hvi nalkas du oss? DIN KROPP ÄR JU LUDEN?

"Min? du skämtar." Jo visst, så har Euripides sagt.

"Han om Julias målare?" Ja, notabene den svenske—

ÖRONEN SÅRAR DIN RÖST, PLUMP ÄR DIN HÖGA KOTHURN!

"Underligt nog! I Sverige alltså är Euripides nyfödd?"

Ja, du gamle barbar! helsa din Schlegel, och gå!

Första samlingen, No. 24.

¹⁴ See motto at the head of this paper.

¹⁵ Printed in *Poetisk Kalender* for 1817.

¹⁶ *Illustrerad svensk litteratur-historia*, III, second edition, p. 106.

*Med hvilken hänryckning emottogs ej till exempel, Ossian i hela Europa! Det var, som om de skära, fast dystra och enformiga tonerna från denna det svårmodiga Nordens Eolsharpa, åter hörda bland ett öfverförfinadt släkte, hade först å nyö väckt aningen om någon ting ursprungligt, naturkraftigt i all poesi och bildningsgåfva. Och hur har ej sedermera detta intressa nästan omfattat alla åldrar och länder!*¹⁷

The more formal and distinct attitude of the Fosforists toward English writers is naturally found in their periodical literature, and may be grouped under polemics, printed discussions, and reviews. These are found mostly in *Polysem* and *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning*, while *Fosforos* and *Poetisk Kalender*, contain original poems, prose articles, and translations. Since it is the function of polemics to give the battle-cry and if necessary to break down old ramparts before the new can be constructed, the vehicle of this part of the movement naturally comes first. This vehicle is *Polysem*, and in the ninth number for 1810 (Första samlingen) we have at once something about English poets.

The Swedish Romanticists were inclined to condemn everything French, except Rousseau, and extol everything else; but sympathizers and imitators of the old French school were handled just as unmercifully as Corneille, Racine, or Voltaire themselves. Thus it happens that our first references to English belles lettres are unfavorable. The attack is directed against Pope, Addison, and Samuel Johnson, and is found among the well-known satirical papers of Captain Baggfot.

The captain had long been in the English service, but thanks to his French "Classici" his taste had remained untainted while

¹⁷ P. 98 Cf. the following tribute to Ossian in the fifth Song of *Passionerna* by Thomas Thorild (1759-1808):

*Sådan var du, O Ossian: lyft mig himmelska rysning!
Ossian, skaldernas konung! för hvilken naturen står hörsam,
Ack! för hvilken Homerus försvinner och Voltaire är inlet!
Milton spänner sin fygts och svindlar och hinner dig icke!
Hvem kan följa dig skald? —Från stjernorna klinga din harpa
Med de odödligas ack! tillbaka. Häpnande tystnar
Himlarnes eviga harmoni. O Ossian, Ossian!*

Thorild intended to translate Ossian and took up subscriptions for the purpose, but his translation never appeared.

in England. "I was also," the captain writes, "during my brief sojourn in London, one of the most ardent to show the Englishmen that only with Pope, Addison, and Samuel Johnson did they receive a glimpse of true poetry. Because in Pope's *Essay on Man* the same rational spirit rules as in *Désastre de Lisbonne* [by Voltaire] and other Discours. Addison's *Cato* is adorned by that same ceremonious stiffness, the same bons-tons regularity, and the same rhetorical declamation which make the tender Racine's tragedies so full of pathos. And if the English will only continue to follow in the foot-steps of these great men and pay attention to the just remark of the profound Johnson concerning the essentiality and usefulness of rime, they will soon elevate their poetry to the same somniferous excellence which characterizes the French."

Pope was the English target par excellence for the unscrupulous, polemic shafts of the Swedish radicals. Not infrequently he is coupled with Voltaire and lashed. In *Polyfem*¹⁸ we have an ingenious article on *Amarullis resa till poeternas land*. Monsieur Anacreon, in this "land of poets," after listening to a horrible translation of himself [i.e. by Amarullij]¹⁹ changes color and leaves the company, but regains his composure and offers to take Amarulli around to the other poets as a sort of reparation for his outburst of temper. As Amarulli and his distinguished cicerone walk thru the city, they come to a large portal over which two figures are dangling: one is a tall, emaciated individual with pointed nose and a night-cap; the other is a small, hunch-backed creature. To his great astonishment, Amarulli recognizes Voltaire and Pope. Just then a wind knocked their heads together so that a dull, hollow sound was heard, and a thick substance emitted, which proved to be rimes of which these creatures were wholly composed. One was there for having attempted to translate Homer; the other for ruining his age and stifling the public spirit. Once a year, however, they were taken down and satiated with nectar in return for the real poetry in the *Rape of the Lock* and a few passages in *La Pucelle d'Orléans*.

¹⁸ *Första samlingen*, Nos. 15 and 16.

¹⁹ Amarulli was a nick-name for Johan David Valerius (1776-1852). The Fosforists ridiculed him for moralizing his drinking songs.

Amarulli's second great astonishment is to find a peculiarly happy fellow "in Spanish dress, with long, dark, uncombed and unpowdered hair" in the land of poets—Shakespeare. Preposterous! And on the right hand side of the presiding officer, Homer! Think of Shakespeare, whom the Swedish literary dictator had called "the wildman of literature," in the land of true taste! Our friend's amazement is ridiculed; to prove his own genius he displays a number of medals [received from the Swedish Academy], but to no avail: he is condemned to read all of his own works once every day with "undivided attention," whereupon he immediately sends a solemn warning to all his friends of kindred mind not to write another line. It is unnecessary to state that Amarulli also found Milton in the land of poets.

By far the greatest service which the Fosforists rendered to the cause of English literature in Sweden was their unqualified deification of Shakespeare. In Sweden such a service was really necessary. It was the last of the civilized countries to translate his works *and publish them*. The directors of the Royal Theatre were of course prejudiced against him, and altho some of his dramas had been translated in part in the provinces and had been staged in Norrköping and Göteborg, no work was printed in full until Geijer's translation of *Macbeth* appeared in 1813 and no Shakespearean play was admitted to the stage in Stockholm until *Hamlet* was played in 1819.²⁰ Even then the translators felt compelled to make changes and omissions so as not to offend an overrefined audience. Sweden had not had a Storm and Stress movement with great geniuses like Lessing, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe to proclaim the new gospel and this made the undertaking more hazardous. Professor Neikter at Uppsala had lauded the English dramatists in his lectures (which may have influenced Geijer), but he could not hope to control the taste at the capital.

²⁰ Cf. Gustaf N. Swan: *Shakespeare in Sweden*, in *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, II, No. 1, pp. 50-52.

According to *Journal för Litteraturen och Teatern* for Oct. 1812, Shakespeare did make an insignificant début in Stockholm as early as 1812. On Oct. 20 Fru Schutz impersonated Lady Macbeth in pantomime (in two scenes, including the sleep-walking scene) and Miranda, from *The Tempest*, in a scene where she sees Ferdinand.

A more comprehensive campaign was needed, with some noise, much courage, and absolute conviction. The Fosforists conducted this campaign with the utmost vigor in their periodicals. The initial proclamations were launched, as we have seen, in *Polysem* and were continued later in *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning*.

Polysem calls Shakespeare "berg-stor" and "kämpe-stark," a martyr in modern literature, and is convinced that Shakespeare alone would put English efforts in the tragedy above those of all other nations. The form of the Swedish panegyric on this great Englishman is often borrowed from the German, such as in the comparison between *Faust* and *Hamlet*,²¹ but there is little doubt that the essential contents have been verified. Goethe is great because he ranks with Shakespeare or surpasses *him*; he is great because he combines within himself Shakespeare and Euripides.²² The Avon tragedian is an artist and virtuoso to be named along with Rafael, Petrarch, or Sophocles. In *Polysem* for 1811,²³ the directors of the theatre in Stockholm are violently attacked for not including in their repertory certain German and English masterpieces. *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Wallenstein*, and *Torquato Tasso*, in the order named, are recommended for imitation and adoption. In the next number (the double-number, 21-22), *Polysem* asserts that "Brittannia's political and literary greatness was established simultaneously by the defeat of the [Spanish] Armada and by [the appearance of] the Prince of the drama, Shakespeare." The reason why England had a "golden age" of French taste, with Pope, Addison, and Johnson, was that there was no longer a Shakespeare.²⁴

In *Fosforos* Atterbom and Palmblad continue to extol the genius of Shakespeare in their prose contributions. Atterbom seems tolerably well acquainted with English literature in general and Shakespeare holds the foreground. He is the "absolute idealism of Romanticism," the depth and totality of the Romantic art, while southern poetry represents its realism. In Shakespeare we find the "incomprehensible depth and infinite life of the spirit,"

²¹ *Tredje samlingen*, No. 31.

²² See *Till Sophie* in *Fosforos* for 1810.

²³ *Fjerde samlingen*, No. 20.

²⁴ *Femte samlingen*, No. 39.

according to Atterbom, the embodiment of the new dramatic ideals. The Swedish Romantic chief understands these also and contrasts them with the fate idea of the ancients. "Everything with Shakespeare is freedom, spirit, and development of the human heart. You can see the greatness or confusion of humanity which is left to itself and to its own power."²⁵ Atterbom never hesitates to quote from the Englishman or to recommend him to others. Palmblad, also, seems to have grasped the fundamental theories of the great dramatist. He compares Shakespeare and Pope and attacks Leopold for wishing to be a Voltaire or a Pope. The latter was of all English poets the least English, i.e. least true to nature. "It is true," continues Palmblad in a review, "that in Shakespeare, where every individual in the human order or society has a place, and every effect, every feeling in the human soul its language, there is much that is unsuitable for our theatres, which nowadays are mere mirrors of our miseries and our most tiresome daily routine. But he who had read his *Romeo and Juliet*, his drama *As You Like It*, will soon be convinced that no author has yet surpassed Shakespeare in keenness, delicacy, and urbanity."²⁶

The Swedish Romanticists were most interested in Shakespeare's treatment of "det underbara." No Swede or anybody else had ever been able to put such effective and sensible ghosts upon the stage as Shakespeare. Here was something brand new to advertise and the Fosforists were not slow to ridicule the tame efforts of the Gustavians and later Academicians to produce the effect of terror by words. Here there were real spirits to be found, both friendly and unfriendly; here was a dramatist of the people who could handle the supernatural with some sense, and by subordinating the unreal to the real increase the spectator's feeling of pleasure or terror. Here, then, was a trump-card to play, and the earlier discussions of Shakespeare center around plays with supernatural elements: *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Midsummer Night's Dream*. It could hardly be a mere accident that these were read first and maybe were the only ones well known for a time. It happened also that *Macbeth* was the first to be printed

²⁵ *Fosforos*, 1810, p. 172.

²⁶ *Fosforos*, 1811, p. 44.

in Swedish, as we have noted, and that *Hamlet* was the first to be acted.

A whole number of *Polysem* for 1810 is devoted to "Shakespeare's treatment of the Marvellous," from Tieck, and is supplemented by a specimen translation in the original meter from *Midsummer Night's Dream*.²⁷ It is undoubtedly translated from the German original, which contains the same passage, and, altho it has no great value intrinsically, it does have a certain historical importance, being the second fragment of Shakespeare to appear in Swedish print. The passage is taken from act III, scene 2, and begins as follows:

Puck

*Det bör, o Andedrott! med första föras ut.
Ren drakarne som dra den bruna nattens vagn
Med hast de tjocka molnen sönderdelat;
Och der i Östern synes ren Auroras
Förlöpare, vid hvilkens ankomst de
Kropplöse spökerna ren återvändt
Till sina grafvar. o.s.v.*

This bit of translation is not mentioned by Warburg in his *Illustrerad svensk litteratur-historia*; neither are two monologs from *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* which appeared the following year in the organ of the Academicians, and to which we shall return later. Warburg says:

*Frånsedt en enstaka scen ur Coriolanus, trycktes icke någon Shaksperetolkning förrän Geijers öfversättning af Macbeth år 1813 såg dagen.*²⁸

It seems, then, as if this statement should be slightly modified. Apparently Warburg did not consider any of the above-mentioned fragments important enough to mention and simply ignored them. But all three are reproduced in blank verse, all are serious beginnings to introduce Shakespeare in print, and all appeared before 1813.

In *Fosforos* for 1812, we find an illuminating contrast between Shakespeare's method and that of P. A. Granberg, one of the leading Swedish dramatists of the old school. It pertains, again, to

²⁷ *Polysem, andra samlingen*, No. 10.

²⁸ *Illustrerad svensk litteratur-historia*, II, 2. Stockholm, 1897, p. 790.

the use of the supernatural element and gives us the view-point of the Fosforists. The occasion is a review of Granberg's dramatic works, and in particular of a comedy in three acts entitled: *Andesvärjningen*, in which a colonel consults the spirits to select a suitable mate for his rich and beautiful daughter. Aside from the ridiculousness of this in itself, we have this footnote appended which had best be quoted in the original:

“Om Herr Granberg har något sinne för andeverlden, och ej låt sig fjettras af fördomar, skulle han of Shakespeares Sommarnattsdröm hämta mycken uppbyggelse, äfvensom af Hamlet och Macbeth, om han ville hexa med allvar och framställa något förskräckligare än sitt ‘bäfve! bäfve! bäfve!’²⁹

Perhaps the significance of the Fosforists' relation to English literature can be better understood by a summary of their adversaries' attitude toward things English. There was never a real battle between the two contending parties about the position of English culture in Swedish letters; what there was faded, as we have mentioned, in comparison with the general struggle between pseudo-classicism and German philosophy, and neither side recognized the English element enough to make it conspicuous. And so the conservatives in their polemics never accepted the challenge of the Fosforists in this matter, in so far as there was any, and proceeded cautiously in their own way instead of using a bass-drum method like the Romanticists.

The Academicians did not all have the same attitude toward outside elements. It may be stated in general that, with the exception of Leopold, none of the members of the old school were openly hostile to English influence. But Leopold, a very able writer, indeed, was a conservative of the most extreme type, who, for example, had no faith in Shakespeare's local color. His above-mentioned derogatory epithet concerning Shakespeare (see p. 8) had undoubtedly a seriously retarding effect upon the Englishman's admission to the Swedish capital. Leopold's friends tried later to explain, but their interpretations were rejected as insincere. Many who secretly admired Shakespeare's dramatic virtues were afraid to proclaim their faith openly, lest they be thrust from their

²⁹ *Fosforos* for 1812, p. 78.

pedestal by their leader. We can gather some interesting information on the subject from the periodicals of the old school, of which the *Journal för Litteraturen och Teatern* and *Allmänna Journalen* have been available to the writer.

These journals contain spasmodic references to the political and economical affairs of England, and here and there we notice a brief article on a literary topic from the same place. Occasionally extracts of English poetry are translated; but they are lost sight of in the mass of miscellanies, and nothing is introduced which would tend to revolutionize the traditional esthetic theories. The didactic poets of Johnson's generation are most in vogue and Pope, naturally, is best known and most often quoted and translated. Cowper also comes in for a share of the glory, and Swift's satirical humor appeals to *Allmänna Journalen*.³⁰ A part of Thompson's *Seasons* is reproduced in hexameters,³¹ and a borrowed article about Ossian tolerates a moderate amount of the marvellous in Mac Pherson's bard, but discourages imitations of him in Swedish. The beautiful and sublime would become grotesque and the original, strange (*besynnerlig*).³² Much of the information about England is very superficial and imported via France; there is little original attempt to study first-hand sources. Occasional, encyclopedic

³⁰ *Det nävva' svaret (Efter Swift)*

Säg, frågde Stella, Herr Magister,
Då äktenskapet heligt är,
Hvarföre det i himlen brister
Bland sällheter som finnas der?—
Jo, hördes strax Magistern svara,
Der måste inga qvinnor vara.—
Helt visst de äro der som mest,
Skrek hon—men finna ingen Prest.

No. 45 (23 Feb. 1815)

³¹ For instance, the following three lines:

But happy they! The happiest of their kind!
Whom gentler stars unite, and in one fate
Their Hearts, their Fortunes, and their Beings blend.

become in Swedish:

Endaste lycka, sällaste lott of alla på jorden:
Lyckliga makars lott, dem blida stjernor förena,
Ena till hjertan och öden och väsen, innerligt, evigt!

³² *Journal f. Litt. o. T.*, No. 229 (Oct. 1, 1810).

lists of recent English books appear, however, (with titles translated for the benefit of the public) and now and then a sketchy outline of literary history, and the editorial staff of the *Journal* must have had at least one member who could read English with some facility. The English newspapers and periodicals begin to be known and quoted. There is some interest in the London theatre and some facts and anecdotes about its actors, but little or no space is given to the plays themselves or their authors. The Academic press was more interested in the price of admission and in the royalties of the playwrights. But to return to Shakespeare.

In October, 1811, the *Journal för Litteraturen och Teatern* begins to show a certain favor toward new impressions; a favor which is more than a mere lukewarmness, and which could probably not have come about entirely without influence from the propaganda of the Romanticists. This is the *Journal's* attitude toward blank verse and Shakespeare. The early history of blank verse in Sweden had been a bit tempestuous. Now in an article on the monolog in the drama,³³ the editor illustrates by examples from *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*—again we have quotations from the two plays which interested the Fosforists the most—and calls *Macbeth's* monolog in II, 1 “terribly beautiful.” Not everybody can venture upon such monologs, says the editor, and proceeds to translate portions of them in the original meter.³⁴ These portions are important enough to be noted in the history of Shakespeare in Sweden. His genius, therefore, is at least recognized in the dramatic soliloquy, and a few lines from a familiar passage will be of interest to the reader:

*Att vara, eller icke—det är frågan:—
Om det är mera stort att slafviskt lida
Det orättvisa ödets marter, eller
Att väpna sig mot detta haf af smärtor
Och genom motstånd göra slut på dem?
Att dö!—att sofva! mera är det icke.*

But a stately, eloquent monolog could hardly illustrate Shakespeare as a whole; naturally, this part of his art was least removed from the form and taste of the French classics. External action

³³ Nos. 243 and 245.

³⁴ Cf. above, p. 11.

is here reduced to a minimum, and so we do not get much after all that could alter the prevalent conceptions or offend even the most conservative worshipper of French culture.

Some little progress in the study of Shakespeare in Academician circles is made in 1816, when *Allmänna Journalen* devotes several pages to George Scheutz's translation of *Julius Caesar*. Little attention had been paid by the old school to Geijer's translation of *Macbeth*. But here was an elevated subject which would be suitable in any salon. The article is not a review in any deep sense, but a diplomatic comparison, by means of citations, of Shakespeare's tragedy and Voltaire's *Le Mort de César*. Large portions of both are quoted and the reader is left to judge for himself. Both authors are geniuses, says the reviewer, who know the world and its characters; they are alike in poetic power, in a lively imagination, and in a rich power of invention, but difference in their culture and age precludes the possibility of parallelism in their tragedies. Somehow we feel that the correspondent is suppressing his own delight in Shakespeare's work, and tries not to commit himself, but betimes an opinion leaks out. "Everything which is real action is far more original, energetic, [and] more natural [with Shakespeare] than with Voltaire." There are fetters of rules in Voltaire, the reviewer confesses, and his minor characters are less interesting than those of Shakespeare; but on the other hand, this English dramatist does not possess that "big Caesarean method" which the reviewer would attribute to the famous Frenchman. However, life as reproduced in Shakespeare's time could not be reproduced now. Shakespeare had to depict his own age, says the critic cleverly; hence Leopold's characterization of Shakespeare as "the wildman of literature" meant nothing more than an unsophisticated son of nature.³⁵ Most of the review deals with the merits of the original. As for the translation itself, the judgment is favorable and the undertaking deemed praiseworthy.

In order to find thoroughness and enthusiasm in the recognition of Shakespeare, we have to revert to the Fosforists' reviews in the more literary and homogeneous *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning* whose chief editors were Palmblad and Hammarskjöld. Here,

³⁵ This explanation came too late and was discounted by the Romanticists. Cf. above, p. 8 and 12.

and here only, we meet actual, constructive criticism of English literature, undaunted courage of convictions, broad, first-hand knowledge, and earnest thought and labor. Translation of Shakespeare's plays are reviewed with the utmost conscientiousness, often line by line, quoting both the original and the translation if necessary, and making plausible suggestions of improvement. Omissions in themselves are not unjustly condemned, but rather the atmosphere of Swedish society which make such omissions imperative. The reviewer of Geijer's translation of *Macbeth*³⁰ believes rightly that *Julius Caesar* would have best served the purpose to introduce Shakespeare to the Swedish public, since Caesar's world was better known. As late as 1819, *Hamlet* was changed into a dismembered prose version before the directors of the theatre dared present it. A Frenchified audience might easily misinterpret certain scenes from *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* and actually believe that Shakespeare was uncivilized.

Eulogies on Shakespeare abound everywhere in these Romantic reviews, and all are strong without being foolishly flattering. The conclusion is that Shakespeare is not equalled by any other dramatist, much less excelled. He must be judged as a whole and all parts must be seen in their proper connection. Shakespeare is neither uncouth, bizarre, nor barbarian; but a dramatist who follows his own plan with the greatest regularity: the development of the inner man. In Greek tragedy we find a plastic group representing an historical episode; while Shakespeare's work resembles more an historical painting in the modern sense, in the form of a dialogized novel. It represents a "complete anthropology" of life in all its forms of regularity and confusion.

In 1815, J. G. Oxenstjerna, who had been brought up on French classics, surprised his contemporaries by publishing a translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. This undertaking is hailed and heralded with unmitigated delight by the Fosforists in *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning* for December of the same year. Again we have an extensive, instructive review by one who has investigated his subject for himself. There is naturally more about Milton than about Oxenstjerna's translation of him, and the review is prefaced by

* July, 1813, Nos. 26 and 29.

a concise resumé of French and English influence on Swedish literature during the eighteenth century. Not until lately, we are told, have the "genuine, original" English productions been allowed to enter Sweden. Those who had formerly condemned Thorild for his love of Milton are now in turn bitterly attacked. The reviewer believes that Swedish literature has won a great gain by this translation and hopes that the translator will soon turn his attention to other English masterpieces like *Romeo and Juliet*.

The nature of the poetic genre of *Paradise Lost* is discussed at some length in this review. The *Litteratur-Tidning* finds that it is decidedly dramatic, since the action is limited, and altho we may criticise the descriptive "epopee" as an organic whole, the details are of high excellence. Nothing appealed more to the Swedish critic than the description of Adam and Eve and the profound allegory in the parental relation of Devil, Sin and Death. But like many other critics, he doubts whether Milton's poem can be called "divine" when the real hero is Satan. Neither is Milton's Satan a genuine spirit of evil since he possesses several virtues worthy of worship. The real devil can be found only in Goethe's heartless Mephisto. The invention, "original beauties," "the heroic symphonies," the rhetorical sublimity, the choice of antitheses, and the solemn character of *Paradise Lost* are all noted, as are also its lack of variation and its overcharge of geographical, archeological, and astrological erudition.

The hostile attitude of the Romanticists toward Pope continued as long as their battle against the old standards. This is clearly exemplified in the *Litteratur-Tidning* for Jan. 22, 1820, in the review of J. M. Stjernstolpe's translation of *The Rape of the Lock*. The Fosforists, however, had once, in *Polyfem*,³⁷ conceded a certain value to this particular production and were ready to give it some kind of notice. The reviewer still believes that *The Rape of the Lock* is "undoubtedly the most poetic product of the much overrated Pope." But that does not mean much. Pope has no originality and no imagination, he asserts, the machinery of the poem in question is borrowed, and Swedish literature would not have suffered much even if Stjernstolpe had not subjected

³⁷ Cf. above, p. 8.

himself to all the inconveniences of a translation. The general character of the review, then, is unfavorably prejudiced, as far as inner content goes. But our radical cannot deny a certain excellence of technique. The merit of Pope's poem lies in its form and language, he says, in an easy and pleasant [external] tone, and in a certain elegant irony; the merit of the translation—which is good—is to be found in the adaptation of the Swedish language to elegant humor.

The Swedish Romanticists endeavored seriously to fathom the essence of the English novel, and, in the study of this type, to deduce some characteristics of Englishmen in general and of their government. In the beginning the Fosforists were very favorably inclined toward the British novelists, not to say idealistic, and carefully registered all adverse judgments in the form of dialog, without drawing any hard and fast conclusions. The Swedes regarded England as an ideal state, where the practical and the Romantic elements either went hand in hand mechanically or were happily united in a more organic combination. Romanticism, as defined by the Swedish converts, prevailed in England in spite of unparalleled economic and political development. Later this general idea changed somewhat when more recent and inferior novels were examined. Microscopic examination of specific novels often led then to deductions of national traits in the English people which were not always favorable. The discussions of the novel are not without interest and parts of them are decidedly original and illuminating. It will repay us to quote from Palmblad's treatise on the character and history of the novel in *Fosforos* for 1812.³⁸

The "Romantic" (i.e. Roman-tic in the Swedish historico-philological sense, the essential, traditional element in the "roman" or novel) consists in a "union of enthusiasm for religion and love, and is nowadays, next to the bird Phenix, the rarest of everything rare."³⁹ After the poetry of the old *romances* had been replaced by prose and had become "a narrative of the marvellous," the really romantic element degenerated in many countries except in Spain and *England*. "Also, among the Englishmen, a proud and powerful people, who resemble the ancient

³⁸ Pp. 97-170.

³⁹ P. 116.

republics in their government and character, the romantic element fought for a long time with the economical. But instead of perishing, as it did in other civilized nations, it won, tho overpowered, an honorable reconciliation." "That is strange," remarked Carl, —for this part is in dialog form—"I have always believed that the romantic spirit was entirely extinguished in this crass realistic, commercial state." "In that you are very wrong," answered Edward hastily; "insofar as magnanimity, heroism, severity in principles, and love of fatherland are romantic qualities in an age when these are scarecely to be found outside of England and the Pyrenean peninsula." "The victory of the economic [spirit] in England has not destroyed this heroism, which, nevertheless, was one of the chief elements of the romantic."⁴⁰ To the Swedish Romanticists, English is often the antonym of French, and so here. "Why French-ness," says Palmblad thru the mouth of an interlocutor, "consists in a negation of everything English."⁴¹ The French have grace, humor, lightheartedness; the English *depth*, in a romantic plan. Thus far English novels as a whole are preferred to the French, tho they are more voluminous. The French are "fina" and "nätta."

In connection with romantic narrative and "dialogized hero-biographies," we have the following comment on Shakespeare and England: "That the new drama should be born particularly in England may be explained from the fact that a real theatre is possible only in a state which either is a republic already or is on the way to become one. Because a poetic genre whose chief element is action can become national poetry only where the civil life is public. Thus in Athens; thus in Britannia."⁴² Finally we get more specific criticisms.

" 'When it comes to English wit,' said August, 'I place Swift first, Shakespeare of course excepted. And yet, even Swift's ironical wit is not general or universal enough; it is seldom poetic and in his bitterness the dark gall is much too obvious.'⁴³

⁴⁰ Pp. 118-119.

⁴¹ Pp. 127-128.

⁴² P. 120.

⁴³ P. 125.

Then we have a large number of names mentioned which the speaker confesses he knows nothing about, and probably will not know for a long time to come. But he knows of the "stiff lords and misses" of Mrs. d'Arblay and of the "triumvirate of Richardson's cardinal virtues." A "poetic idea" is found in Lewis' *Monk*, and the *Vicar of Wakefield* is a "national book" whose great merits are its portrayal of character. The same is true of Fielding's *Tom Jones* and *Joseph Andrews*, where, in addition, the comico-burlesque plays its most brilliant rôle on the British Isle. At times we find coal-smoke, says Palmblad, in the English works of genius, but almost all have a carefully prepared plan and a depth and richness in characters which is true only of the very best *masterpieces* of other nations. But the action is slow, the conversation endless, and most of the machinery in the form of letters. " 'I don't like the English novels in general,' said Castania; 'they are altogether too long, slow, and monotonous. [For example], a country girl comes to London (for sooner could a fish do without water than an English novelist do without the capital); there she gets a lord for a lover, with whom she drinks tea; in the meantime another is enamored of the beauty and abducts her; then my lord is of course on hand at once and delivers her; then they drink tea again, have breakfast together, and attend balls and masquerades. As a rule, it is only in the variation of obstacles encountered by the two lovers, that the Englishman's skill is exhibited.' "44

After a few years, the early optimistic attitude toward the average English novel disappears almost entirely. It had been shattered, it seems, by the reading of Mrs. Sheridan and Dr. Smollett, and now the Swedes become suspicious of Englishmen in general. One thing is certain to the Swedish critics: English writers should never attempt to localize a novel in the Orient. In 1818 Mrs. Sheridan's *Nourjahad* appeared in Swedish translation and was reviewed in the *Litteratur-Tidning* for Feb. 6, 1819. The review is very unfavorable. Of all peoples, Englishmen are least adapted to write Oriental stories, is the candid opinion of the Swedish critic. As a result, there is not a shade of Persian customs or method of thought in Mrs. Sheridan's work. But

" P. 126.

how could there be, the reviewer asks? Englishmen do not have the necessary imagination which belongs to southern races; they lack that ironical lightness of good French writers such as Diderot and Voltaire (which is a startling acknowledgement); and have neither the power of invention nor the art of understanding and presenting different natures and moods which is found in German Oriental poetry. The invention is trivial and, "as usual," the catastrophe is based on a dream. "The British try to compensate for this shortcoming by a dry, insipid, and unpalatable morality."

In a brief review of Smollett's *Roderick Random's Adventures*, in the same periodical, Sept. 27, 1824, the Romantic critic, curiously enough, has reverted entirely to French models, as far as the novel is concerned. The last page of *Roderick Random* is the best, because it is the last one. It is so loosely constructed that, except for the first and last, the chapters might be read in any order. It is rich in episodes and characters, however, tho the later are exaggerated enough to resemble English caricatures, and the autobiographical element—Smollett had been a surgeon on a battleship—appeals to the reviewer. But the author wishes to impart a moral value to his hero, tho he has none, "and just for this reason the English novel is so much more demoralizing (*fördervande*) than the French": a significant confession for a Romanticist. In the interim Walter Scott had been introduced in Sweden.

Scott, who was destined to exert an appreciable influence on the Swedish historical novel, was little known in Swedish circles until Romanticism, as a militant movement, had practically disappeared. But after 1820 the Fosforists begin to pay some attention to this Scotchman also. *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning* for June 17, 1822 announces translations of Scott's novels, including *Ivanhoe*, tho it gives no review. The following year, the same organ, in connection with a review of Lady Morgan's novels and travelogs, comments on the "painting" and action in Walter Scott. The *Litteratur-Tidning* still believes that English novels are too monotonous and have too little action. In 1825, however, Scott is recognized as the foremost English contemporary, and the translation of *Halidon Hill*, a slight dramatic composition on a theme from late medieval history, is welcomed with appropriate fervor; not because the translation is good, but because the original reveals

a great creative genius, with true portraits, a deep *characteristik*, and rich variety. In fact, here is an author, in the opinion of the critic, whose genius should not be soiled in translation by the prosaic and academic labors of a school boy.⁴⁵

In general, however, Swedish Romanticists paid but scanty attention to English poets of the younger generation. For a long time Thomas Moore and Robert Southey were little more than mere names to them. In 1823 Burns is described briefly as a "nature-painting poet, who writes mostly in the Scotch dialect which the Englishmen themselves do not understand."⁴⁶ Shelley was represented merely as the "ill-famed" companion of Byron who liked to pose as an atheist and was finally drowned.

—During the third decade another Swedish periodical had appeared, the *Argus*, which championed the cause of the modern English poets, and in particular of Byron. This literary organ did not appear under Romantic auspices, as such; therefore it had to be considered as something more than a friendly rival of the *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning*, and the editors of the latter would naturally scrutinize the functions of a newcomer with some suspicion and much alertness. The Romanticists soon believed they had found a vulnerable spot in the attitude of the *Argus* toward the work of Lord Byron, and made the most of this opportunity.

It appears from the character of the reply—the writer has not had the opportunity to examine the publication at first hand—that the *Argus* had recommended Byron to the Swedish public in alarmingly strong terms. Thereupon the *Litteratur-Tidning*, in five numbers,⁴⁷ takes issue with the *Argus* on the advisability of such a recommendation. In the very beginning the articles of attack are comparatively moderate in tone. It is clear that much adverse criticism may be attributed to ignorance and misunderstanding, and, altho Byron is stamped as selfish, his genius and popularity are recognized; and his melancholy, his longing after lost friends, and the subjectivity of his poetry finds a ready

⁴⁵ The name of the translator is not given. See *Sv. Litt.-Tidning* for March 3, 1825.

⁴⁶ *Sv. Litt.-Tidning* for 1823, p. 72.

⁴⁷ Nos. 5, 6, 9, for 1823 and Nos. 94 and 96 for 1825.

response in Romantic hearts. But the Swedish Romanticists were not always as ready to worship the unusual and the unhealthy as their German brothers are supposed to have been. And so Byron is soon attacked with the utmost concern, and apparently with the firm conviction that he was a dangerous influence. Characterizations like the following are rarely given for the sake of mere argument.

Lord Byron becomes to the *Svensk Litteratur-Tidning* the prophet of all those whose souls are captive in fetters of materialism, doubt, and demonism. Byron's name has resounded over "half Europe" for a "demi-decade." But can this "absolute Ur-desease cure sentimentality in Swedish literature as advocated by *Argus the Second*?"⁴⁸ The more gigantic the author, the more dangerous is his product. Byron is the poetic representative of evil, of moral and intellectual misery, and of a distorted future, who celebrates the Dark Powers in "mocking triumph." *Don Juan*, which had been hailed as the most excellent poem in modern literature, is irreligious and immoral, and can not be called beautiful as a whole. It is a mixture of "insipid trivialties" and "astounding monstrosities." The author is a master of invention of imagination, of thought, and of externalities; but also in the portrayal of things awful and repulsive, while the inside of *Don Juan* is rotten to the core and is evidence of a misplaced genius. Byron's paintings of nature are rightly praised; he can write sublime poetry if he only will; but he caters to the mob that wants a chaotic mixture of pleasure and hideousness. The result is that beauty and ugliness exist side by side, and the poet, vampire-like, pulls up corpses to give us a nauseating cynicism and libertinism. A final quotation in the original Swedish will best illustrate the attitude of the Fosforists toward Lord Byron:

"Men just dessa monstrositeter, denna convulsiviskt skakande poetiska feber-yrsel, som dock lita litet är poem som helsa, denna slitning af skärande ljud, denna orkanlikt frambrusande ton-ström, der en och annan melodi af himmelskt behag råkat vilse in i ett virrvarr af ohyggliga dissonanser, som skalden aldrig bemödar sig att harmoniskt upplösa (emedan han tvertom just i dem sätter sin egentliga

⁴⁸ It will be remembered that Dalin's famous periodical, 1733-1734, bore the name of *Then Svenska Argus*.

lust och ära)—*dessa egenskaper äro de, som reta något litet en viss klass af andligt slappa och domnade läsare.*"⁴⁹

The conclusions of our theme may be summarized briefly. The Fosforists advertised Milton and Shakespeare with unbounded enthusiasm and constructive criticism; they chastised Pope for being a rationalist à la Français; they sought and discovered certain national characteristics of Englishmen in their discussions of the novel; and they believed that political and economic development had not killed the Romantic spirit in England. They knew little or nothing about some English writers, but adopted a friendly attitude toward most of those whom they did know; (they acknowledged the genius of Walter Scott in favorable terms, but warned against the dangerous genius of Byron. The greatest service of the Fosforists was to prepare the way for translations of Shakespeare's plays and to give them proper attention when they were published.

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⁴⁹ No. 94 for 1825. Words not in italics are italicized in the original.

THE NORWEGIAN PARTS OF THE OLD ICELANDIC MS.
COD. REG. 3260, 4°

The Ms. 3260, 4to, in the older collection of the Royal Library at Copenhagen is an Icelandic copy of the Old Norwegian Law of the Gulathing, being part of the General Law of Magnus Lawmender (*Lagabœtir*). It is a parchment codex of 62 leaves, 27,2 × 19,5 cm., written in double columns, and belongs to the XIVth century. The Ms. may be found most fully described in *Norges gamle Love*¹, IV, pp. 399–400, somewhat more briefly in Kaalund's *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske haandskrifter i det store kongelige bibliotek* under nr. 115. The Ms. was used by Erichsen in his edition of the Gulathing Law published in 1817,² and again in *NgL.*, vols. II and III. In the former of these there are also a few lines of facsimile of the main manuscript; the Norwegian pages are collated (partially) in the notes to the text in *Norges gamle Love*. See further below.

The Icelandic copyist, who wrote the major part of our codex, stopped at the middle of the left column of the first page of leaf 55, which is the first leaf of the eighth form. On the remainder of this form, which is one of six leaves, he resumed again at leaf 56, verso, wrote that leaf and 57 and the left hand side of 58, adding in this used part a Bergen ordinance under the caption: "her hefr bæar lag." There remains, then, the following space that the Icelandic copyist did not use: 55, verso (middle of the first column), to the end of leaf 56, and 58, recto. This space was used by a Norwegian scribe, or rather two scribes (see below), a hand that paleographically is a very striking one. I shall refer to these two additions, 55–56 and 58, as *A* and *B* respectively. *A* has two *Rettarbætr* of King Hakon Magnusson, while *B* contains first 'the meaning of oaths' under the heading: "um eiða atkvæði," which is followed by: "Rettarbot hakonar konongs."

In many respects the script of these two additions is very interesting. They have nowhere been discussed or called attention

¹ Abbreviated hereafter *NgL.*

² *Magnus Konongs Lagabæters Gula-things-Laug*. Havniae. Pp. lx + xii + 550 + 138.

to, and the text itself only in part collated (see below). I have, therefore, thought it desirable to have the pages in question reproduced and briefly examined with reference to script and language. I shall first offer a facsimile of both, here reproduced from plates made for me, while in Copenhagen in the summer of 1910, at the ateliér of the Royal Library, where also the photograph used in this study was made.

A 1, column a

ollum

akon *et cetera*. fendir *et cetera*
 þat hefír iðvlegða kíært
 verit þírir off. at ymífir handgeng
 nír meŋn varer her með ýðz vília
 eighi lvka fkvldir finar. eighi
 böeta mífverk fin. þau sem þeir
 kvíŋv i at falla. ok æi til logh-
 maŋndz at koma þaŋn tíma sem
 þeir verða stefnumdir loghlegha.
 Sua ok at þeir vília eighi vit
 nífburði bera. enga eiða víŋna
 þo at loghbok fkyllði a þa meðz
 þeim mala vegg. at þeir haŋa off
 aðz eið fuozit. ok þui fkuļu þeir
 æi optare fveria. Nu af þui
 at mer meghom þat æi lýða


A 1, column b

lata. ok æi vilium ver með nokoro
 moti þola. þa skulu þat aller
 men til sanðz vita. at hver
 sem at slikvu lutvu verði kvinnur
 eða sanur heðan af. ok ræði æi
 boetr a. einkannlega þann tima
 sem honom verði til saght. af logh
 manndz halfv. eða sylsumanndz.
 þa ero þeir sialfsgðir oz hýrð
 loghvu. ok eighi litla von til aftr
 komo. skvlu þeir ok hafa self-
 ok sæti með mvghamonnom. en-
 eighi með hýrð. huar sem þeir
 kvinnv at koma i veiðzlur eða
 aðrar samkunndir. En fa sem
 með hýrð seezt þa skal alldreghi
 eigha von til aftrkomo. Bioðvu
 ver ok sylsumonnom varom hverivu
 ifinni sylfv. at soekia þa suo
 aðra

sem mvghamen. En raðom
 ollum handgengnom monnom va-
 rom i hverri stett sem huer er
 at þer boetr vm þat sem her
 til hefir afatt verit. þui at
 sannlegga verði eftir léét vpp
 ifra þessom tima. Datum berg-
 his friadaghiu nēsta þirir vetr-
 noetr. a. v. are et cetera.

akon et cetera. Sendir ollum et cetera.

Ver hoðvu vndir staðit
 af hinvu beðztvu monnom I rikiu
 I ollum ltvu landzins. at þeir
 men sem þav vdaða verk gera
 at drepa men. eða gera þa aðra

diud wart herre ihu xpi. og. ve
 ra. 7. cc. notra. 7. hys. verem 7
 iiii. verr. A. 15. are rith. og. for
 epe int xpi ott huna tua. i. nyr
 at poern. at him se til iudungar
 þeim til salu halpar 7 ömbun
 og gora let 7 öllum him er him
 varda. öllum ott til vöðungar
 þarðar 7 vilgt þagnadar
 A. 15. 
 letan iudueisla wart herre iu
 xpi þusur 7 sonar 7 heilag andas
 aus gæð. i þessing. 7 ættader
 og vartar þu sattu. anaric lo
 með ott öllum nu 7 lagman ok
 hys heilagi. O lagr þu laco ott
 nu. Anum bochar þess heila ihu
 uara 7 heila þessaz amey.

lata ok ær vðu þu m; nokk-
mon þola. þa skulu þat alle
men til laundz vira. at hvar
sem at sluk luti verðz kvær
eða saur heðan af. ok raðz ær
bót ær eukastlega þau tuma
sem þu vðz til saght. ær loth
maðz halfr. eða fyllu maðz
þa eo þær sakt. saght ær hvar
lothz ok eighi lita von til aft
komo. skulu þær ok hafa teit
ok sata með mugha móm. en
eighi með hvar hvar sem þær
kvær ær koma i veidzlar eða
aðar samkvæðir. En þa sem
þu hvar teit þa skal aldregni
eighi von til aftkomo. Þuð
ver ok fyllu móm vato hvar
ist þu fyllu. at soka þa suo
sem mughamen. En raðom
allum heðengungu móm va
rom i þu stætt sem hvar ær
at þær bót vni þat sem her
til hef. ær þat verit þu at
saghtlega verðz eft teit vpi
þra þessom gma. Þat þu berg
hvar þriðdaghi gæta þu vð
vðr. ær v. ær þu ær.

ver herom vndir stadu
af hnu bedu mon yrikny
folku lru landins. at þeu
men sem þau vdaða þa ga
at dæpa men. eða ga þa aðra

A 2, column a

vknýtni sem vtlægð liggir
 við. eða fetiázt heima i bygð-
 vm. Vttan varra bræfa eða
 anarar skilrikis. ok þeir su-
 mer sem taka bræf af off-
 til landzviatar eða griða.
 ok hælazst þeir vndan suo-
 at þeir luka huarki fræn-
 dom bœtr eða konongi þeghn. ok-
 er þat við huar. at þeir
 taka þa suo mikla ofdirfð
 af finvm vandskap. at þeir
 vilia engvm manne loghum sua-
 ra. ok gera siðan viðlik verk
 eða uerri en hinu fyrri. Ok-
 af þui at þat er vviðhvœmi
 likt at þeim þolizst suo mikill-
 framgangr i finvm rangyndvm.
 þa bioðvm ver lýflu monnom ua-
 rom. hýrðmonnom eða oðrvn hand-
 gengnvm monnom. ok ollum almvgha
 eftir at sia. ok sem indvirðulegha-
 zt at skoða. at þuilikirr men-
 fiti ægi i bygðvm mote þui-
 frama: eða lenger. en vor lanðz
 viatar eða griða bræf vatta.
 vmbœtr frændi ok konongi-
 þeghn. Nv hver syflumaðr
 sem þessom varom boðskap gleý
 mir. eða fyrir nemst eftir at sia
 fyr nefndvm vðaða eða vt-
 lægðar monnom. þa viti sannleg-
 ha at þeir skulu sæta sanrri
 varri vbliðv. ok luka off æi

A 2, column b

at fiðr. viii. ærtoghar ok. xiii.
 merkr. En hýrðmaðr huer eða að-
 rer fyr sagðir men sem at þui
 verða sandprovaðir. at þolir ok gerir
 æi fylvmaðneðom eða hans vm-
 boðfmaðne kvðmikt ok styrkir-
 haðne æi til rett at gera. skal suara
 faðni vbliðv. ok boeta i konongdominn.
 iiii. merkr. silfrs. i breta bnot. En boend
 ok almvghi suari flikv fyrir sem-
 loghbok vattar. ef þeir leyna
 ok feghia eighi fyllumaðne eða
 hans vmboðs maðne þat fyrsta
 er þeir megho. huar er þeir
 haða varir vorðet við vtlæg-
 han maðne. En þeir sem flika of
 dirð taka afik. at setiazt ibygð-
 ir vbøtt við frændina ok off
 innan þess daghs sem breta var
 setia þeim tima til. eða þeir sumir
 sem alldz ekki breta haða fyrir ser-
 þa gervm ver þa vtlægha með-
 þessu varo breta. bioðande fyl
 lvmaðne. hverivm i sinni skipreiðv
 at gripa fyr nefnda illverkia
 ok lata reða þeim eftir loghum.
 ef þeir rýma æighi bygðirnar
 fiðan þetta vart breta var upp
 lefit

23
vknvru sem velagð ligg
vib. eða senast heima i bygd
van. vitan vatta bresta eða
afer skulrikis. ok þeir su
mer sem taka brest af oit
til landz vitar eða grida.
þholast þeir vndan suo
at þeir lúka huarki þren
dom bót eða kangi þeghn. ok
er þat vða hvar. at þeir
taka þa suo mikla of dursð
af sár vandrkap at þeir
vika engi manne loghum sua
va ok gera síðan vndlik. þa
eða uerri en hñ þýr. Ok
af þui at þat e vndhóðu
lik at þa þolast suo mikill
þráganga i sár vandrkap.
þa biðð ver sýlu móm ua
rð. hýr móm eða oðr hand
gegnu móm. ok olu almugha
eðt at sia ok sem vndkilega
et at thoda. at þu tuku men
sai egi þygdð more þui
þramar eða lang. en vor landz
vitar eða grida brest vatta
vnbót. þrenst ok kangi
þeghn. 2fo hýr sýlumann
sem þellom varð bókikap gey
mur. eða þu nemst eðt at sia
þýa nefnuð vðala eða vt
lagðar móm. þa vta sýlog
ha at þeir skulu fara ságr
varri vblík. ok lúka oit an

at sið. viij. atroggar ok viij.
merk. Þu hýr þu huer eða ad
rer þýr sagðir men sem at þ
vða sandgæðir at þolir ok gi
en sýlumann eða hagn vñ
bókmanne kunkir ok þýrkar
hagn er til rett at ga. thal suara
ságr vblík. ok bota i kungdóm.
viij. 3. i bresta kot. Þu biðð
ok almughi suari sliko þu sem
loghok vattar. eð þeir leyra
ok seggia eighi sýlumanne eða
hagn vnbót manne þat þýrka
er þeir megho hvar er þeir
haga varir volder vðr velog
hagn man. Þu þeir sem slika of
dursð taka afik at senast i bygd
ir vbott vðr þrondaga ok oit
nñ þell daghs sem brest var.
sena þu tima til. eða þu sár
sem allð eðki brest haga þu ser.
þa gvan ver þa velagha með
þello varo luepe. biððand sý
lumanne. hýr i sýni skapend
at gripa þýa nefna iðkka
ok lata repta þu eðt loghum.
eð þu rýna eighi. þygdurnar
sýni þerra vart brest var upp
lest.

Hver sem suert abokinn
 gæu eik ok usðan eik.
 þa getu hæn þua luti þyrst
 suo sem mælt er at oll þau
 oð er ritad ero heilogh þef
 larte bok þa uerdi mer alde
 til hialpar huarke ny logh
 æ þau er ek lygt i þellom
 eiddag. (Sæc annas luti
 er hæn leggi hendi snat upp
 abok er hæn suo teghur at
 oll nuq goð uerk er ek heft
 goð verði mer aldei til
 nyðrindar. i augli goðs
 er ek teghur lart. i. minni
 eiddag. (Sæc luti er æ er hæn
 kyðir bokina er hæn suo teg
 hur at aller þor godar bœuer
 er ek heft bœut medu minni
 minni at hialpa tal minni þa
 stode mer ekli. 7 ok eighi
 heilagra matja bœuastabz
 er ek lygt i þellom eiddag
 æ minni. (Sæc bœit hæn
 akon medu Kings vagn
 guðs mikun hægghs
 King sendir ollu minni igula
 þings laughi æ æ. of tert
 æ ymilun minni at þeir
 meñ sem miltuott hapa
 bœi við oll ok þegna uar
 ra þuodshægt tær aoga
 eft logleguom dœm eða
 lagha vskurdhū ok af þu

at 3 ulni þat medu englo
 mote lyða lara at nokar
 þeth mæi logh ok rettyndi
 ilandno. þau sem ver hofu
 skipar ok gengit hapa matja
 i millin. þa bœdu ver þær
 sem hœtt hapa at þær haki
 alt sem dœmt er loghlega
 hæn ser ilaghe sem æuerk
 æj lart. i. huerri tighund
 eða ætt sem hæn er. ok
 i þa saladagha sem hæn
 varo tætt. i. man þær
 hals manadar nœt eft
 hma þyrst saladaghana.
 sem þær hapa tætt eða
 hevit. þetta uætt tætt. æj
 hœr sem þær neft at la
 ka eft þu sem þær teghur
 i hæggh. þa getom uer þa
 vlogha medu þello uaro
 tætt. ok bœdu uer tætt.
 minni varo at lara skra
 alt þa goð vndir vart
 valld. ok mikun sem þu
 lika sem ver við tætt
 meitt æga. þær þello
 kroll mætt dagh æ fionda
 ær rikis vart at lart
 haltharæ son ritadæ

þat ætta þu ær ær þær
 tætt. Sæc ær þær tætt ær
 þu tætt. i. minni tætt ær
 ær ær ær ær ær ær

ær ær ær ær ær ær ær ær
 ær ær ær ær ær ær ær ær
 ær ær ær ær ær ær ær ær
 ær ær ær ær ær ær ær ær
 ær ær ær ær ær ær ær ær

B, column a

vm eiða atkuæði

Hver sem fuerr a bok ran-
 gan eið. ok ufœzan eið.
 þa gerir hann þzia luti. fyrft
 suo sem mælt er at oll þau
 oð er ritað ero heilogh. I þef
 farre bok þa uerði mer alldre
 til hialpa: huarke ný logh
 ne þom ef ek lýgr i þessom
 eiðstaþ. Sa er annar luter
 er haŋn leggi: hend: finar upp
 a bok er haŋn suo seghir. at-
 oll min goð uerk. er ek hefir
 gozt. verði mer alldregi til
 nýðfemdar. i. augliti gvðs
 ef ek seghir fatt. i. minum
 eiði þriði luter er sa. er hann
 kýssir bokina. er haŋn suo seg-
 hir. at allar þœ: goðar bæner
 er ek hefir beðit með: minvm
 munni at hialpa sal minni. þa
 stoðe mer ekki. ok eighi
 heilagra manna bænarstað:
 ef ek lýghir j þessom eiðst-
 aþ minvm. retta: bætr hako
 Hakon með: nar konongs vnga
 guðs miskuŋn Nozeghs
 konong: sendir ollum monnom i gula
 þings laughum. *et cetera.* off téét
 aþ ýmisum monnom. at þeir
 men sem misb:otit haþa.
 bæði við: off ok þegna ua-
 ra. þioðzkaðzt rett at gera
 eftir logleghom domi eða-
 lagha o:skurðhum. ok aþ þui

B, column b

at *ver uilium* þat með: engho
 mote lýða lata at noko:
 þelli nið: logh ok rettyndi
 i landeno. þau sem *ver hořvm*
 fkipat. ok gengit hařa mařna
 I millim. þa bioðum *ver þeim*
 sem brotit hařa. at þeir luki
 allt sem dømt er loghlega.
huerivm ser ilaghe sem auerk
 ařn laut. I huerri tighund
 eða stett sem huer er. Ok-
 i þa saladagha sem *huerivm*
 varo settr. Innan þess
 halřs manaðar næst eftir
 hina fyrřtv saladaghana.
 sem þeir hařa feet eða
 heřrt. þetta uart břeř. En
 hver sem fyrir neřnzt at lu-
 ka eftir þui sem fyrir seghir
 I břeřinv. þa gerom uer. þa
 vtlæggha með: þessu uaro-
 břeři. ok bioðvm uer sýflu
 monnom varom at lata skra
 allt þeirra goðz vřdir vart
 valld. ok misķunř sem þui
 lika sem *ver vilivm* siðar
 meirr a gera. Datvm I oflo
 kroff meřfo dagh a nivřnda
 are rikis vars. aflakr
 hallvarðz son ritaði

THE TWO HANDS OF *A* AND *B*. The editor of *NgL*, IV, Gustav Storm, held that both additions are by the same hand, a "norsk frakturhaand fra midten af det xivde aarhundrede," and he called attention to the fact that in vol. III of *NgL* the piece on p. 58 was erroneously attributed to the same hand as the main Ms., leaving *A* as by a distinct hand. Possibly Kaalund identifies the hand of *B* with that of *A* when he says of both pieces: "med særlig haand fra midten af det 14nde aarh."³ A casual examination of the two might easily suggest that *B* is a somewhat slovenly bit of writing by the same scribe who wrote *A*, and that the differences are due also in part, perhaps, to the fact that the writer used a blunter quill in *B* than in *A*. However, a more careful examination shows several differences in the script of the two, as in the technique of certain letters, in the signs of abbreviation, and in the general character of the writing. I shall note here a few of these differences: 1, while abbreviations are not especially numerous in either they are far more so in *A* than in *B*; the number of nasal signs and signs for *r*-combinations, or parts thereof, is 147 in 112 lines in *A*, and 57 in 64 lines in *B*, hence a very considerable difference; 2, in *B* the abbreviations are limited to the two kinds noted in 1, with probably one exception, but in *A* also other forms of abbreviation are employed, in cases that *B* does not abbreviate; 3, in *B* the *r*-symbol functions practically only for final *-er* or *-e* in the ending *-er*, in *A* it is used regularly for final *-er* or *-r* and for medial *-er*; 4, the shape of certain letters exhibits such consistent differences as can only be due to different hands. For example: *B* shows a marked tendency to hair-stroke the superior long staves, and the top of the *d* or *ð*; this is not done in *A*. See in *B* *eið* in line 2, *viðr* in a4 from the bottom, *logh*, line 7, *dagh*, line 3 from the bottom, *landeno*, b4, *millim*, b6, *seghir*, b19, etc.; sometimes the diagonal hair-stroke is also the accent mark of a preceding vowel or serves as an *i*-stroke; 5, further, in *B* the letter *v* varies very much in shape: the left side is divergent and the right is blunt, both are convergent or both turn to the left, or finally, both ends are blunt, and the same irregularity characterizes the *y*, the body of which is a *v*; but in *A* the letter *v* is made

³ *Katalog*, l. c.

in two curved strokes, the left one of which generally slants considerably and turns out; the right side varies more, but the blunt or leftward-turned end is the usual; 6, in *B* the inferior stroke of the *þ* is sometimes swung around to the left and carried up into the main stroke again. In its general character the writing is stiff and sometimes slovenly in *B*, while, however, the way of making the letters is generally the same as that of *A*. The latter, however, presents a rather attractive appearance, the hand is easy and even graceful at times, as being that of one who has mastered his technique and is sure of his strokes. The writer of *B* might very well be one who has learned writing from the author of *A*, but who is yet not very sure of himself.

DIACRITICAL MARKS. ACCENT. The ascending hair-stroke is regularly used at the end of the line if a word is unfinished, as *logh / mannds*, *va / rom*, *berg / his*, etc., in all 16 times in *A*. To this there are nine exceptions. The same method is also often used to indicate a split word-complex. Examples: *ses / ok sæti*; *en / eighi*, *oss / til landz*, *suo / at þeir*, *ok / er þat*, *ok / aþ þui*, *mikill / framgangr*, *þui / frammar*, *styrkir / hann*, *sem / loghbok*, *ok oss / innan*, and *með / þesso*, in all 12 cases, or 31 of both kinds. The method in *B* is about the same, but the cases are relatively fewer—in all 11. The hair-stroke is regularly used over the *i*, both consonantal and vocalic; similarly over the *i* of numbers *viii* and *xiii*. The practice is the same in *B*. The exceptions to this are mostly where the letter immediately above, or an immediately preceding or following letter, does not leave the needed space, as in the words *siðan*, *viðr*, *veið*, or, e.g., where the *i* of *til* comes right below the *y* of the word *hyrð* in *A1b,9*. In some cases the descending stroke of a letter immediately above serves also as the accent mark for the *i*. The period is the only mark of punctuation used. Its position is, as usual, halfway up in the line.

ABBREVIATIONS. Abbreviations are fairly frequent in *A*, 147 in the 112 lines; in *B* there are 57 in 64 lines. The abbreviations are largely by symbol and here furthermore practically limited to the nasal stroke and the *r*-symbol. The former is used mostly for an omitted following nasal, but abbreviations by contraction are found 15 times. The symbol is used with considerable regularity in

medial position. The method does not differ in any noteworthy degree from that usually employed, hence the various kinds of cases will be indicated very briefly.

The nasal stroke stands for the omitted *m* of the ending *-um* 25 times in *A* and 11 in *B*. *þeim* is abbreviated this way four times in *A* and once in *B*. The ending *-um* is written out in full nine times in *A* and six in *B*. The words *sem* and *um* are not abbreviated.

Medial *m* is abbreviated only in *framgangr*,⁴ A2a, line 18.

The nasal stroke is used over *n* to indicate the omission of an immediately following *n* 13 times in *A*, six in *B*. The words are: *hann*, *hinn*, *þann*, *mann*, and the suffixed article *-inn*. The second *n* in these cases is never written. In *B* the words *miscunn*, and *auerkann*, exhibit this abbreviation. The nasal stroke is used for the second of two medial *n*'s 22 times in *A*. Intervocalic *-nn-* is always so abbreviated (*kunn*, *vinna*, *manne*, *annars*, *sinni*. In *B* this method is found three times: *manna*, *minni*, and *munni*, by the side of *annar* and *innan*, written out. In medial position before consonants in forms of the words *kunnr*, *sannr* and *maðr* the abbreviation is regularly used in *A*, as *mannds* (*mannðz*) *kunnr*, *sannri*, *sannlegha*, etc. In other cases the sign is used over the one *n* written, indicating spelling with double *n*, as follows: *einkanⁿlega*, *samkunⁿdir*, and once in *frænⁿdom*, A2a, 8. The last of these is elsewhere written *frænⁿdi*, A2a, 27, and *frændrⁿa*, A2b, 18. The following words are always written with one *n* and no sign: *handgengnir*, *landzins*, *senda*, *vandskap*, *bændr*, and *vndir*.

Departures from the above are *sanðz*, A1b, 3, and *sandprovaðir*, A2b, 4, where we should have expected *sanndz* (as *manndz*), and *sannprovaðir*; possibly both cases represent unintentional omissions of the sign of abbreviation over the *n*.

The words in question or others of the same kind do not occur in *B*. The scribe employs the mark wrongly in *nivⁿnda*, b, 28, and unusually in *neⁿz^t*, b, 18.

It may be noted that the writing: vowel + *ll* + *d* or *t* is consistently followed (*AB*), and that *-ng* is always written with one *n* and no sign of abbreviation. The pr. prtc. *-ande* is always written in

⁴ In discussing abbreviations quoted words will be in Roman and the abbreviation will be indicated by italics.

the same way. The nasal stroke is used for a single nasal following a vowel in *rangan*, Ba, 1. Abbreviation of hann by hā occurs once in *B*; this method is not used in *A*, only hañ.

The nasal complex *onn-* of monnom, or *-ono-* of honom and konongr is always abbreviated in the same way: *mōm*, 11 times, *hīm*, once, *kīgr*, 3 times. The *r*-symbol is used in *A* most frequently for the *r* and the preceding vowel of the words *firir*, *hefir*, *eftir*, and other common short words ending in *-ir* (*-er*), but also variously otherwise. The cases are as follows:

for final *-er* (*-ir*); *firir*, *hefir*, *eftir*, *boetir*, *lenger*,—10 cases.

for final *-r*; *aller*, *aþtr*, *liggr*, *boetr*, *merkr*, *er*,—7 cases.

for the *e* of *-er* evidently in *sumer*, 2b, 20. I resolve *sumr* into *sumer* here as the word is written *sumer*, A2a,4-5, the only other case where the word occurs. However, otherwise the ending *-er* occurs only in *varer* and *aller* in *A*, elsewhere regularly *-ir* with preceding vowels: *a*, *o*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *y*.

The following words are not so abbreviated (given here in the order of their appearance) *varer*, *skuldir*, *steþndir*, *saghdur* (twice), *þolir*, *ymisir*, *handgengnir*, *samkunndir*, *undir*, *sumer*, *sandprov-aðir*, *gleymir*, *aðrer*, *ver*, *styrkir*, *bygðir*, 14 cases of *-er*; *bætr*, *vmboetr*, *boendr*, after another abbreviation as *kvnnr*, and in general after the letters, *d*, *ð*, *g* and *o*. *Her*, *mer*, and *þer* are not abbreviated.

In *B* final *-er* (*-ir*) is abbreviated in *ver* and *eftir* (3 times). Final *-r* is not abbreviated, i.e., is not alone omitted. However, the *e* of final *-er* is abbreviated and hence the writing of svarabhakti vowel here is indicated in: *luter*, *legger*, *ek hefer* (twice), *lygher*,—in all 5 times. Final *r* is written in *er* and *lygr*, and final *-er* in *gerir*, *kyssir*, *seghir* (4 times), *boener*, and *sendir*,—8 times.

In *A* medial *-er* (*-ir*) is abbreviated in *firir* (4 times), *verðr*, *verða* (2), *verk* (2), *gera* (3), *gervm*, *gerir*, *illverkia*, *misverk*, *hverium* (2), *hverri*,—in all 20 times. Medial *er* (*ir*) is written out only in *verðr* (2), *bera*, *sueria*, *berghis*, *gera*, *merkr*,—7 times.

Medial *r* is abbreviated in *ero*, *aþrkomu*, and *vetrnoetr*.

Medial *-er* is so omitted in *B* only in *gera* (twice), *huerivm* (twice).

In A2a, line 23, the writing of *þuilikir* seems to indicate the spelling *þuilikirr*. The Latin *et cetera* is abbreviated with *c* in *A* (5 times);

in *B* the abbreviation is with *ca*, which occurs once. The word *al-dregi* is written in full *alldreghi* in *A*; however in *B* it is abbreviated with the *r*-symbol to *alldre* and *alldri* in the two occurrences. As the *r*-symbol is not elsewhere used for anything but an omitted *r* or *-er*, and not for a longer *r*-complex, except with *et cetera*, this abbreviation seems to indicate the pronunciation *alldre* (or possibly *allder*, and *alldrei*.) The latter would then represent a transitional form between *alldreghi* and the later *alldri*.

The semicolon, for the *-eð* of *með*, occurs twice in *A*; the word is written out *meðr* twice and *með* once. In *B* the form is *meðr* (twice), with no case of abbreviation.

Merkr silfers is abbreviated by the *r*-symbol superimposed on the initial in *A*, once. The word *ortoghar* is not abbreviated. Note, finally, the abbreviation *sandprovaðir* in *A2b*, 4.

Letter abbreviations are extremely rare. They are in *A*: ⁱ*p* once for *pui*, ^r*m* once for *maðr*; there are no examples of superimposed letters in *B*. The versal *κ* for double *r* is found three times in *fyR* and once in *fyri* in *A*. The cases in *B* are: *hver* (twice), *annar*, *fyR*, *siðar*; elsewhere *rr* in *A* and *B*.

As we know the Icelandic method of abbreviating geminates by versals never got much headway in Norway.⁵ The main reason for this was undoubtedly the fact that in Norway the practice of employing versals and capitals for calligraphic purpose and for emphasis was becoming established, namely with proper names, and in part with other words. The latter use I have gone into somewhat in the Introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Speculum Regale*, pp. XXIII-XXVI, to which the interested reader may be referred.⁶ In the two fragments before us the use of the versal *S* is the one so characteristic of many *Nw.* Mss. The words are, *A*: *mannds*, *berghis*, *landzins*, *skilrikis*, *hans*, *vmboðs*, *daghs*; *B*: *suo*, *guðs* (twice), *noreghs*, *gulaþings*, *sem*, *vars*, and *rikis*.

⁵ See under "Önnur staffræði" in the "Ritgjörðir" in *Snorris Edda*. For extent of its use see the introductions of various editions, e.g., the phototypic edition of the *Codex Regius*.

⁶ Published by the University of Illinois, 1916 (dated 1915). Title: *The Main Manuscript of the Konungs Skuggsjá in Phototypic Reproduction with Diplomatic Text*.

As indicated a reduced capital N is used once with the name Noreghs, (B), as also in nivnnda, B, the third last line on the page.

THE SCRIPT IN GENERAL. The letters *a*, *æ*, *e*, *f*, *v*, and *y*. The script exhibits considerable tendency toward a backhand, especially in the straight short staves. The *i*, *n*, *m*, *u*, and *r* commonly, and the *t* often, slant backward, something that is true also of the long staves of *l*, *j*, and *f*, often of *h*, and sometimes of *b*, *k*, and *þ*. The main stroke of the *æ* slants prominently, and the *e* most frequently has a main stave that either slants back or is vertical, being generally straight; the *e* therefore corresponds fairly closely to the right side of the *æ*, that is, the main stave and the loop. The *v* is written with a decided slope to the left; especially is this the case of the left side. The *y* is everywhere a *v* with a tail as the third stroke.

The letter *a* may be noted more fully. It is nearly always closed at the top; there are only 8 occurrences of the open form in A and 6 in B. The former are in *aƿ*, 1b, line 4 from the bottom; *varra*, 2a, 3; *at*, 2a 17; *-maðr*, 2a, 7 from the bottom; *-ar*, 2b, 1; *vattir*, 2b, 11; *fyrsta*, 2b, 13; and in B: *-farre*, a6; *lagha*, a, 1 from the bottom; *haƿa*, b, 5; *varo*, b, 13; *eða*, b, 16; and *Datm*, b, 4 from the bottom. The technique is the usual one, as indicated best of all in the open form and in the earlier closed ones (see below). The letter is made in three strokes, first the main stroke at the right, while the cross-bar is written last. Such a case as that of *vart*, A2, 2b,⁷ is evidently written in two strokes as the earlier open *a*; however, a closed *a* written in this way is not to be regarded as a regular transitional shape between the two-stroke open letter and the three-stroke closed one in ONw. script.⁸ A careful examination of the curved left side of the *a* in the case referred to, shows that the whole left side is the main stave of an *-e*,—the letter was not written with the two strokes of an open *a*. The letter was therefore begun as an *e*, evidently a repetition of the *e* of *þetta*, but corrected to *a* when the main stave had been written; this was done by adding the cross-bar, which was finished

⁷ References to lines near the foot of the page will be given by line followed by a "b," numbering from the bottom.

⁸ The question of the development of the *a*, *æ*, and *e* in ON. script will be considered elsewhere.

in a downward stave at the right. The short vertical at the left has a blunt top, but in some cases begins with a slender upward stroke, as the main stave, as *at*, A2a, 2b. In such cases the left side may have been written first.

The true intermediate form representing the transitional shape between the open top and the closed is seen in such a case as that in *vattar*, A2b, 11. The cross-bar is written from the top of the left side, or most often slightly below it, while the right side begins as an upward stroke. This is the commonest Norwegian transitional form from which the Icelandic and the Swedish often differ somewhat. The writing of the *a* in this way developed in the second half of the XIIIth century in Norway; it was fully established by the end of the century, the progress of the form varying somewhat in the different parts of the country. This stage then passes rather rapidly into the closed *a*; the upward stroke of the main stave was written lower than before, the juncture of the text above and the top being the result. There are several such cases in the pages before us, as *eða*, A1b, 14, *varo*, A2a, 61; *verda*, A2b, 4; and in *B*: *sa*, a, 9; and *aƿ*, a, 6b. Elsewhere there are irregular shapes and intermediate forms of various kinds. It would perhaps be tedious to the reader to have these noted in detail. I shall merely observe, and the reader may verify by turning to the photograph, that in place of a well established tradition in the writing of *a*, one where the highest point is either over the middle of the letter, or at the right, one or the other characterizing the hand as a whole, we have here a rather mixed condition, but one nevertheless in which the closed top is beginning to acquire a fixed form through a fixed technique.

To what has been said above about the *æ* I shall merely add that the left side is regularly vertical, the main stave being written down from its top. The letter has this form wherever it is regular and correct in our Ms. The *a* in *sati*, A1b, 12, and *hælazst*, A2a, 7, are incorrect forms, due to the fact that the first stroke was written for an *e*; in writing *he-* the scribe anticipated *þe* of the next word. Adapting the stroke to the *æ* resulted, then, in the irregularity.

The *f* of our hand is also a transitional form. The upper bi-stave is that of the XIIIth century Anglo-Saxon *f* written from the

main stave, but sometimes is detached and then becomes a squarish dot; however the lower bi-stave is that of a later period. From being a single short stave written out from the main stave the stroke is carried around below to or across the main stave. It has this form in all cases but one; the exception is seen in *firir*, Bb, 19. Here both bistaves are written without raising the quill from the parchment, a practice that came in the first half of the XIVth century. Our writer knows this form, but it is not the form that was used in the writing that he had learned.

DATE. The time to which the two Norwegian additions in the *Cod. Reg. 1642*, belong should be fairly clear from the forms of its letter *a*. The writing is that of the first quarter of the XIVth century, say about 1315–1325. The progress toward a closed *a* and the limited scope of the three-stroke open *a*, together with the somewhat conservative form of the *f*, suggests about the date 1315–1330. Other features noted agree well with such a date, as the shape of the *a* and the occasional svarabhakti vowel.⁷

THE *n* WITH LONG SECOND STAVE. In the abbreviations for double *n* the *n* with long second stave is always used; otherwise either this or the usual *n* is employed for single *n*. The cases in which *η* is found are first: *rikiηu*, 1b, 4b; *von*, 1b, 10; *ηesta*, 1b, 8b; *peghη*, 2a, 9 and 7b; *villoghaη*, 2b, 17; *nefηda*, 2b, 26; *fræ ηdrna*, 2b, 19; *siðanη*, 2b, 2b; the final *n* in *vndaη*, 2a, 7, and in *innaη*, 2b, 19. Hence also *lan dz*, A2, 7, is not to be regarded as an incompleated abbreviation (the usual writing is *landz*), and similarly *handgengnom*, A1b, 21 (cp. *handgengnir*, A1a, 14b) *frændom*, A2a, 8b; *haηs*, A2b, 5 and 13; *eηgho*, Bb, 1; *vηdir*, Bb, 11b. Cp. the writings *endir*, *sandz*, *vndir*, *vandskap*, etc., which are the regular ones; the ending *-an* has the usual *n* in most cases.

Our scribe shows a preference for the long-staved *n* in final position, as *Eη*, A2b, 16, and Bb, 17; *miη*, neut., pl; Ba, 12; *siη*, neut., pl., A1a, 11b. That the *η* in these cases stands for *n* is shown by the fact that the long *η* is always written with the sign above it in *menn*, *þann*, *hinn* (masc., nom.) and *hann*, making clear that the sign of abbreviation over the long *η* is regarded

⁷ Observe also that *d* and *ð* are beginning to be interchangeable, though there are only a few such cases, namely *fanðz*, A1b, 3; *mannðz*, A1b, 8 (twice), elsewhere, however, correctly *d*.

necessary to give it the value of double *n*. Hence also the strange writing *uŋdan*, A2a, 7, can now be explained; the final *n* is merely calligraphic. This is the main principle that we deduce from the writer's use of *ŋ*; in evidence of this we note 12 cases of final *ŋ*, as compared with which there are cases of medial *ŋ* and of initial *ŋ*. But the instances of medial *ŋ* are mostly of the combination *ŋd*, 7 out of 11. Are we to regard these cases after all, then, as instances of incomplete abbreviations? It would be strange that the writer should regularly elsewhere employ *ŋ* with the mark over it when he means it to stand for *nn*, but in the combination *ŋd* nearly always omit it if the *ŋ* were intended here too for *nn*. He would hardly expect his readers to take *ŋd*=*nn**d*, since he in other words often uses *ŋ*=*n*. Finally, we have seen that the writing of final *-ŋ* is characteristic of this hand. This practice grew up out of the frequent occurrence of final *ŋ* in abbreviations.⁸ So, then, also in the combination *ŋd* we seem to have merely a survival, inherited from a school or a region where the long *ŋ* with the nasal sign had been used commonly for double *ŋ*.

SCRIBAL ERRORS. I shall first call attention to the cases pointed out above, pages 87 and 88. Dittographs occur also as follows: *aðra*, A1b, 1b (similar combination in the third preceding word); evidently also *eða*, b, where the irregular shape of the *a* is due the change from an *e*; *þolizst*, A2a, 17, repetition of *þe* of the preceding word; *-mannenom*, A2b, 5, which may be a case of erroneous repetition of the long *ŋ*, as indicated by the change to short *n*. In the same way *miŋ*, Ba, 12, has also been changed to *min*. The writing of *ŋ* is therefore evidently a tendency of the scribe; the copied Ms. had *n*. In *sezt*, A1b, 16, the scribe started to write *sezt*, changing *se*, when this had been written, to *sæ*; cp. the manner in which the first stroke of an *e* is adapted to *æ* in *sæti*, A1b, 12. An *n* is changed to *a* rather unsuccessfully in *vandskap*, A2a, 12, a case of anticipating the following *n*, an unusual mistake. Finally *sem*, B, b25, has been corrected by the scribe; it is a case of anticipating the next word.

CERTAIN WORD FORMS. ON. *hirð* is regularly written *hyrð* (3 occurrences); ON. *-endi* appears as *-yndi* in *rangyndum* and *rettyndi*; ON. *ýmiss* retains the *i* in the plurals *ymisir* and *ymisum*; ON. *svo* is written *svo* in Ba, 4, A1b, 19 and 2a, 7, 11, and 17, but

Sua, A1a, 7b. ON. *var* is written *vor*, once, but elsewhere *var*, *var-*; *fírir*, *mikill*; regularly the ending *-likt*, but also always *-legða* (or *lega*); regularly *meðr* and *viðr* but also *með*; svarabhakti vowel in *lygher* by the side of *lygr*, in *B*, and by abbreviation in *luter*, Ba, 9; *viðrhvæmilikt* for *viðrkvæmilikt*, A2a, 16-17; *allde*, Ba, 6, with abbreviation that may indicate pronunciation *alldre*, *alldri*; the spellings *laughum* and *loghum*; extensive use of *gh*; the writing *orskurðhum*, Ba, 1b, interesting as an early instance of *dh* for the voiced dental spirant; the writing *ð* for *d* in the last word, and in the words *mannðz* and *lanðz*, A1b, 3, A1b, 8, as indicating the disappearance of the distinction between *d* and *ð*; the writings *beðztom*, A1b, 4b, *alldz ekki*; the forms *málavegh* and *vknytnii* finally several cases of the writing *æ* for *e* (*æ*); the words are: *frændrna*, *nøtr*, *þøer*, *nøest*, *bœði*, *utløgðar* (twice), *utløgghan*, and *vviðrhvæmilikt*, elsewhere: *frændam*, *frændi*, *nesta*, *bæði*, *vtlægð*, and *vtlæggha* (twice), other words regularly with *æ*, *e*. It may be observed that the vowel *æ* is never written *æ*; the occurrences are: *bœta*, *bœtr* (3), *sækia*, *bœter*, *bœta*, *bœendr*, *vbœtt*, *usœren*, *bœner*, *bœnarstaðr*, *dœmt*.

The material contained in our two additions are three *rettarbætr* of King Hakon Magnusson and 'the meaning of oaths' of the Christian Law. The *rettarbætr* or amendments to the laws are found in numerous Mss. and fragments of Mss. dating from the first quarter of the XIVth century to the beginning of the XVIth. Our third one, i.e., the last part of *B*, is that listed as *C* and collated with the text according to the redaction in the *Codex Tunbergensis*, printed in *NgL*. III, pp. 72-3, (collations of redactions *B-K*). This oldest part of the *Cod. Tunsb.* was written about 1320-30, while redaction *D* is from the XVth century, and *F*, *G*, and *H* are from the XVIth; *B*, *C* (which is the one before us) and *K* are from the XIVth. The text of these three is in all essentials the same, but *K* does not record the scribe's name, while *B* and *K* agree with the *Cod. Tunsb.* in giving the name Aslacr Hauksson. C erroneously attributes the *rettarbot* to Hakon the Young (see the caption in the photograph), which would place it in 1364, whereas it was actually issued by Hakon the Elder in 1307. This caption is in different colored ink but in the same hand as the text itself, as also is the caption "*vm eiða atkuæði*" at the top of the page.

Our second rettarbot is that listed as *C* in *NgL*. II, pp. 110-11, where the text is printed according to *Cod. 322, fol.* in the Arnamagnean Collection, with which ours and other redactions *B*, *D*, *E*, and *F* are collated. There are a number of differences in the text, chiefly minor ones; *A* is a good text of about the same date as *C*; the latter lacks a caption which is found in both *A* and *B* (in *B*: *Vm utlega men oc vdaða verk*). *C* stops without any signature of writer or mention of place or date; the last two are given in *A* and *B*, showing that it was issued in Oslo in 1315. *B* and *C* lack writer's name, which is given in *A* as Þorgeir Tofuuson.

Our first rettarbot is that listed as *M* in *Ngl*. II, p. 63; where the basis of the text for both the longer and the shorter redaction printed (pp. 66-6) is the *Cod. Tunsbergensis*. This is collated with sixteen others, *B-R*, of which the majority are late; those listed as *K*, *L*, *M*, *N*, and *O* are assigned to the middle of the XIVth century. Our text (*M*) however, must have been written *ca.* 1320-25; it is therefore the earliest of the extant redactions of this rettarbot, being probably fully as early as that of the Tunsberg codex. There are numerous minor differences in the various copies, and some clear distortions of the text. In the printed text, *Ngl*. II, p. 67, line 4, *A* reads: *at þeir uilia enga vitnis eiða burð bera vinna*, where *M* reads: *þeir vilia eighi vitnisburði bera. enga eiða vinna*, which with the insertion of *ok* before *enga* no doubt gives the right reading. That of *L*, *N*, and *O* is nearly the same as *M*. Again, after the introductory lines *A* begins: *En þer hafet iðulegha kert firir oss at imisi handgengner men uarer her með yðar eigi uilia*, etc., which is clearly incorrect, with its *þer hafet* and *her með yðarr*. This reading is found only in *K* among early manuscripts. The reading of *M* is found also in *L*, *N*, and *O* of the oldest and in most later Mss., and is undoubtedly the better. The place of writing is given as *i Bergwyn* in *O* and in *P*, a XVth c. Ms., but as *Datum Bergis* in all other early redactions and in nearly all later ones, hence would seem to be the original. *O* adds the name of Barðr Petrssen as the writer. There are several errors in the collation of *M* in *NgL*.⁹ The following is here offered as the original form of this rettarbot:

⁹ Thus, e.g., *iðulegha kiart verit*, not *yðulega kært verit*, A1a. Our ms. has *sem*, A1b, line—, does not lack the word as given in note 47, on page 67.

Þat hefir iðulega kert verit þirir oss at ymisir handgengnir menn varer her mef yðr eigi vilia luka skuldir sinar ok ei boeta misverk sin þau sem þeir kunnu i at falla ok ei til logmanz koma þan tima er þeir verða loglega stefndir; sua ok at þeir vilia eigi vitnisburði bera ok enga eiða vinna þo at logbok skildi a þa með þeim malsveg at þeir hafa oss eið suorit ok þui skulu þeir ei oftare sveria. Nu af þui at ver megom þat ei lyða lata, ok ei vilium ver með nokoro moti, þa skulu þat aller men til sanz vita, at hver sem at slikum lutum verðr kunnr eða sannr heðan af, ok ræðr ei boetr a einkanlega þann tima sem honom verðr til sagt af logmanz halfu eða syslumanz, þa ero þeir sialf sagðir or hirðlogum ok hafe litla von til aftrkomo; skulu þeir ok hafa sess ok sæti með mugamonnum en ei med hirð, huar sem þeir kunnu at koma i veiðzlor eða aðrar samkundir. En sa sem með hirð sezt skal aldregi von eiga til aftrkomo. Bioðum ver ok syslumonnum varom hverium i sinni syslu at sækia þa aðra mugamenn. En raðom ver ollum handgengnom monnum varom i hverri stet sem hvar er at þeir boete um þat sem hertil hefer afatt verit, þuiat sanlega verðr eftir set up fra þessom tima. Datum bergis, friadagenn nesta þirir vetrnetr a.v. are rikis vars.

At the bottom of the last page a later writer has added some directions for computing the time of lent and easter. It runs: *þæt fyrsta þrim er eftir þrettande dagh er þa tæll tiu dagha þæim taldom sunnudaghen nest eftir er IX vikna fasta / Aðru þrimi lidnu þa tæll tua dagha þa er fyrsta sunnu daghær i fastu. A þriðia þrimi lidnu þa tæll æ IIII dagha þæn sunnudaghen þær nest eftir er þa þaska daghr.*

It is in the usual Norwegian charter hand of the second half of the XIVth century. Other computistic notes in the same hand continue on leaf 59 of the codex.¹⁰

GEORGE T. FLOM

University of Illinois

Dec. 28, 1917.

¹⁰ Kaalund's *Katalog*, p. 65.

THE STORY OF THE PUBLICATION OF IBSEN'S *BRAND*

One of the most interesting problems in the external history of Ibsen's plays is the long delay in the publication of *Brand*. The reason hitherto assigned by editors of Ibsen, and to my knowledge passed on as a commonplace by scholars, is not convincing. And it is not difficult to show that it is wrong.

Bjørnson had put Ibsen in touch with the house of Gyldendal in the summer of 1865, and Hegel had agreed to publish a new dramatic poem by Ibsen, which, however, had still to be written. After various futile efforts to shape his material into an epic, Ibsen turned again to the drama and thereafter progress was rapid. On September 12, 1865, he writes to Bjørnson that Act IV of *Brand* is finished and that he feels that he can get the fifth act out of the way within a week: "I work both forenoon and afternoon, something I have never before been able to do."¹ Hegel acknowledged the receipt of one-third of the manuscript on November 7.

"I had the honor yesterday to receive the manuscript of the first third of *Brand*, which was sent from Rome on October 25, and must accordingly have been delayed on the way. I presume that it is your wish to have the poem published in time for the Christmas season (til Julen). It should therefore be printed and in the book stalls not later than the beginning of December, in order that it may reach Norway in time. I will do everything in my power to make this possible and I hope that it will be, if I receive your manuscript by the time you have promised it—the middle of November."²

But *Brand* did not appear in time for the Christmas book season of 1865. It did not appear till the following March. The accepted explanation of the long delay is that Hegel was so doubtful about the success of *Brand* that he hesitated to send it out. Thus Herford, in his introduction to the play in the *Collected Works*, vividly states the case: "The publisher, Hegel—to whom Ibsen

¹ *Breve fra Henrik Ibsen*. II, p. 98.

² L. C. Nielsen: *Fredrik V. Hegel, Breve til og fra ham. Et Mindeskrift* København, 1909, p. 573.

had been introduced by Bjørnson—was somewhat sceptical of the success of a verse drama so unusual in style, so long, and so fiercely abusive of those to whom it was addressed.” And the editors of Ibsen’s *Posthumous Works* tell us in so many words: “Hegel had no real confidence in its success with the public, and publication was delayed in consequence till March 15, 1866.”³

It is difficult to rest content with this. If Hegel had accepted *Brand*, why should he postpone publication? Surely it was bad business to let December go by—the season of seasons for book-buying in Northern Europe—and publish the poem in a dead season. If it was to have any success at all, one might *a priori* suppose that it would command more general attention at the Christmas season than at any other time, and if it was to fail, it would certainly fail more dismally when book-buyers were no longer in the rush of the season. As a matter of fact, L. C. Nielsen, Hegel’s biographer, as far back as 1909, furnished the materials for, and pointed to, the true explanation of the hitherto inexplicable, and to Ibsen, inexpressibly trying delay in the publication of *Brand*. And the explanation is almost ludicrously simple.

It is true that Hegel had doubts about *Brand*, but not about publishing it, or the wisdom of getting it out in time for Christmas. On November 23 he wrote Ibsen a most interesting and revelatory letter, of which the following is the material portion:

“When I wrote to you on November 7, I had just received one-third of the manuscript of your new dramatic poem, which I sent immediately to the printer. I supposed then that it was the work about which Hr. Bjørnson told me last summer, and which dealt with an historical subject from the remote past. But I find now in reading the proof sheets that the poem is something quite different, and although I have received and read only about two-thirds of the whole, I have come to feel, nevertheless, from this, that the work despite all its beauties might possibly not be understood by the mass, and that the sale might not be so great as to warrant an edition of 1,250 copies. I hasten therefore to inform you that I propose to publish half the number of copies,

³Henrik Ibsen: *Efterladte Skrifter*. Udgivne af Halvdan Koht og Julius Elias. København og Kristiania, 1909, III, 402.

for which I will pay 15 Rigsdaler the signature. By this arrangement you will lose nothing in the event that the book gains the hoped for success, and I do not run the risk of printing twice the number of copies that *may* be necessary. The very language—differing as it does from our own and containing a great number of strange words, the meaning of which we must guess at—will prevent many here in Denmark from reading your book. This, however, I regard as a secondary matter; primarily I am doubtful about the contents. From the bottom of my heart I hope for your sake that my fears may prove unfounded.”⁴

But no answer came from Ibsen, and on December 7 Hegel wrote again:

“Since Saturday I have waited in vain for an answer from you to my letter of the 23 ultimo. By dint of the greatest efforts on the parts of the printery, your book, in accordance with my request, was ready to go to press on Saturday. But inasmuch as my proposition of November 7 as to the size of the edition was made under a misapprehension, and I have altered it in my latest communication, I cannot give orders for the final printing until your answer is at hand.”⁵

No answer came from Ibsen, either to the letter of November 23 or to that of December 7. Hegel was irritated, perhaps as much as Ibsen at his end of the long and uncertain line of communication. To Bjørnson, on February 18, 1866, he wrote:

“I cannot understand Henrik Ibsen. You know how the case stands, for I wrote you last about it. Since I had no confidence that his book would succeed with the great public, I wished to make a trial by publishing half of the proposed edition, let the forms stand, and publish the rest if it was needed. I wrote, of course, with the greatest caution and courtesy, first on November 23, then, in form of a reminder, on December 7, informing him at the same time that the book was fully set up and corrected. But he has not deigned to answer. I should feel sorry if I had

⁴ L. C. Nielsen: *Fredrik V. Hegel. Hans Forgængere og hans Slægt*. København, 1909, pp. 217-218.

⁵ Nielsen: *Fredrik Hegel. Breve til og fra ham*, p. 573.

quite unintentionally given him cause for offense; I would much rather bear the possible loss."⁶

Finally Hegel in desperation ordered the book struck off. Writing to Bjørnson again on March 7, he says:

"It is strange that Hr. Ibsen has failed to answer me with as much as a word. But now we are already in March and I dare not with a good conscience let his book lie any longer. I shall publish it in about a week (Jeg lader den nu i Guds Navn gaa ud om en 8 Dage), and shall print in accordance with the stipulations about which we at once agreed."⁷

On the very day that Hegel wrote the letter from which I have quoted above Ibsen cleared up the mystery of what had seemed his inexplicable silence. He wrote to his publisher from Rome:

"After I had under date of December 2 of last year agreed to your plan of printing a reduced edition of my book and to the settlement of the royalty on a basis proportionate thereto, I received from you a letter dated December 7 in which you inform me that the book can not be got ready for Christmas publication. To this communication no answer was necessary, inasmuch as I had already expressly authorized you in the above mentioned letter to act in my behalf as you deemed best, for I was convinced then, as I am now, that you would act in accordance with my interests (vide at ramme mit Tarv)."⁸

The letter to which Ibsen here refers, *Hegel never received*. That such a letter had gone from Rome Ibsen earnestly assures his publisher in a long letter of March 16 in answer to Hegel's of March 7:

"Your letter of November 23 was answered by me on the very day of its receipt, namely, Saturday, December 2. Since I make no first draft of my letters, and since I keep no letter book, merely recording the date on which they are sent, I cannot, of course, repeat the letter verbatim, but the substance of it was that I agreed to your plan of reducing the edition and the royalty; further, that, to avoid delay in publication by a continued correspondence

⁶ Nielsen: *Fredrik Hegel. Hans Forgængere og hans Slægt*, p. 218.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

⁸ Nielsen: *Fredrik Hegel. Breve til og fra ham*, pp. 293-294.

back and forth, I gave you authority to decide without consulting me all questions which might arise in connection with this matter, adding that I felt convinced that you would on your own volition guard my interests as well as I could myself. . . .

"That a letter to this effect under the above mentioned date was written and posted by me, I hereby affirm on my honor and conscience; and if you have not received it, it must have gone stray on the way. But this possibility I had not until now taken into account, and this is the reason that I did not answer your letter of December 14(?)—for what required an answer therein had already been answered in the lost letter, which, as I supposed, had merely been delayed and had reached you a few days later."⁹

Ibsen goes on to tell of his own doubts and uncertainties in all this suspense, but this is well known and hardly concerns us here. The point is, as Nielsen indicated nearly a decade ago in his note to Ibsen's letter of March 7—strangely overlooked hitherto by scholars—that Hegel's delay in putting *Brand* on the market was not due to his uncertainty about its reception, though, as we have seen, he did have some uncertainty, but to a pure chance—the loss in the mails of Ibsen's letter of December 2, 1865.

MARTIN B. RUUD.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 294-295.

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LUDVIG HOLBERG, LIBERAL

"Holberg is the Englishman of Danish Letters."

This is the conclusion to which Viljam Olsvig, the Holberg scholar and literary critic, has recently come. This critical judgment expresses a fact that is becoming clearer every day—that Holberg's fundamental social and intellectual points of view were closely akin to those held in the most liberal and democratic country of Europe in his day—England.

The significance of this fact for Danish and Scandinavian culture can hardly be overestimated. It has become a common-place of literary criticism to call Holberg the "Father of Danish Literature." It is profoundly true that he fixed the traditions in modern Danish history, modern Danish philosophy and modern Danish comedy. That such a man turned his face away from scholasticism, from mediaeval compendiums of facts, from the incubus of confining intellectual authority, toward the enlightened West was a permanent liberation for the Danish mind. Since that time it has felt free to move in whatever direction it chose. It has been critical and sceptical of self-constituted authority of every sort. That self-reliant attitude has made it essentially liberal and democratic in social ideas, in religion, in philosophy, and in politics.

Holberg it will be remembered, spent over two years in England when he was between the ages of twenty-two and twenty-four. These were impressionable years, and he steeped himself in the liberal and humane thought that was abroad in the country. He found English methods of life congenial to his and took pride in his resemblance to Englishmen. "In England," he writes, "it used to be said of me, 'He looks like an Englishman.' I pleased them and they pleased me. And in truth I seem to be a remarkably faithful copy of them both in manners and disposition."

Freedom, in all its aspects, was the feature of English life which Holberg most admired. "Of all Europeans," he writes, "the English are the boldest and greatest lovers of freedom." It is not, however, freedom in the political sense of which Holberg is thinking.

Holberg was no thorough-going political democrat. The delightful vagaries of Hermann von Bremen, the Political Tinker, remind us that his creator distrusted popular political wisdom. To be sure, Holberg disapproved of hereditary titles and privileges, other than those of monarchy. Yet he believed that the Government should be the business, not of the people, but of those fitted by natural endowment and careful training. In his comparison of the French and the English he writes "The French respect most their superiors; the English themselves. The former are, therefore, better citizens; the latter, better men."

Men, as such, are ennobled most by the freedom of their minds. Englishmen possessed such freedom. In the first place they were free from the prejudices of mere custom and tradition. He says "An Englishman's mind is like a clean tablet. On it may be written anything that is not incompatible with reason and common-sense. Among people of other nations custom is as strong as a tyrant's power. But Englishmen examine a new idea without prejudice, and, if it seems true, adopt it without hesitation. Freedom of thought in England is restricted by no laws."

Authority, neither political nor ecclesiastical, directs an Englishman's thought or closes either his mouth or his mind. "Especially in England," he writes, "where one may say anything that occurs to one and where genius is bound by no shackles, it is easier to display keenness of judgment and strength of genius than here in the North, where we are plagued by the most rigid censorship. . . For his reason, even if poets and philosophers were to arise among us capable of rivalry the English, they would scarcely reach maturity." This absence of constraint gives the Englishman's thought range and flexibility. He extols the candid discussion of religious questions which was the privilege of Englishmen, though he pretends to think their failure to accept revealed religion lamentable impudence. With these stimulating conditions prevailing in the country, "it is no wonder," he exclaims, "that Englishmen have won the foremost place in both learning and literature."

This intellectual self-reliance, the pre-requisite of all liberal social and political life, Holberg endeavored to introduce into his own country. As an educator, he endeavored to free university teaching from its allegiance to mediaeval logic and formalism.

When he became Professor of Metaphysics in the University of Copenhagen at the age of thirty-three, he filled the ceremonious laudation of metaphysics which tradition required him to make at his induction into the professorship, with sententious irony. Public disputations in Latin on subjects which required syllogistic subtlety occupied a prominent place in the discipline of continental universities. Holberg found that no one at Oxford took these exercises seriously. This sensible attitude toward the outworn mediaeval procedure became Holberg's own. In his play *Erasmus Montanus*, he makes the syllogism in the mouth of a glib and conceited pedant utterly and contemptibly ridiculous. As an instrument of serious intellectual discipline it was laughed into obscurity. In *Peder Paars* he satirizes the intellectual triviality of university pedants by chronicling an interminable dispute over the exact position of the wound which Venus received in the Trojan War.

His conception of history and scholarship is similarly unfriendly to the mediaeval and German compendium, the product of ferocious industry, unilluminated by judgment or interpretation. In a letter written June 20, 1733 he calls the compendious collections of German historians "desperate." He prefers the historical ideal illustrated by such English historians as Burnet. Such writers he asserts, lay emphasis upon the significant and the vital in a way to suggest the splendour of the past and to inspire the youth who read. When he wrote histories, he chose *Histories of Heroes* and *Histories of Heroines*. It is the history that is made by independent men and women that stirs him.

Most of Holbergs comedies are written to free Danish men and women from their intellectual foibles. The plays are pleas not for morality, but for intellectual health, for a mind untrammelled by obsessions of any sort, free to obey the dictates of reason. That Holberg had such a mind is shown by the extraordinarily independent attitude he took toward woman's place in society. He was one of the first prominent men in Europe to show active sympathy for feminism. He believed that there were many unnatural restrictions placed by convention upon the intellectual life of women. The scope and power of their minds and the services which they might render society had, therefore, never been realized. These ideas were so original when first expressed that his readers and most

of his critics believed that they were a form of extreme and hilarious irony. This point of view is no longer held. He recurs so frequently to these notions throughout his literary career that they are evidently those in which he has a peculiar and vital interest.

He expresses these ideas in his first satirical work, *Peder Paars*, written in 1917. There he asserts that if women were but properly trained, their capacities would prove far greater than men suspect. Their intelligence and obvious genius for administration ought to be used for the common good.

Lad den studere, som har bedste sidens gave

Lad den regiere, some et hus kand forestaae

Den, som bequemmet er, lad den ved loret, staae.

In one of his five satires written in 1722, called *Zille Hansen's Defence of the Female Sex*, he harks back to this idea which he expresses much more precisely. Women, he believes, are excluded from educational opportunities and from the rights of citizenship, including the right to vote, not by any law of Nature but through the arbitrary proscription of man.

In *Niels Klim*, as Mr. Frederic Schenk has pointed out in the *American-Scandinavian Review* for Nov.-Dec. 1915, Holberg repeatedly attacked the idea that the position which woman held in the society of his time was one immutably fixed by the nature of things. In the Potuan Empire, a sort of ideal state which Niels Klim visited, not only were "affairs of state committed to the wisest and most worthy," but "no distinction between the sexes was recognized in the distribution of public offices." A widow was Treasurer of the State and the chief judicial officer of the country was a young woman. Naturally in such a place the women were admitted as candidates for higher university degrees and in all branches of learning.

In Cockelu, another subterranean country, the usual position of the sexes was reversed. The women conducted business and politics and the men managed the household affairs. The latter were light, empty, frothy creatures, while their wives were "grave, prudent, constant, and discrete." Thus does Holberg seek to show that there are no qualities inherent in either sex, but that all are the result of education.

These specific views of Holberg, and in particular his admiration

for England, have been recalled not for their own interest, but because they are indications of something much more important. They show that Holberg loved that freedom upon which all political, religious, and moral freedom must depend—independence of thought. With a mind released from the tyranny of both convention and prejudice a man is not slave either to the past or to the present, but their master. He is not under the dominion of facts, but can shape them to serve his own needs for fulness of life and for happiness. Since Holberg looked thus upon the world, he inevitably found the life that he admired had developed best under the liberal institutions of England. Holberg, two hundred years ago, helped to establish a habit of thought for his nation that has made Denmark today spiritually and intellectually, an eager member of the Entente.

OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL.

*Princeton, N. J.,
July, 1918.*

BJÖRNSON AND THE UNITED STATES

If there ever should come a time of misunderstanding between the Scandinavian countries on the one hand and America on the other, obscuring for each the true meaning of the other's national life and the content and value of its people's ideals, a better medium of mutual interpretation and reconciliation could hardly be found than the life of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. That Bjørnson was typically Norwegian, typically Scandinavian, is a commonplace which has its figurative expression in such often quoted phrases as "Norway's beating heart," "Norway's uncrowned king," and in Brandes' saying, that to mention Bjørnson's name is to raise the Norwegian flag. In comparing Ibsen and Bjørnson as poets and prophets it has been said with truth that the former was European, the latter Norwegian, Scandinavian. For our present purpose we may change this statement and say that if Ibsen was European, Bjørnson was American. To Americans Bjørnson's life reveals the true content and scope of Scandinavia's best ideals, political, social, spiritual; Scandinavia will find in his character, writings, and deeds an embodiment, unintended and unconscious, of what is highest and finest in the life of America, national and individual.

Specific mention of the United States is, however, rare in Bjørnson's literary works and in his published speeches and journalistic articles—so rare that judging by this alone one would be obliged to think that America occupied but little of his intellectual horizon and often for long periods was not present to his thought at all. In his novels and plays some of the characters go to the United States temporarily or permanently, as to an environment affording opportunity for some newness of individual life or for larger growth. Only in *Daglannet* (1904), Act III, Sc. 3, is there a somewhat detailed presentation of that which made the strongest impression on Ragna—the education of children. This seemed to her to be based on toleration and on respect for children, to aim at awakening the intellect and the sense of honor, to lead to freedom of conscience in individuals, who have learned what they ought to will, and whose wills are unbroken.

On May 3, 1866, at a patriotic gathering Björnson delivered a short speech in proposing the toast "Our Fatherland." Quotation from it may be ventured, because of the light here cast on his feelings toward the United States at a time when he probably did not know much about them, feelings of jealousy and sympathy, and because it sketches the general historical relations of Norway and the world without.

"Whenever in these days we are about to toast our fatherland, there presents itself involuntarily to our thought the fact that during the year fifteen thousand souls have turned their backs upon it, because here was not enough for them. However we may try to explain it, their going is felt as fifteen thousand complaints against the land and us, and we understand that after some years when they shall have established themselves in the new fatherland's large, fruitful conditions, they will see in old Norway that stone heap which is represented in Henrik Ibsen's grand, gloomy picture [*Brand* was published March 15, 1866], that they will remember their farm as something that has over it the cold and beneath it the wet. Can then we who are left behind confidently gather in gladness over this same fatherland, in youthful joy over what it has? Yes, we can—first, because we feel the need of doing this, and then because it never has been otherwise, since this people came into this land, than that all doors have stood open, and we have little cared who went out, or who came in. For we are proud of it, that we in our poverty have yet had a surplus for the countries that need capable men and women; and our emigrants clear from the days when they took Normandy have been regarded among the best, wherever they went. We are proud of that spiritual surplus, that creates the longing for adventure, that as soon as the soul feels itself confined, can embrace the wide world. We have this ourselves, we who are left here. For what else is it that mans and sends our ships out over all the world's oceans, that makes our great business men and our speculation, that impels us to conquests in science, art, and poetry, so great that they would be an honor to a mightier nation than ours? The difference is only this, that we return home again from our emigrations with the gains we have made, while those others remain away with theirs. The difference is the same as between them who built up the land with Harold Fairhair and

them who would not accept new conditions, but went to Iceland to build for themselves. The difference is this, that they move out, because here it is too narrow, but we stay at home in order to take away that which makes it narrow. The difference is this, that they move out because here are so many faults and defects, but we stay at home in order to make the faults and defects emigrate."

Some direct, intimate knowledge of life in the United States Björnson was able to gain during his sole visit here from September, 1880, to April, 1881. The first three or four months he spent in Massachusetts, where he enjoyed those opportunities that are always given to a distinguished foreigner. Then after a short stay in New York City, where incognito he observed the life of the masses, he went on a three months lecturing tour among the Scandinavians of the Northwest. At the time of his visit political life in Norway was in swift and comprehensive evolution. It would seem that Björnson came to the United States to study for himself the working of what he thought to be the most liberal constitution. Whatever may have been his theoretical profit, we may be sure that practically he learned more from personal observation of and relations with the life of New England, of cosmopolitan New York, of the Scandinavian Northwest. He was surprised to find people in general here so conservative. He conceived a great admiration for the character and career of Abraham Lincoln. How through Björnson Norway looked then for light to America is shown by the first paragraph of an article by him in *Scribner's Monthly* for February, 1881, on *Norway's Constitutional Struggle*: "I am glad that so many Americans are interested in this struggle. We should not have had it indeed, if in 1814 America's free constitution had not been given us as a pattern; if the glorious development of America under this, her constitutional aegis, had not given the Norsemen the initiative, given them instruction and confidence; and if the great emigration from Norway had not in many ways maintained a steady, aggressive propagation of republican rule and ideas."

As in this influence it was the spirit that imparted life, and not the letter, so it is not specific utterances in Björnson's writings and speeches that qualify him as an excellent medium of interpretation between the United States and Scandinavia, but the spirit that

informed all his life, deeds, and influence. This spirit was like that of America in the last century in its rapid growth and constant evolution, while it ever remained true to itself.

That sacred thing which we call patriotism, sincere, intense love of one's country and eagerness to labor and sacrifice for its good, is the dominant motive of Björnson's life, maintaining amid all apparent change and even contradiction its comprehensive unity. His country's national hymn is his creation. Does not the American heart beat to the strains of these, its last two stanzas?

“Men of Norway, high or lowly,
Give to God the praise!
He our land's Defender holy
In its darkest days!
All our fathers here have striven
And our mothers wept,
Hath the Lord his guidance given,
So our right we kept.

Yes, we love this land that towers
Where the ocean foams;
Rugged, storm swept, it embowers
Many thousand homes.
As our fathers' conflict gave it
Vict'ry at the end,
Also we, when time shall crave it,
Will its peace defend.”

In the year 1881 speaking at the unveiling of the statue of Wergeland in Christiania Björnson said that he and Norway's constitution grew up together. In a broader and higher sense we may say that Björnson and Norway's full freedom and independence grew up together to the completeness that was realized in 1905. The truth of this statement is due to Björnson's patriotic spirit working out through his artistic production, his political agitation and speeches, and his journalistic activities. In all he, as a poet-prophet, interpreted for his nation the historic past and the evolving present, and forecast the future; in all he was for his own people the liberalizing teacher and guide, leading them to

freedom in thought and action, in social and political life; of all the unifying theme is Norway to be loved and labored for. Every true son of the United States must feel the rhythm of a brother's heart-beat in these stirring lines:

"Forward! forward!"

Rang our fathers' battle-cry.

"Forward! forward!"

Norsemen, be our watchword high!

All that fires the spirit and makes the heart's faith bright,

For that we forward go with might

And faithful fight.

"Forward! forward!"

Whoso loves a home that's free.

"Forward! forward!"

Freedom's course must ever be.

Though it shall be tested by doubt and by defeat,

Who will the losses' count repeat,

When vict'ries greet?

"Forward! forward!"

Whoso trusts in Norway's day.

"Forward! forward!"

Whoso goes our fathers' way.

The country that Björnson so loved and praised was democratic, both politically, although it was and is a monarchy, and socially. It became progressively more democratic during his lifetime. There are some interesting passages in a speech which Björnson delivered in 1892 at a festival for Professor J. E. Sars upon the completion of his *Norwegian History*. For example Björnson said: "The work of a democratic society, for that our history has destined us; we must be able to succeed in it as no others can. To fix the thought of peace in the minds of men as a trusteeship of the labor and morals of the lesser, to put these themselves on guard in universal franchise and direct taxation; to make woman equal in law and in her conditions of life, to let the land be fully tilled by those who

will and can do this, to let factory labor and other labor be co-operative labor, to let the state-school become the nation's school; to work all these and similar thoughts, e.g., that of old age insurance, into life—in *one* word to *humanize* life—if we do not attain to this among the first, then we should not be true to our own history." . . . "Our way through history is the way of aristocracy forward to democracy. The aristocracy blends with the people, imparting thereby its own nobleness. Therefore until today our democratic accomplishment has for the most part had the impress of chieftainship. Respect for spirit as for law. To let the high be high, and the low be low; not to sin against this without at once feeling the wrong way. We do not destroy without building up; we have a strong sense for that which is fair." That is to say, Norwegian democracy was representative and conservative, not extremely radical and socialistic.

To admit that during the last quarter of a century both politics and life in Norway have become more radical and socialistic, is but to affirm that Norway has participated in the world's general movement. What Björnson thought or would now think of this we may infer from his speech in 1886 to the laborers of Christiania. It was based mainly on his observation of socialism as seen in France, whence he had just returned. Björnson said that Gambetta, who did not like the word socialism, asserted: "There is nothing that is rightly called socialism, but there is a series of social problems, and when these are solved one by one, then we shall have the socialized state." This met with Björnson's approval, and he desired that the Norwegians should not let themselves be frightened by the word "socialism," but should make it possible to have full discussion of these things also in Norway.

Björnson always favored a republican form of government as theoretically the best for such a democratic nation as Norway, but in 1905 when the federative union with Sweden was dissolved, practical consideration of the future relations of his country with Sweden and Denmark and with certain great powers of Europe forced him as the realist statesman he in so large a measure ever was, to support the continuance of the monarchical state.

It is, however, not only in external political forms that national likeness and sympathy express themselves. It is rather in the

social and economic domain that the true spirit and life of peoples are best shown. Here the ideals of Björnson are the American ideals of freedom and equality. He stood for that progressive emancipation of woman, which has advanced farther in Norway than in the United States, so that now woman may be said to be fully free and to have equal rights with man, politically, socially, economically. He agitated long, earnestly and successfully against the continued acceptance by social conventions of a double moral standard for man and woman, in his often delivered lecture on *Monogamy and Polygamy*, and in arduous journalistic polemics. He supported the cause of true liberty for children, pleading that they should be respected and laboring for reforms in the school. He instituted the beautiful custom of the children's flag procession on May 17, the Norwegian Independence Day. He desired education to be liberalized and modernized. Here he learned much from what he observed in the United States and in France. The former taught him the intellectual and ethical value of coeducation. Genuine economic liberty and equality were always promoted by him, equal duties and privileges for the farmer, the laborer, for all. In short he was and did what he describes in his poem, *The Poet*:

He is a brother of the small,
Of woman, as of all who suffer;
The new and weak, when waves grow rougher,
He steers, till fairer breezes fall.

Freedom of thought and speech has been from the beginning an ideal lovingly cherished by the people of the United States. In this respect Björnson was thoroughly American in spirit and in deed. The theme of a famous speech of his was: Be in the truth. The supreme thing is freedom of thought and fidelity to the truth as expanding development may manifest it to the individual and the nation.

In these present days it is Björnson's advocacy during the last years of his life of world-wide peace and of a league of nations to institute and maintain this, that must uniquely evoke the sympathy of the American mind and heart.

Whoever then desires to know and love the spirit and life of Norway and in general of Scandinavia, let him acquaint himself

with the ideals and the work of Björnson—patriot, democrat, republican, social and economic reformer, ethical leader, apostle of world-peace.

The poet does the prophet's deeds;
 In times of need with new life pregnant,
 When strife and suffering are regnant,
 His faith with light ideal leads,
 The past its heroes round him posts,
 He rallies now the present's hosts,
 The future opes
 Before his eyes,
 Its pictured hopes
 He prophesies.

ARTHUR H. PALMER.

New Haven, Conn.
June, 1918.

OLAF LILJEKRANS AND IBSEN'S LITERARY DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

In *Olaf Liljekrans* (1856) there is reflected a most marked transition in Ibsen's early literary ideals. After reachings its high-water mark the previous year (1855) in *Gildet paa Solhaug*, the tide of ballad poetry had now begun to recede. The more extensive use of prose and the satirical attitude towards Romantic idealism in *Olaf Liljekrans* indicate a decline in Ibsen's development as a Romanticist, which was, however, not so abrupt as may appear.

In 1854, the year before *Gildet paa Solhaug*, he had written *Fru Inger til Østraat*, the first of his national historical dramas. During the composition of this work he became interested in the medieval history of Norway, which brought him much closer to reality than did the legendary past, as represented by Norwegian folk lore. But an entirely new vista was opened to him when, in this same year (1854), N. M. Petersen's translation of the Icelandic sagas by chance fell into his hands. His keen dramatic instinct immediately apprehended the rich source of dramatic material in these classic monuments of Old Norse culture, and in some indistinct way sought to construct the outlines of a future play. This play (as Ibsen himself tells us, in his *Fortale to Gildet paa Solhaug*, 1883) was based upon the impressions which he had received from reading the *Volsungasaga*; the famous quarrel between the two women, Brynhild and Gudrun, furnished him with the central motif for the plot. The scene of the quarrel is transferred to the banquet hall, but the spirit of the two women and the fatal collision of hostile forces remain the same.¹ Such proved, in fact, to be the inception of *Hærmændene paa Helgeland* (1857), in which the two figures of Hjørdis and Dagny are the direct counterparts of Brynhild and Gudrun in the *Volsungasaga*.

But much intervened which prevented Ibsen from immediately

¹ "Et stort gilde med æggende og skæbnesvangre sammenstød skulde der være i stykket."

completing his new Viking play. His interest in the folk ballad, for instance, led him in this year (1854) to make a close study of Landstad's famous collection of Norwegian folk ballads, which had just appeared the year before (1853). So it happened in 1855 that the tragedy *Hærmændene paa Helgeland*,² which had existed only in the vaguest outlines in Ibsen's mind, was temporarily converted into the lyrical drama, *Gildet paa Solhaug*. Practically the same theme and especially the same tragic figures were preserved. Margit and Signe thus represent Hjørdis and Dagny in *Hærmændene*.

Olaf Liljekrans was written during the year (1856) intervening between the composition of *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1855) and that of *Hærmændene* (1857); therefore, it is possible that the impression from the sagas, which Ibsen developed in these two plays, may also have left its trace in *Olaf Liljekrans*. Much has been written³ about *Olaf Liljekrans* in its bearing upon Ibsen's literary development, but the question of a possible connection between this work and *Hærmændene* has been almost entirely overlooked.

A work of such composite nature as *Olaf Liljekrans* leads the investigator in many directions; there is much which connects it with the literary traditions of the time, and much that points the way towards new ideals, which were later to take definite shape in the poet's mind. The satirical elements of the play, for instance, are presented in the traditional form of the Danish comedy and are clearly connected with the spirit and form of *Sankt Hansnatten* (1852) written during Ibsen's *Andhrimner* period, where the first glimpses of his hostility to Romantic sentimentality are discerned. On

² Cf. *Fortale til Gildet paa Solhaug*, 1883: "Således skede det, at det formløst gærende udkast til tragedien "Hærmændene på Helgeland" foreløbig forvandlede sig til det lyriske drama "Gildet på Solhaug."

³ The most illuminating criticisms on *Olaf Liljekrans* are: Georg Brandes, *Henrik Ibsen*, Tredje Indtryk, pp. 128-135, København, 1898. Fredrik Paasche, *Gildet paa Solhaug*, pp. 35, 54, 65, 88, 90-91, Smaaskrifter fra det litteraturhistoriske Seminar, No. V, Kristiania, 1908; *Olaf Liljekrans*, *Et bidrag til studiet av Ibsens forhold til vore viser og sagn*, Maal og Minne, pp. 142-161, Kristiania, 1909. Emil Reich, *Henrik Ibsens Dramen*, pp. 36-39, Berlin, 1913. V. Vasenius, *Henrik Ibsen, Ett Skaldeporträtt*, Chap. V, pp. 87-102, Stockholm, 1882.

the other hand, the lofty idealism of the poet's own philosophy of life is infused into that of his principal characters in *Olaf Liljekrans* with a clarity that admits of no doubt as to the great problems which were now beginning to occupy his efforts.

In a previous article,⁴ I pointed out the relation of *Olaf Liljekrans* to certain of Ibsen's later works (viz., *Paa Vidderne*, pp. 385-390, *Peer Gynt*, pp. 393-400), but there is still much to be said

about the relation of *Olaf Liljekrans* to Ibsen's literary productions both previous and subsequent to the composition of this work. It is, therefore, the purpose of the following article to pick up the literary threads in *Olaf Liljekrans* and weave them together into some sort of organic unity, which will present Ibsen's literary development during this period in a clearer light than has heretofore been done.

The relation of Ibsen's *Olaf Liljekrans* to his little two-act play,⁵ *Rypen i Justedal* (1850), has been treated in outline by Fredrik Paasche (see bibliography, foot-note 2, *Gildet paa Solhaug*, p. 65 ff., pp. 90-91, *Olaf Liljekrans*, pp. 142-143), who points out the essential features in which the two plays concur or diverge.

The bearing of *Olaf Liljekrans* upon Ibsen's literary development in the 50's cannot be satisfactorily determined without connecting this work with his earlier conception of the same story, as represented in *Rypen i Justedal*. Based upon the legend of *Justedalsrypa*, as contained in Faye's collection (p. 129) of *Norske Folkesagn* (Kra., 1844), Ibsen's *Rypen i Justedal* is but a fragmentary prelude (with slightly different situations) to his later work, in which he followed the story found in the folk ballad, *Oluf Liljukrans*, contained in Landstad's *Norske Folkeviser* (p. 355, Kra., 1853).

Rypen i Justedal is far less original than his later work, is without much poetry or imaginative power, and has very little action. Wherever the lyrical tone is predominant, Welhaven's style is clearly recognizable.

⁴"*Olaf Liljekrans* and Ibsen's later Works," J.E. Germ. Phil., 1912, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 381-401.

⁵Only part of the second act was ever finished; see Ibsen's *Efterladte Skrifter*, pp. 339-370, Kristiania, 1909.

In *Olaf Liljekrans*, on the other hand, situations arise in which a real dramatic power is revealed, while the lyrical passages show a fine sense of beauty, rarely equalled in Ibsen's verse; in fact, the poet shows in this work how well he was able to adapt the folk song to a dramatic setting.

The distinct improvement in the poetic and dramatic art of *Olaf Liljekrans* warrants a new comparison of the two works, with a view towards determining exactly in what way certain conceptions in the earlier play were modified or extended in the later, and what features, common to both plays, were elsewhere reflected in Ibsen's works. Therefore, in the following analysis of the literary elements present in *Olaf Liljekrans*, special reference will be made to *Rypen i Justedal*.

A

SATIRE

1) *Elements in Rypen i Justedal*

Rypen i Justedal was written in the conventional iambic pentameter of Öhlenschläger's tragedies, interspersed with rhymed verse and with prose. It is significant that the prose form begins where the priest Mogens is first introduced. Mogens is a satirical philistine, who stands out in sharp contrast to the other Romantic figures of the play, precisely after the fashion of such characters in the satirical comedies of *Heiberg* or *Hostrup*. Mogens does not fit the Romantic atmosphere of the play; he is an ordinary, self-satisfied, every-day person who likes good wine, quotes Latin to the peasants, and, tho afraid of Herr Bengt, is concerned for the latter's salvation. Herr Bengt himself, tho by no means the ordinary character that Mogens represents, takes a much more realistic and prosaic view of life than do the other characters in the play. It should be noted, further, that in the conversation between Mogens and Herr Bengt, there are revealed those events in the past, upon which the action of the play depends, after the same "analytical" method that Ibsen had previously employed in his satirical comedy, *Sankt Hansnatten*⁶ (1852).

Likewise in *Olaf Liljekrans*, prose is generally used (instead of

⁶ See my article on *Sankt Hansnatten*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 1915, Vol. XIV, No. 3, p. 357.

the rhymed verse of the folk ballad), wherever the action of the play is advanced. The character Mogens disappears, but the farcical element is greatly extended in the amusing escapade of Hemming and Ingeborg, and especially in the relations of Hemming to his master, Arne fra Guldvik. The latter character has much in common with his prototype, Bengt in *Rypen i Justedal*, both of whom take the same prosaic and realistic view of life and have no faith in fairy-lore.⁷

In *Olaf Liljekrans*, this realistic view of life is further shared by Hemming and Ingeborg, who in their Romantic elopement, parody the idealism of true love, as represented by Olaf and Alfild. This travesty on Romantic idealism is in entire accord with the critical, burlesque spirit which Ibsen had before this time shown in his Andhrimner period (cf. his critique of Jensen's *Huldrens Hjem*, 1851). In *Sankt Hansnatten*⁸ (1852), for instance, the philistine view of life is presented as a foil to Romantic idealism in the two pairs of lovers (*Paulsen-Juliane*, *Johannes Birk-Jomfru Anne*), precisely as in *Olaf Liljekrans* (*Hemming-Ingeborg*, *Olaf-Alfild*).

The wilful and capricious character of Ingeborg in *Olaf Liljekrans*, her coquetry and flirtatious attitude towards Hemming (Act I, 7), whom she now leads on by compromising methods and now repulses with assumed indignation, evidently harkens back to the character of Mereta in *Rypen i Justedal*, who assumes (Act II) towards Einar a similar, but far less emphatic attitude. Both Mereta and Ingeborg are at heart well disposed towards their lover's suit, both keep him in suspense by similar tactics, but finally give

7

Rypen i Justedal

Act I.

Knud (reiser sig). Du tror da ei paa vore Sagn—

Bengt. *Sligt er jo kun for Børn og Kvinder.*

Olaf Liljekrans

Act I, 6

Hemming

Men det er dog sandhed, det med bruden, som blev borte på bryllups-kvelden.

Arne

Ej, det var for mange aar siden, *nu hænder ikke sligt mere!*

⁸ See my article on *Sankt Hansnatten*, p. 361.

their consent by presenting him with a token of love and fidelity. Ingeborg's underhanded method of egging Hemming on to elope, by reciting verses from the folk song (a satirical attitude that characterizes her thruout the play), has no counterpart in *Rypen i Justedal*, but is a device⁹ of typically Romantic character.

2) *The Satirical Comedy in Olaf Liljekrans*

The relations of Ingeborg to Hemming in *Olaf Liljekrans* are extended into a satirical comedy after the fashion of Heiberg or Hostrup. The plot hinges on the trite question of a *mariage de convenance* which the lovers seek to escape; a theme, which Ibsen, as early as in *Sankt Hansnatten* (1852), had already touched upon. In *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1855) the same theme appeared and later in *Kjærlighedens Komædie* (finished in 1862, but begun as early as 1858), it was again developed into a satirical comedy, many features of which may harken back to both *Olaf Liljekrans* and *Sankt Hansnatten* (cf. e.g. Paulsen's cynical attitude towards love and marriage, which reflects the whole spirit of *Kjærlighedens Komædie*).

Furthermore, certain technical devices in *Olaf Liljekrans* are also to be found in both *Sankt Hansnatten* and *Gildet paa Solhaug*; such as, for instance, the misunderstanding between Hemming and Fru Kirsten as to Ingeborg's suitor, when both parties purposely withhold the suitor's name (cf. in *Gildet paa Solhaug* Margit's reference to Signe's lover—"hvis en bejler red sig hid i kveld" Act I—whom Signe supposes to be Gudmund but who is in reality Knut Gæsling).

3) *Resemblance to Holberg's "Comedies d'Intrigue"*

Aside from its satirical vein, this farcical episode (Hemming-Ingeborg) in *Olaf Liljekrans* bears a general resemblance to Holberg's comedies, which were extensively imitated by Heiberg and the Danish Vaudeville writers (cf. Heiberg's essay, *Om Vaudeville som dramatisk Digttart og dens Betydning paa den danske Skueplads*, 1826).

In *Olaf Liljekrans*, the *mariage de convenance* fails and a true love affair is consummated in spite of the parents' selfish motives.

⁹ Compare Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*, Canto VI, *Frithiof spelar schack*, where Frithiof answers Hilding in terms of the game of chess which he is playing.

This is made possible chiefly thru the machinations of the quick witted Ingeborg.

Such is also the traditional theme of Holberg's *Comedies d'Intrigue*, in which the parents are outwitted thru some clever device upon the part of the lovers (*Leander* and *Lenore*), who are in turn generally assisted in their machinations ("spille dem et puds," "sætte voxnæse paa dem") by their clever servants (*Henrik* and *Pernille*).

Ingeborg has much in common with the resourceful and coquettish Pernille, while Hemming (like Henrik) tho indispensable to his master, is continually outwitting him. Arne calls him repeatedly "a sly dog"—*en listig hund* (Act II, 10)—and is in continual fear that Hemming will play him some underhanded trick. When Arne, for instance, realizes he has been lead about on a wild-goose chase the whole day long, he attributes it all to Hemming's machinations (Act II, 10): "Dette har været mig *en forbandet*¹⁰ dag! O, det er dog en *listig hund*, den Hemming!" And again, when Alfild is on trial and Fru Kirsten fails to gain a satisfactory answer from her, Arne exclaims in true Arlequin fashion (aside to the audience—Act III, 8): "Havde *Hemming* været i live, så skulde han nok fået sandheden ud af hende; han var bleven så *listig* på sine sidste dage."

Ibsen himself had read and admired Holberg, and it is not surprising if traces of Holberg's influence can be detected in his own works. Ibsen frequently quoted Holberg, as for instance, in his *Fortale* to *Gildet paa Solhaug*¹¹ (1883) where he brands his Christiania critics as young *Jeronimuses*—"Jeronimus" in Holberg's comedies represents a type of restricted and arrogant intellect. Likewise in *De Unges Forbund* (1869), Ibsen makes a direct reference¹² to Holberg's *Jeppe paa Bierget*. Holberg's keen satirical

¹⁰ Cf. Holberg's *Jeppe paa Bierget*, Act V, 3, when Jeppe realizes he has been duped: "Det er nogle forbandede Historier, naar jeg ret eftertænker det."

¹¹ "Blev et eller andet vers et sådant uhyre påtruffet, kunde man være sikker på, at de unge kristianiensiske *Jeronimusser*, ligervis som Holbergs egen, udråbte deres: Hillemand, verden står ikke til påske!"

¹²

De Unges Forbund

Act II, 1

Aslaksen.—Jo, pytl! *Hvor længe var Jeppe i paradiset?* Knald og fald, ud af det igen;—hele herligheden faldt i fisk, som vi siger i trykkeriet.

So too Jeppe says (*Jeppe paa Bierget*, Act IV, 1): "Hvorlænge var Abraham i Paradiis?"

sense was fully appreciated by Ibsen, who on many other occasions quoted him; in fact, the Danish comedy writer was one of the few foreign authors whom Ibsen read¹³ very extensively.

Georg Brandes (*Henrik Ibsen*, Tredje Indtryk, p. 131, København, 1898) has pointed out the similarity in the issue of the Ingeborg-Hemming romance to the situation involved in *Kjærlighedens Komædie* between Svanhild and Falk, both of whom suffer, as do Ingeborg and Hemming, a sudden disillusionment of Romantic ideals.

Similarly, Vasenius (*Henrik Ibsen, Ett Skaldeporträtt*, p. 98, Stockholm, 1882) notes that the outcome of the Ingeborg-Hemming romance resembles the lamentable story of Pastor Stråmand, who married for "true love," disregarding all the advantages that might accrue from a *mariage de convenance*.

Vasenius further remarks (*ibid.*, p. 93) that the three characters (Arne, Hemming, Ingeborg), representing the *personae dramatis* of this little farce, are common, every-day people who, by their unsuccessful attempts to reach the same Romantic heights as do the other characters of the play, make both themselves and Romantic idealism ridiculous.

Both Brandes and Vasenius have thus noted in these satirical elements of *Olaf Liljekrans* the advance in Realism and the decay of Romantic ideals. But, it must also be noted that *the form, in which these satirical elements are presented*, is an inheritance from the traditional Danish comedy, which Ibsen had previously so successfully imitated in *Sankt Hansnatten*. Both in *Sankt Hansnatten* and in *Olaf Liljekrans*, two pairs of lovers, representing the idealist and the philistine, are introduced as a foil to each other, and the same satirical attitude is assumed in both plays towards the illusionary ideals of the Romanticist. Ibsen's early dissatisfaction¹⁴ with the ideals of the Romantic School thus found in *Olaf Liljekrans* the same form for expression as in *Sankt Hansnatten*.

¹³ See Roman Woerner, *Henrik Ibsen*, II, 43, München, 1912: "Also wird er wohl, oder muss er gar an die Tradition des grossen nordischen Komödiendichters angeknüpft haben;" also Anathon Aall, "Filosofien i Norden," pp. 99 ff., *Edda*, 3, 1917.

¹⁴ See my article on *Sankt Hansnatten*, pp. 365 ff.

B

EXTENSION OF FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

Aside from the satirical elements, there are certain fundamental concepts in *Rypen i Justedal*, which serve as a vehicle of truth for the poet, and which he consequently expands in *Olaf Liljekrans* and in his later plays. A part of the material and some of the characters (as shown above) in *Rypen i Justedal* were discarded in *Olaf Liljekrans*, as unessential to the new conception of the story based upon the folk ballad. In the latter work, for instance, hardly a reference is made to the Black Death (*Svartedauen*, cf. *landfarsottens tid*, *Olaf Liljekrans*, Act I, 13) which plays such an important part in the former. On the hand, the figure of Knud, the minstrel, is preserved intact in Thorgjerd of *Olaf Liljekrans*, whose relations to Alfild are, furthermore, so extended that they play a far greater part in the dramatic conflict. The Romantic idealism of these two children of nature clash with the realities of life, with far greater dramatic force in *Olaf Liljekrans* than in *Rypen i Justedal*.

Thus, Ibsen preserved in *Olaf Liljekrans* only those concepts in *Rypen i Justedal*, which were essential to the greater problems involved in his later work, many of which were as yet only dimly outlined, but in later years became the vital elements of his poetry. At least two such vital elements deserve special comment, viz. (1) the ideal of the poet's 'call,' and (2) the conflict between *Idealism* and *Realism*.

1) *The Poet's 'Call'*

It is significant that as early as the year 1850, Ibsen fashioned out of the simple character of Knud the minstrel, in *Rypen i Justedal*, a symbolic figure representing that ideal 'call' which was the one great stimulus to Ibsen's own life's work.

Paasche has already shown (*Gildet paa Solhaug*, p. 54) how the name, *Knud*, was changed to that of *Thorgjerd*, who was none other than the minstrel *Torgeir Audunson*, whom Welhaven had glorified in his poem of 1849 (*Alfernes Lind*). Knud and Thorgjerd are divergent in their attitude towards fairy-lore; Knud actually believes in the supernatural, while Thorgjerd views such as mere poetic imagery from which he may draw inspiration for his art—so far had Ibsen progressed towards a realistic attitude in this regard. In spite of this divergence, these two symbolic figures are,

nevertheless, in complete accord with reference to the poet's mission in life. Thorgjerd's apotheosis of the poet's mission, as interpreter of the national spirit, (Act III, 10), is merely a verse rendering of Knud's (Act II). Nowhere else does such a close correspondence in thought and diction occur in the two plays; evidently then, this conception was a fundamental idea with Ibsen, which he could on no account afford to discard. In fact, the growth of this ideal, in its universal application to the individual in life (i.e., 'the call') is the most marked phase of Ibsen's struggle towards the realization of true happiness, and perhaps the most important element in his idealistic philosophy (cf. this ideal especially in *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*). The 'call' of the poet was, furthermore, a matter of vital *personal* importance to Ibsen. Later in 1864, this concept received its most beautiful expression in *Kongsemnerne* (Act IV, 1) in the celebrated dialog between King Skule and Jatgejr, the Skald; a reflection of Ibsen's own soul, for at this time he entertained grave doubts as to his own mission in life.

Even as early as the 50's, this ideal conception of the poet's mission, as spokesman of the nation, can be clearly seen in Ibsen's writings, aside from the symbolic figure of Knud—Thorgjerd (as shown above). In the same year as *Rypen i Justedal* (1850), for instance, Ibsen presented to the Norwegian nation, in his poem, *Til Norges Skjalder*,¹⁵ a most powerful appeal to this ideal, and in the next year (1851) gave it a more definite and detailed expression in his critique¹⁶ of Jensen's *Huldrens Hjem*. Furthermore, Ibsen's

15

Til Norges Skjalder.

Er ikke den Gnist i eie da kuh
En Gave jer skjænket til Nytte for Folket,
Der kræver af Skjaldens begeistrede Mund
Sin Smærte, sin Lyst og sin Længsel fortolket.

¹⁶ "Den nationale forfatter, er den, der forstår at meddele i sit værk hin grundtone, der klinger os imøde fra fjeld og dal, fra li og strand, men *fremfor alt fra vort eget indre.*"

Compare this, for instance, with the minstrel's apotheosis of poetry in *Rypen i Justedal* (Knud, in Act II):

"Og hvad der rører sig i Folkets Barm,
det maa jeg tolke gennem mine Strengel!"

and in *Olaf Liljekrans* (Thorgjerd, in Act III, 10):

"maa lure på det liv, som i brystet banker,
klæde folkets drømme i toner og ord,
og klare dets gærende tanker!"

cynical attitude in *Sankt Hansnatten* (1852) towards the Romantic poets indicates his growing dissatisfaction with them, as interpreters of the national spirit ("Det er Huldren—det Nationaleste vi har"). In fact, the relation of the poet to the nation was one of those factors involved in Ibsen's break with the traditional Romantic ideals. Thus, the figure of Knud-Thorgjerd represents a most vital element in Ibsen's literary development.

2) *Idealism and Realism*

It has already been shown that the realistic tone in the satirical elements of *Olaf Liljekrans* marks a decline in Ibsen's Romantic ideals. The conflict between *Realism* and *Idealism* reaches its crisis, however, in the relations of Alfild to Olaf, where the illusionary visions of fairy-lore are brought into sharp contrast with the actual facts in life. Tho glorifying the ideal, Ibsen here, at the same time, assumes an attitude of hostility towards the visionary Romanticist who, like Peer Gynt, is blind to the proper relation of fairy-lore to human life. Such an attitude was by no means new, for he had already sounded the same note during the immediate previous years in his criticisms of the Romantic poets, whom he also had satirized in *Sankt Hansnatten*. The trend towards Realism was, therefore, not so spontaneous as is generally believed. In a word, Ibsen's line of development must be traced from *Sankt Hansnatten* (1852) thru *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1855) to *Olaf Liljekrans* (1856). Ibsen's *Andhrimmer* period is the starting point, and if we hold this in mind, the decline in his Romantic ideals does not appear so abrupt as the immediate relation of *Gildet paa Solhaug* to *Olaf Liljekrans* would seem to indicate.

George Brandes (*Henrik Ibsen*, Tredje Indtryk, pp. 130-131) has pointed out that in these scenes where *Idealism* and *Realism* clash, there is a general resemblance in style and an unmistakable kinship in thought to certain scenes in *Peer Gynt* (cf. especially the *Dovregubbe* scene with *Olaf Liljekrans*, Act II, 4). Both Brandes (ibid.) and Vasenius (*Henrik Ibsen, Ett Skaldeporträtt*, p. 92) point out the unmistakable kinship in thought between *Olaf Liljekrans* and *Kjærligheds Komædie* (cf. the relations of *Falk* to *Svanhild*). But this kinship in thought is not confined to Ibsen's later Romantic works such as *Peer Gynt* and *Kjærlighedens Komædie*.

Indeed, the conflict, so plainly marked in *Olaf Liljekrans*, between the *philistine* and the *idealist*, between *convention* and *conscience* constitutes the central theme of the author's later problem plays.

a) *Relation to Peer Gynt*

In my previous article on *Olaf Liljekrans* (*J. E. Germ. Phil.* Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 393-400), Brandes' parallel between *Olaf Liljekrans* and *Peer Gynt* was supplemented by additional scenes from the latter play. But these can be further extended and their relation shown to the initial situations in *Rypen i Justedal*.

It was pointed out in my article (pp. 397-398) that the scene in *Peer Gynt* (Act III, 3), where Solvejg joins Peer upon the mountains, bears a close resemblance in thought and style to that scene in *Olaf Liljekrans* (Act II, 11) in which Alfild likewise abandons all she holds dear, in order to give her life to him whom she has chosen as her life's companion. This situation evidently had its inception in *Rypen i Justedal* (Act II), where Alfild expresses the same thought, but without that abandonment and poetic beauty which characterizes the corresponding passages in the two later works.¹⁷

Immediately after her lover's return (*Rypen i Justedal*, Act II; *Olaf Liljekrans*, Act I, 10), Alfild implores¹⁸ him not to jilt her, now that her fate lies entirely in his hands, just as does Solvejg in *Peer Gynt* (Act III, 3) when, after severing her home-ties, she rejoins Peer upon the mountains:

¹⁷

Rypen i Justedal.

Act II

Alfild. Ja, ja, jeg vil!—
o, du vil sikkert være god mod Alfild,
naar hun forlader denne fagre Dal,
da har hun Intet, Intet uden dig.

¹⁸

Rypen i Justedal.

Act II

Alfild.—(iler imod ham) nu maa du ei meer
saasnart forlade Alfild,—

Olaf Liljekrans

Act I, 10

Alfild

O, bliv, bliv! gå ikke fra mig!

"Gud signe dit arbejd. Du får ikke vrage mig.
Budsendt jeg kommer, og så får du tage mig."

The lover's assurance¹⁹ of fidelity towards Alfhild is very simply expressed in *Rypen i Justedal* (Act II) but is extended with Romantic fervor in *Olaf Liljekrans* (Act III, 3), where Olaf's tender solicitation for Alfhild seems to be reflected in that exquisite scene in *Peer Gynt* (Act III, 3), where Peer welcomes Solvejg into his future home upon the mountains.

A further resemblance to *Peer Gynt* may be detected in the second Scene of Act III in *Olaf Liljekrans*. Here Olaf, in his search for Alfhild meets the minstrel Thorgjerd alone on the mountains. This symbolic figure, who is supposed to be in the possession of supernatural powers and is, therefore, a most dangerous person for those who have wronged him—Olaf has already deserted Alfhild, Thorgjerd's foster-child—resembles the ominous personality of the *Button-Moulder* (cf. also the *Devil*, or the *Dovregubbe*), with whom Peer is finally confronted (Act. V.). Thorgjerd's insinuations as to an impending disaster ("Den jagt er farlig!"), his skill in repartee, and the laconic expression of his veiled sarcasm—almost the whole scene is written in stichomythy—bears a general resem-

19

Rypen i Justedalen

Act II

Bjørn. At jeg vil være god mod dig og tænke paa dig allene alle mine
Dage—

Olaf Liljekrans

Act III, 3

Olaf

Kummerens tårer skal jeg kysse fra din kind,
skal jevne din sti, skal bære dig på hænder,
skal svale sorgen, som svider i dit sind,
skal læge det sår, som i hjertet brænder!

Peer Gynt

Act III, 3

Peer Gynt

Så har jeg dig! Ind! Lad mig se dig i stuen!
Gå ind! Jeg skal hente tyri til gruen;
lunt skal det varme og bjart skal det lyse,
blødt skal du sidde og aldrig skal du fryse.

blance²⁰ in style and thought to the last act of *Peer Gynt*, where the *Button-Moulder* accosts Peer. It should also be noted, aside from the reference²¹ to the shot which rebounds upon the huntsman (cf. the legend of Peer Gynt in *Asbjørnsen* and *Moe*, 1848), that Thorgjerd takes leave of Olaf with the same ominous reference to a future meeting:

"Farvel! Dvæler du her, så kan vi mødes,
når jeg kommer nedover."

"Nå da, lad gå,
Men husk, ved næste korsvej vi mødes."

b) *Relation to Ibsen's Problem Plays*

In *Olaf Liljekrans* Ibsen touches for the first time upon the great problem of individualism. In Act I, 10, Olaf declares to Alfhild that of all the sacred relations of life, which his love for her has caused him to forget, the most important is *his own self*:

"Jeg glemte mere end Gud og hjem, mere end himmel og
jord, jeg glemte mig selv!"

²⁰ The opening lines of this scene illustrate the similarity of style in both plays.

Olaf Liljekrans

Act III, 2

Olaf

Godt møde, fremmedkarl!

Thorgjerd

Tak, det samme igen. Du er tidlig ude!

Olaf

Eller sent; tidlig på dagen, men sent på natten.

Peer Gynt

Act V

Knappestøberen

Godt møde, gubbe!

Peer Gynt

God kveld, min ven!

Knappestøberen

Karlen har hastværk. Hvor skal han hen?

²¹ "Ifald skuddet rammer skytten selv, så times
ham den bedste lykke, når han ingen lykke har med sig."

This has no counterpart in *Rypen i Justedal*, but Paasche ("Olaf Liljekrans," *Maal og Minne*, p. 147, 1909) points out the origin of this passage in the folk song, *Herr Byting og elvekvinna*, (Landstad, p. 459, 1853). In the folk song, the hero has forgotten earth, heaven and God, and is under the delusion²² that he himself was born in *Elfland* and had always lived there. By making the hero in *Olaf Liljekrans*, on the other hand, directly state that he *forgot himself*, Ibsen gives expression to the great problem of self-realization ("at være sig selv"), which later occupied him in both *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* and which is inseparably connected with the ever present conflict between Idealism and Realism involved in all his subsequent dramas. Olaf continually struggles with the growing presentiment that the question at stake is not really the material welfare of his family, as represented by his mother, but his *own happiness*. As soon as he recovers his true self (Act III, 8) he throws down the gauntlet to his mother, who has sought to force him into this unnatural union, and reveals *the false relation of parent to child*, which later became one of the principal themes in Ibsen's problem plays.²³

Like Karsten Bernick in *Samfundets Støtter* (1877), Olaf (Act III, 8) exonerates the accused and makes a clean breast of his own guilt. Not until then does he gain the victory over self and exper-

²² "I Elvarland der er eg fødd og der er eg boren,
og i Elvarland er alle mine hofklæðir skorn.
I Elvarland der vil eg liva og døy,
i Elvarland der finn eg mi festarmøy."

²³ Cf., for instance,

Olaf Liljekrans

Act III, 8

Olaf

Stor sorg voldes mig derved, skøndt det er
længe siden *I var en sand moder for mig.*

Lille Eyolf

Act I

Almers. Nu ser jeg, at det højeste, jeg har at gøre her i verden, det er
at være en sand far for Eyolf.

Samfundets Støtter

Act IV

Karsten Bernick. Og jeg lover dig, du skal aldrig få grund til det. Her-
efter skal du få lov til at vokse op, ikke som arvetager til *min* livsgerning, men
som den, der selv har en livsgerning i vente.

ience the full realization that only *in* and *thru himself* can he gain that flower of happiness, which Alfild had promised him (Act I, 9): "Da—først da kan du lykken finde!" Thus, the momentous question of personal responsibility is raised, which is inevitably connected with the problem of self-realization.

The chastening influence of sorrow, which both Olaf and Alfild recognize, is also a conception which was paramount in Ibsen's poetry. Both characters undergo this moral purification, which prepares them for the final realization of happiness. Alfild's heroic attitude towards Fru Kirsten (Act III, 8), when confronted by torture and death, is an expression of that high idealism which the spirit of love engenders. Alfild here represents the spirit over against the letter of the law; thus shifting the moral²⁴ responsibility for the catastrophe upon Fru Kirsten herself and those who have been guilty of infringement upon the law of the spirit (i.e., of true love).

Like Irene in *Når Vi Døde Vågner* (1899), Alfild here raises the great question of life's valuations and of moral responsibility, as determined by these divergent ideals. After Olaf has denied her, she no longer regards herself among the living, since she has lost that which gave her life its true worth (Act III, 8):

"Da Olaf fornægtede sin kærlighed,
da slukkedes mit liv,—jeg lever ikke længer."

just as does Irene, after suffering the disillusionment of that ideal of love, upon which the real content of her life depends (Act I): "Jeg var død i mange år." Such is the death of the spirit, in which the human soul suffers even more intensely than in the death of the body.

Furthermore, altho such a great lapse of time separates the two plays (1856-1899), Ibsen uses in both the same poetic figure²⁵ (viz., that of *physical burial*) for the deceased spirit.

²⁴

Olay Liljekrans

Act III, 8

Alfild

Ja, jeg har brændt din gård inat; men du og
Olaf og alle I andre derude *har øvet en værre jærde*
mod mig.

Similarly, the ideal, which these two women were to realize in the union with their chosen consort, is in both plays expressed in the same poetic figure,²⁵ viz., 'the glory of the world' (*alverdens herlighed*). This conception, based upon the biblical passage of the Temptation (Matth. IV, 8) is one of Ibsen's favorite recurrent phrases (cf. *Kongsemnerne*, Act V, *Kejser og Galilæer*, *Cæsar's Fræfald*, Act III). The measure of man's happiness lies not in the attainment of earthly glory, but in fulfillment of the law governing the development of the human soul.

In the conflict between Idealism and Realism in *Olaf Liljekrans* Ibsen thus touched upon the essential elements of his idealistic philosophy and of all those great psychological problems which were the theme of his later dramas.

C

OLAF LILJEKRANS AND THE SAGA STYLE

The introduction of the Viking drama into Norwegian literature in the year 1857, was marked by the innovation of a literary style entirely different from that employed in this type of drama by

25

Olaf Liljekrans

Act III, 3

Alfhild

Nu sænkes jeg i jorden ned!

nu kaster de muldet derover!

Og her må jeg ligge med all min nød

må leve og lide, skøndt jeg er død:

Naar Vi Døde Vaagner

Act I

Irene

Så sænkte de mig ned i et gravkammer med jernstænger for lugen. Og med polstrede vægge,—så ingen ovenover på jorden kunde høre gravskrigene.— Men nu begynder jeg så halvvejs at stå op fra de døde.

26

Olaf Liljekrans

Act III, 3

Olaf

Du vilde ud i livet, sagde du; du vilde lære *alverdens herlighed* at kende.

Naar Vi Døde Vaagner

Act II

Professor Rubeck (spøger bortledende). Loved jeg dig ikke at ta dig med mig op på et højt berg og vise dig *alverdens herlighed*?

Öhlenschläger and the Danish Romanticists. In this year, both Ibsen in *Hærmændene* and Bjørnson in *Mellem Slagene* discarded the cumbersome iambic pentameter of Öhlenschläger's tragedies for a clear, concise and laconic prose form in imitation of the original style of the Icelandic saga.

In his essay on the *Heroic Ballad* (*Om kæmpevisen og dens betydning for kunstpoesien*, 1857), Ibsen openly declared his dissatisfaction with Öhlenschläger's adaptation of form to material and especially with his use of the classic iambic pentameter, on the ground that this was not a national type of verse form. "A *Hakon Jarl* in prose," he asserts, "would be, in Öhlenschläger's hands, just as poetical as in verse form."

According to Botten-Hansen (*Illustreret Nyhedsblad*, 1863, No. 29) Ibsen first began *Hærmændene* in verse form, but in view of Ibsen's criticism of Öhlenschläger's use of the iambic pentameter it is hardly to be assumed that Ibsen chose this form of verse for his *Hærmændene*. Whatever verse form he did choose,²⁷ it was probably very soon discarded for prose.

Tho the prose style of *Hærmændene* resembles that of Bjørnson's *Mellem Slagene*, it is far from likely that this resemblance was due to a direct imitation of Bjørnson's work, altho the latter appeared shortly before *Hærmændene* (early in the winter of 1856-1857).

Christen Collin²⁸ believes that the coincidence of the saga style in Ibsen's *Hærmændene* and Bjørnson's *Mellem Slagene* (also in his peasant tales, *Thrond* and *Synnøve Solbakken*, of this same year) was not due to any conscious imitation on Ibsen's part, but rather to a desire to rival Bjørnson in this new field.

Collin's view as to Ibsen's independence in this matter may possibly be confirmed by Ibsen's letter of April 28, 1857, to Botten-

²⁷ Roman Woerner (*Henrik Ibsen*, I, 69, München, 1912) surmises the *iambic trimeter*, which Ibsen in his essay on the *Heroic Ballad* viewed much more favorably than he did the traditional iambic pentameter.

²⁸ Christen Collin, *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson*, II, 212, Kristiania, 1906: "Henrik Ibsens sagastil i *Hærmændene*" er ikke en efterligning af Bjørnsons sagastil i *Mellem Slagene*" eller i *Synnøve*." Men efter al sandsynlighed er Ibsens sagastil bleven til i bevidst *kappestrid* med Bjørnsons."

Hansen (*Breve*, I, No. 72). In this letter²⁹ Ibsen writes that the drama, upon which he was then working (viz., *Hærmændene*), was to be both in contents and *tone* (i.e., style?) somewhat different from his previous works. That he here emphasizes the *tone* of the work may indicate, as Ferdinand Lynner points³⁰ out, that Ibsen had already, of his own accord, determined to use the saga style in *Hærmændene*. If Ibsen had also read *Mellem Slagene*, as seems most likely from the fact that the latter work had already the winter before been submitted to the theater at Bergen (see Collin, *ibid.*, II, 212), then it may be inferred that Bjørnson's style in *Mellem Slagene* was merely an incidental factor in Ibsen's choice of the same style in *Hærmændene*. No doubt Ibsen clearly saw that Bjørnson had chosen the right way.

Both Lynner and Collin, however, might have further substantiated their contentions, if they had not overlooked the possible connection between *Olaf Liljekrans* and *Hærmændene* in the matter of prose style. Paasche³¹ is, to my knowledge, the first to point out that the peculiar inversion of word order and the terse dramatic presentation in *Olaf Liljekrans* may indicate a close connection between this work and *Hærmændene*. Paasche's inference may be further substantiated by other points of resemblance between the two plays.

Olaf Liljekrans was written in the year 1856, just between the time of *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1855) and of *Hærmændene* (1857). In his *Fortale* to *Gildet paa Solhaug* (1883), Ibsen tells us how his impressions from the *Volsungasaga* had led him to write this play, which was in fact only a lyrical rendering of *Hærmændene* as he had first conceived it. The motif for the plot of both plays was based

²⁹ "Jeg har allerede et nyt dramatisk arbeide mellem hænderne; det vil i indhold og *tone* blive temmelig forskjelligt fra mine tidligere."

³⁰ Ferdinand Lynner, *Hærmændene paa Helgeland*, *Henrik Ibsens forhold til kilderne i den norrøne Litteratur*, Smaaskrifter fra den litteraturhistoriske Seminar, No. VI, pp. 5-6, Kristiania, 1909.

³¹ Paasche, "Olaf Liljekrans," *Maal og Minne*, p. 160, 1909: "Ibsens prosa har en langt tydeligere norsk klang end hans poesie. Næsten i sagatone er den holdt. Den eiendommelige ordstilling og den knappe fremstillingsmaate pæker ned mot "*Hærmændene paa Helgeland*."

upon the quarrel between the two women, Brynhild and Gudrun, of the *Volsungasaga*.

Now, it will be noted that those prose passages in *Olaf Liljekrans*, which bear the closest resemblance to the saga style of *Hærmændene*, are to be found in the scenes involving the family feud between Fru Kirsten and Arne fra Guldvik. To be sure, there are traces of this same style (notably in the inversion of negative particles) elsewhere present in the play, but they are the most clearly marked here in the heated controversy between the heads of these two families (Act I, 4). The style in these passages is clearly suited to that element in *Olaf Liljekrans* most typical of the sagas, viz., the *traditional family feud*. The sensitive pride of both characters, their suspicions as to each other's sincerity, the increasing bitterness towards each other as the quarrel over the apparent failure of their reconciliation progresses, preserve the traditional character of the Icelandic family feud, such as that between Brynhild and Gudrun of the *Volsungasaga*. Such is the character of the quarrel in *Hærmændene* between Hjördis and Dagny or between Ørnulf and Hjördis, engendered by an *inherited family feud*. As in *Olaf Liljekrans*, each participant in the quarrel recites the past wrongs done to his kinsmen and eggs on the opposing party to violent expressions of wrath; evil insinuations and coarse vituperation are mutually exchanged.

Thus, not only does the style³² of *Olaf Liljekrans* in these passages resemble that of *Hærmændene*, but also the typical family feud of the Icelandic saga is in both plays presented in the same fashion. The substitution of a terse, laconic dialog indicates a further trace of saga influence, in view of the proximity elsewhere found in the play.

Aside from the question of style and dramatic presentation there are other definite points of resemblance between the two plays, which may indicate that Ibsen retained in *Hærmændene* certain impressions from *Olaf Liljekrans*.

³² Cf. especially the use of the inverted word order and the recurrence of certain set phrases typical of the saga language; for instance, "ikke er det nyt," "sent blev jeg færdig," "nu ser jeg grant," etc.

In Act II, 9 of *Olaf Liljekrans*, for instance, the relations of Alfild to Olaf are declared illegitimate, just as are those of Hjørdis to Gunnar in *Hærmændene* (Act I), on the ground that these parties have not complied with the statutes of the civil law; Olaf was already betrothed to Ingeborg and Hjørdis had been taken away by force in a Viking raid. Both Alfild and Hjørdis are, therefore, accused of being "concubines" (*friller*).

This motif in *Olaf Liljekrans*, as Paasche (*ibid.*, p. 150) points out, is most probably based upon the folk ballad, *Liti Kerstis hevn* (Landstad, p. 551), where Little Kersti is likewise accused of being a concubine ("deð er herre Pers frille"); out of revenge for this she sets fire to the church where her lover's wedding-ceremony is taking place, just as does Alfild in *Olaf Liljekrans*.

In *Hærmændene*, on the other hand, the situation shows a very strong resemblance, both in thought and language, to that chapter in the *Egilssaga*³³ (Peterson's translation, I, 181-184), where exactly the same legal question is raised in Egil's suit against Bergonund.

Granting the diversity of source, there is here, nevertheless, such a close resemblance between the two plays in the situation involved, in dramatic presentation and in phraseology, that one may be justified in inferring that Ibsen retained in *Hærmændene* a general impression of the parallel situation in *Olaf Liljekrans*. The following passages illustrate the point in question; the italicized words show how closely in diction the two passages resemble each other:

Olaf Liljekrans

Act II, 9

Ingeborg

Hemming skal ikke

for alteret med Alfild;—han er for god til at
ægte anden mands frille!

Olaf

(med et udråb)

Beskæmmet!

Gæsterne

Frille!

³³ See Lynner, *ibid.*, p. 45.

Olaf

Forbandelse over mig! Beskæmmet er hun!

Ingeborg

*Ja, højt nævner jeg ordet: Hun er anden mands frille! Lad den modsige mig, som tør.**Hærmændene paa Helgeland*

Act I

*Ørnulf (med hævet stemme). Jo, højt skal det siges! Hærtagen kvinde har ingen lovlig husbond!**Hjørdis (i vildt udbrud). Forhånet! beskæmmet! (med dirrende stemme). Det—det skal du komme til at angre!**Ørnulf (vedblivende). Hærtagen kvinde er kun at agte som frilleviv efter loven!*

Whatever the source upon which Ibsen based this scene in *Hærmændene*, the similarity in style and wording to the parallel scene in *Olaf Liljekrans* seems too close to be merely fortuitous. At any rate, it is certain that Ibsen had already in *Olaf Liljekrans* adopted a prose style that anticipates the saga style of *Hærmændene*, and this fact alone seems to me to be a satisfactory answer to the question as to Ibsen's indebtedness to Bjørnson in this regard.

Therefore, the traditional view that Ibsen was actually indebted to Bjørnson for the saga style in *Hærmændene*, must be discarded,³⁴ in view of the fact that Ibsen had already begun to try his hand at this new style in *Olaf Liljekrans* (1856) before the appearance of Bjørnson's *Mellem Slagene* and *Synnøve Solbakken* in 1857.

It is to be hoped that the above investigation as to the composite literary character of *Olaf Liljekrans* has shown (1) that Ibsen in this work was inclined to revert to the spirit of his *Andhrimmer* period,³⁵ thereby paving the way for the hostile attitude towards society which he assumed in *Kjærlighedens Komædie*, in *Brand* and in *Peer Gynt*, and (2) that his break with the traditional Romantic

³⁴ Cf. Roman Woerner, *Henrik Ibsen*, I, 69, München, 1912: "Mag er tatsächlich für sein in Versen—in Trimetern—begonnenes Schauspiel, erst durch Bjørnson bestimmt, die archaische Prosaform gewählt haben; immerhin kann *Synnøve Solbakken* nur als der äussere, einen innern Prozess beschleunigende Anlass gelten."

³⁵ Compare Introduction to Ibsen's *Ejterladte Skrifter* (by Halvdan Koht and Julius Elias), p. LXVIII: "Der kan ingen tvil være om at den nye periode i Ibsens digtning i flere henseender betegner en tilbagegriben til hans "Andhrimmer"-tid med dens polemiske stilling til samtidens bevægelser."

literary ideals, as manifested in *Hærmændene*, was already anticipated in *Olaf Liljekrans*.

Thus, the lines of Ibsen's literary development are drawn more closely together. Tho there may be a direct connection between *Peer Gynt* and Ibsen's *Andhrimner* period,³⁸ nevertheless, the intermediate relation of *Olaf Liljekrans* to *Peer Gynt* shows that the polemical attitude manifested in Ibsen's *Andhrimner* period was still a vital element in his poetry, an element which was gradually gathering new impulse for expression. Ibsen's demand for a clearer vision than that which the vague literary ideals of the Romantic poets afforded him is thus reflected in *Olaf Liljekrans*. This clearer vision he certainly did attain in adopting for *Olaf Liljekrans* a new prose style, which later became the vehicle of expression for the Norwegian Viking drama.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

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³⁸ Compare Act II of Jensen's *Huldrebrylluppet* (*En Hal i Jutulbjergel*) printed in *Andhrimner*, with the *Dovregubbe* scene in *Peer Gynt*, which also points back to a connection with the political travesty in *Norma*, tho only in a purely formal way.

OM PRÆPOSITIONSBRUKEN VED ISLANDSKE OG NORSKE GAARD-
NAVNE. Arnfinn Brekke. Kristiania, 1918 (H. Aschehoug & Co.)
Pp. 88.

The student of Old Norse must often have been struck by the extensive use of prepositions with names of places or family estates to designate home of the person named. Such prepositions as *á*, *í*, and *at* are constantly so used, and often also other prepositions. And when one meets with such a statement as: þá bjó barna-kjallakr, frændi þeira, a Meðalfellstrond, þar sem nú heitir á kjallaksstöðum, one sees that the preposition is really an integral part of the name (or at any rate apparently so). But in addition to these facts also the choice of preposition is, from the standpoint of modern Scandinavian or English, often surprising, particularly the many cases where *á* appears for the expected *í* and vice-versa. From the ON. standpoint the use of a particular preposition in any given case may usually be understood; there remain, however, plenty of instances where the construction met with is wholly illogical. The investigation before us aims to illustrate and interpret not only the problem suggested above, but also considers the whole scope of prepositions used with place-names and estate-names, irrespective of combinations with a personal name. On the other hand the author does not attempt to explain the origin of the practice; he contents himself with a study of conditions as they are in ON. and an outline of the later use down to the present.

An investigation within these limits, however, was decidedly worth while. We, here in America, who have some familiarity with Norwegian dialectal usage in the Norwegian settlements know that the prepositional use in question is quite common, and is especially characteristic of settlements made up largely of West Norwegians. In such localities the surname-forms *í Dalen*, *í Haugen*, *þaa Haugen*, *í Skogen*, *í Vik*, *í Kvam*, *í Bakken* etc., are common enough. In fact usage seems sometimes to require the use of the preposition with the farm-name even where the farm alone is spoken of, and not also the owner. At any rate there are cases where complete clearness as to which *Bakken* or *Haugen* meant seems to require it. As far as I am aware the prepositions used are *á* and *í* only; and I hasten to add that this practice is somewhat limited in scope, being heard mainly among the old.

Brekke's study appears as a number in the *Bidrag til nordisk filologi* by students at Christiania University, published under the editorship of Professor Magnus Olson. There is first an account of the usage in question as found in the Landnámabók, supplemented by that in certain sagas, (pp. 1-36.) Then follows similar material for the Old Norwegian charters from 1300 to about 1525 (pp. 37-73), thus bringing the investigation down to the early modern period. The material is divided under two heads according as the words in question are: A, *Naturnavne*, i.e., merely descriptive or topographical, (nature-names), and B, actual settlement-names, *Bebyggelsesnavne*, i.e., place-, and farm-names. A third part deals briefly with the present usage in two dialects of Western Nor-

way. As it was well to know in the second part of the investigation what the general Norwegian practice was, the author has chosen one group of charters for Hedemarken, one each for North and South Thronhjelm, while one group for South Bergenhus represents Western Norway.

Mr. Brekke finds that, in the oldest period, cases in question are almost exclusively with *d* and *i*, rarely *undir*, to a rather considerable extent, however, the preposition *at*. The farm-names appear only in the indefinite form. In this respect the Middle-Norwegian use (charters) differs in that it also exhibits numerous definite forms. And this development to the definite name-form goes on rapidly in the modern period, altho the indefinite is also used. However, in the matter of the prepositions so used a reduction is evidenced, resulting in most places in a levelling under the preposition *d*. The author deals somewhat fully with the reasons for these changes. He finds in regard to the practice itself that the principal underlying the use is that of the relative situation of the place, only in a lesser degree that of the meaning of the word. The preposition that attached itself to a place-name was the one which from the relative situation of the home-stead suggested itself to people around. Specifically the preposition *undir* appears only with words for mountains, promontories, etc., as *fell* and *gnúpr*; *at* was used with terms for lakes, rivers, waterfalls, etc., as *d* and *fors*. The levelling of the latter group under *d* would seem to involve in the consciousness of the speaker, a certain degree of separation, of the farm-name from the corresponding common name.²

As we should expect, it is found that names with *d* are made up especially of terms signifying "a flat, a flat place," as *grúnd* and *vøllr*; the *i*-group first of all, however, consists of names meaning "a hollow, a hollow place," like *dalr* or *botn*, in which the estate or the farm-stead might be said to lie. However, the practice varied and there are all sorts of exceptions. This is of course as might be expected. It can readily be seen that a "flat" farm in a valley which was spoken of by the preposition *d* by the remainder of the people in the immediate valley might just as naturally come to be spoken of with the preposition *i* by the people on the surrounding mountain sides; and so if the latter part of the inhabitants were numerically as important as the former, and especially if the valley were small, the two uses might be levelled under *i*.

With regard to names meaning "mountain, hill, hillside," etc. it is found that *d* and *i* are both used and, strange as it may at first seem, there are twice as many *i*-combinations as *d*-combinations. Now of course the use of *i* in these cases nowhere carries with it the idea of "in the hill" or "in the mountain." The author shows quite correctly that *d* in such cases was used where the farm or at any rate the dwelling was actually "upon, on top of," the hill, etc., but that if it were "on the side" of the hill or mountain, one said *i*. This is precisely the distinction between the two in American usage among the Norwegians.—*paa Bakken* and *i Bakken* are both found. In the latter case the farm-stead is always on side of the hill, "in the hillside" as it were. There are of course ON. uses of *i* that are of a different kind, but I cannot here take the space to discuss these. I would call attention, however, to the fact that there

is some difference in the scope of the various prepositions in the Middle Norwegian period as found in the charters. The author points out that the tendencies were the same for all parts of Norway at that time, resulting in an almost identical practice now. But the illustrative material he offers on pp. 40-71 shows to me that the old conditions are much more extensively preserved in the West, and that possibly North Throndhjem stands somewhat near to the West in these matters than does South Throndhjem. The use of the preposition *î* in South Bergenhus seems to have about as much vitality as that of *d*. In fact even in present usage in Vik Parish in Sogn about 1/3 of the names take *î* (p. 80). In this connection it is interesting to observe that in the Vik dialect today all names that take *î* require its use both with the definite and indefinite form; however, with indefinite *paa*-names in the present dialect the preposition is no longer used, something that also applies to most names in the definite form.

There is an index of the component parts of names and of the modern names appearing in Part III. I find few misprints (p. 84, line 3 from the bottom *er* for *en*). There is an inconsistent use of type in the superscriptions on p. 35.

GEORGE T. FLOW

University of Illinois.

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, on Friday and Saturday, May 3 and 4, 1918. The sessions were held in the *Classics Building*, Room 21.

First Session, Friday, May 3, 2:00 P.M.

In the absence of the President, the meeting was called to order by the Vice-President of the Society, Dr. Lee M. Hollander, who introduced Dean James R. Angell of the University of Chicago. Dean Angell extended to the members of the society a cordial welcome to the University of Chicago and called attention to measures the society might undertake to offset evils brought on by the war.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. Critical Comment on Dr. Logeman's Commentary on *Peer Gynt*. By Professor Julius E. Olson, University of Wisconsin. (20 minutes.) This paper was discussed by Professors Geo. T. Flom, A. M. Sturtevant, and Jules Mauritzson, Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson, Dr. Lee M. Hollander, and Mr. J. C. M. Hanson.

2. The Correlation of Scandinavian Courses with Other Subjects of Instruction. By Professor Geo. T. Flom, University of Illinois. (20 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Professors Jules Mauritzson and Julius E. Olson.

3. A Proposed Translation of the Edda. By Dr. Lee M. Hollander. (20 minutes.)

4. Olaf Liljekrans and Ibsen's Literary Development. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Professor Julius E. Olson.

Thereupon the chairman appointed the following committees: (1) To audit the treasurer's report; Professors A. Louis Elmquist and Jules Mauritzson; (2) To nominate officers, Professors Jules Mauritzson, Chester N. Gould, and Geo. T. Flom; (3) To present resolutions, Professors A. M. Sturtevant and A. Louis Elmquist.

The following were elected corresponding members: Wm. R. Craigie for Scotland, Marius Kristensen and Kristian Kålund of Copenhagen for Denmark, and Christen Collin of Christiania for Norway.

There were twenty-six present at this session.

The dinner at the Quadrangle Club at 6:00 o'clock was attended by twenty-five persons. After the dinner an informal program was carried out, consisting of music and speech-making. All joined in the singing of Scandinavian folk-songs and American national airs. Professor Julius E. Olson spoke on the society and its mission in the present time of war. The following took part in a discussion of the subject: Professor Jules Mauritzson, Judge O. M. Torrisson, Mr. J. C. M. Hanson, Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson, Professors A. M. Sturtevant, Einar Joranson, and Geo. T. Flom. A feature of the musical part of the program was the singing of several selections from "Gluntarne" by Professor Julius E. Olson and Prof. Einar Joranson.

Second Session, Saturday, May 4, 9:00 A. M.

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented and accepted with the Secretary-Treasurer's report.

The Committee on Nominations reported as follows:

For President, Professor A. A. Stomberg of the University of Minnesota.

For Vice-President, Dr. Lee M. Hollander of the University of Wisconsin.

For Editor of Publications, Professor Geo. T. Flom of the University of Illinois.

For Associate-Editor, Professor A. Louis Elmquist of Northwestern University.

For Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

For Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of the South High School, Minneapolis.

As District Secretaries:

1. Central District, Professor Oscar L. Olson of Luther College.
2. Northern District, Miss Ebba Norman of the Minneapolis High Schools.
3. Eastern District, Professor A. B. Benson of Yale University.
4. Western District, Professor R. Bogstad of Columbia College (Everett, Wash.).

As members of the Advisory Committee for three years:

1. Judge O. M. Torrison of Evanston, Ill.
2. Professor Jules Mauritzson of Augustana College (Rock Island, Ill.).

These nominees were elected.

The secretary-treasurer presented to the Society the desirability of supplying a bond for his office. Professor Chester N. Gould was appointed to report upon this at the next meeting.

The report of the Managing Editor was read. Following this several speakers expressed a wish that the August issue be devoted to a discussion of Scandinavian and allied ideals. Professors Jules Mauritzson and Julius Olson were elected to co-operate with the Editor of the Publications along the lines of the discussion for the August number and were instructed to seek the co-operation of the secretary of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Professors A. Louis Elmquist and Joseph Alexis were elected to serve as a finance committee for said August number.

The report and suggestions of the Managing Editor were adopted.

A motion was made and carried that the secretary-treasurer be instructed to send the Publications to members in service, and that fees be remitted during the time of active service.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following: Resolved that the Society formally thank the University of Chicago, the Local Committee on Arrangements, and the Classical Department of the University of Chicago thru Professor E. T. Merrill for the open and cordial hospitality extended to the society during the eighth annual meeting.

The resolution was adopted.

It was moved and carried that the salary of the secretary-treasurer continue as at present unless changed by action of the Society.

Reading and discussion of papers resumed:

5. Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* and Oehlenschlaeger's *Aladdin*. By Dr. Lee M. Hollander, University of Wisconsin. (15 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Professors A. M. Sturtevant, Jules Mauritzson, and Geo. T. Flom, Mr. J. C. M. Hanson, Professors Julius Olson and A. Louis Elmquist, and Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson.

A Discussion of the Question: "What is the Relation between Americanism and the Study of Scandinavian in America?" led by Professor Joseph Alexis, University of Nebraska. The following took part in the discussion: Professor C. N. Gould, Mr. J. C. M. Hanson, Mr. C. Martin Alsager, Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson, Mr. Einar Joranson, Professor G. T. Flom, and Professor A. Louis Elmquist.

Adjournment.

At 12:30 the Society was the guest at a dinner given at the Quadrangle Club by Professor Starr Willard Cutting of the University of Chicago.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*.

The following note should now be added to the minutes of the meeting- It became impossible to get the material ready for the proposed August number until October, and by that time it seemed desirable to change some: what the plans discussed at the meeting. In the meantime both Professors Elmquist and Alexis had withdrawn as finance committee for the proposed issue. The editorial committee then decided that the usual number be issued as the August number. Two of the articles offered are herewith included, one by Professor Arthur H. Palmer and one by Professor Oscar J. Campbell.

Committee.

NORWEGIAN SURNAMES

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ORTHOGRAPHY AND FOREIGN INFLUENCE

The place-names and surnames of Norway exhibit a complexity not paralleled, perhaps, in any other West-European country, unless it be England. In the cities especially one meets with a surprising variety of form, and a considerable proportion of the names seem not to be Norwegian at all. One finds, e.g., combinations of consonants that are foreign to the orthographic system of the written language to-day; or if the combination of letters are familiar and regular enough, they are pronounced in a way quite different from the pronunciation that obtains in the regular vocabulary of the spoken language. This is most noticeable in Christiania and in Bergen. But it is also true of the names of the small towns and of the country at large, though here to a much smaller degree.

All this would suggest extensive foreign influence as a very important factor in the history of Norwegian names. There has, indeed, been foreign influence and I shall speak of that somewhat in detail below. But it would be hasty in this case to attribute the non-Norwegian look of a name to some foreign influence. Now there are various groups of names of Bohemian, Polish, Lithuanian, Italian, or French appearance, which actually are of this origin. They have come in in comparatively recent times most of them and have generally preserved their original spelling. Such names, coming in from more or less remotely related languages, are readily recognized. But in the case of the far more important groups of names of apparently Dutch or German (and Swiss) form, and particularly in those which have English and Scottish form, the foreign aspect of the name is no longer any test at all of its foreign source. Identity of form as between Norwegian and British names to-day is very often the result of parallel development and simplification in the same direction in the two languages.

By reason of the manner of their origin the place-names and the family-names of a country often tell much about local physiography,

and they will always be of the greatest importance for local history. Other records failing, the place-names furnish a key to the history of the age of settlement from which one may in considerable measure reconstruct the course of settlement. There are, of course, many other things that they may be made to disclose. And in particular with reference to ethnic questions place-names and surnames both are a main source of information.

In general a body of names of linguistically mixed origin indicate a corresponding mixture in the ethnic make-up of the people of such a locality. On the other hand a pure stock of names would be a fairly safe criterion that the past history of such a people has not been modified ethnically by any considerable admixture of foreign blood. Of course it is conceivable that there may have been a considerable influx of foreign element after the period in which the place-names of a locality originated, in which case this new ethnic element would only be reflected in the family-names, not in the place-names. It is also conceivable that the prestige of the language and the native names of the country may prompt the bearer of a foreign name to change it in accordance with the forms of native names. Especially pronounced has this custom been here in America, so that the actual number of non-English names is no longer an adequate test at all of the proportion of the non-English element in the population. To some extent this tendency has operated in Norway also, so that the foreign source is no longer evidenced in the new form. It may also happen that a foreign influence will set a fashion for a time, resulting in the obliteration of the native form, and such new foreign form may become definitely established in the locality and in the language. We may recall, as an instance, the Scandinavianization of English words and names in the Danelaw of the XI-XII centuries. Hence the student of English names must always keep in mind the possibility that a name which is formally Norse or Danish may perfectly well be a native English name.¹ But such a condition will generally obtain only where the foreign influence has been especially intimate and of long duration, as, e.g., the Norse-Danish influence in England and Lowland Scotland, or Danish influence in Norway during the period of union with

¹ See, e.g., Björkman: *Nordische Personennamen in England*, 1910, pp. 197 ff.

Denmark. Finally, names of foreign settlers in a country may be changed by native speakers, if their form is especially strange to the native ear or eye. Here in America during the period of settlement of the Middle West the name of the immigrant settler was often changed by suggestion of the clerk in the land office.²

There enter, then, many factors into the influences that give a name its ultimate form. The causes are complex for they are ethnological, social, and psychological; but there are other influences that are equally powerful toward bringing about the final result. These are the tendencies and the laws of the language of which they become a part. When a citizen becomes naturalized in a new country his name enters upon a process of naturalization in the language of that country. By that I do not mean the radical changes referred to above by which a name by a process of substitution suddenly takes on a new form. But I mean the slow processes of levelling and sound-change, imperceptible from generation to generation, by which a word in the course of two or three hundred years, or it may be a thousand years, finally comes to assume a form quite different from the original one, forms which often may be recognized as related only by the philologist. Or it may be that some subtle analogy has modified a name contrary to phonological law, just as this tendency so often has operated in the inflexions of Norwegian.

We have said that a name may by native change come to assume a spelling which is identical with a foreign name. If then that particular word from which it was composed has died out or is extremely rare in the language to-day the unusual name may be deceptive enough. But there are plenty of instances in which a word formerly in common use in a language is preserved only in some name. Herein lies of course a great linguistic value of the study of names. The Norwegian name *Scott* is a case in point. The name has its source in the word *skott*, 'fog,' and must have had its origin in the habitual fogginess of the place that came to be so named. In the meantime the word *skott* is no longer used in the language except as a localism.

² The name *Knutson*, e.g., was by one clerk understood as *Newton* and so recorded. See Flom: *History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States*, p. 352.

Let us now briefly note other instances of identity of Norwegian and non-Norwegian names.³

The names *Hall* and *Frost* are in Norway not necessarily the names of English settlers or residents but have their earlier equivalent in the Old Norse *Halli* and *Frosti*. In cases of this kind it would seem the personal name usually stood in the genitive case originally, and the second element of the compound has disappeared by what we may call a process of subtraction. Other names of this type are: *West* < *Westby*, *Gill* < *Gilhus*, *Lund* < *Lundby*, *Black* or *Blakk* < *Blakkestad*, *Thorne* < *Thornæ*, and the name *Moss*, which is merely a local variation of the name *Mjø*s.

The names *How* and *Hoff* are local variations, with retention of archaic orthography, of the Norwegian *Hove*, which is by far the most common form; they have no relation to the English or the German names that they resemble. The Name *Wahl* looks very much like an importation from Germany, though it is also a common enough Swedish name. It is a very rare name in Norway, a rare orthographic form of the East Norwegian *Hval*, Old Norse *hval*, 'the main building of a farm-stead,' which is its source. In Eastern Norway *h* in the combination *hv* became silent as in Danish and South Swedish. Back in the early part of the modern period, when *v* was often written *w* and the length of the vowel was often indicated by a following *h*, the name naturally came to be written *Wahl*. The name *Waal*er again is but another way of writing this same name.

Some of the names that have an English appearance have arisen by loss of sounds and the letters that spell them in the body of the word, or by the assimilation of two sounds into one. Thus we have *Tisdal* from *Tistedal* and *Rom* from *Roum*, which goes back to a still earlier *Raaum*.

Among names that would clearly seem to be of German or South Danish origin is *Holst*, and yet this too is usually a native Norwegian name. Its source is twofold: in one case it comes from

³ For many of the examples used I am indebted to the lists in *Vore Familienavne* by P. D. Smidt, 1910, and *Bergens Borgerbog, 1550-1751*, Christiania, 1878. Medieval variation are abundantly illustrated in O. Rygh's *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stednavn*, Christiania, 1901, and on every page in his *Norske Gaardnavne*.

the first part of the name *Holsmark* in Lier, in which instance the *s* has developed an inorganic *t* after it, as shown in the variant writing *Holstmark*; in the other case it comes from the word *holt* in the genitive case and with metathesis of *ts* to *st*. Finally, the un-Norwegian forms *Graff*, *Rothe*, *Schaar* and *Schwenke* are not names of Dutch, English, or German settlers in Norway as the names might suggest, but merely archaic spellings from an earlier period of the forms: *Grav*(-dal), *Rot* (see below), *Skaar* and *Svenkerud*. And while many of the names in *-mann* are of German origin they are also often native. Thus *Garman*, a Stavanger name (cp. Kielland's *Garman & Worse*), was once written *Gaarmand*, and the name *Hagemann* is nothing else than *hagemanden*, that is, the gardener or the caretaker of an orchard.

The reduction of compound names into short-names by subtraction illustrated in the names *West* and *Holst* is frequently met with in native names, as, e.g., *Gran* < *Granlid*, *Lind* < *Lindvik*, *Rogne* < *Rogneberg*, (other examples above); sometimes it is the second component part that remains as in *Ruud* < *Bergeruud*. But of course short-names or one-theme names are as characteristic of Old Norse as of Modern Norwegian. I shall speak below of the variations met with in names of this kind.

Now undoubtedly a proportionately rather considerable number of Norwegian names are imported, for large numbers of Danes, North Germans, Hollanders, and Scotchmen settled in Norway during, especially, the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. And yet the great majority of Norwegian names are of course native. As has been indicated, the present form of these names is as a rule no very trustworthy test of origin; we have to know something more about the name. What are the factors then that enter into the orthography of these unusually spelled native names?


It has already been noted that one of these causes is to be found in the archaic spelling of proper names. Names are often very conservative things even in a country the language of which is so progressive as is the language of Norway. The written forms of a language being fixed, for a longer or shorter time, will as we know, always lag somewhat behind the spoken language which is never in a state of fixity, but is always in the process of change and growth. From a particular point in time the

spoken language will gradually differentiate itself from its written form. From time to time a readjustment is, therefore, necessary. As a matter of fact the written language is continually being readjusted in this way, for in its growth the written language is merely the effort, by means of certain symbols, to record the words of the living language of every-day speech. Now the written language tends to uniformity. Within the limits of that which has the sanction of good usage the written language will gradually select a best spelling in accordance with a best pronunciation, until in the course of time a certain spelling comes to be regarded as the correct literary form; all other spellings become odd, unusual, "incorrect."

In the writing of proper names it is, however, very often the opposite principle that operates in the selection of certain forms. While in the case of a common noun the one word is a kind of collective symbol that represents a whole class, a large number of objects, here, in the proper name, we have one word that is so highly particularized that it is meant to be used for only one single object, the person who is the rightful possessor of that name. Now since names generally originate out of native material and in certain well-defined ways, and as the stock of words that form the raw material for such names is relatively limited, and is about the same in the different parts of the country, it follows that duplicates are apt to be very frequent even in a comparatively small area. The same name, therefore, comes to stand for different individuals. Certain names may come to be used by a great many individuals, as, e.g. the name Smith or Brown in England, or patronymics in *-sen* in Denmark and *-son* in Norway and Sweden; or finally as the farm names *Haug*, *Vold*, and *Tveit* in Norway. To the extent that such names no longer designate unmistakably a particular person they do not serve their purpose quite as adequately as do the less common personal names. Names which in the past have come to assume different forms have taken these varying forms partly in the natural way of being but varying spellings of the same name in an age when the spelling of words was not so fixed as now; partly, however, as the arbitrary forms given their names by persons who desired in that way more fully to particularize their names by thus differentiating them orthographically from the same name as borne by others. Contrary to the condition with the words of the lan-

guage, therefore, which tended to uniformity, there operates, here the principle of differentiation. I shall take certain groups of names by way of illustration.

Both in *Riksmåal* and *Landsmaal* it is a principle of spelling to-day that a long vowel is written single; if it be initial or medial in position it is followed by one consonant, which therefore becomes a sign of the quantity of the vowel, as *dal*, *aker*, etc. On the other hand a short vowel is followed by two consonants, which, therefore, is a sign of the length of the preceding vowel, as *amt*, *bakke*, *land*. A long consonant is by rule written double, except in final position,⁴ but a long vowel has long ago ceased to be so written. The language no longer needs this orthographic device for indicating the length of the vowel.⁵ But in the Middle Norwegian period, and long after, it was a common practice to indicate the length of a vowel by doubling it. It is as a survival of this method of spelling that the names *Huus*, *Juul*, *Friis*, *Thiis*, *Viig*, *Steen*, *Cloos*, *Knoop*, *Kjuus*, *Roos*, the second element *-green* in such names as *Alstergreen*, *Wettergreen*, etc., and the first syllable in the names *Geelmuyden* and *Schaathun*, are spelled with double vowels to-day. The number of this class of names is not very large in Norway to-day but there are certain old names which remain as the living reminders of a once prevailing practice.

 In the 16th century German influence introduced two new ways of designating vowel length, namely by writing an *h* after the vowel, or by placing an *e* after it. During this time, therefore, the name *Nor*, in addition to being written *Noor*, might also be written *Nohr* and *Noer*, and this is the form that usually remains to-day. A similar un-Norwegian combination of vowel + *h* appears further in the names: *Mohn*, *Dahl*, *Blehr*, *Mohr*, *Prahl*, *Lahn*, *Wahl*, *Opsahl*, *Myhre*, *Tormøhlen*, and others. The name *Olson* was not uncommonly spelled *Ohlson* formerly, but this writing is now extremely rare in Norway if it is used at all. The writing with a following *e* offered another possible variant in such cases which came to be

⁴ Nasals and *p* and *f* are not written double in final position, and *b* and *r* rarely so. In peculiarly Norwegian words *n* is often written double, however, as, e.g., *fonn*. See more fully Aars: Norske Retskrivningsregler, §§ 8 and 36-38.

⁵ The double vowel *aa*, of course, nowhere represents *ā*, but always the sound *ø*, i.e., open *o*. It may be long or short: *Aasen*; *Aarrestad*.

extensively used. The name *Mohn* might, then, be written *Moen*, a form which also survives to-day; or the same name with vocalic ending became *Moe* for older *Mo*. This device appears, further, in *Boe*, *Bøe*, *Daae*, *Høeg*, *Grief*, *Aae*, *Boen*, *Diesen*, and a few others. In *Piehl* and *Leehvy* both methods are used in the same name. By such variant ways of designating the length of the vowel, all of which were used in native words and were felt to be natural enough at the time, a name could be differentiated in many ways. Most of these names are not pleasing to the eye to-day, but they probably were then, and while their use meant some waste in printer's ink there was a practical side which had a distinct advantage; and it is that practical advantage which has been maintained when the name *Mo* or *Moe* may in the definite form also be written *Mohn*, or when the name *Hval* or *Val* by the variation with *w* may also be spelled *Vahl*, *Vaal*, *Wahl*, or *Waal*.

There was another practice also which came into vogue principally through the agency of German printers, namely that of writing *ae* for *a*, *oe* for *o* and *ü* for *y*. The first two of these conflicted with that of the use of *e* as a mark of length of the preceding vowel, and that may have operated against their becoming very general. They remain to-day in the names *Baer*, *Braemer*, *Schroeder* or *Schroeter*, *Hoerlin* and *Kroepelin*. *Grüner* and *Hüllen* and *Schütte* are examples of the writing of *ü* for *y*. Still other variants for *y* were *ui*, *ieu* and *eu*, which are preserved in at least one name each to-day: *Luihn* pronounced *Lyn*, *Lieungh* pronounced *Lyng*, and *Wleugel* pronounced *Flygel*.

Another kind of vocalic variation is illustrated by the names *Haug* and *Ousdal*. In Old Norwegian the sound *au* might be written either *au* or *ou*. To-day the spelling here is regularly *au*, which in modern Norwegian is the unphonetic representative of the sound *æu*. Such names as *Haug*, *Saue*, *Bauge*, *Kaupang*, and *Austbø* are therefore in accord with the present orthography of the language, but other spellings for the sound *æu* are not. The spelling with *ou* is in part a survival of this form from Old Norwegian times and in part due to Danish influence, where this spelling was more common. We now have this method of writing in the names: *Ouse*, *Ousdal*, *Oustsøen*, *Schou*, *Stousland*, *Houge*, *Aschehoug*, *Poulson*, and in some other cases. The combination *eu* is not a Norwegian

or a Scandinavian combination at all. It occurs by exception in the name *Europa* for *æu*, but occurs more often in personal names with other phonetic value. Thus in the names *Heuch*, pronounced *Høk*, *Leuck*, pronounced *Løk*, *Freuchen*, pronounced *Frøken*, and *Valeur*, pronounced *Valør*, *eu* has the value of *ø*. This spelling clearly comes from French. But in the names *Preus*, *Reusch* and *Reutz*, *eu* is sounded *øi*. Thus we have in these names a German spelling preserved; and in fact these three names are of German origin, *Reusch* and *Reutz* being German proper names, while *Preus*, as a proper name, comes from being used in Norway of one who was from "Preussen" (or was a "Preusser").⁶

But the possible consonantal variations are, of course, still more numerous, and a very large number of names preserve to-day consonantal combinations that are never used in the words of the language. These are orthographic survivals from an earlier period in the language when the written language was more lavish in the use of consonants than it is to-day. We have seen above that a double consonant is written to-day only where the consonant so written is actually long, as in *bakke*. Formerly, however, no such economy was practiced, nor recognized as proper even by some, for a heaping up of consonants, especially the same consonant, was often looked upon as lending beauty to the name or the word. It is as survivals from this period that we to-day meet with such forms as *Juell*, *Aall*, *Wrangell*, *Pauss*, *Dorff*, *Wisløff*, and *Staff*. The *f* in the last two names is explained by the practice of writing *f* or *fv* (*vf*) for the sound *v* after a vowel; it occurs, furthermore, in the names *Rafn* and *Raufn*, *Haffner*, *Vefring*, and the patronymic *Gustafson*, names which are also written with *v*.

In Old Norwegian times it was quite common to write a long *k* sound not with *kk* but with *ck*; some scribes follow this rule consistently. Such a word as *bakke*, the old form of which was most commonly *bakki*, was therefore spelled *backi*. This spelling now appears in such names as *Backe*, *Kock*, *Beck*, *Brecke*, *Løcken*, and *Birck*. But at a later time this was not so regularly adhered to; *ck* might also be written for single *k*, and *ch* or even *cch* employed

⁶ Other names of this kind are: *Sweitz*, *Unger*, *Beyer*, *Saxe*, *Russ*, *Finne*, *Scott*, *Holst* (<*Holsten*), and *Hambro* (English form of *Hamburg*). Cp. also the names: *England*, *Holland*, and *Sverige*.

for *ck* (*kk*). Thus arose the forms *Bache* and *Bachke*, *Falch* by the side of *Falk*, *Birch* and *Borch* beside *Birck* and *Borck*, *Eche*, *Lerche*, *Skanche* and a number of others, among them *Erichson* (*Erickson*) and *Michelson*, which last name is of course but a different way of writing *Mikkelson*. The *k* sound was, furthermore, also written *qu*, which usually, however, was only used for *kv*. Then might arise such forms as *Beque*, and *Bloque*, while *Quigstad*, *Quam*, *Quale* have been common until quite recently. *C* is not a consonant that is much used in modern Norwegian. It was much more extensively employed in Old Norwegian and in a great variety of positions in Middle Norwegian.⁷ Yet before *l*, *rl* and *n* it was better form to write *k*; but such modern Norwegian names as *Clewe*, beside *Kleve* and *Kleiven*, *Coll*, *Coch*, *Caspari*, for *Kasperson*, and *Cleveland*, for *Kleveland*, exhibit the former use of *c* also in these positions.

The writing of *h* in consonant combinations is no longer a part of Norwegian orthography, for the language no longer has the spirantal sounds which *h* formerly served to symbolize in the spelling. But the sound which exists in English 'thin' and 'then' was as common in Old Norse as it is in modern English, though it did not quite correspond in its use to either that of English or modern Danish. In Middle Norwegian times this sound came to be written *th*, and this spelling in words and names continued in vogue long after the sound had become *t* and *d*, in fact it is still retained in the word *thi*, 'for.' The writing *th* is, however, still kept in a number of proper names, as: *Thveit* or *Thvedt*, *Sæthre*, *Løseth*, *Alseth*, *Hiorth*, *Lothe*, *Bothne*, *Schaathun* and *Groth*. The name *Thvedt* exhibits another tendency, namely that of writing the final *t* sound as *dt*, something which also survives in the names *Mordt*, *Mordtvet*, *Sundt*, *Brandt*, *Schiødt*,⁷ *Widtsoe* and *Bødlicher*.⁸ The combination of *dt* and *th* is seen in the writing *Smidth*.⁹

But in most of these the merely orthographic consonant is not usually retained at present. It was also very common in the XVIth and the XVIIth century to write *i* for *j*, while on the other hand *j* might also serve for the vowel *i*. That is actually the case now in

⁷ *Schiødt* is also written *Schiøtt*.

⁸ Personal names ending in the sound *ts* represent this ending by *dtz* in *Bergens* *Borgerbag*, e.g., *Madtz*, *Lauriltz*, and *Frandtzt*.

⁹ Also in the name *Smith* which is now and then still met with in the form *Smidt*.

such names as *Hiorth*, and *Kiær*, and in the names of the composer *Kierulf* and the poet *Bierregaard*.

It will now be in order to note the influence of the Danish literary form upon the names of the families of the cities and upon the place-names and the farm names of the rural districts as they appear in the charters and other written records. First of all there are quite a number of family names that are of Danish origin directly, the names of Danish families that settled in Norway during the centuries in which Norway was united with Denmark. Such names as *Arbo*, an *Æro-bo*, *Wendelbo*, from *Vendsyssel*, and *Thybo*, a settler from Thy in Jutland, are in general easily recognizable. Similarly *Samsing* is derived from *Samsø* and *Alsing* from *Als*, Demark. In the same class belong also *Angell*, *Stabel*, *Høyer* and *Hersleb* (from *Herslev*)¹⁰, all of which are from Sleswick *Wiborg*, *Thaulow*, *Schweigaard*, *Gude* and *Randers*, which are of Jutland origin, and *Feilberg*, *Schandorff*, and names in *-rup* as *Hagerup*, *Nærup*, *Aarestrup*, *Torup* and *Scheldrup*. On the other hand it is not always so certain that a name ending in *-skov* or *-schow* is of Danish origin, for the word *skog* becomes *skov* and *skou(schou)* in certain parts of Eastern Norway. Such a name as *Treschow* appearing originally in this dialectal locality is therefore to be set down as native unless it is known that the family immigrated from Denmark. And there furthermore enters in such cases the problem of Danish influence upon the form of the name, for just as one would write *skov* and *vig* even though the writer's pronunciation was *skog* and *vik* so names with these endings would come to assume the Danish spelling.

Another criterion of the Danish factor in the names is one which has already thus been suggested, namely the influence of Danish upon the orthography of Norwegian names. This class of names is of course very large, first in the cities where Danish forms were the fashion and where Danish speech was quite generally cultivated, then also in the changes that were made in the written form of family and place-names in the rural districts everywhere. The church records from the various parishes here offer illustrative material of great interest. I shall take a series of names from Sogn copied from the yet unprinted volume of Rygh's *Norske Gaard-name* of names for North Bergenhus.¹¹ The name *Steine* in Aur-

¹⁰ Modern Teutonized form *Hadersleben*.

¹¹ The MS. of which I had the opportunity of consulting at the Riksarkiv in Christiania in July, 1910.

land, the local pronunciation of which is *Staine* to-day, appears in the form *Steene* in a Charter of 1611, while *Stein* appears as *Steen* in one of 1603. The name *Veim*, to-day pronounce *Vaim*, was written *Veem*, *Veeum*, and *Weden*. *Frelheim* was written *Frettem* and *Fretten*, just as *Norheim* was elsewhere written *Norem*. In both of these cases *-heim*, being in unaccented position, might become *-hem* or *-em* by native development, but as they say *Frettain* in Aurland to-day the writing *Frettem* in this case is clearly a Danism (in America the form *Frettem* is an attempt to adapt the ending to the English tongue). The name *Leikanger* was written *Leckanger* as early as 1544; later it was written *Leganger*, and I have heard it so pronounced by immigrants in America who came from that locality. The official name of the parish is to-day *Leikanger*. The old *Systroend* is written *Systrandh* in a Charter of 1401 and still further changed to *Søstrand* in one of 1570. The estate name *Hove*, pronounced *Haav* to-day, is written *Hoff* in a Charter of 1563 and *Hoffue* in one of 1667. *Borlaug*, which seems to be pronounced *Borlaag* in *Leikanger* to-day, was variously written *Baarlouff*, *Borloff*, *Burllle*, and *Borloug*, while the name *Rislaag* in *Vik* Parish was written *Rislaa*, *Risla*, *Rislef* and *Riislaug*; finally *Djupvik* appears as *Dyffwig* in 1563, *Dybewig* in 1667, and, in partial return to the local pronunciation, *Diubevig* in 1723.

The usual tests of Danish origin of words and names are those which have to do with the vowels *e* for *ei*, *ø* for *au* or *ey*, and the consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, for *p*, *t*, *k*. These tests must be used, however, only in connection with other tests, else one may often be led to faulty conclusions with many a Norwegian name; just as the exact extent of Danish influence upon *Riksmaal* Norwegian is a subject with regard to which we are just at present in no position to speak with definiteness. As a test of a merely general character, however, it may be said that where Norwegian names are spelled with *b*, *d*, *g*, in stems which ordinarily are pronounced with *p*, *t*, *k*, such spelling is due to Danish influence. Thus the names *Eg*, *Eger*, *Hoeg*, *Vig*, and *Bager* have Danish orthography though they are almost everywhere pronounced with the Norwegian *k*; and the names *Hvidsteen*, *Gade* and *Wergeland* have assumed Danish pronunciation as well as Danish spelling. The name *Hoeg* is quite a hybrid by the way; it is pronounced *Høk*, hence retains the Norwegian *k*, but it has

adopted the Danish vowel *ø* for the diphthong *au* which was the original (*Hauk*). There are furthermore a number of other cases of undoubted Danish influence upon the spelling of Norwegian names; space does not, however, allow a discussion of these here.

It was illustrated above how genuine Norwegian names have in the course of their history come to assume forms that are apparently English or German. Now there are of course many names of this kind which are known to be of foreign origin. The *Bennett* Tourist Bureau in Christiania bears the name of an Englishman who settled in Christiania in 1850. *Dessington* is also the name of an English settler; the name first appears in 1670 in Norway and was then written *Dishington*. The name also appears, e.g., in the margin of an old Norwegian manuscript fragment, indicating that the Ms. was the property of that family at this time. *Fearnley* and *Barclay* are also English as well as the name *Lockwood* in Bergen. These names have of course been adapted to the Norwegian system of pronunciation; Lockwood, e.g., is pronounced *Lokfot*, *Barclay* becomes *Barclei* and *Fearnley*, *Fernlei*. Scotch names are much more numerous than English. Especially in Bergen are Scotch forms common. The list includes *Campbel*, *Christie*, *Grieg* and *Munchler*. The Christiania name *Collet* is of Scotch origin; Scotch also was the (Nordland) name of the poet *Dass* from *Dundass*. Other Scotch names in Norway are *Ross*, *Wallace*, *Sinklar* (St. Clair) and *Mitzel*, the last of which is an attempt at representing orthographically the pronunciation *Mitchel*. The name of the composer *Grieg* represents a most unusual mixture of forms in a transplanted name. The word from which the name originates is *crag* in its Scotch dialect form *craig*. The *c* in the name *Craig*, as pronounced by the Scotch tongue sounded to the people of Bergen more like *g* than like their own *k*, so they naturally fell to pronouncing it *Graig*. But in the year 1704 we find the Danish writing of it to be *Greeg*, which would indicate that already then the name was pronounced about as to-day. This would seem to be a Danish influence upon its form, for the vowel *ai* (= *ei*, *ei*) is not unnatural to Bergenese Norwegian. A Dane would have pronounced *Graig* with a monophthong, that, however, would soon have become *Greeg*, just as *Stein* became *Steen*. But it is likely that the Danish influence was chiefly orthographic. We should

then have been writing it *Greeg* to-day; that we do not write it so is due to German influence on the writing of long *e* (see above), and in Bergen we know German influence was especially prominent.

Both Germany and The Netherlands have contributed their share to the racial make-up of Norway. There are, e.g., the names *Wegener*, *Wedel*, *Vedeler*, *Brunchorst*, *Fasting*, and *Welhaven* in Bergen, *Plesner* and *von der Lippe* in Skien, and other names elsewhere, some of them well-known as *Fritzner*, the author of the great *Gammel Norsk Ordbog*, *Elster*, *Zwilgmeyer* and *Obstfelder*, living novelists, *Asperheim*, *Keilhau*, *Reichwein*, *Falbe*, *Wiese*, *Krefting*, *Seippel*, *Koren*, *Lieblein*, *Frich*, *Heinemann*, *Henning*, *Heffermehl*, *Foswinckel*, *Damm*, *Lammers*, *Irgens*, and a number of others. Names beginning with *Sch-* are often of German origin as *Schubeler*, *Schniller*, and *Schwartz*, but as we have seen above, elsewhere this combination may, as in *Schwentsen*, pronounced Svensen, or even in the name *Schwach*, be but a survival of an earlier peculiarity in the spelling.¹² The Dutch element is represented in such names as *Flemming* (from *Flaming*), *Friis* (from *Friesland*), *Joys*, *Reisiger*, *van der Heyde*, *van der Velde*, *Ohldieck*, *Geelmuyden*, *Wilgohs*, *Wleugel* (see above), *Blauw* in Bergen, *Groth*, which is the same as Dutch *Grote* and *Grotius*, and *Worm*, a name which appears in Norway as early as 1680. There are also other foreign sources though in much more limited numbers. From the French are the names: *Aubert* (the novelist Elise Aubert), *Michelet*, *Coucheron* in Bergen, and *Racine* in Stavanger. Then there is the Italian *Sperati*, The Swiss names *Tschudy* (author Clara Tschudy) in *Tønsberg*, *Trumpy* in Bergen, *Heftye* and *Switzer*, the Lithuanian names in *-ou* or *-ow*, as *Konow*, *Platou*,¹³ *Reventlow*, and *Linstow*, and those in *-itz* or *-itsch* which are of Bohemian or other Slavic source, as *Zetlitz*, *Jackwitz*, and *Hilditsch*, which last is represented by the novelist Jacob Hilditsch. Finally Swedish settlers in Norway have contributed the names *Forsberg*, *Alstergreen*, *Lindqvist*, *Marstrander*, *Wrangel* and Many others.

Norwegian Names reflect, then, everywhere the peoples' varied history and the changes of fashion in the language itself. The story that the names of the places and the families of a country reveal are

¹² See above *Schwenche* < *Svenke* < *Svenkerud*.

¹³ *Platou* is now pronounced *Platoeu*. See above, p. 146.

interesting from these somewhat general points of view. But they are often equally interesting from the more purely grammatical point of view. Especially the place-names of the rural districts offer here an attractive field for study; The variety of form which we have observed are largely orthographic of one kind or another. In the place-names, however, the variations most often have a grammatical basis. I shall close by indicating one of the ways in which proper names have been individualized, more definitely particularized, by the survival of different grammatical forms of the nouns that are the materials out of which they are made.

We know that place-names often have originated from some local peculiarity; such names we designate as local-descriptive. Among the most common ones of this kind are: *Aas*, *Dahl*, *Moe*, *Vold*, *Haug*, *Tveit*, *Lie*, and *Slette*. When they appear in this form these names are in the indefinite inflexional form of the noun from which they are formed. Names of this type are quite common, most often as monosyllables; among them are further: *Borg*, *Odd*, *Sæter*, *Foss*, *Staff*, *Sten*, *Krogh*, *Vang*, *Berg*, *Fjeld*, *Næss*, *Bø*, *Lund*, *Strøm*, etc. Fully as frequent, however, is the inflexionally definite form, something which is easily explained in the simple fact that the hill, the clearing, or the ridge where the dwelling was erected, would naturally come to be particularized more familiarly as "*the* hill," "*the* ridge," etc. Hence the names: *Haugen*, *Dahlen*, *Aasen*, *Odden*, *Tveiten*, *Sletten*, *Kroken*, *Mohn*, *Vangen*, *Stødlen*, *Garden*, *Kleiven*, etc. But it was not only the nominative case that gave rise to name-forms. The preposition that was formerly used so commonly with such place-names, and still is to some extent in the rural districts (as *Ivar i Vangen*), when dropped left the name sometimes in the dative case with the ending *-e*. This very common form is represented in the names: *Dahle*, *Hauge*, *Kvale*, *Velde* (from *Vold*), *Borge*, *Sande*, *Lande*, *Sætre*, *Hegge*, *Fosse*, *Hove*, *Rothe*, *EGge*, *Hamre*, *Homme*, *Saue*, *Steene*, *Brekke*, *Lunde*, *Grove*, *Kleppe*, etc. Or finally this case-form might be in the plural, something that was not so usual but not at all rare. Thus the dative plural survives in the names: *Eggum*, *Elvrum*, *Drolsum*, *Haugom*, *Narum*, *Nærum*, *Tinjum*, *Stønjum*, *Sveum*, *Sviggum*, *Vullum*, *Boyum*, *Brennum*, *Engum*, *Fossum*, *Gjellum*, and *Veum*. Thus on the basis of different inflexional forms, Norwegian as the Scandinavian

languages in general, possessed another convenient instrument of name particularization, one which has indeed played a prominent part in the development of the place-names and the family names of the country.

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AMERICAN IDEALS AMONG WOMEN

WRITERS OF SWEDEN

In October, 1849, at the age of forty-eight, a Swedish woman novelist landed in New York "after thirteen days rocking on the sea." Never had a foreigner of any kind approached the shores of America with a more open heart or with greater intellectual sympathy. She was ready far in advance to appreciate all that our republic could offer, and understood better than many Americans the magnitude of its industrial, social, spiritual, and political possibilities. Even before landing, she secretly censured the natives who run away to go sight-seeing on other Continents, "without having in the first instance seen Niagara, or any of the natural wonders of their own country." She came "with a secret intention of breaking loose from fiction" and of "living with thinkers for other purposes," but her realizations proved even greater than her expectations. She found "in this so-called realist country" "more poetical life than people have any idea of in Europe." So she was compelled by thought and feeling to record her observations, and—in this way, Fredrika Bremer, with first-hand information, introduced American ideas and institutions into Sweden.

Swedish women have made much of American principles and institutions as ideals, and of these Fredrika Bremer is the foremost representative. Thru her voluminous *Homes of the New World; Impressions of America*, she becomes in Sweden the authority on things American for many succeeding generations, and Swedish writers begin to translate American authors. It is fortunate for us that Miss Bremer was the medium. But it was still more fortunate for Sweden, for thru this writer's clear mind and judgment America becomes the source of untold liberal principles, stated in unequivocal terms, and the inspiration and model for its woman movement. Miss Bremer was a kind of feminist before she came to America, but it was here that her ideas on the position of woman were brought to a focus, to be formulated later in *Hertha*. Her sister Charlotte writes: "After her [Fredrika's] return from America, her predominating

thought was how she might be able to secure liberty and an unrestricted sphere of activity for Swedish women." On Nov. 5, 1849, Fredrika herself writes from Brooklyn:

"I came hither to breathe a new and fresher atmosphere of life; to observe the popular life, institutions, and circumstances of a new country; to become clearer in my own mind on certain questions connected with the development of nations and people; and, in particular, to study the women and the homes of the New World, and from the threshold of the home to obtain a view of the future of humanity," . . .

A year later, Nov. 27, she makes this significant declaration from Cincinnati:

"I did not come to America to seek for a new object, but to establish a new hope. While one portion of the people of Europe, after a struggle for light and freedom, seemed to sink back again under a despotism . . . ; in that gloomy season my soul raised itself in deep faith and love toward that distant land, where the people erected the banner of freedom, declared the human right and ability to govern themselves, and on this right founded a monarchy of states—the commencement of the world's greatest governmental culture."

This gives an idea of the object of Miss Bremer's visit to America, of the breadth of her mission, and of her faith in our institutions. *The Impressions of America*, some thirteen hundred pages, form, I believe, the most impartial tribute to the United States of 1850, and to Western ideas and conditions in general, that were ever made by any foreign traveler or critic. If there is any error, it is on the idealistic side, and the frankness with which Miss Bremer records adverse criticism enhances the value of the favorable testimony. *The Impressions*, not originally intended for publication, describe with scrupulous accuracy and rare power of observation our homes, our industries, our personal characteristics, our asylums, our prisons, our churches, our popular form of government, our schools, and, in particular, our seminaries for the education of women. With naturalness and straightforwardness the Swedish feminist records her opinions, as she passes from State to State, from one settlement to another, from one denomination to another, and from one home to another within this great land. She visits the New

England poets, and the philosopher Emerson; she hears all the prominent American preachers of the time; interviews the more prominent statesmen, like Clay and Webster; and makes the acquaintance of the President and the Vice-President of the United States. And here, again, the special object of her interest is the independent American woman, whether a teacher, writer, or home-maker. Fredrika Bremer studies in great detail our flora and fauna, our geography, our history, and our literature. She quotes from Horace Mann's views on education, and from Emerson's Essays; she catches the spirit of our political stump-speeches; and she contrasts the culture of conservative New England with the cosmopolitanism of the West. As she rides across an Iowa prairie in a half-covered wagon, she feels the vastness and greatness of the future America, and, as she meditates on the colossal American pot-pourri that she had seen, it is no wonder that she pictures a Millenium in the Mississippi Valley, where the "wolf and the lamb shall sport together." The only institution of our land that seemed inconsistent with true Americanism was slavery, and Miss Bremer was profoundly grateful to live long enough to see its abolition. In some respects, she was not only American in spirit, but Pan-American, for she expressed the wish that Cuba, which she had visited, might some day, "by peaceful means," belong to the United States.

A few more extracts from the *Impressions* will suffice to illustrate the America-enthusiasm of this Swedish writer:

"I could not help thinking [after I had visited the U. S. Congress] of the representation of Sweden, and its much-talked of construction. It occurred to me that there could not be any form more suitable or more calculated to awaken national life and consciousness than one resembling this of the United States."

"It is a pure and noble joy to behold the development of the Northern States;—the whole presents a glorious spectacle. For the whole movement of the social system tends upward; it is a growth of cultivation and improvement which embraces all classes, every branch of activity, and which extends to the most remote points, and includes the most humble individual."

"The Americans seem to be particularly attracted by motive powers—by any method of expediting movement and accelerating communication."

"Emerson has a right to talk about strength and truth, because he lives for these virtues. And it will benefit the world, which is slumbering in the Church from the lack of vital Christianity, to be waked up by such fresh winds from the Himalaya of heathenism."

"The Anglo-American 'go-a-head' here [in Cuba] comes in contact with the motto of the Spanish Creole, *poco-a-poco*; and—will run it down sooner or later, that is not difficult to foresee."

"Probably that which most distinguishes the home of the New World from that of the Old is the dominant sway which is assigned in it to woman. The rule of the American man is to allow the wife to establish the laws of home."

"The educational institutions for woman are, in general, much superior to those of Europe; and perhaps the most important work which America is doing for the future of humanity consists in her treatment and education of woman. Woman's increasing value as a teacher, and the employment of her as such in public schools, even in those for boys, is a public fact which greatly delights me."

"I would present to your view those large, cheerful school-rooms which are to be met with in the public schools from Massachusetts to Wisconsin and Illinois, from New Hampshire to Ohio, where light and air obtain free access—school-rooms full of lovely children, with bright, animated eyes, and where the young teachers, daughters of New England, and the honor of New England, refined and graceful in manners and appearance, stand, at the same time, firmer to their principles than the earth's Alps and Andes on their foundations, and govern their troops of young republicans easier and better than any stern M.A. with thundering voice and ferule."

"Honor be to the noble, warm-hearted woman [Harriet Beecher Stowe], who has stood forth in our day—as no other woman in the realms of literature has yet done—for the cause of humanity and the honor of her native land, and that with a power which has won for her the whole ear of humanity. Honor

and blessing be hers! What will not that people become that can produce such daughters!"

"I met there [in America] with more than I have words to tell, of true Christian life, of the love of truth, of kindness, of minds earnest for and receptive of every thing which is great and good in humanity; while my acquaintance with some beautiful, peculiar characters will serve as a guide to my soul forever."¹

Another champion of American principles is Marie Sophie Schwartz (1819-1894). This extremely prolific writer appeared in the late fifties as the sworn sponsor of liberalism in all forms. She is a novelist of the people, with thirty or more titles to her credit, and many of her novels have been translated into foreign languages. Of those which have been done into English, about a dozen in all, the majority were published in America in the early seventies. She is less known as a feminist than as an exponent of democracy in general; but as an author of *Tendenz*-novels she is undoubtedly more read today than Fredrika Bremer, tho by a different class of readers. All of her productions that are known to the writer have a definite theme of social or industrial reform. They are interesting and wholesome theses or sermons in narrative form, many of them with a fascinating plot, which extol personal initiative and integrity as against tradition and hereditary class distinction. The autocratic nobility, the austere bureaucracy, militarism in its more obnoxious aspects, religious intolerance, and all tyrannical forms of education are attacked without mercy and with extraordinary clearness and epigrammatic force.

But Mrs. Schwartz is no fanatic radicalist; she never tears down a social structure without suggesting how to build a better one in its place, and it is in her constructive work that the "land of freedom" plays a part. Her watchword is individual and industrial progress, at any cost—call it materialism if you will—for we must go forward, and on the bases of individual effort and independence. This is best carried out in the United States, which is, therefore, represented as the ideal type of the modern industrial democracy. Mrs. Schwartz would go even

¹ From the translation by Mary Howitt.

further than some American business men; she would never hesitate to remove an old historical landmark to make room for a manufacturing establishment, if necessary. Let everything be practical, and let there be no false sentimentality about old monuments which, after all, are only reminders of "the times of brute force."

Mrs. Schwartz's greatest contribution to the cause of sensible democracy is her simple and strong apotheosis of work. Honest labor is the best remedy for the sick soul, the panacea of all evil, and the reprobate's best opportunity for regeneration. Idleness, on the other hand, is the worst of all possible sins. Work gives the only true patent of nobility and commands universal respect. But where is labor most appreciated and rewarded? *Arbetet adlar mannen* (*Work Ennobles the Man*, 1859) answers: America!

By a convincing method, the novelist first refutes a popular conception that America is, for the most part, the land of adventurers and the refuge of questionable characters. Nor is the native American ever ready to sell his birthright for money. "Uprightness is a child of the republic" and that America is no exception is the meaning of Sophie Schwartz. Interesting is her belief that the American will not marry material wealth as an exclusively business proposition as quickly as the European who has the same chance. The efficient manager of the factory in *Work Ennobles the Man*, localized in Sweden, is a self-made American, more proud of his profession and *acquired* position than the nobleman of his *inherited* title, a moral man who honors work and character only, and is free from all traditional prejudices. He sends his orphaned protégé, the hero of the novel and the innocent victim of suspicion and persecution, to the United States for mechanical training. To be sure, he is to study under a fellow-countryman, Captain John Ericsson,² but the environment must be American; it is more propitious for an unhampered self-development, and its potentialities are infinite for a man of good parts. Of course our hero is successful in the end; makes an invention; sells his patent in

² This has an historical counterpart in the life of Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor and originator of the Nobel Prizes, who studied mechanical engineering in the United States under John Ericsson in 1850-54.

London, where he obtains a remunerative position; and returns to Sweden as a famous engineer. But he has had a hard road to travel, and it is only by carrying out faithfully two resolutions that he succeeds: the determination to work and, *nota bene*, to learn the English language; resolutions which have a familiar ring in our own day as essentials for Americanization. Incidentally, we are given a glimpse of the complex mass of human beings within our awe-inspiring melting-pot, and the authoress voices the modern American sentiments and realities in her advocacy of better education and better working conditions for the laboring man.

It should be noted also, that Sophie Schwartz is a student and admirer of the public institutions of charity in America, and that a splendid tribute of humanity is paid in the above-mentioned novel to the equipment and management of the Massachusetts Insane Asylum.³

Selma Lagerlöf pays tribute to a group of Americans in *Jerusalem, II*. When the Dalecarlians reach the Holy City, they settle among the Gordonists, a tolerant and sympathetic company from the United States. Nowhere, we are told, is there such a hatred between Christians as in Jerusalem, and this group of "mighty" and "irresistible" Americans is introduced by Dr. Lagerlöf as missionaries of Christian unity. It appears later that all Americans are not equally ideal, in fact, one group, in Palestine, is decidedly intolerant, but the fact remains that the specific emissaries of love to the suspicious, orthodox, and narrow-minded "Christians" of Jerusalem are Americans, led by Mr. Gordon, a lawyer from Chicago.

The salvation of the Holy Land can come only thru unity among the Christians, and the native guide Eliahu sees in the members of the American party the right instruments for producing his first, and most important, condition in the struggle against hostile forces. The Americans themselves are not conscious at first of their own superiority; they have not come with any feeling of exultation over others, or with pretensions of creating a moral and religious Utopia. They are unconscious models and masters, whose modesty and other virtues are

³ Her source, for this part at least, is obviously Fredrika Bremer, who gives an analogous description of the same institution in her *Impressions of America*.

discovered by Eliahu. It is this patriotic but powerless native who, with tearful eyes, exhorts the Americans to stay and help save the land he loves. And this is the will of God, says the native. The following characterization of the Gordonists, as interpreted by Eliahu, deserves our attention:

"Eliahu had already had the opportunity to observe many kinds of people, but none like these. They were very simple in their manners, and Eliahu did not believe that they held any high office in their own land, or were held in great esteem, but still he had the greatest respect for them. To him there was something of that splendor and authority about them which comes by right to those born to rule over people. The reason for this may be attributed to the strong self-control which they exercised over themselves. They never uttered an unkind word, either to each other or to the lowest Syrian servants. They never showed discontent, never lost their temper, and endured rain and heat with the same serenity. There prevailed such a happiness and such a freshness of spirit among them that Eliahu many a time said to himself: 'Oh, would that all travelers were like these! Then it would be a pleasure to be guide.'"

We may not be astonished at this eulogy. That Miss Lagerlöf should select her champions of character, unity, and tolerance from the Western Continent may be only natural, especially when we remember Fredrika Bremer's enthusiasm over the American people and the active freedom of divine worship in this land; nevertheless, as an independent recognition of American ability and principles by a modern member of the Swedish Academy and winner of the Nobel Prize it deserves special notice. Moreover, it is a new tribute to the conquering gentleness of the best Americans.⁴

That the Scandinavians have always been a liberty-loving people is an axiomatic truth, recognized both at home and abroad. The French historian Montesquieu, in his epoch-making *L'Esprit des Loix* (1748), designates Scandinavia as "the fountain of European liberty (la source de la liberté de l'Eur-

⁴ The fact that the Gordonists meet an undesirable group of their own nationality in Jerusalem is an historical incident, it seems, and is not to be construed as a fictitious creation on the part of the author or as prejudice directed against all Americans.

ope)." Sweden was the first neutral country to offer its friendship to the United States and to conclude a treaty with it, without being solicited. It is not surprising, then, that Swedish writers, in particular, should find much attractive material in the American struggle for independence. Here is a field where sympathetic hearts beat in unison, as if automatically. Bengt Lidner, a passionate contemporary, celebrated the triumph of the American cause in his poetic review *The Year 1783*, and Archbishop Wallin, the well-known master of the religious lyric in Sweden, appeared several years later with an enthusiastic tribute to the victorious "father" of the new republic. Moreover, these poetic congratulations, let it be noted, were prompted more by positive sympathy for freedom in America, than by any negative hatred of England. Dislike of Great Britain, which no doubt existed could only be secondary or incidental. This Swedish interest in American independence has survived down to our own time, and is exemplified in the work of a female novelist.

Before me lies a presentation copy of *Daggryning* by Mathilda Malling (a popular writer of considerable talent, born 1864, but whose fame has been eclipsed somewhat by the greater prominence of names like Strindberg, Heidenstam, Key, and Lagerlöf). Above the title, on the outside cover, is the form of the American eagle with outspread wings, and the inside contains a double inscription, to a well-known American in Minneapolis, "with the compliments of the author." The first inscription, in English: "To hear high talk of noble deeds" gives at once some idea of the general content, and the second, in Swedish, defines it more specifically: "This is the story of a Swedish family from our old colony Delaware, transplanted into new soil, each generation brought up and developed according to American principles."

Daybreak, as the author herself translates the title, first appeared in 1902 and the inscription is dated Aug. 1, 1909. As the name implies, the novel is localized at the dawn of American independence, and among the descendants of the earliest Swedish settlers. The production has no remarkable merit as a work of literary art, and the narrative is only tolerably interesting, but its chief value lies in the accurate des-

criptions of its historical background, and in the writer's sympathetic attitude toward the American Revolution. She has studied all historical sources available, both American and English, and her guiding principle has been impartiality and justice to all. She gives in a note the history of the American flag, and pictures elsewhere, with exquisite beauty, the effects upon the young native women, when they first behold the new national emblem, which signifies the unity of the Colonies. It is Mathilda Mallings's pride to think that descendants of her own race did something to establish American freedom, and they, like so many others, were resolved not to "yield an inch" from what they considered right. The period of endurance and neutrality had expired, says the novelist, and by 1776 everyone was either for or against independence. We see the more conservative father, Carl Adam Hatting, who still believes that crowned monarchs are "the Lord's annointed," contrasted with his son, the hero William, who is a heart-and-soul republican and ready to sacrifice all for his country on the basis of democratic principles. There are no fanatic tirades against Great Britain in the novel, but only a gentle thrust against all who have any "irradicable inclination for monarchical institutions." All prominent American patriots are introduced into the book, at least in name; and at "Johnson Hall" the native young ladies go promenading with the "rebels," while the band plays Yankee Doodle. The authoress touches upon the native chivalry towards women, and dwells at length upon the woman's part in the war, much of which is applicable to conflicts in the twentieth century. Altho the death of the heroine is motivated, and rather poorly, on personal grounds, she would have been perfectly willing, yes, more willing, to die for patriotic motives. She is unhappily married to a Tory, loves the republican brother, and her sympathies are entirely with the American cause. However, she lives long enough to send her jewelry, all her earthly possessions at her own command, to General Washington, with a note to offer them on the altar of the new fatherland.

It remains to make brief mention of Ellen Key. While Mathilda Mallings studied our Colonial geography and history, and the birth of the United States, Ellen Key, as a part of her

universal program of reform, turned simultaneously to the Western Continent to observe the position of the child and the woman in the modern, full-developed American democracy. Half a century before, a friend and countryman of Miss Bremer—she does not give his name—had called America “the promised land of women and of the child”; and since so much of the Swedish woman movement received its inspiration from America, thru Fredrika Bremer, it is self-evident that her pupil should pay considerable attention to social conditions in this land.

Miss Key has no first-hand information about our women or children, she devotes most of her attention to conditions as they obtain on the Continent, and bases most of her conclusions on European sources; but one need only glance at the list of bibliography to *Barnets århundrade* (the list is omitted in the English translation, published in New York) to realize to what extent she sought knowledge and ideas from American educators and feminists. As a thoro and broadminded student and teacher, she knew better than anyone else that there could be no comprehensive treatment of the woman problem with America left out. She studies our sociologists diligently, and is no stranger in our philosophy or belles-lettres. Certainly many of her views on the development of the child, as for instance those on corporal punishment coincide with our own, and we may well surmise some kind of influence. That Miss Key was well acquainted with the American work in the field of child psychology is definitely stated in *The Century of the Child*.

In her “retrospective glance” of the history of the woman movement, Ellen Key traces the development from “a powerful and man-indicting plea by the American women in their *Declaration of Sentiments*” in 1848. Like Fredrika Bremer, she commends the “great women agitators” of America, like Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frances Willard, and among “the fundamental types of single women,” “according to current opinion,” the person of intellect predominates in America. In a chapter on the influence of the woman’s movement on motherhood, the Swedish feminist pays this tribute to *The Luck of Roaring Camp* by Bret Harte: “The finest thing written about the child as a cultural power is written by an American.”

The much-criticized ideals of Ellen Key, many of them original with the reformer herself, can only be realized in a distant future, and some may prove too impracticable for objectification in any generation of human society. They will probably never be adopted *in toto* by any one nation without modification of method. But in the progress toward the ultimate goal, Miss Key entertains great hopes for the future of America. While rummaging around a book-shop recently, the writer came upon an inscribed copy of *Barnets århundrade*. As I looked at the inscription by the authoress, dated Oct. 1904, I saw these words, in English: "America, the cradle of the new humanity."

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EIGHT UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF LONGFELLOW

So far as it has been humanly possible to determine, the following letters of Longfellow, the original manuscripts of which are in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, have never been published. The same institution possesses also the manuscripts of two other letters of Longfellow to Professor Rafn, one written from Heidelberg, December 23, 1835, the other from Cambridge, April 23, 1837. Both of these have been published, in part, in *Breve fra og til Carl Christian, med en Biographi*, Copenhagen, 1869, pages, respectively, 177-179 and 179-180. The first is of sufficient value to warrant partial republication here, bearing as it does on Longfellow's early interest in the American Indians and printed as it is in a place wholly inaccessible to American readers. Professor Rafn, as secretary of the Society of Northens Antiquities, had appealed to Longfellow for information. Though in Heidelberg at the time, where there could not have been much material on the subject, Longfellow was able to reply (Dec. 23 1835) as follows:

Much information may still be gathered concerning the state of these Indians [in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut], though scattered through many volumes. These I have not the means of pointing out to you at the present moment; you can however easily obtain what you want on this head from a gentleman whom I shall presently name.—On an island in Buzzards Bay in the South Eastern part of Massachusetts still exists a small remnant of a tribe called the *Marshpee* Indians. Not many years ago, there was also a remnant of a tribe in *Stockbridge* in the North West corner of the state. But they migrated westward to the Oneida Indians in the State of New York, and afterwards still farther west to Green Bay in the North West Territory. They had with them an American, by name John Sargent, as their interpreter. I believe he is still living. 2. 3. 4. On the subject of the Indian languages I can say nothing. I am not acquainted with them. But I refer you to *John Pickering, Esq.*, of Boston, as a gentleman both able and willing to give you information on all points relating to Indian History and Language. He probably can tell you more about *John Sargent*.

In regard to the Indians of the South and West much information may be found in Heckewelder's Account of the Indian, and residence among them.

Tanner's Narrative of Residence among the Indians. The Hon. Lewis Cass, present Secretary of War, at Washington, can also give you information on this head. In the *North American Review* about the year 1825 a paper or

two from his hand may be found. Are you aware that among the Cherokees of Georgia a Newspaper is published in their language? It is edited by the Rev. Mr. Boudinot and called the Cherokee Phoenix.

As to the list of names, which I here return as you requested, I agree with you in supposing them all Indian. But upon this point I am no authority.

The remainder of the letters is devoted to an account of the death of Longfellow's wife at Rotterdam on November 29, and the death of his brother-in-law in America.

The letter from Cambridge (April 23, 1837) discusses, among other things, an article Longfellow had written for the *North American Review* "On the Indian Languages of North America, not yet published. It will appear in the *North American Review* for July next."

The article appeared as Longfellow had promised. It consists of twenty-five pages, a goodly number of which are devoted to the grammar of the Indian languages. To a layman the treatise looks quite recondite as a type of American scholarship of nearly a century ago. The same volume contains an essay of thirty-seven pages on Tegnér's *Frithjofs Saga*. In accordance with the custom of the *Review* at that time, neither article is signed.

The article to which Longfellow refers, by Lewis Cass, then Secretary of War, is undoubtedly the one published in the *Review* under date of January, 1826. It consists of no fewer than sixty-seven pages and makes, to this day, most interesting reading. The writer is strongly in favor of treating the Indians more civilly and of leaving "their fate to the common God of the white man and the Indian." In the October number of 1824 there is a review of a book on the North American Indians by James Buchanan, Esq. His Majesty's Consul for New York. Though not signed, someone has written in the name of Sparks, that is, Jared Sparks. In the July number of 1826 there is a review of Cooper's novels with a long discussion of Cooper's Indians. In the April number of 1825, there is a review of the "Insurrection of Tupac Amaru" with another detailed treatise of the Indians.

The most striking entries in the *Review* of that time, however, on the Indians are those in the October number of 1826, "An Address to the Whites," delivered by Elias Boudinot, the

Cherokee Indian to whom Longfellow refers; and the review of "Escala, an American Tale," by Samuel B. Beach. It is a story of the Indian. After treating a series of poetic works with Indians as heroes, Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming" and Chateaubriand's "Atala" among others, the critic says: "The character of the North American Indian offers but a barren theme for poetry." It is not thinkable that Longfellow was unfamiliar with this review—though he wrote "Hiawatha." For our present purpose, a double interest attaches then, to the discussion owing to the fact that a large part of "Escala" has a Scandinavian setting.

(To Rafn)

Wednesday Eveg., Sept. 23, 1835.

Dar Sir,

Inclosed is my answer to your letter, as Secretary of the Nordiske Oldskrift Selskab; and I take this opportunity to thank you once more for the great kindness you have shown me during my short stay in your city and to express the hope that it may be in my power to return here again before leaving Europe.

There is no doubt that I shall pass the winter in Heidelberg. Should I determine otherwise on reaching Germany, I will take the liberty of writing you a line.

With much esteem,

Very respectfully yours,

Henry W. Longfellow.

It is hardly necessary to introduce Professor Carl Christian Rafn to an American audience in view of the work he did by proving, or contending, that America was first discovered in the tenth century, by Scandinavians under the leadership of Leif the son of Eric the Red, or Leif Ericson. It is interesting, just now, to note that a German by the name of Tyrker constituted an important member of his crew. Rafn published his *Antiquitates americanæ* in 1837. An extract from the larger work was published, in English, in New York, 1883: "America Discovered in the Tenth Century," by Charles C. Rafn. Alexander von Humboldt gave unstinted support to Rafn's contention that the Scandinavians were the true discoveres of America.

In an appendix to the above mentioned monograph there is given in French a list of the members, etc., in which we find (1836) Longfellow (H.W.), Prof. à l'Un. de Cambridge en Massa-

chusets. Some of the other more distinguished names listed are those of Baron Fritsch of Weimar, Hammer-Purgstall, Carl Lachmann, A. W. Schlegel, and Tegnér. Also, Finn Magnussen, of whom Longfellow speaks on a number of occasions; he was an official of the society.

Heidelberg, June 24, 1836.

My dear Sir,

I have delayed for a long time to fulfil my promise of writing to you. Circumstances of a very painful nature, which you have probably heard from Prof. Rafn—I allude to the sickness and death of my wife—have thrown such a gloom over me, that I have not had heart to write to anyone. Besides which, the books I promised you, have but lately reached me.

You too—My dear Sir,—have suffered affliction; and I can truly sympathize with you in your loss, as the same bereavement has been mine. How little did we think—when we walked together about environs of your native city—that each of us was so soon to lose his best earthly friend. Such, however, has been the will of Providence. We have left to us the pleasant recollection of the goodness of the departed—the trust that they are happier, than if they had remained with us—and the cheering hope of meeting them again, where there will be no more sorrow nor parting.

The two volumes of *Outre Mer* I shall put into the bookseller's hands today, to be sent by the best opportunity. I hope they may afford you some amusement. At all events, they will be a slight token of my friendly remembrance.

I shall leave Heidelberg tomorrow for a tour to Munick and the Tyrol. On my return I hope to find a letter from you, informing me of your health and well-being. Present my best regards to Professor Rafn, and to my friend Rüse, in whose rooms we passed so many pleasant hours together.

Very truly yours,

Henry W. Longfellow.

To Mr. Bölling, Assistant Librarian in the Royal Library at Copenhagen.

Cambridge, April 23, 1837.

My dear Sir,

I have at length reached my native land; and entered upon the duties of my profession at this University. The sound of a foreign language I seldom hear, and Europe seems far, *very* far away. But within a few days a ship will sail for the Baltic, freighted with a Minister Plenipotentiary for St. Petersburg. I cannot help availing myself of the opportunity, to stretch my arm over the Atlantic Ocean, and shake hands with you once more: And already, at the very thought, Copenhagen, with its wide and stately streets, and pleasant green alleys, under the ramparts, seems nearer to me. I have always regretted that it was not in my power to stay longer in that fair city; and sometimes think, with deep sorrow, that perhaps, if I had passed the winter there, I should not now be so desolate as I am, and so alone.

173-185

I think it was in August of last year that I wrote you a few lines from Heidelberg, and sent you a copy of my little book "Outre Mer." Did they reach you in safety?

What is there new in Danish Literature? You will do me a great favor if you will write down for me the names of your best writers, in the order they hold in your estimation. What do you think of Henrik Wergeland and his poem "Skabelsen, Mennesket og Messias?"—Is he considered a great poet?

When I last saw you, I think we were speaking of an American book called "A Year in Spain" which, if I mistake not, has been translated into Danish. The person who takes charge of this letter is the author of that book;—by name Alexander Slidell, Lieutenant in the Navy of the U. States. If he can leave the ship at Copenhagen, he will go to see you at the Library. You will find him very intelligent and very agreeable. I beg you to show him that beautiful little MS that precious book, on parchment; with illustrations.

How is Rüse? Do you work together as much as you used to do? O, I wish I could step in some evening, and take a friendly pipe with you both, and talk about books. What is the use of living so far apart. Tell Rüse, that Cooper was very much delighted to get the translation of his works.—Do not forget to remember m[e] most cordially to the friendly man.

Good bye. If you see Mr. Petersen, present my regards to him. Write me soon. In the meantime, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Henry W. Longfellow.

P.S. Please say to Professor Rafn, that I have written him a letter by the same ship, which brings you this.

2nd P.S. After making several inquiries concerning your brother, as you requested,—I cannot hear anything of a person bearing that name. I do not believe there are any Danes in Boston.

à Monsieur Bölling.
Bibliothèque Royale,
à Copenhague.

The first two important names in Norwegian literature after the separation of Norway from Denmark in 1814 are Wergeland (1808–1845) and Welhaven (1807–1873). The two men were staunch opponents; each had a large following. Wergeland, like Bjørnson after him, believed that Norway should become Norwegian and should eliminate, as soon as possible, all traces of Danish culture. Welhaven believed that such a course would leave Norway without a single cultural prop to lean on. Wergeland was in truth the victor in the long and bitter struggle, though he died before the fruits of his victory became actually visible and enjoyable.

There appeared at Christiania in 1830 *Skabelsen-Mennesket-Messias* (Creation-Man-Messiah), *et Digt af Henrik Wergeland*. The poet was then twenty-one years old. Though written in a remarkably short while, the poem consists of 700 pages. The author always regarded it as his chief work, and it was always his hope and desire to revise it. It was published in revised form in 1845 under the simplified title of *Mennesket*.¹ The revision, however, was only formal. It remains to this day Norway's most striking bit of literature, the more pretentious works of Ibsen and Bjørnson not excepted, though few Norwegians—practically none out of academic circles—read it.

Like Vondel's "Lucifer," Milton's "Paradise Lost," and Klopstock's "Der Messias," it covers the entire history of mankind from the creation of the universe to the creation, fall, rise, and humanization of man. There is no thought of reviewing its contents at this point. According to Henrik Jaeger, the most eminent authority on Norwegian literature, it is a mixture of the ideas that were in the air immediately preceding the July Revolution, of Saint-Simonism, of eighteenth century rationalism, and of the boy Wergeland as he emerged from the study of Treschow's philosophy.

Longfellow's question is intensely suggestive. Wergeland was not *considered* a great poet in Norway in 1837, though he *was* one. But he was also an agitator, a man whose ideas were innovations and therefore not particularly pleasing to the comfortably fixed. He was dogged and pursued until the day of his death—and then Christiania turned out in full force and gave him, relatively speaking, a more nearly royal funeral than it gave even Bjørnson in 1910. Over his grave there is a tall monument "erected by grateful Jews beyond the boundaries of Norway,"—in Wergeland the Jews had always found a faithful friend.

On May 7, 1837, Longfellow repeats his question as to Wergeland's standing as a poet. The matter will be taken up again at the close of the paper.

There is no such book as "A Year in Spain" either in the Royal or the University Library at Copenhagen; nor is it in the

¹ In this revised form the work is divided as follows: *Til en berømt Digter. Skabelsen, Forvildelsen, Frelsen* (To a Famous Poet. Creation, Backsliding, Salvation).

Columbia Library. Nor has it been possible to find anything whatsoever in the best known encyclopedias concerning an Alexander Slidell.

It would also be very difficult to determine what MS Longfellow here refers to in view of the fact that the Royal Library at Copenhagen contains one of the richest collections of this sort of things to be found north of the Alps.

The translation of Cooper's works into Danish are, of course, still common in Denmark as are also the translations of an inexplicably large number of other foreign works. How the Scandinavian peoples can afford to publish so many translations is poles removed from American comprehension. All great, or nearly great, authors of other countries are translated—and Jack London is represented by seventeen volumes, a record surpassed by no one, unless it be that of O. Swett Marden, whose works, in translations, are devoured in Denmark. Of wonders there is no end in sight.

My dear Sir:

Allow me the pleasure of introducing to you my friend Mr. Slidell of the American Navy. If you will have the goodness to show him the curious books and manuscripts, of which you have the charge, or in any other way be of service to him in your city, you will much oblige me,

Very truly yours,

Henry W. Longfellow.

May 3, 1837.

Mr. Bölling, at the Royal Library, Copenhagen.
Mr. Slidell.

Cambridge, May 7, 1839.

My dear Sir,

It is very curious, that your last letter should bear date *May 7, '38!* Just a year has elapsed since you wrote me. Meantime I have written you, telling you the reasons of this very long delay about the Books. The letter was sent by way of Havre de Grace. I hope it reached you safely. The books I now send; and the bookseller, who packs them, will write you about the payment. I add a list of others, which may be useful, with the prices.

Jefferson's Works. 4 vols. 8vo.....	\$12.00
Kent's Commentaries. 4 vols. 8vo.....	14.00
Everett's Miscellaneous Writings. 8vo.....	3.00
Webster's Speeches. 2 vols. 8vo.....	4.00
Indor's Life of Otis. 8vo.....	2.50
Irving. Life of Columbus. 2 vols. 8vo.....	4.25
Life of Arthur Lee. 2 vols. 8vo.....	2.00

The Federalist (by Hamilton). 8vo.....	2.00
Pitkin's Hist. of U. States. 2 vols. 8vo.....	3.50

In return will you have the goodness to send me:

1. The *best* Icelandic Dictionary.
2. The *best* edition of the Prose Edda.
3. The *best* edition of the Poetic Edda, with translation, either in Danish or Latin.

Which work of Öhlenschläger's do you consider the best? Write me about the present state of Poetry and Belles-Lettres in Denmark. In what esteem is held Wergeland's "Skabelsen-Mennesket-Messias"?

I beg you to present my best regards to Messrs. Rafn, Magnussen, and Rüse. When shall we smoke a friendly pipe once more, among the old books. —I have a Romance in Press, in two vols., entitled "Hyperion"; a copy of which I shall send you, as soon as it is published.

With great regard, very truly

Your friend,

Henry W. Longfellow.

Write me soon, by way of Havre. The price of the Icelandic books may be deducted from the bill, and I will refund it here.

To A Bölling, Esq., Copenhagen.

Marienberg bei Boppard am Rhein.

Aug. 31. '42.

My dear Sir,

Dr. Folderlund, who starts for Copenhagen tomorrow, offers me the opportunity of writing you a line, to inform you of my welfare and to inquire after yours. It is now a long, long time, that I have not heard from you; though I have sent you one or two letters. I hope, however, that you have prospered;—that you are well and happy. I hope also to hear from you, as soon as I reach America; To this place you must not write because I leave it in a few days.

Please inform me of all that is new and striking in Danish Literature, since I left you; what new poets have sprung up, and what new works have appeared.

Do you know our American Minister at Copenhagen, Mr. Jackson? He is a very clever and agreeable person, and if you do not know him I hope you will take occasion to make his acquaintance. Since I saw you I have published two volumes of poems; The "Voices of the Night" and "Ballads and Other Poems." In the latter is a ballad of an old *Berserk*, Which I think would interest you in Denmark. As soon as I return I will send you copies for the Library. I have also in press a drama "The Spanish Student," which I will send when it appears.

I beg you to present my best regards to Professor Rafn and to Finn Magnussen. I recall always with great pleasure my short stay in your beautiful city; and wish it were in my power to pay you another visit at this time. But alas! it is impossible.

Hoping to hear good news from you, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Henry W. Longfellow.

P.S. I have been here three months, trying the *Wassercur*. Dr. Folderlund will tell you all about it.

Mr. Bölling, Copenhagen.

For^d, by Dr. Folderlund.

The ballad in question is "The Skeleton in Armor." It is in this ballad that Longfellow "slightly changed the orthography of the word [*Skaal*], in order to preserve the correct pronunciation,"—and thereby gave it a wrong pronunciation, one to which the Danes to this day seriously object. The Danish toast-word *Skaal*, having about the same significance as German *Gesundheit*, or *Prosit*, and being cognate with the German *Schale*, a beaker, would constitute a fairly perfect rhyme to English *all*. In actuality, Longfellow spelled it "Skool" so that—at least this is what happens—it would rhyme with "bowl" and "soul."

Cambridge, May 15, 1856.

My dear Sir,

I have the greatest pleasure in presenting to you my friend I. V. O. L. Brace of New York, on his way to see the "Midnight Sun" in Norway.

Any civilities it may be in your power to show him during his stay in Copenhagen, will be gratefully acknowledged by me.

Pray show him all the treasures of your great Library, and then take him down the "Lover's Walk" where we used to stroll together, and where, "in my mind's eye," I still see the stately form of Oehlenschläger walking through the meadows.

Yours very truly,

Henry W. Longfellow.

To Mr. Bölling, Copenhagen.

Copenhagen is now an ultra-modern city; it has about everything that New York has, including a sort of subway, now in process of construction. Though the visitor to Copenhagen soon becomes convinced that there are numerous lovers walking about, *the* "Lover's Walk" (Kjærlighedsvej) no longer exists. I asked three people where it used to be: A university student told me I would have to ask someone who was a mature man before he was born. A policeman told me that it was in a part of the town which, laid out as Copenhagen was then, would have had Oehlenschläger walking on the water. A university professor located it for me, and then apologized, saying it was in another place. Its exact location is unimportant; the fact

that Longfellow, sensitive to every wind that blew and looking for anything in the line of poetry that he might legitimately use, had his admiring eye on Oehlenschläger, is not unimportant.

Cambridge near Boston,
March 10, 1866.

Dear Mr. Bölling,

Allow me to recall myself to your recollection by presenting the bearer Mr. Charles G. Falls of our College. He will pass a few days in your city, and I am anxious that he should see your grand Library, and yourself, who I presume are still connected with it. Besides, I venture to hope that some remembrance of me and of the old, old days will not be unpleasant to you.

I remain, my der Mr. Bölling,

Yours truly,

Henry W. Longfellow.

To Mr. Bölling, Royal Library, Copenhagen.

This letter is on permanent exhibition in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, along with a great many others from the most distinguished citizens of the world of art, letters, and science. It contains an enclosed card of "Charles G. Falls, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. of America." There is a note in Danish attached, stating that the letter was delivered on April 20, 1866.

The writer is in no sense of the word an authority, indeed not even a student of Longfellow. The reading of his works has given him unalloyed pleasure at various periods of a life devoted to other themes. It seems to him that the happiest dictum that has ever been pronounced upon Longfellow is the one according to which he is the Felix Mendelssohn of American literature. That is paying him a lofty compliment—with strictures and reservations. The two leading questions that arise on reading these letters may, therefore, owe their origin more nearly to lack of information than to reliability of philological instinct. But be this as it may, the questions are these:

To what extent did Longfellow derive the initial inspiration for his "Hiawatha" from Professor Rafn? Was his "Christus: A Mystery" influenced at all by Wergeland's "Skabelsen-Mennesket-Messias?"

As a young man safe in his twenties, Longfellow goes to Scandinavia. He has not merely ability to meet but also great good fortune in meeting distinguished men. He becomes

intimately acquainted with Professor Rafn, twelve years his senior and immeasurably his superior in scholarship. Rafn asks him about the Indians in America—Europeans have a way of doing this to all Americans; they seem to think that Indians and cow-boys are still quite numerous in this land of only infant culture. Longfellow feels complimented, so much so that in less than two years after the question has been put to him he has a long, and to all tents and purposes, erudite essay on the subject. An interest once aroused in a poet lives long, if it ever dies. He publishes his "Hiwawatha" November 10, 1855. His editors tell us that "the general purpose to make use of Indian material appears to have been in the poet's mind for some time." The facts being as they are, there is reason to believe that it was in his mind for twenty-years. And if so, some research along this line would throw light on a discussion that was once bitter.

The Wergeland affair is more important. Longfellow published his "Christus" in 1872, forty-two years after the appearance of Wergeland's great work. The dissimilarity that at first blush militates against the reasonableness of an affirmative answer to the second question can be ascribed largely to the inherent differences in the two poets and the two countries which they represent. The similarity lies not simply in the external arrangement but in the literary atmosphere and historical picture as well. Wergeland's "Mennesket" and Longfellow's "Christus" both attempt to show how Christianity came about and how it came to be founded, then how it worked in a so-called dark age, though apparently an age of great faith, and then how it apparently did not work in a more recent and, one would think, more enlightened age.

Any pretentious bit of literature has three sources: book or historical, personal or biographical, and literary or aesthetic. The book source, for example, of Goethe's "Iphigenie" is Hyginus' Fables, the personal source a series of incidents in Goethe's life, the literary source a list of dramas by Euripides, Wieland and others. As to which is the most important always depends upon a great number of things. As to whether one of Longfellow's literary sources for his "Christus" was Wergeland's "Mennesket" or not is a question the solution of which will dismay the layman, interest the initiated, and constitute

highly educative work for the trained student who investigates it with the patience that is bitter though the fruit thereof be sweet. To do so is entirely foreign to the writer's intention, either now or in the remote future.

ALLEN WILSON PORTERFIELD.

*Columbia University,
New York City.*

RECENT PUBLICATIONS, AMERICAN AND SCANDINAVIAN

Syntaxen i Tromsø bymaal. En kort oversigt av Ragnvald Iversen, 1918, pp. 102. This study is issued as a supplement to *Maal og Minne*. It is an exceedingly interesting contribution to Norwegian dialect study, and is especially welcome, dealing as it does with a region about which we have practically no earlier information. The author, as we learn in the foreword, was born and brought up in Tromsø and spoke the dialect in unadulterated form until he was grown up. We may, therefore, rely upon the trustworthiness of the material presented. I can only speak of it briefly here; I hope to be able to review it somewhat at length elsewhere. The author takes up the cases in order and the use of the article; the fact may be noted that the definite article with personal names is common. The pronoun before personal names is also common; the possessive *hans* is always *hannes*; the form *kværanner* may be cited; the future of the verb is expressed by *komme til at*; the passive usually has the auxiliary *være*, not *bli*. Sentence structure is dealt with somewhat fully. From the discussion of pleonasms and anakoluthons I cite the following characteristic sentence: *det maa være den mannen som æ har hørt saa mykje om den rare kjærringa hannes*.

Samlaren. Skrifter utgifna af svenska litteratursällskapet. 38:e årgången, 1917, heft 1, pp. 248, has just been received. Of the contents I shall note especially the articles by Carl Santesen on "Mot lycksalighetens ö" (Atterbom), pages 1-69, Johan Flodmark's "Något om C. M. Bellman och hans anghöriga," pp. 83-96, and Kjell R. G. Strömberg's "Leopolds Virginia," pp. 137-161. As a supplement to the issue there is a Swedish literary historical bibliography for 1916 (45 pages). In this, every domain of interest that may supply material having a bearing upon literary history is included, as the runestones, University history, etc., and, I am glad to add, American publications are not lost sight of.

Belysning av forndanska och forngutniska ord by Axel Kock, a 14-page reprint from *Studier tilegnade Esaias Tegner*, 1918, discusses among other words the ODan. *kuth* (<conventus, a

gathering), and OGu. *griþkuna*. The latter word means 'midwife' in OGu., but is formally the same as ON. *griþkona*, 'a free woman who enjoys the protection and freedom of a home in the house where she lives.' Kock finds that *griþkuna*, in this original meaning, has gotten the meaning it has in Gutnic by contamination with the Gutnic verb *graiþa*, 'framhjálpa við forlöðsning.'

Studier fra Sprog og Oldtidsforskning, number 105, 1917, pp. 55, Copenhagen, is an investigation by Gudmund Schütte entitled, "Vor mytiske Kongerække." The author's main thesis is that the beginnings of the Danish royal line is more mythical than usually held. The presentation is sketchy but suggestive. A fuller investigation of the many points raised is needed.

In the same series Schütte also offers a study in *Offerpladser i Overlevering og Stedminder*, 1918, pp. 80. It is a valuable contribution, in which I find especially significant the author's evidence of mass-offerings in the North in the period of the migrations, and his pointing out of the probable connection of the Danish bogfinds—mosefund—with the mass offerings (chapter 4 and 5).

Somewhat belated our Libraries in this country received a few months ago the volume *Från filologiska föreningen i Lund. Språkliga uppsatser IV*, 1915, pp. 200. There are articles are on Serbo-Croatian, Middle English, and French, but especially on Scandinavian subjects. One of the latter is a discussion of abstract and concrete nouns by Carl Collin directed against O. Schöning's "Om Navneordene som Konkreter og Abstrakter," published in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, IV Række, Bind 3*. Schöning had here sought to refute the generally accepted doctrine about the change of abstracts to concrete nouns, according to which large numbers of originally abstracts later took on concrete meaning. Collin successfully upholds the accepted view. Schöning's study gave the impression of not being sufficiently thought out, and perhaps somewhat hastily written. Emil Olson of Lund writes about "Norvagismer i några fornsvenska medeltidsdikter," in which he gives the results of an examination of the OSw. *Eufemiavisorna* and *Konung Alexander*. He finds the loans from Norwegian most

numerous in *Flores och Blanzeflor*, 16 words, and in *Ivan Lejonriddaren*, 19. Incidentally the study seems to throw some light upon the texts themselves as compared with OIc. redactions. Many of the Norwegianisms were evidently carried over bodily from the ONw. original. Now and then, however, they clearly represent a more general influence of Old Norwegian upon Old Swedish. An article by Ernst Wigfors on accent in the dialects of Skåne is also especially to be mentioned.

A *Maal og Minne* reprint, 1918, of an article entitled "Bú er betra" by Magnus Olson Christiania, offers an emendation of stanzas 36-37 of the lay of proverbs in *Hávamál*. Both stanzas begin:

Bú er betra þótt litit se
halr er heima hver.

Thus, the alliteration is lacking in the second half of the long line. Finnur Jónsson once tried to show that *bú es betra enn biðja se* was the original reading. On the other Andreas Heusler maintained that the proverb might very easily have been taken into the stanza without any intention at alliteration. This does not seem very satisfactory, however. While Björn M. Olson (Reykjavik) held that the faulty lines became so through an error in transmission, Magnus Olsen ascribes it to a scribal error. He holds that the emphasis is here upon the humblest kind of a home as better than none, the home of a *búðsetumaðr*. He would therefore restore the first verse to: *Bú er betra þótt búð se*

In the April and May issues, 1918, of *Syn og Segn* Olav Midthun has a sketch of the life and work of Aasmund O. Vinje written for the centennial of Vinje's death, April 6, 1818. The April issue also contains as its leading article a poem to Vinje by Anders Hovden, from which I quote the second stanza:

Paa stjernebrauter yver Norigs land,
du enno gjeng og saar med trottug hand
ditt rike tankefræ paa vaare vollar,
og sjaa, det ydder, brydder fram og gror,
og grenderne dei grønkær i ditt spor,
i ætt paa ætt so fagert det seg follær.

In the October number there is a discussion of Kristian Janson's lifework by Olaf B. Viig, who was a member of Janson's church

in Minneapolis in 1881-1893. In the Nov.-Dec. issues the same writer offers an appreciation of the work of the landsmaal writer Vetle Vislie, who has just rounded out his 60th year. I may add in this connection that, from being mainly a literary and *landsmaal* journal, *Syn og Seyn* has changed somewhat in character in recent years, in that now the content is for the most part historical, sociological and policial.

Om det attributive adjektivs position i oldnorsk prosa, med et henblik paa sætningsrytmen is the title of an investigation by Karl Ringdal; it appears as number 5 in *Bidrag til nordisk filologi av studerende ved Kristiania Universitet*, 1918, pp. 80. The texts on which the study is based are: Heimskringla, Egils saga, Njáls saga, Snorre's Edda, Islendingabók, Kongespeilet, and Fagrskinna, mainly Icelandic texts, therefore, of the classical period. There is no attempt to ascertain possible differences between Icelandic and Norwegian; indeed, for the matter under investigation there would probably be no noteworthy difference. The study is the outgrowth of the author's interest in the question of sentence rhythm, and it has evidently been inspired by August Western's excellent and highly important work on *Sentence Rhythm and Word-Order in Modern English*, published at Christiania some years ago. The latter Ringdal finds to be the only thorough-going investigation, so far published, of the problem of the influence of rhythm upon word-order. Western there pointed out that the English tendency is to throw the stress in word-groups forward and that this end-order stress is also the natural order for Norwegian; further Nygaard had noted in his *Norrøn Syntax*, 335, that departures from the natural order might occur, e.g., for the sake of emphasis. These matters are first illustrated by Ringdal, pp. 8-13; he then takes up the question of the position of the adjective before the noun, 13-18, and post-position of the adjective, 19-22. He shows that post-position of the adjective indicates a looser connection between adjective and noun than does pre-position, and that the order noun+adj. was more common in the earliest period of ON. than in classical ON. On pp. 23-28 he discusses pre-position of adj. as due to stress, and on pp. 38-53 the same position due to a closer combination of adj. and noun, finally the relation of sentence rhythm to the

position of adj. and noun, 61-79. The investigation is a welcome contribution upon a subject that has been too little studied so far. As far as Norwegian is concerned we should like to have further studies for special texts both for Old and Modern Norwegian.

The Flügel Memorial Volume, published by Leland Stanford University in 1916, pp. 232, in addition to an "Outline of Ewald Flügel's Life," contains a series of contributions mainly on English, Spanish, and Classical literature. I wish to call attention to Flügel's own "History of English Philology," Georg Hempl's "The Hittite Text on the Tarcondemus Boss," Hermann Hilmer's "The Main Source of Sounds and the Main Channels of Their Spread," and especially Frank E. Hill's "A New Emotional effect in Tragedy." The latter, after a brief discussion of Classical and Elizabethan drama, deals especially with Ibsen's *Ghosts*, as one of four dramas selected as representatives of "Modern" drama (by which he means the drama after 1840. Shouldn't we say after 1870?). While to the student of recent drama the article will not offer anything much that is new, it is, as far as the writer knows, the best brief presentation of some of the main difference between Greek, English, and Scandinavian drama, to name the three types from the country of their origin and which furnished the chief exemplars of the three types of drama.

Dansk Tidsskrift-Index. 3 die aargang, 1917, printed 1918, a volume of 310 pages, is a systematic list of the contents of 200 Danish periodicals prepared by Svend Dahl, Assistant Librarian at the Royal Library, and Th. Døssing, Librarian of the State Archives Committee. Newspapers, purely political and devotional magazines, temperance papers, children's papers, belles lettres and reviews of new fiction, are of course not included. The classification under eight heads (see below), gives, wherever thought necessary, a brief statement of contents. Turning at once to the pages under History, 262-310, we find under the subdivision, "The World War," 220 titles. The campaigns and the conduct of the war occupy a very considerable part of this, here as in the war literature also of the other countries. America and the part that America played in the war received considerable attention in Denmark during the

year. Especially to be noted are the number of publications dealing with the neutral states during and after the war. Also the opinions of Danish writers on "War and the Cause of Peace," under which there appear 24 titles. Under Language, 44 titles in all, I shall mention especially O. Jespersen's *Negation in English and Other Languages*, published by the Danish Scientific Society. Under Literary History the attention of non-Scandinavianists may be called to the following works: Karl Hude's *Les Oraisons funèbres de Lysias et de Platon* (Dan. Sci. Soc.), Reginald Fog's "Trolde i Bjovulf. En Hypothese" (in *Danske Studier*), and Poul Tuxen's "Indisk Romandigtning" (in *Vor Tid I*). As to the relative quantity of material published in Denmark during the year in the different fields of interest as listed the following summary of pages may perhaps give some idea: Engineering and Agriculture, 90 pages, Economics and Sociology, 63 pages, History (including 34 pages of titles on Biography and Genealogy), 48 pages; Medicine, 30 pages; Religion, 19 pages; Art, 17 pages; Geography and Travel, 10 pages; Philosophy, 6 pages, Language and Literature 4 pages (a larger number on languages than on literature). Under Philosophy the majority are in Ethics. Four pages of titles are cover works in Library Science.

Prussianism in North Sleswick, by L. M. Larson, a reprint from the *American Historical Review* for January, 1919, pp. 227-252, offered a clear and timely account of the whole Sleswick Problem. Documentary evidence from numerous Danish, German, British, and French publications are constantly cited. It is hoped that many here in America will find it possible to study this last contribution on a question about which Americans often seem to have rather vague notions.

The Periodical Literature of Iceland Down to the Year 1874 by Halldór Hermannsson, Ithaca, 1918, pp. 100, forms the XIth annual volume of *Islandica*. An Annual Relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic Collection in Cornell University Library. There are thirteen facsimiles and seven portraits. Among the former is one of *Islandske Maanedes Tidender*, published from October, 1773 to September, 1774. All subsequent periodicals were printed in Icelandic. In this connection reference may be made to the account of "Icelandic-American Publications"

by C. A. Williams in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. V, pp. 405-408, and especially the fuller account by H. Hermannsson in *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, Vol. III, pp. 200-212.

Catalog of Runic Literature Forming a Part of the Icelandic Collection Bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Compiled by Halldór Hermannsson. Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. VIII-106. The compiler's claim for this work that it is, as he believes, "the most comprehensive bibliographical record of runology yet published" is probably correct. It includes all the books, articles, and reviews dealing with the subject that are to be found in the Fiske Icelandic Collection and Cornell University Library. It is of-course very far from being a complete bibliography of runological literature; but the surprizing thing is that there is so much in the Fiske Collection and in the Unversity Library. As an introduction the compiler first offers a brief account of the study of the runes. The catalog of the publications including evidently all critical reviews of each, covers 86 pages. This is followed by an Appendix on Runic Coin, Index of Reviewers and Subject Index. The book is handsomely printed and attractively gotten up.

Finländska Ortnamn. By Hugo Pipping. Helsingfors, 1918, pp. XX-139. This work appears in the series known as *Skrifter utgivna av Åbo Akademi Kommitté*. The introduction gives an account of earlier contributions to the study of the place-names of Finland. We should like to give this work a fuller review than will be possible here. There are some fifty names considered. The prominence of Old Scandinavian and Gothic as sources of these may be noted.

Festskrift utgiven av Lunds Universitet vid dess Tvåhundra-femtioårsjubileum 1918. The array of scholarly investigations contained in this volume makes it one of the most important contributions of the year to the study of Scandinavian philology and literature. The following reprints from it have been received: "Västgötska Ortnamn av typen Kölingared och andra ortnamn som berätta om sekundär bebyggelse," by Jöran Sahlgren, 24 pages; "De korta rotstavelserna i Skånemålen," by Ernst Wigfors, pp. 70; "Fru Nordenflychts religiösa diktning," by Albert Nilsson, pp. 86; "Altnordischer U-Umlaut

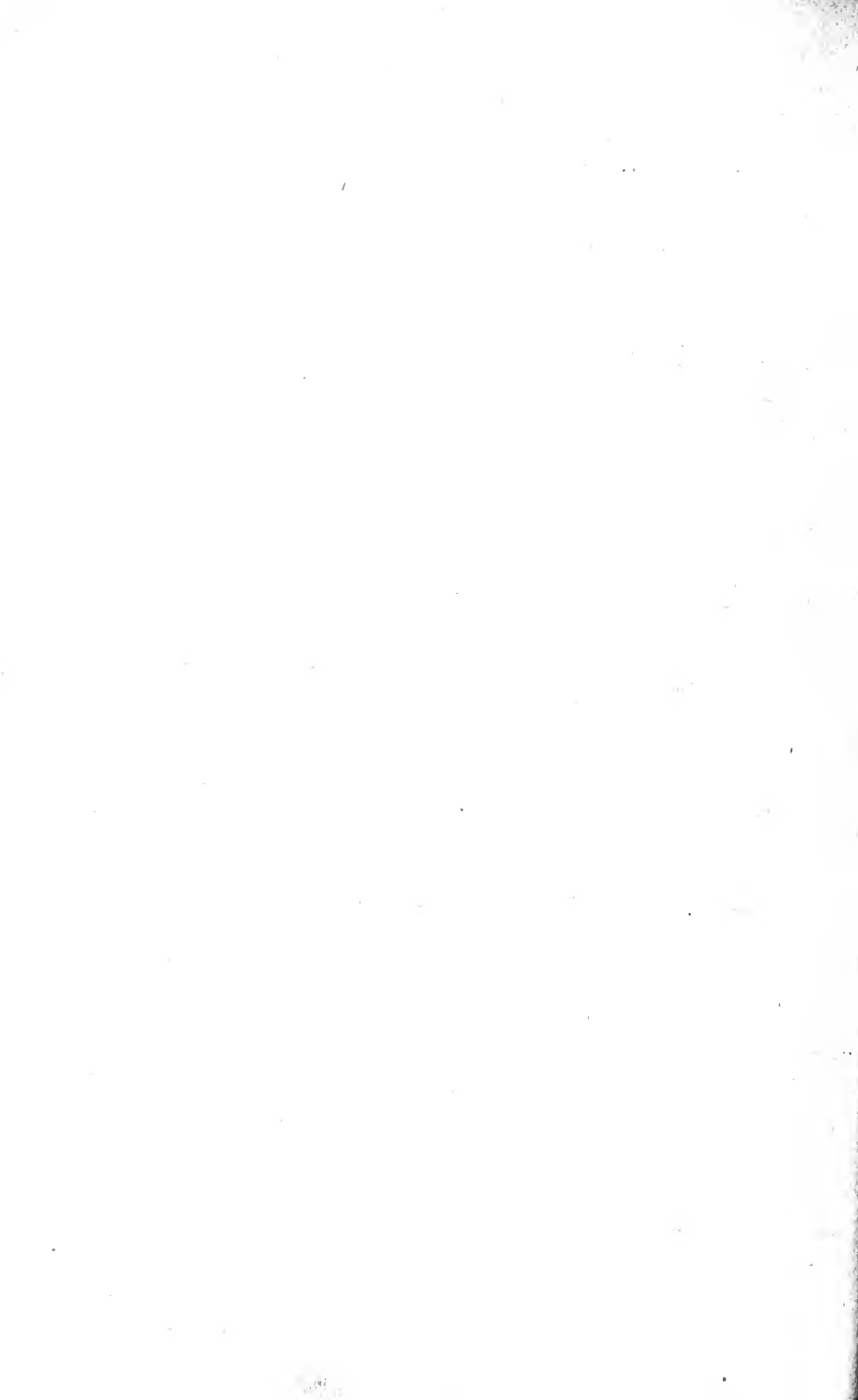
in Ableitungs- und Beugungsendungen," by Axel Kock, pp. 30. On the basis of the material from Älvsborgs län collected by *Ortnamnskommittén* Sahlgren desires to "uppvisa tillvaron och belysa frekvensen av denna från bebyggelsehistoriens synpunkt så intressanta ortnamnstyp." The author finds eleven "relativt säkra fall," compounded with the endings: *-åker*, *-ås*, *-torp*, *-byn*, *-gården*, *-red*, *-gårde*, and the doubly compounded one in *-bogården* (*Vinningsbogården*). In connection with the last name the author discusses a group of names of this type, among which there are several with the ending *-boda*. The latter is, of course, the same as *bod*, 'fäbod,' 'cattle-booth,' stable, and point, as the writer shows, to an interesting fact in the process of colonization. I quote: "Byarna nere på slätten ha skaffat sig fäbodan uppe i den betesrika skogsbygden. Fäbodarna ha småningom fått stationär befolkning och ha så fullständigt frigjort sig från moderhemmanet. Men dessa ortnamn giva ytterligare en intressant upplysning. Kolonisationen har skett efter floddalarna. Forsbyboda, Fansboda, Spångboda och Fors, Fanninge och Spånga ligga alla i Sverkestaåns flodområde. Iskarbo och Eke ligga båda i Essingåns flodområde" (p. 24).

The American Language. A Preliminary Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States. By H. L. Mencken. New York, 1919. Pp. VIII+374. This work, while not specifically concerned with the Scandinavian field, must be mentioned. In the first place it is the first book which, with any degree of thoroughness, deals with the beginnings and the later development of American English. Several special investigations and numerous popular discussions have dealt with the subject, but mainly the vocabulary; Mr. Mencken too deals with the vocabulary, but he desires to emphasize rather other things, as idioms, word-change, syntax, tendencies at the present time etc. He also takes into account briefly the foreign element. It must be said that he has succeeded in producing a work which is distinctly worth while as a contribution to the study; at the same time the presentation is interesting and sufficiently popular to insure for the work a much wider reading public than a more technical work on the subject could have had. The book sometimes, however, shows lack of knowledge of the value of the opinion he is citing, and one finds now

and then the notions of some dilettante about "American" cited by the side of results of the investigator. He also emphasizes, it seems to us, a little too much the existence of an American language as distinct from the English of England. Any real support for this view he can furnish only from the vocabulary. When the author tries to give this view support also from "the common speech" (Chapter VI has that title), then we refuse to regard this as "American" or as "spoken American as it is," (p. 184). Parts of it are mere vulgarisms; the rest are localisms and grammatical forms that belong to a particular level of speech. And most of these things are paralleled by similar or identical words and forms all over England. But we are content to say that in England these are merely localisms and dialectal pronunciations of English, and we maintain that that is the place that must be assigned to these same things also in any description of American English. I want to add that the chapter on Proper Names in America is exceedingly interesting and valuable. There is a good bibliography.

In the series entitled *Folkets Førelse*, Copenhagen, there has recently been published an exceedingly important little volume on *Rasmus Rask* written by Otto Jespersen. In the small space of 80 pages Jespersen has succeeded in giving us a better and more complete interpretation of Rask's great life-work than, as far as I know, can be found anywhere else. In several important things not before pointed out the author shows how Rask had anticipated Jakob Grimm.

G. T. F.



SHAKESPEARE IN DENMARK

SUMMARY OF A MONOGRAPH

Something over a year ago I was enabled by the aid of this society to publish a monograph on *Shakespeare in Norway*. I then announced that a second study, *Shakespeare in Denmark*, would appear at the earliest possible moment. This study is being completed this summer, and will appear, very soon I hope, as one of the *University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature*. In plan and method it will be much the same as its predecessor. I have not attempted to trace the influence of Shakespeare on Danish literature; such a task would have required, in the all but complete absence of preliminary investigations, more time than I could give. I have attempted simply to chart the terrain, to survey the field of translations, criticism, and stage presentations in such a way that the historian of literature may find the work at least a useful guide. This community of plan and purpose give naturally a certain similarity to the two essays, but the wider extent and greater richness of the Danish field will inevitably give to the study of Shakespeare in Denmark a greater significance and interest. In this very brief summary I shall try merely to suggest my procedure and point out some of the outstanding details.

We shall probably never know when Shakespeare first came to Denmark. That his name was known to scores of young Danish scholars who visited England and studied at her universities in the early years of the eighteenth century is all but certain. Holberg's silence cannot be construed into proof of complete ignorance, and Töger Reenberg, in some significant lines, celebrates Shakespeare as one of the great poets of the world:

Med Cowley, Shakespeare, Engelland,
Med Catz kan Holland beile,
Og Frankrig roser St. Amant,
Boileau, Marot, Corneille:
De Tydskes Priis Opitz og Rist,
Italiens Guariner,
Tass, Ariost

This was in 1703, long before the first mention of Shakespeare's name in Germany. Not much, however, can be deduced from it, and we shall find ourselves on rather shaky ground until we reach the first Shakespearean translation, Johannes Boye's *Hamlet*, published in 1777.

Boye's translation is in decent, fluent prose, reasonably correct and eminently readable. It by no means deserves the contemptuous comment of Malte Conrad Brun who said of it some years later that it was so bad as to be virtually non-existent. It is certainly better than Rosenfeldt's, who is often misled by the German of Eschenburg. Nils P. Rosenfeldt published in 1787 a rendering of *Macbeth* which has completely disappeared, and in 1790 the first volume of *William Shakespeares Skuespil*, containing *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *All's Well that Ends Well*. The second volume—*King Lear*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Merchant of Venice*—appeared in 1792. Rosenfeldt, like Boye, did not venture on Shakespeare's metres, so that, with the exception of the witch-songs in *Macbeth*, the whole work is in prose. It is very markedly under the influence of the German of Eschenburg, and the translator has borrowed, with some abridgment, the entire corpus of Eschenburg's notes. Rosenfeldt's, no more than Boye's, translation met with the approval of the exacting and somewhat venomous Brun. In 1796 he printed in his journal *Svada* metrical renderings—the first in Danish—of the great soliloquy in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*'s, "Is this a dagger that I see before me?" Undeniably Brun demonstrated his greater poetic power and his surer touch. But there he left the matter. I pass over with a mere mention the various attempts by K. L. Rahbek in *Minerva* and *Tilskueren*, fragments of a great design to do all of Shakespeare into Danish, and his translation (in collaboration with Christian Levin Sander) of *Macbeth* (1802), and I come at once to that extraordinary man, Peter Thun Foersom, who gave to Denmark a small body of Shakespearean translations almost perfect in tone, spirit, and poetic felicity. Rahbek recognized the immense superiority of Foersom's work over his own, and with characteristic generosity not only yielded the field, but printed a specimen in *Minerva* in the spring of 1804. In 1807 Foersom

found a publisher for his first volume, in which appear *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar*; and four additional volumes, each containing two plays, appeared thereafter at irregular intervals, the last being published in 1818, the year after Foersom's death.

It is difficult to do justice in small compass to the excellence of Foersom's performance. With inadequate training, insufficient critical apparatus, and absolutely alone he achieved one of great translations of the world. What matter slight inaccuracies—all translation is lying, said Dante—in the face of a poetic excellence and a spiritual fidelity so perfect. One has but to read the matchless translation of the balcony scene to agree with Rahbek that Foersom's soul had lived with Shakespeare.

Since Foersom's time, there have been, of course, many independent ventures, but the standard version of today, Lembcke's, is the direct descendant of this first great achievement. It was continued, with rather dubious success, by P. F. Wulff in a series of volumes published from 1818 to 1825. The work, however, was interrupted by his death. Twenty years later a second edition of Foersom—Wulff appeared, with a supplementary volume edited, and in part translated, by Offe Höyer. This is negligible. It must be said to Höyer's everlasting credit that whereas he did not hesitate to tinker with the plays done by Wulff, he kept profane hands off the work of Foersom. A decade later, Sille Beyer undertook a revision of the now composite standard Danish text of Shakespeare. Unfortunately she showed less acumen than Höyer, and did not hesitate to transmute Foersom into her own sugary metres. Only one volume, however, was ever published. The critics, with the redoubtable Clemens Petersen at their head, did not give the well meaning old lady a chance for her life. Finally, in 1861, Edward Lembcke sent forth the first volume of what was described as *William Shakespeares Dramatiske Værker. Oversatte af P. Foersom. Omarbejdet af Edvard Lembcke*. With the sixth volume, however, in which the plays not done by Foersom begin, only Lembcke's name appears on the title page. Indeed, the first five volumes may be described as a more or less felicitous revision of the first edition; thereafter Lembcke's work is his own. New, so-called revised editions,

appeared in 1877-1879, 1897-1900, and 1910-1911. Into a critical analysis of this, now the standard Danish translation, cannot enter here. Dr. Edward Brandes has more than once pointed to its egregious and gratuitous blunders. My own feeling is that the translation is a notable performance, worthy, on the whole, of the high place it occupies.

Several of the minor translations might detain us for a moment, were it not for the inexorable demands of the clock. I can but mention Oehlenschläger's felicitous version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and his fragmentary translation of *Venus and Adonis*, done more successfully in our own day by Nikolai Nielsen. To our own generation belong also Adolf Hansen's admirable rendering of the sonnets, and brisk and colloquial, if anything too colloquial, translations of isolated plays by Nils Möller, Valdemar Österberg, and Theodor Ewald.

II

After a study of the Danish translations of Shakespeare, of which, I beg you to believe that this is but a meager outline, I proceed to take up the history of Shakespearean criticism and scholarship. I try to show from Reenberg's poem, from reviews of English dramatic literature, and from the wide, first-hand knowledge of the early reviewers of Boye, Rosenfeldt, and Foersom, that a sound acquaintance with Shakespeare's work existed in Denmark even before Gerstenberg and Cramer and the German colony at the Danish court made it a commonplace. Gerstenberg's translation of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy*, with its important preface (1765), and his even more important *Versuch über Shakespeares Werke und Genie*, gave an immeasurable impetus to Shakespearean studies, but they are certainly not the source of Reenberg's knowledge, nor do they account for the intelligent interest in the early English drama which we find in Danish reviews as early as 1763. And by 1769, before the German influences could have had much effect, Luxdorph, in his notes to Reenberg's poem, shows that he has gone to the originals, and that his critical judgments, so far as they are based on foreign models at all, go back to Voltaire and the French neo-classicists rather than to Gerstenberg and the German neo-romanticists.

At all events, by 1777, the reviewers of Boye give evidence of knowing accurately what they are talking about. Werner Abrahamsen, the friend and critic of Foersom, was a good Shakespearean scholar; so were Sander and Rahbek and Clemens Tode and M. C. Brun. And since their day, no country has produced better workers in the field than Denmark. I have tried to make the study exhaustive, probably with little enough success, but naturally I have dwelt longest on the great names—Baggesen, Oehlenschläger, Ludvig Helweg, Hauch, Clemens Petersen, and Georg Brandes.

The great reputation of Brandes has almost completely overshadowed the achievements of even so fine a textual critic as his brother, Dr. Edvard Brandes, whose reviews of Lembcke are a monument of exact and acute scholarship. Perhaps this dominance of one brilliant name in some measure accounts for the obscurity of critics so subtle as Nikolai Bierfreund and Niels Möller and Valdemar Vedel. Danish works of research seem better known. Mantzius's *The English Stage in the Time of Shakespeare* has become a classic; and Goll's *The Criminals of Shakespeare* is rightly regarded as a model of sound psychological analysis. But English scholars are still dependent for their knowledge of the English players on the continent to Cohn's work, ignorant, unfortunately, of the important material which Jakobsen (1844) and P. V. Ravn (1870) dug up in the archives of Helsingör and Copenhagen. And yet these make Cohn almost antiquated. Equally important, and equally unknown, is Bøgholm's masterly *Bacon og Shakespeare. En Sproglig Sammenligning* (1906), a decisive contribution to the worn-out controversy not only, but a unique contribution to the historical study of English grammar. More than that, it offers a method for the settlement of many, if not most, of those vexed questions of authorship which are now left to mere whim or the pleas of the advocate.

III

Finally I have tried to give a survey of the history of Shakespeare's plays at the Royal theatre. It begins, of course, with that unforgettable evening in May, 1813 when Foersom as Hamlet created one of the great traditions of the Danish stage.

I have carried it down to that later time when Karl Mantzius succeeded in bringing out the play which Foersom, a hundred years before, had offered to the theatre. The play was *Julius Caesar*, produced finally by Mantzius on November 30, 1911.

The story includes many curious chapters, from the disappearance of Riber's version of *King Lear* in 1794 to the experiments of Mantzius with an "Elizabethan" stage. Again I have tried to single out the events of greatest moment. Such I conceive to be the stage history of Fredrik Høedt, so inextricably bound up with the Shakespearean tradition, and that long series of stage versions in which Danish playwrights, largely under German influence, tried to adapt Shakespeare to the changed technique of the modern theatre. Chief of these adaptors was Sille Beyer before mentioned, of whom Brandes in his stormy youth wrote some of his most cutting lines. That this record may be exhaustive, I have appended a complete and, as I hope, accurate register of Shakespearean performances at the theatres of Copenhagen. But this material is too dry to recapitulate here. I can only hope that it will be found to possess the interest which after the lapse of time attaches even to cook-books—the interest of history.

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June, 1919.

CONCERNING A PROPOSED TRANSLATION OF THE EDDA

It is strange—to say the least—that there is no good complete translation of the Poetic Edda on the market.

There is Benjamin Thorpe's version, published in 1866. This was a rather poor performance at the time and is now out of print. It was, to be sure, reprinted in the so-called "Norræna Series", but as to this, least said is soonest mended. For that matter, I never was able to arrive at any conclusion as to whether Thorpe's performance was meant to be in verse or prose.

The very respectable prose version of Vígfússon in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, made in 1884, is now thoroughly antiquated. At best, it represented the frequently erratic and generally unacceptable theories of that brilliant scholar. It is on the market for those who can pay \$30. It has not been, nor does it deserve to be, reprinted.

Lastly, there is Olive Bray's pedestrian translation (1908) of the mythological poems of the Edda published in the Transactions of the Viking Club.¹ As no more has appeared, these ten years, it is safe to say that the undertaking has, for the time being, been abandoned.

Fortunately, it is not likely that this regrettable condition will continue long. As I learn, there are now no less than five new versions under way, nearing completion, or completed. It is not easy to forecast how good these will be; but the hope is justifiable that the publishers will consult competent scholars on their respective merits. My own translation is one of those nearing completion. While engaged in this work the following reflections and considerations have occurred to me.

When envisaging the task of translating the Poetic Edda into a modern Germanic tongue it becomes plain that two, and only two, courses are open: either a rendering into prose; which means, inevitably, a total (and to my feeling unwarranted) obliteration of its salient characteristics, or else a faithful reproduction, or imitation, if you please, of the original in the original metres.

Now, as regards the use of prose for the rendering of Old Germanic poetry, I have no prejudice against it. In fact, I confess that Tinker's prose rendering of *Beowulf* appeals rather more to me than, say, Gummere's or Leslie Hall's versions in the original metre. Nor is it my intention to enter here into a discussion as to the merits of prose, as against verse, translations of Old Germanic monuments in general. Such a discussion simply does not apply to the *Edda*—which is not—like *Beowulf*, the other great Anglo-Saxon poems, and the Old Saxon *Heliand*—, an epic poem composed in one and the same metre throughout; but, rather, a collection of poetic material of the most various kinds. It is to be recalled that among its forty odd numbers there are didactic poems, genealogical rímaroles, roystering dramatic ballads, elegiac songs, rough, coarse 'flytings,' purely narrative poems, and still other kinds. And hardly two agree in their handling of the three basic stanza forms employed, let alone stylistic differences. It would obviously be a hopeless and vain task to make any prose

¹ *Viking Club Translation Series*. Vol. 2.

convey a tittle more than their bare contents—which would be utterly unfair to the genius of the individual poems. It would cheat the student who has a right to demand at least an adumbration of the original in spirit and appeal.

But if prose be rejected, I can see no other alternative than just an absolutely faithful adherence to the original metres. For what other course is open to us? To write alliterative verse and then, *ad libitum*—or, shall I maliciously say, *propter necessitatem*—to do for several lines, or even stanzas, at a time without alliteration (which, I submit, is the very stuff and substance of the alliterative measures)—as does Olive Bray, is to fall between two stools. Again, it goes without saying, we cannot translate a *Ljóðaháttur* stanza in *Fornyrðislag* metre. Even to change *Málaháttur* into *Fornyrðislag*, and vice versa, is unwarranted. Nor is it possible to substitute a measure of our own invention;² unless, indeed, we intend to make a paraphrase and not a translation, as did e.g., William Morris in his *Earthly Paradise*. So, I say, there is no alternative to prose but just an absolutely faithful adherence to the original metres.

By faithful adherence I mean, of course, not slavish adherence. If, e.g., stanzas of the original should contain, here and there, as a license, a three-syllable half-line in a *Fornyrðislag* metre poem I would certainly not feel myself bound to follow suit. I hold it a good rule that the translator should, if anything, stick closer to the norm than the original: the possibility of text corruptions should very properly ever be present to him; unless, of course, irregularity be the norm, as in the *Hárbarðsljóð*.

Obviously, in the rendering of the sense of a passage it frequently may be necessary, owing to deep-going differences between archaic Old Norse and Modern English, to let whole stanzas go into the melting pot, to be entirely recast in conformity with English syntax. To do this, without serious damage to the spirit of the original, naturally is the hardest part of the translator's task and one insuperable but to the serious student of Old Norse literature.

In the matter of text it should be the translator's endeavor to adhere to the manuscript readings whenever possible. Personally, I do not let this prevent me from siding with the so-called 'constructive' editors, notably Gering, Finnur Jónsson, Sijmons—who refuse to grovel before the readings of the codices in all cases, as do Neckel, Detter and Heinzel—even where the corruption thereof stinketh to heaven, or at any rate defies an intelligent understanding.

Neither do I see why manifest interpolations should not be translated, if marked as such; or, again, why some of the happy restorations, by Gering, Sophus Bugge, and Svend Grundtvig, of lost lines or stanzas should not be incorporated, providing the conjecture be made evident as such at a glance.

On the other hand I refuse to go as far as Genzmer, the author of the most recent German translation, who under the leadership of the brilliant and poetically gifted Andreas Heusler attempts a *rapprochement* to modern taste

² I call attention to my colleague, Professor Leonard's adaptation of the Nibelungen stanza for the translation of Beowulf. (*University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*. No. 2.

which, I am ready to admit, is at times highly satisfactory, but by that very fact open to suspicion.

I need hardly add that surely no one has any business to attempt a translation of an Old Germanic monument who is not thoroughly conversant with both its higher and lower criticism. This is especially true in the case of the Edda, where whole stanzas have been most variously interpreted and the text fairly bristles with difficulties of all kinds. To pin one's faith to one edition or text will never do; for if the translator should follow one edition through thick and thin he will presently find himself the slave of his chosen editor's theories;³ instead of standing on his own feet. Let him bear in mind that, though assuredly interpretation, a translation is not a text.

The great difficulty of doing alliterative verse into Modern English lies in the restricted number of words from the old stock at hand. For, while scouting any rigorously puristic ideas, I yet hold emphatically that, to give a fair equivalent, Germanic material must be drawn upon to the utmost extent, and later elements used most sparingly and only whenever indispensable or unavoidable, and even then only after anxiously considering whether consonant with the total effect of the whole. The stylistic feeling of the translator must here be the court of last instance; for what is perfectly proper in one place—say in the more mediæval and knightly *Atlamál*—may be utterly out of place in a rough-shod ballad such as the *Thrymskviða*. And yet, I say it again, I lay the utmost stress on avoiding non-Germanic material, and see failure or success in the skill and resourcefulness with which the old vocabulary is handled.

At the same time I do not mean to be squeamish and avoid a given word just because it is not found in Anglo-Saxon before the battle of Hastings, or because I have preconceived notions about the relative merit of Teutonic and French-Latin elements. Any one who has given the matter thought knows that no amount of linguistic contortions will furnish Germanic equivalents for such oft-recurring words, embodying absolutely basic conceptions of Old Teutonic antiquity, as: war, battle, hero, glory, revenge, defeat, victory, peace, honor, and the like.⁴ Still, wherever possible, Germanic words ought to be chosen, not because of Anglo-Saxo-mania, but because of the tang and flavor still residing in the homelier indigenous speech-material. I have no quarrel with those who are not aware of this. They are suffering with the painless evil of Ajax.

Another difficulty: the old Germanic poetry, however scant in content, and in however narrow circle it moves, is phenomenally rich in vocabulary and shines with a dazzling array of synonyms for one and the same conception. Scherer has shown how this state of affairs was brought about by the very principle of alliteration, and in its turn finally gave rise to the empty verbiage and jingling of Skaldic poetry, where sense is drowned in a flood of *heiti* and

³ I note, e.g., that the author of a most valuable recent edition, with a cliquishness wholly unbecoming to serious scholarship, virtually ignores valuable suggestions made in a rival undertaking which I, for my part, gladly accept.

⁴ May I take this opportunity again to call the attention of Germanic scholars to the remarkable volumes of Vilhelm Grönbech, *Vor Folkeat i Oldtiden* dealing fundamentally with these conceptions; see my reviews, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 1910, p. 269-278, and 1915, p. 124-135.

kennings. The Edda shows almost all stages in this development short of the final consummation, from the austere art of the *Völundarkviða* to the ornate manner of the *Hymiskviða*. When we take into consideration that the Old poet had at his disposal, some 20 words for 'man,' 23 for 'hero,' 48 for 'prince,' 32 for 'brave,' 20 for 'treasure,' 25 for 'battle,' 30 for 'wise,'⁶ and so forth, it will be clear that, in order to avoid the overhanging danger of monotony,⁶ all the resources of the English vocabulary ought to be at one's disposal. I am thinking chiefly of the material in the Scottish and English ballads. The reader ought to understand this and not balk at words like *elin, fey, grisly, fealty, bairn*, and the like.

Of course it is important here not to weight a stanza down with an undue number of archaic and obsolete expressions. The much overpraised translations of William Morris e.g. have done more harm than good by rendering the Old Norse sagas into a most perplexing and astonishing English which requires a pretty fair acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon, Edmund Spenser, and Thomas Mallory to be rightly understood. *Vestigia terrent!* Still worse is an injudicious mixture of Latin and Anglo-Saxon elements. As to this, the very respectable scholar Benjamin Thorpe should be a warning and an example.⁷

The proper rendition of Old Norse proper names presents a knotty problem to the would-be translator. Shall he translate them all, to the best of his knowledge—and that is a difficult task; or some only, and if so which? Or shall he leave all untranslated—much the easiest course. Or shall he try to render only those parts of proper nouns, which are of more general significance? E.g.: shall he call the dwarf Alvis or Allwise; Thor, Sithgrani's son or Long-beard's son; the seeress, Hyndla or Houndling; the localities Gnialund and Hátun, Cliffholt and Hightown? Shall we say Alfheim, Elfham, or Alf-home? Are we to render Skíoldungar, Ylfingar by Shieldings and Wolfings? And so forth, and so forth. I do not hesitate to say that on the translator's tact and skill in meeting this problem—for dodge it he cannot—will depend in large measure the artistic merit of his work and its modicum of palatableness to the modern reader.

Aside from these obstacles, the difficulty of reproducing alliterative verses in English has, to my mind, been exaggerated. To be sure, English has lopped

⁶ See Richard M. Meyer, *Die altgermanische Poesie, nach ihren formelhaften Elementen beschrieben*, p. 170 ff., and Theodor Wisén, *Om Ordjogningen i den äldre Eddan*, p. 2 ff.

⁶ I note, for example, that in the 43 stanzas of the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* alone there occur 19 words for 'hero.' No apologies are needed for my translation being even more monotonous, stylistically, and more narrowly Germanic, than the original. Any yielding to the impulse to 'touch up' the leanness of the manner of poems of this nature by resorting to allusions, conceptions, descriptive epithets and adjectives foreign to their habit will at once introduce a false note.

⁷ Let me cite the first four stanzas of his rendering of the *Hymiskviða* as a sample of barbaric and absurd mixing of these elements—one wonders whether he had any feeling whatsoever for the emotional connotation of words: 1) Once the celestial gods had been taking fish and were in comotation, ere they the truth discovered. Rods they shook and blood inspected, when they found at Ægir's a lack of kettles. 2) Sat the rockdweller glad as a child, much like the son of Misorblindi. In his eyes looked Ygg's son steadfastly: "Thou to the Æsir shalt oft a comotation give." 3) Caused trouble to the Jotun th' unwelcome worded As: he forthwith meditated vengeance on the gods. Sif's husband he besought a kettle him to bring "in which beer for all of you I may brew." 4) The illustrious gods found that impossible, nor could the exalted powers it accomplish till from true-heartedness Ty to Hlorrithi much friendly counsel gave.

off about all its inflectional endings and is frequently and exasperatingly monosyllabic, especially in its Anglo-Saxon elements; whence an unavoidable inclination on the part of the translator to pack too much into the arsis and to overwork Sievers' type E, as against C and D. Yet, with reasonable diligence and care this tendency may be largely counteracted.

As to the result and success of a translation along the lines above indicated I would say that I cherish no unwarrantable optimism. Of such a translation even if made with unerring skill and infinite resourcefulness may be said, with still greater justice, though in a different sense, what the Ettrick Shepherd's mother said to Sir Walter Scott: "There was never ane of ma sangs prentit till ye prentit them yoursel, and ye hae spoilt them atehgither. They were made for singing and no for reading, but ye hae broken the charm now, and they'll niver be sung mair. . . ." Surely, never. And, indeed, it is open to doubt in how far the modern ear feels any pleasure in the clash and clang of recurrent initial sound, as it certainly does in the music of rhythm and rime; and is not offended, rather, by the essential irregularity of the Old Germanic line. As to myself, I confess that the measure of satisfaction which I derive from alliterative verse may be due to years of occupation with it. It is only fair to acknowledge that it has become utterly foreign to our habit. So I am aware that an alliterative version of the Edda, though logically the best, and however well done, has no chance whatsoever to become 'popular reading.' It will have to stand on its merits as an adequate help to students of Old Germanic literatures and folklore who cannot afford the time to go into a detailed study of the Edda, yet wish to have in their hands a reasonably fair approximation of the original. Even so, somewhat lengthy introductions, explanations, and copious foot-notes will be found indispensable aids in to a proper understanding of this hoary ruin of antiquity.

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HUGO PIPPING: *FINLÄNDSKA ORTNAMN*. Helsingfors. 1918. Pp. xx+139. [Skrifter utgivna av Åbo Akademi Kommitte. 7.]

The relation of Finland to Scandinavia and the Germanic West in ancient times is a problem that has engaged the attention of many scholars in recent years. Their investigations have dealt with the subject linguistically and archeologically. The first results were surprising enough, but seem now in the main to be firmly established. On the linguistic side it is shown, e.g., that the earliest Finnish loans go back at least to Late Primitive Germanic, which corresponds to Early Primitive Finnish, and takes us back to the last centuries before our era. This dating is made necessary by the vocalism of Germanic words in Finnish, the Pre-Gothic character of which was shown by T. E. Karsten in an article entitled "Zur Frage nach den 'gotischen' Lehnwörtern im Finnischen," published in the *Indo-Germanische Forschungen*, XX, pp. 290-307 (1907-08). Another Swedish scholar, K. B. Wiklund, has made important contributions in the same direction.¹

On the archeological side the evidence of very early cultural loans as between the Germanic West and Finland is undisputed; but there are the difficult problems as to the provenance of this influence and as to its date. As early as 1874 the Finnish writer J. R. Aspelin pointed out the fact that the boat-shaped axe of the Finnish Stone-Age is historically to be identified with the same type of stone axe in Sweden (*Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques*, Stockholm, 1874). Then in 1885 in the work *Suomen asukkaat* Asepin proposed the division of the Finnish Stone Age into two zones, an Eastern and a Western, the former with Slavic, the latter with Germanic connections. These Western connections would seem to be primarily Swedish, but the ornamentation on clay pots would point also to non-Scandinavian Germanic influence. It would seem to be clear that Germanic and Russian culture influenced one another mutually during the Bronze Age and the Stone Age, and that the meeting ground of the two was Finland. The Germanic culture in question could only have been Gothic-Scandinavian, and on the Scandinavian side especially Swedish. Numerous articles have been published since the late nineties upon various phases of the problem. It involved, of course, the question of the coming of the Swedes (or rather settlers from the present Sweden) to Finland; or to put the problem the other way, the coming of the Finns to Western Finland, where a Germanic people was clearly domiciled in the Bronze Age. The conclusion seems to be that Finno-Ugrian tribes lived among a people of Germanic stock in South-Western Finland in the Bronze Age and even in the Stone Age. So Pipping, quoting the words of Hackman (p. xiii). But this conclusion is not entirely clear chronologically. Finnish Bronze culture is so little evidenced as to be practically non-existent (See, however, Pipping, pp. xii-xiii). Stone culture passes rapidly into the Iron culture of the Pre-Roman period, i.e., the last five centuries B.C. But the Scandinavian Bronze Age begins ca. 1800 (or 1600) B.C. And the boat-

¹ In *Le Monde Oriental*, Upsala.

shaped stone axe of Scandinavia which came into use in Finland puts the date of cultural contact between the two back to, possibly, 2000 B.C. Should we not then rather say, that the paucity of bronze implements in Finland does not mean that bronze was not known and in use through a considerable period, but that the Finns continued to use stone (also for edge tools) for a long time because of the scarcity of Bronze?² And this would of course also have been the case with the Germanic inhabitants of Finland. The Finnish archeologist Hackman, quoted by Pipping, holds that in Finland little bronze was needed, for it was the practice there not to reject worn or broken pieces of bronze tools but to recast them into new implements (Atlas öfver Finland, 1910). And it would seem that he holds, then, that the Finnish Bronze Age approximately coincides with that of Sweden.

Finnish-Scandinavian contact, then, goes back into the Bronze Age or possibly to the late Scandinavian Stone Age. Possibly to the Stone Age, I say, not necessarily so, for the striking boat-shaped stone axe³ would have come into use among the Finns in South Western Finland (see above), where the use of stone implements was common much later possibly than in Scandinavia. At this point some definite evidence comes from new philological studies, first by K. B. Wiklund in *Le Monde Oriental* V, and then by T. E. Karsten in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XLV, 2 (1915), who aim to show that the consonantal system of Finnish loanwords from the ancestors of the Germanic peoples go back to a time prior to the Germanic consonantal shift. And the date of this may roughly be taken to have been about 1500 years B.C.

It is natural to expect that Finnish place-names should reflect the scope of Germanic settlement in Finland. The first scholar to undertake an examination of these was, I believe, Ralf Saxén. His results were published in an article entitled "Onomatologiska bidrag till belysande af den svenska befolkningens äldre utbredning i Egentliga Finland" in *Nordiska Studier tillägnade Adolf Noreen*, 1904, pp. 39-45. Saxén first calls attention to the fact that: "I Egentliga Finland förekomma gamla skandinaviska, numera förfinskade namn uti hundradetal;" they show that the Swedish population of Finland was in former times spread over a much larger area than at present.⁴ In illustration of this he discusses briefly some twenty names from all parts of the coast of Finland.

In the study before us Pipping takes up this same subject for a more extensive treatment. Some seventy names are considered, and there is an introduction of twenty pages giving a history of the study of Finnish-Scandinavian relations. The whole forms a most valuable contribution to the study of an interesting and difficult problem. The introduction deals with investigations following Vilhelm Thomsen's work: *Den gotiske sprogklassens indflydelse*

² That the importation of bronze was limited, and that the native industry developed little until the close of the Bronze Age.

³ See excellent illustrations in Rygh's *Norske Oldsager*, figures 35-36, and *Västmanlands Fornminnesförenings Årsskrift*, VIII, p. 12.

⁴ l. c., p. 39.

paa den finske in 1869,⁵ a work which laid the solid foundation for subsequent investigation. Of studies prior to 1869 Thomsen's work gives an account. Of specifically philological contributions reference may be made here to T. E. Karsten's article in the *Indo-Germanische Forschungen*, XXII. Pipping offers a bibliography of works consulted, which would seem to be pretty complete (pp. 126-139).

I would not say that the author establishes the (Scandinavian) source of all names considered. The problems confronted are often very difficult, some of them, I believe, impossible of solution. In loans between languages word-forms will maintain themselves more or less pure in proportion to the similarity of the loaning and the borrowing language (subject always of course to later change in the borrowing language). In unrelated or remotely related languages the change in borrowed words or names will be greatest; and in a special degree is this true in borrowings from a primitive period of the borrowing language. In such a case changes in the forms of words are often apt to be very irregular. That Old Swedish, Gothic, or other Germanic names in Finland may often have become quite distorted in the course of their history is quite likely. Proof of the identity of some cases of this kind may lead to setting up unlikely equations in other cases where proof is not present; a possibility is set up, then used as if it were an established probability. Pipping's derivations are, however, always sane and well-considered. Where he is treading on uncertain ground he is careful and always conservative in his conclusions. Such a case is the name *Ruohauta* in Tyrvis (pp. 98-101). Now this name is probably genuinely Finnish, a composite from Finnish *ruoho*, "grass," and *haut*, "grave" (see p. 99); this, especially in view of the form *rohohauta*, 1486, of which *ruohauta* would be a common enough contract form; in *ruohauta* the diphthong *uo* is modern. However, of ten cited occurrences ranging from 1475 (*olaff rohauta*) to 1546 the name usually appears as the place-name of a Scandinavian settler. Further, the Finnish, *ruuhi*, "a hollowed-out tree-trunk, boat," is borrowed from Germanic *brüh* of the same meaning, the Scandinavian representative of which is ON. *bró* = Primitive Scandinavian **brōhu*. This also would give the medieval form *rohu* modern *ruohu*, contracted in *ruohauta*. For some of the forms Pipping would assume contamination with Finnish *ruoho*, 'grass.' As an originally Gmc-Scandinavian place-name the meaning would be 'coffin-grave,' i.e., the grave with a coffin in it (coffin of the hollowed-out trunk of a tree). As an originally Finnish name it would mean 'grass-ditch' (ditch overgrown with grass). Unless it can be shown that the place received its name very early, and, indeed, at a time when coffin-graves were rare in Finland,⁶ the sug-

⁵ The book is best known under the title: *Über den Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die finnisch-lappischen von Dr. Wihl. Thomsen. Aus dem dänischen übersetzt von E. Sievers*, published in 1870.

⁶ In Sweden hollowed-out oak coffins go back well into the Bronze Age. For full discussion of the subject see *Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, IX, pp. 77-110.

gested Scandinavian origin must remain doubtful. A somewhat similar case we have in *Hatula*, where *Hatu-* might be from ON. *haþu* (as a name in *Hoðr*), or from Finnish *hatu*. Especially interesting and suggestive are, however, the author's discussions in connection with *Kuopio* (a Bronze-Age loan), *Eko*, *Häimlaxviken*, *Imatra*, *Kainuu*, *Karkku*, *Mälsarby*, *Viekijärvi*, and *Ängelsby*.

While in such an investigation one, therefore, often operates with difficult material, it may be noted that Finnish is a very conservative language, especially on the side of the vowels. And groups of loaned words have preserved practically their original form from Primitive Germanic times down to the present. See, e.g., Thomsen's *Einfluss*,⁷ etc., pp. 49-103.⁸ But the Finnish consonantal system is limited, the voiced explosives are practically absent, something that complicates the problem very much. Primitive Germanic loans having the consonants in question must be tested by other criteria. Likewise it would seem often to be impossible to settle the question as to whether an Indo-European loan came to the Finns from the later Germanic people or from elsewhere. For the present, then, many things must remain in abeyance. But, granting this, the advance that has been made in this domain of investigation, along the lines of philological and archeological evidence, throws a wholly new light upon the ancient history of Finland and upon Finnish-Scandinavian and Finnish-Germanic relations, and it adds an important chapter to the story of the Indo-Europeans.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

Urbana. 1919.

⁷ Brief summaries in Noreen: *Geschichte der nordischen Sprachen*, 1913, p. 10, Ljungstedt: *Grunddragen af Modersmålets Historia*, 1898, pp. 70-71, and Kluge's *Urgermanisch. Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte*, 1913, pp. 42-45.

⁸ As, e.g., *ruhtinas*, prince (Cp. ON. *drottinn*), m., *kulta*, n., gold, and *kansa*, f., people.

EGGJUM-STENENS INDSKRIFT MED DE ÆLDRE RUNER.

Udgiven for Det norske historiske Kildeskriftfond ved Magnus Olson. Christiania, 1919. Pp. 125.

The most important runological find that has been unearthed in recent years in the Scandinavian North is undoubtedly the remarkable inscription of the Eggjum-stone discovered in Sogndal, Western Norway, in June, 1917. Already the fact of its length, with its 200 runes, gives it a significant place among monuments of like character; for it becomes thereby the longest inscription in the older runic series. Upon archeological evidence, especially the type of grave it was found in, Haakon Schetelig (Bergen Museum) has dated the stone back to the 7th century; this is in general supported by philological evidence from its various sides, although Magnus Olson's dating is 700 not the 7th century. The very great importance of the inscription, lies partly on the side of ON. linguistic history, partly in the information it gives us regarding the development of the older runes in a period which is represented by very few inscriptions, but still more in its religious and mythological contents, and in its literary form. And here the information that it reveals, after the 1200 years of silence, seems to be so far-reaching as to raise it at once to the position of a document of the first importance for Old Norse literary history and for pagan religion in the pre-Viking period in the North.

The stone was found on the farm Eggjum by the owner of the farm and his son on June 5, 1917; it lay in horizontal position the depth of a plow-furrow. Upon being dug out it was found to contain an inscription on the under side. The stone was then handled with the greatest care by the farmer and his son; it was laid aside with the inscription down, word of the find was dispatched to the nearest museum (Amble, Sogn) and the stone was guarded against harm until it could be given expert examination. Of the grave, the position of the stone, objects found in the grave, and all external conditions surrounding the find, Olson gives a full account, then, on pages 6-10 of the present work, quoting mainly Haakon Schetelig, who conducted the archeological examination in June and September, 1917. Among the objects found may be especially noted a flint flake. Tools of stone have often been taken out of Bronze-Age and Iron-Age graves; they have usually been regarded as having come there by accident; i.e., as not a part of the origin grave deposit. However, in this case the flake was employed, as the investigation makes probable, in the cutting of the inscription; its use instead of iron, the natural thing to use at 700 A.D., has a religious significance, and is intimately bound up with the burial ritual of the period in question.¹ Of this I shall speak again below.

The grave is that of a man as shown by the fire-steel found in the grave; it is the grave of a member of one of the chief families of the community as the name (conveyed in complex kennings) reveals, pages 73-88 of the investigation; the connection of this family with other chief families in Western Norway is also pointed out by the author; the one buried died a violent death, the central

¹ Hence in some of the earlier cases of flint-finds in late graves the interpretation of these as accidental may need renewed investigation; they may have a definite meaning.

point of the inscription is a curse upon the slayer, and the purpose of the inscription is to bring death to him (p. 90); the preparations for the burial, the ritual preceding and accompanying it is revealed; part of the inscription is in verse, a pagan poem with a magic burial ritual as its contents. We observe the care with which in the minutest detail the rites have been carried out, where and how and by what instrument the runes have been engraved, the manner of the conveying of the stone to the grave, what kind of men are selected to convey and place the stone, etc. The runes were not read by any man nor viewed by any living man; the stone was consigned to the secrets of the grave with its magic runes turned toward the face of the dead; they were cut into the stone at a spot, that was hidden from the light of the sun (by night then? or in the darkest depths of some near-by forest?); the runes were cut by the venerable flint, they were cut in magic number groups divisible by the magic groups of the divinely descended runic letter series (of the futhark); and they were cut according to the rules of runic magic myth-lore; the magic is visualized by the curse-carrying steed; the rune-stone was conveyed to the grave on a rune-inscribed sleigh with the stone so placed that the sleigh's runes were "scraped off" and so sent out into the wide world (here p. 61 and especially p. 90);² and the stone was laid neither by men who possessed the sharp eye of magic, nor by those who could be affected by the power of the magic runes themselves (p. 39).

Of course the offered interpretation depends, for its acceptance among scholars, upon the correctness or the strength of the probability of the reading of the runes themselves. And it must be said at once that here one meets with a number of difficulties. Of the 200 runes no less than 40 are wholly or in large part illegible, i.e., the upper or lower end may be all that is left. I hasten to say also, however, that the author builds up his really wonderful structure of interpretation on the basis largely of the remaining 160 certain or strongly probable readings. Most uncertain are runes A50-55, A74-76, A95-101 and B2-4. The most difficult part of the inscription is, therefore, that part of A which seems to (may) contain the name of the buried man and the mention of the avenging son. The connection with elements in *Völuspá* and *Grimnismál* (*Niðhoggr*) cannot be regarded as wholly established, though Olson makes out a strong case for such an interpretation (pp. 82-89).

I do not either feel wholly convinced of the reading of the short line B. There are 11 runes, of which only 5 are certain—reading from left to right. So at any rate from the apparently excellent reproduction (p. 11, see also p. 15). The reading MISURKI that is *misyрки* is interpreted by Olson to be a

² Sigrdrifa's Lay may be translated:

All were shaved off
As were cut on,
Hurled with the holy mead
And sent wide on the ways.
They are 'mong the asas,
They are 'mong the elves,
Some with the wise wanes;
Some men in mankind have.

name-tabu for "wolf," i.e., avenger, this on the analogy of Eddic usage of the word *ULFR*. But if the runemaster would desire to say that an avenger is born who shall avenge the slaying would he have been likely to choose a *kenning* with the meaning evil-doer, doer of misdeeds, since the revenge he is to carry out is, from the point of view of the inscriber, certainly a good and righteous deed? Would one not in that case have to assume something like a stereotyped use of the word in the sense of "wolf"? But that we certainly cannot assume. We should expect the inscriber of the runes in this case to use some word meaning "destroyer." I am, in fact, inclined to believe that the word *ulfr* in ON., besides its usual meaning of "wolf," has especially in poetic language also a more or less stereotyped use in the sense of 'foe, avenging foe.' See, e.g., the various meanings under 3 (*qui vastat, corrumpit, raptor*) in Egilssons *Lexicon Poetarum antiquae linguae septentrionalis*. I may be permitted also, perhaps, to call attention to the fact that the Eddic usage cited by Olson (*Sigrdrifumál*, 34, and *Sigurðkviða en skamma*, 12,³ do not seem to exhibit the specific meaning of 'destroyer' or 'avenger,' but is in both cases used of the son of a foe, a son, who, if left alive, may become an avenging "wolf." But even if the word in poetic useage could also be employed in the specific sense of 'avenger,' I find it difficult to conceive of this use of *misyrki* in the situation we have in the case of the Eggjum ritual-inscription.

Professor Olson draws an interesting picture of what he believes to be the connection between the author of the Eggjum inscription and the scald Egil Skallagrimsson, who also was a master in runic art as well as in that of poetry. Of the former he says: "I rig og mangelgrenet Runekunst overgaaes hans Indridsning bare af Rök-Indskriften" (p. 104). And of Egil: "I Egil's Person forenes sublim Digtekunst med rigt udarbejdet Runekunst, og ganske naturlig maatte den af Aserne, som Egil fölte sig mest dragen mod, blive Odin, den personificerede Intelligens med Fremtrædelsesform i Seid og Galder, men ogsaa i Aandens ypperste Frembringelser, Skaldskap og Runeidræt." (p. 105). He then points out that the runemaster of the Eggjum-stone belonged to a central West Norwegian Fjord settlement, within that part of the country whence Iceland received most of its original settlers, and whence it took its social organization and its religious worship: "og hvorfra det ogsaa sandsynlig har taget med baade Edda kvad og Sans for Skaldskab. Der synes at gaa en ubrudt Linje fra Eggjum i Sogn over Borg til Reykjaholt paa Island. Snorra Edda's Forfatter, som hadde sin Valholl paa Altinget, og Snorre's Stamfader Egil Skallagrimsson, Odin's Ven, turde have fört videre traditioner, som skal knyttes til de norske Landskaber Fjordene (herfra nedstammede Egil) og Sogn, hvor vi har de eneste vestlandske Eksempler paa Stedsnavne, sammensatte med Gudenavne Odin (p. 106)."

The linguistic importance of the inscription and its contributions to runic history are dealt with on pp. 109-117. On the basis of the runic forms especially he dates the stone ca. 700 (pp. 117-121). Finally the significance of the inscription for the history of the earliest ON. poetry, especially the Eddic lays is discussed. It is shown, e.g., that the linguistic changes which led from Primi-

³ Numbering according to F. Jónsson's *Sæmundar-Edda*. Reykjavik, 1905.

tive Scandinavian to Old Norse were in the main complete by the year 700. But for a generation past it has been held that these changes belong to the 9th century, and with that regarded as proved, the doctrine has likewise established itself that: none of the Eddic lays can be older than the 9th century. But in recent years the untenability of so late a dating has come again to be felt. And now, in the light also of the Eggjum inscription, the doctrine falls to the ground; further deductions by the author on the age of Eddic lays, Odin-worship, magic lore, mythology, metre, etc. follow, pp. 122-124. The verses of the Eggjum-stone represent a special type of poetry belonging to the pagan burial-ritual and its runic magic; there are no parallels of it in ON. literature, nor within the information we get regarding Old Germanic prehistoric poetry in general. It has metrical form, but a more artless one than the Old Germanic recitative poetry; it has no fixed rules of alliteration, nor as yet the fixed strophic form of ON. poetry. Thus the inscription bridges over, in a way, this formal difference between the early poetry of the North with that of the West Germanic world.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

ORDBOG OVER DET DANSKE SPROG. Grundlagt af Verner Dahlerup, med Understøttelse af Undervisningsministeriet og Carlsbergfondet; udgivet af det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab. Første Binds første Halvbind, A-Anledning. Redigeret af H. Juul-Jensen. København, 1918. Gyl-dendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, pp. LII+639.

The great publishing house *Gyl-dendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag* has recently given proof of its progressive business methods, and, it may be properly added, ideals, by the publication of the first half of the first volume of the first real historical dictionary of the Danish language. The editors of this important work are Cand. Mag. H. Juul-Jensen and Mrs. Dr. Lis Jacobsen. This ambitious undertaking, which could not have been established on a purely commercial basis, is subsidized by the Danish Department of Public Instruction and the Carlsberg Foundation and it appears under the auspices of the Danish Language and Literature Society. It is of interest to note that the two preceding unabridged Danish dictionaries, Chr. Molbech's, the first edition of which appeared 1828-1833, and 'A Danish Dictionary for the People,' edited by B. T. Dahl and H. Hammer, 1913-1914, were both published by Gyl-dendal.

The beginning of the work under review was made by Professor Verner Dahlerup in 1882 by the collecting, with the assistance of his wife, of material. In 1901 the *Nordisk Forlag*, later consolidated with *Gyl-dendal*, entered into an agreement with Professor Dahlerup for the publication of a dictionary about twice the size of the second edition of Molbech, which had long been out of print. As the preparations progressed, however, it was found impossible to keep within the prescribed limits and it was then decided to divide the work among a larger number of editors and assistants and to increase substantially its scope and bulk. For the past few years Professor Dahlerup has acted as consulting editor, all of the work passing thru his hands for final decision and many of the more difficult words being treated by him. His relation to the finished work, therefore, will be similar to that of Dr. Murray to the *Oxford Dictionary*, with the exception, let us hope, that he may enjoy the satisfaction of seeing the completion of his great undertaking.

To one unfamiliar with Danish scientific and business enterprises it might seem strange that so ambitious an undertaking should appear in a country with a population not exceeding that of Chicago. But for many years Danish bookmaking, both as regards form and content, has been of the highest character and where private initiative has been insufficient an enlightened government, together with the splendid *Carlsberg Foundation*, has always shown a readiness to support any worthy enterprise.

The plan of the dictionary aims at a full and careful treatment of the pronunciation, history and meanings of all native Danish words and of all earlier foreign derivatives occurring in the literature and in the daily speech from 1700 to the present time. The relatively late period of departure was determined by two circumstances. In the first place, for the earlier Danish a perfectly satisfactory treatment is found in O. Kalkar's *Ordbog til det Ældre Danske*

Sprog, and in the second place, modern Danish dates from Holberg (1684-1754). In the very interesting preface by Professor Dahlerup and in the introduction by the editors a full account is given of the methods followed, together with an historical sketch of Danish lexicography. This latter includes a description of the first Danish dictionary, compiled by the Royal Chancellor, Matthias Moth, who died in 1719 and whose work is preserved in sixty ms. volumes in the Royal Library in Copenhagen. This pioneer in Danish lexicography has furnished rich material for all subsequent workers in the field and his name frequently appears in the citations in the latest contribution to the subject, as also in Molbech. A valuable and, it is believed, a novel feature, or rather by-product of Dahlerup's dictionary is the determination to preserve in the Royal Library for future use the original slips and the fuller discussions of separate words, which often contain much material that could not be included in the final work. In the treatment of technical subjects, for example, experts were consulted and in many cases they furnished elaborate discussions which had to be greatly condensed.

An idea of the scope of the work may be gained from the following statistics. The first half of the first volume, containing 639 pages, does not quite complete the word *Anledning*. In Molbech this material is treated in 80 pages, the contents of the pages of the two works differing but slightly. The longest single article in this part, dealing with the preposition *af*, fills 13 columns of rather closely printed matter. In Molbech $2\frac{1}{3}$ columns were found sufficient for the discussion of this word. The second longest article is on the word *Anden* and it fills 11 columns. These figures do not include compounds with either word as the first part.

With regard to deliberate omissions, which are specified in the introduction, there is, of course, room for difference of opinion. Many recent borrowings from foreign languages, especially technical terms not in general use, are excluded, partly because of lack of space, partly because most of these words are included in Meyer's *Fremmedordbog*. Many words derived from proper names have also been omitted, tho the attempt has been made to include all those of real interest. Of greater importance to the reader of Scandinavian literature is the exclusion of all words peculiar to Norwegian use occurring in the literature after the separation from Denmark in 1814. Altho the language of Bjørnson and Ibsen is historically Danish, bearing somewhat the same relation to the language of Danish writers that the so-called Scotch before the Union bore to standard English, it shows very marked peculiarities of vocabulary, syntax and pronunciation. Announcement has been made of the preparation of a separate dictionary dealing with the Dano-Norwegian. It is greatly to be hoped that this plan will be realized, as without such a complementary work the present dictionary would be found sadly deficient.

A word with regard to the business side of the enterprise. The complete work will consist of from fifteen to seventeen volumes, one volume, appearing in two parts, to be published each year, at the subscription price of twelve Kroner per volume. An edition of not less than five thousand copies will be issued, besides a special edition of five hundred numbered copies on linen paper, the price of which is thirty Kroner.

A more careful examination of the dictionary will undoubtedly reveal faults of omission and of commission, since no such compilation can attain perfection, but within its prescribed limits it may be given an honorable place by the side of the first undertaking of the kind, the *Oxford Dictionary*.

DANIEL KILHAM DODGE.

University of Illinois.

STATEMENT

of the SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES, published quarterly at Menasha, Wis., required by the Act of August 24, 1912.

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[SEAL]

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ROMANTIC ELEMENTS IN TEGNÉR'S RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY

I

Introduction

It is well known that Esaias Tegnér, altho bishop of the Swedish Lutheran Church, did not entertain strictly orthodox views as to religion. In two previous articles¹ the writer has treated the question of Tegnér's religious orthodoxy in its bearing upon his poetry and literary career. Tegnér's views upon religion, however, receive a more concrete, if not so exalted, expression in his official sermons (*kyrkliga tal*) connected with his duties as bishop of the Lutheran Church. These formal expressions of faith on the part of the Lutheran bishop bear a most important relation to the religious ideals of the Romantic poet and it is chiefly with a view towards clarifying this relation that the following investigation has been undertaken.

In his *kyrkliga tal* Bishop Tegnér presented an extremely liberal and modern view of religion, which he endeavored to harmonize with the traditional orthodox view by interpreting the cardinal dogmas of the Lutheran Church as mere symbols of religious truth common to all Christianity. Thus Tegnér avoided a strictly heretical attitude towards the Lutheran Church, in that he accepted the orthodox dogmas insofar as they symbolize the truth and rejected them only insofar as they are to be regarded as the truth in itself (*tecknet är ej saken*).

We see in every one of his sermons a conscious effort to avoid speculation and to arrive at the purely religious significance of Christian theology. That he here adopted a hostile attitude towards theology is not at all surprising when we remember that even before accepting the office of bishop in 1824, he had

¹ "Försoningen in Tegnér's Frithiofssaga," *G.E.G.Ph.*, X, pp. 557-571, 1911; and "Pessimism in Tegnér's Poetry," *Pub. of the Soc. for the Advancement of Scan. Study*, III, pp. 112-133, 1916.

in unequivocal terms declared² himself as the sworn enemy of theology (cf. *Pessimism in Tegnér's Poetry*, p. 125 ff.). But theology, however hostile it may be to the progress of religion, was to Tegnér a mere form and could, therefore, be retained by every good Christian provided he apprehend the substance beneath the form. Yet Tegnér realized the ambiguity in which he was involved and keenly felt the burden of a task which compromised his strict sense of intellectual honesty.

Strictly speaking, Tegnér begged the question in his official religious utterances, inasmuch as theology as such cannot be merged into pure religion and still preserve its essential character as distinct from the latter. But he was true to himself and to his duty as a Lutheran bishop insofar as he assumed that the essential aim of the church was to elevate and purify religion in whatever form it might appear. As the enemy of theology it was impossible for Tegnér to harmonize irreconcilable elements, but as the friend of religion and its highest officer in the land it was possible for him to avoid a literal dilemma, when the question at stake was not of the letter but of the spirit.

The question naturally arises as to Tegnér's conception of pure religion or pure Christianity as opposed to theology. The essence of the Christian religion is based upon the eternal verities and as such coincides with much which is found in all religions. But the distinct and individual interpretation which Tegnér gave to these eternal verities of the Christian religion was a product not only of his individual temperament and training (cf., for instance, his distinct leaning towards Hellenic ideals) but also of the philosophic thought of the era in which he lived, viz., the ideals of the Romantic School of Philosophy. In spite of Tegnér's aversion to philosophic speculation he, nevertheless, imbibed the essential doctrines of the Pantheists and Mystics of his time, as well as the moral precepts of the Kantian School. For a clear understanding of the relation which Tegnér's religious philosophy bore towards the philosophic speculation of his time it is necessary to review briefly the essential philosophic doctrines of the Swedish Romantic School.

² In a letter to Geijer (1821) he says: "I know no greater enemy to religion than theology."

II

PHILOSOPHY OF THE SWEDISH ROMANTIC SCHOOL

The religious philosophy of the Swedish Romanticists was a direct inheritance from the Romantic School in Germany and received no distinctive interpretation which could be classified as peculiarly Swedish. The ultra-mundane God, a Divinity removed from humanity, was discarded in favor of the pantheistic conception of God as residing in and as the essence of all things; a consciousness of oneness with this infinite Spirit and a feeling of dependence upon Him is religion; since the finite cannot comprehend the infinite, the apprehension of God thru cognition was rejected as impossible; only thru intuition (i.e., religious inspiration) is the divine nature revealed to man; institutional religion prevents this apprehension of God, so far as the creeds and dogmas of institutional religion are not the product of individual communion with the Divinity; inner experience is the true essence of religion which is primarily an act of faith.

Starting from the basis established by Herder and Lessing, who taught the lesson of comparative religions and established the doctrine that the real value of religion consists not in its dogmas but in its views of life, the German philosophers of the 18th and early 19th century freed the Protestant religion from the fetters of ecclesiasticism and laid the foundation of modern theology. Kant distinguished rational from empirical knowledge and by his Categorical Imperative established a new system of ethics; Fichte reduced the universe both spiritual and material to one substance (viz., a product of the mind), and upon Fichte's transcendental philosophy was reared the structure of Schelling's pantheism to which Scheiermacher gave definite and classic expression.

As in Germany, so too in Sweden it was Schelling and Schleiermacher who exerted the most profound influence upon the religious thought of the Romanticists. Religion became a thing of inspiration to be expressed like poetry in symbolic figures; poetry became religious and religion poetic. But in Sweden this love of the poetry and the splendor of religion did

not, as in Germany, bring about a distinct tendency towards Catholicism, but the Catholic spirit of mystic adoration was, nevertheless, manifest in the general attitude of Swedish writers towards the phenomena of the universe. Thus for instance, Atterbom, the leader of the Phosphorists, says: "All the highest, all reality in life is unfathomable in its nature; piety, love, friendship, are they not at the same time the darkest and the clearest of all mysteries?" Romantic mysticism owed its origin to medieval mysticism (especially to the Neo-Platonists and the German mystics, Meister Eckhart and Jacob Boehme), but the ethical tone which the Swedish Romanticists adopted was strictly modern, insofar as this element was based upon the humanitarian idealism as represented by the philosophic doctrines of Kant and Fichte and reflected in the literary works of Herder, Lessing and Schiller.

Of all the Swedish Romantic writers the element of ethical idealism was most marked in Tegnér. Schiller's humanity and Kant's Categorical Imperative were as fundamental to Tegnér's conception of religion as was the pantheistic mysticism of Schelling. Christianity consisted for Tegnér in the highest form of virtue as well as in that spiritual intuition which identified man with God. His love of the beautiful and of nature did not lead him away from the orthodox conception of a personal deity towards whom man owes the eternal debt of moral rectitude and duty. Tegnér's pantheism was closely akin to that of Goethe and Emerson in which this adoration of the divine spirit was identical with the perception of the spiritual laws of the universe. Like Carlyle and Herder, Tegnér identified religion with morality, since to him all religions were mere symbols or outward expressions of infinite truths within.

III

TEGNÉR AND ORTHODOXY

Altho such was the general nature of Tegnér's personal convictions regarding religion, he was, nevertheless, by virtue of his office constrained to keep the traditional terminology in his interpretation of orthodox theology. Under the existing circumstances it would have been impossible for Tegnér to

expound the ulterior significance of orthodox theology, if the symbol for the truth were discarded. Therefore, in his official sermons we find no philosophical terms (like Schelling's *Weltseele* or Emerson's *Over-Soul*) for those doctrines which departed from strictly orthodox conceptions. Tegnér taught his people in the simple and traditional way and with the traditional terms which they understood.

Thos deogmas of the Orthodox Church to which Tegnér gave a new and therefore (in the strict sense of the word) heretical interpretation may be summarized as follows: a) Revelation and Miracles, b) The Divinity of Christ and Vicarious Atonement, c) The Nature of God and Immortality, d) The Trinity, e) Faith, and f) Christianity and Religion.

a. *Revelation and Miracles*

To Tegnér revelation did not consist in a supernatural intervention in the order of nature, whereby God 'reveals' himself personally to man, but in the divine nature of man himself who by opening his soul to the Infinite receives the influx of God's wisdom, an inspiration which is wholly natural and at the same time divine (i.e., in the orthodox sense, 'supernatural'). This interpretation of the orthodox dogma of revelation is in keeping with the religious ecstasy of the Mystics and with the pantheism of Schelling's Romantic philosophy. God and man are one in essence and the intercourse between the two is religious revelation. "Revelation," says³ Tegnér (*Vid kyrkoherdars invigning i ämbetet*, i Tolg, 1824), "is only the intelligence of the eternal expressed in human language."

In his *Tal vid prestmötet i Vexjö (vid mötets början)*, 1836, Tegnér says: "Nature has mysteries and will always have them despite natural science, why shouldn't the hidden depths of the soul have them too." One is reminded here of Atterbom's declaration (quoted above) that all life is a mystery. To the Romantics, therefore, religious revelation was no more a mystery than any other phenomenon in life.

³ "Uppenbarelsen är blott den eviges förnuft, uttaladt i ett menskligt tungomål."

"But," says Tegnér (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 5, 1839), "divine revelation, tho one in substance, appears in manifold forms, like the refracted light of the sun which, tho uniform in character, appears to human eyes in a thousand different forms and colors." "This diversity of form is due to the fact that the divine will accommodates itself to the special conditions of human society and to the spiritual needs of man"⁴ (*Vid kyrkovisitationer*, i Agunnaryd, 1830). "The revealed word (i.e., the Bible) is the ideal, the most beautiful form in which the divine will has expressed itself; the apostles were 'par excellence' God's chosen (*Guds utkorade*) and as such constitute for humanity the purest source of revelation" (*ibid.* and *Vid prestvigningar*, No. 2).

Tegnér's assumption that the divine will accommodates itself to the special conditions of human society and, therefore, every era and every race has its own particular revelation is clearly a reflection of Herder's theory of national organisms, each living out its own spirit and individual forms of language, religion, society, etc. (cf. *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, 1784-91). Furthermore, the doctrine of God's chosen, as instruments of revelation, harmonizes⁵ exactly with the Romantic ideal of *genius*, which is divine in whatever form it may appear. The worship of *genius* played an especially importance part in German Romanticism.

"Revelation, being a diverse phenomenon, cannot in itself furnish a uniform structure for religion; even Biblical conceptions vary widely; such a uniform structure is found only in the

⁴ "Och på samma sätt är det äfven med det himmelska ordet, som också ursprungligen var ett; men det har brutit sig och skiftar i mångahanda färger, efter olika tider och omständigheter, olika seder och tänkesätt, olika språk och folkslag."

Wherever the original Swedish is not quoted, I have endeavored to give a very free rendering of the author's thought.

⁵ For instance, in defending the apostles as the purest source of divine revelation Tegnér said (*Vid kyrkovisitationer*, i Agunnaryd, 1830) that the apostles are rightly considered as inspired from above, "since all truth, all excellence, in short everything which in any particular era greatly exceeds the normal measure of thought, may and ought to be regarded as an inspiration from above."

spirit of revelation"⁶— which is, of course, identical with pure religion—(*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 5, 1839). Here Tegnér explains the self-contradictory elements in the Bible and the affinity of the Christian religion to other religions by conceding, as Lessing so nobly elucidated in his *Nathan der Weise*, the fallibility of the Christian religion and the element of truth in all religions.

"But revelation will always exist so long as the human race exists, for each individual has God's revelation within himself"⁷ (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 13, 1827). "God's word will endure forever, not thru any miracle (to which recourse is often taken) but by virtue of its own inner truth and life" (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Skatelöf, 1825). "God's word is on this account the word of the noblest and purest humanity; it is 'the revealed word' and therefore the word of the highest intelligence. For revelation is God's intelligence; human intelligence is merely a ray of God's light; the essence of both is identical. Therefore, there can be no real conflict between revelation and reason, anymore than between a child's simple language and that of an educated speaker"⁸ (*ibid.*)

This interpretation of revelation, which levelled the distinction between the essence of the natural and supernatural, of the human and divine, was the cardinal doctrine of Romantic mysticism to which Schelling gave definite philosophic expression in his doctrine of the *Weltseele*. Divine inspiration comes to all

⁶ "En sådan lärobyggnad finnes icke, och kan, enligt sakens natur, ej finnas i bibeln; men väl förefinnas byggnadsämnen dertill, ehuru i spridd ordning."

⁷ "Ty icke är uppenbarelsen slutad, utan den fortgår allttjämt, icke blott i den yttre naturen . . . , utan äfven i människans eget bröst; och så länge det finnes ett människoslägte, måste det äfven i denna mening finnas en uppenbarelse."

⁸ In this sermon Tegnér summarizes the qualities indispensable to the religious teacher, viz., sincerity, moral integrity and wisdom. A religious teacher must be "öppen som ett barn, fast som en man och vis som en gubbe." These are almost the very same words which the author uses in the characterization of Björn, Frithiof's foster-brother, in the *Frithiofssaga* (*Frithiof tager arf efter sin fader*):

"Björn hette den unge,
glad som ett barn, men fast som en man och vis som en gubbe."

lofty souls who are in tune with the Infinite; human nature at such moments of communion becomes conscious of its divinity and soars aloft where it merges with the Infinite. This doctrine is repeatedly emphasized by Tegnér thruout his writings and receives its final and masterful expression in his speech *Efter talets slut vid Gustaf Adolfsfesten* (1832).

Emerson too shared this cardinal tenet of Romantic mysticism in his doctrine of the *Over-Soul*. Communion with the *Over-Soul* is religious intuition or divine revelation; such revelation comes to the devout in moments of solitude and reflection and "is," says Emerson (*Essays*, 1st series, p. 304), "always a miracle, which no frequency of occurrence or incessant study can ever familiarize, but which must always leave the inquirer stupid with wonder." "In the *universal miracle*, petty and particular miracles disappear" (*ibid.*, p. 57). This mystical revelation of the divine Spirit Emerson often designated in the words of Plotinus as "a flight of the alone to the alone."

According to Emerson, religious intuition brings the human soul much nearer to God than does learning or acquired knowledge (i.e., cognition). "The idiot, the Indian, the child and unschooled farmer's boy," he says (*Conduct of Life*, 1860, p. 15), "stand nearer to the light by which nature is to be read than the dissector or the antiquary." Exactly this faith in the simple, natural instincts of humanity, which Rousseau postulated as the sole means of true knowledge and which Emerson predicated as the essence of religious faith, Tegnér expressed most beautifully in his poem *Fridsroster* (1806):

"Männ' den vise med sin lära,
än så djup, så konstigt byggd,
kommer verldens Gud mer nära,
än den vilde med sin dygd?"⁹

It is rather surprising in view of Tegnér's interpretation of revelation as part of the natural order of the universe that he

⁹ "Can the wise man with his learning, however deep or skillfully constructed, come closer to God's world than the simple man with his virtue?"

Altho poetry never can be adequately translated, an English rendering of the thought in Tegnér's verse may not be out of place in connection with the question under discussion.

should have made any concessions to the orthodox dogma of immediate and miraculous intervention upon the part of God in man's affairs. Yet in his eleventh sermon (*Vid prestvigningar*) he makes a distinct implication that this may occasionally happen during the especially critical periods of man's history, when human nature stands in need of a complete moral transformation. "God," he says, "most generally works thru human beings and by natural means. He is not like a bungling watch-maker who always must repair the faults in his work, but if He at any time appears and *reveals Himself immediately* (*verkar omedelbarligen*), it is during the great crises of the world's history when the clock of the age has run down and the wheels must be melted over and the hours told according to another standard of time. Then comes the power of the Highest down upon earth and overshadows humanity, then the word becomes flesh and dwells within man."

"The purpose of revelation," says Tegnér (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Väckelsång, 1832) "is to give light unto men, for light is reason; reason is God's first and original revelation; God has written the law in man's heart. But the writing in man's heart is for the most part dark and illegible; therefore, revelation has come thru the Holy Scriptures not to contradict but to confirm, not to drive out but to clarify reason. The essential doctrines of revelation comprise all the Christian virtues and encompass all the spiritual and moral needs of humanity."

In revelation, therefore, Tegnér saw the essence of pure Christianity made clear to humanity and thru revelation humanity brought face to face with God. Since man's religious perception is of divine origin, the question of mediate or immediate revelation is (according to Tegnér) not of great importance; the divine nature of the Bible still remains intact. Thus Tegnér compromised the orthodox conception of revelation by levelling the distinction between the human and divine, i.e., by assuming, exactly as did Coleridge, Emerson, and Goethe, that all religious inspiration is a revelation of the divine spirit.

The importance of revelation lay for Tegnér in its moral and spiritual significance to humanity. Therefore, poet that he

was and averse to all philosophic speculation, it was quite natural and consequential for him to accept the Bible as a divine document. He says (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Berg, 1835): "To explain the relation of God to man is impossible; the whys and wherefores are not a practical consideration. The cause of religion suffers at the hands of philosophic speculators who have split hairs in the attempt to establish a line of demarcation between the immediate and the mediate relation of God to man, between God and nature. The main thing is the holy spirit of God, which unites all Christian churches and gives a meaning to civilization and humanity."

This was exactly Emerson's attitude towards revealed religion. God cannot be left out of creation, but the line of demarcation between God and man can never be established. In his *Essay on the Preacher* (1879) he says: "Unlovely, nay, frightful is the solitude of the soul which is without God in the world. I cannot keep the sun in heaven, if you take away the purpose that animates him. The ball, indeed, is there; but his power to cheer, to illuminate the heart as well as the atmosphere, is gone forever." And in his *Conduct of Life* (1860) he says:

"Draw, if thou canst, the mystic line,
Severing rightly his from thine
Which is human, which divine."

Furthermore, the emphasis which Tegnér laid on the individual worth of the human soul which he regarded as *the greatest miracle of all nature*¹⁰ (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Solberga, i Gårdsby, 1837) represents exactly the cardinal thesis of Emerson and The Early Unitarians of New England, who were very largely indebted, as was Tegnér, to the idealistic philosophy of the German Romanticists.

¹⁰ "Ju mera vår själ vaknar till klart medvetande, ju bättre hon lär känna sin bestämmeelse och sitt värde" (*i Solberga*).

"Hans under omgifva er öfverallt, ifrån solen till solgrändet. Men det största undret är dock inom er själfva, i en själ, som anar hans väsende, i ett hjerta, som känner hans kärlek, som hoppas på hans barmhertighet" (*i Gårdsby*).

b. *The Divinity of Christ and Vicarious Atonement*

Tegnér's attitude towards this question received its most beautiful expression in the last canto (*Försoningen*) of the *Frithiofssaga* (cf. the writer's article in *J.E.G. Ph.*, X, pp. 557-571). No one of Tegnér's doctrines seems so heretical as his outspoken views regarding the nature of Christ and of Vicarious Atonement. Yet they are in perfect harmony with his general conception of religious revelation, as set forth under the previous heading.

By levelling the distinction between the nature of the human and the divine and thus merging the two into one substance, as Schelling and Schleiermacher did, Tegnér found no real contradiction in assuming Christ as divine and as the Son of God, yet at the same time as human and natural. The same argument which applied to Tegnér's conception of revelation applied with equal weight and logical sequence to the nature of Christ.

In his second sermon (*Vid prestvigningar*) Tegnér says: "When it is said that *no one hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven*, this applies not only to the great Son of God, but also in a more general sense to the human soul which is also a Son of God and descended out of heaven." The divinity of Christ is, therefore, based upon the assumption of the divinity of the human soul.

This is the cardinal doctrine of the Unitarians and may, therefore, rightly be considered as heretical, since it is in direct contradiction to the orthodox conception, viz., that the divine and the human, altho united in the person of Jesus Christ, are *not* identical in essence, the nature of the Godhead being distinct from that of humanity.

"The conception of God as the Father and Christ as the Son is mere verbiage, proving the consanguinity of both and their identity of essence. Christ represents humanity and as the crown of humanity he links the human to the divine. This results not in a contradiction but in a harmony of the two natures" (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 4). "What is the final solution of this long controversy concerning the two natures in

Christ," asks¹¹ Tegnér (*ibid.*), "if not this, that in proportion as man rises, he approaches divinity and becomes merged in it, or in other words, that every human being is destined to become a son of God?"

Instead of pulling God down to the level of man and endowing Him with human attributes Tegnér raises man up to the level of God and endows him with divine attributes; the highest step in this ascension of humanity towards God is realized in the character and life of Jesus Christ. This is, of course, the very fundament upon which Emerson's doctrine of the Over-Soul rested. Therefore, it is not surprising that Emerson's utterances regarding the divinity of Christ should be in complete accord with Tegnér's. "If a man is at heart just," says Emerson in his memorable Address in the Divinity School of Harvard University (1838), "then insofar is he God; the safety of God, the majesty of God do enter into that man with justice." And again he says (*Miscellanies*, p. 125): "He (Jesus) spoke of miracles, for he felt that man's life was a miracle and all that man doth; and he knew that his daily miracle shines *as the character ascends*."

But while Tegnér attached to the person of Jesus a reverence tantamount to deification, Emerson viewed the personality of Jesus in the light of historical religion rather than as a final and perfect expression of God in humanity. In fact, Emerson regarded the deification of Christ as a theological crime and the overexaltation of his personality as a source of error and sin, giving rise to the incomprehensible doctrine of the Trinity and missing the real point in Christ's teaching. "Historical Christianity," says Emerson (*Address* of 1838), "has dwelt, it dwells, with noxious exaggeration about the person of Jesus."

Such a feeling as this regarding the person of Jesus, which the iconoclastic exponent of New England Transcendentalism expressed, was entirely alien to Tegnér who still retained much of orthodox reverence and whose position in the Lutheran

¹¹ "Och den långa tvisten om de bägge naturerna i Kristo, hvad blir dock dess slutliga upplösning, om icke den, att i den mån människan stiger, nalkas hon gudomen och sammanfaller med den, eller med andra ord, att hvarje människobarn är bestämdt att blifva en gudason?"

Church made a conciliatory spirit incumbent upon him. To be sure, he denounced the doctrine of Vicarious Atonement¹² (which grew out of the orthodox conception of Christ's divinity) with an indignation fully as intense as Emerson's and referred to Paul's abstruse theology¹³ with unfeigned contempt, but these were theological dogmas, not persons. Since the Christian religion signified to Tegnér religion in its highest form and since he did not assume, as did Emerson, the impersonal attitude of the religious philosopher but rather the personal attitude of the religious teacher, the person of Jesus remained for him in all its traditional sanctity. The deification of Christ was for Tegnér not a theological crime so long as the *spirit* of Christ was a living reality in the church. Emerson's critical attitude sharply distinguished between the *deity* and the *divinity* of Christ. The "crack"¹⁴ which to Emerson seemed so large was for Tegnér sealed by the spirit of Christ's teachings, whether irrational dogmas persisted or not. Tegnér did not dispense with dogmas so long as they could serve his purpose in the reconstruction and purification of the church; he was an iconoclast only so far as the *spirit* of orthodoxy was concerned.

The doctrine of Vicarious Atonement and of the Salvation of the Soul, as conditioned by a literal faith in the divinity of Christ as the personal Son of God, received scant courtesy from Tegnér (cf. his letter to Geijer, quoted in foot note 12). As a disciple of Kant and Schiller, Tegnér's moral sense was outraged by the assumption of an act which had no necessary connection with the moral laws of the universe. His conviction that *salvation by character* is the only means for the redemption of a sinful soul Tegnér expressed in unequivocal terms in the last canto of his *Frithiofssaga* (cf. the writer's article, *J.E.G.Ph.*, X, p. 557-571).

¹² In a letter to Geijer (1821) he says: "the orthodox conception of Vicarious Atonement is a butcher's idea, which is heathen both in sight of God and reason."

¹³ "Paul's theological system is nothing more than Hellenic sophistry inoculated into Jewish barbarity" (*ibid.*).

¹⁴ I refer here to Emerson's critical spirit as expressed in his oft quoted aphorism: "There is a *crack* in everything God has made" (*Essay on Compensation, Essays*, 1st series, 1841).

Here again Tegnér's religious views coincide exactly with the cardinal doctrine of the Unitarians, who in accordance with the Kantian system of ethics postulate the freedom of the will as the basis of all moral action. Just as the Early Unitarian Movement was a moral reaction against the dogma of predestination and the mechanical doctrines of Calvinism, so too Tegnér opposed the orthodox dogma of Vicarious Atonement as a moral monstrosity which contradicted the ethical principle of Christ's teachings and reduced religion to a soulless mechanism. The existence of such a dogma in the Christian Church Tegnér explains¹⁵ (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 4) as due to the fact that reconciliation with God has always been a necessity for the human soul. Religion, as the function for the expression of man's moral and spiritual needs, must necessarily lay great stress on the necessity for *atonement*, otherwise morality will not exercise its proper function in religion. "But if religion stops at the mere form and does not penetrate the substance beneath, which is the law and essence of its nature, then religion becomes a mere perfunctory ceremony, a moral sham which in reality is only a form of barbarism in nowise different from that of the primitive heathen, for it desecrates the highest and mocks the holiest of sentiments"¹⁶ (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 8).

This is exactly the spirit of Emerson in his *Address* of 1838, which may well be considered as the first classic expression of American Unitarianism, when he says: "To aim to convert man by miracles is a profanation of the soul. A true conversion, a true Christ, is now, as always, to be made, by the reception of beautiful sentiments."

"The doctrine of atonement," says¹⁷ Tegnér (*Vid kyrkovisitationer*, i Agunnaryd, 1830), "has been interpreted and may be

¹⁵ "Men det vissa är dock, att hon (försöningen) är och alltid varit ett behof för menniskohjertat . . . , att hon varit och är och förblifver verldshistoriens hjertblod."

¹⁶ "Den ytliga kristendom, som stannar vid ett blott vetande eller yttre plägseder och derigenom tror sig rädda själen, den är sämre än judarnes galskap och hedningarnes villo; ty den gör det högsta lågt och drifver gäck med det heligaste."

¹⁷ "Försöningenslära, som väl kan tydas och verkligen blifvit tydd på mångfaldigt sätt, men dock alltid såsom sin yttersta grund förutsätter menniskans brister och en Gud, som i nåd förbarmar sig deröfver."

interpreted in various ways, but it always postulates human frailty and a God of infinite mercy. Man's sinful nature is only an expression of his finiteness, but God is perfect and therefore man is in everlasting need of divine Grace."

This tendency towards evil, to which the human soul is naturally heir, accounts for the Biblical conception of the Fall of Man. "Conscience teaches us," says¹⁸ Tegnér (*Vid kyrkovisitationer*, i Kalfsvik, 1828), "that we cannot attain to divine perfectivity, that we always have something for which we must reproach ourselves, that we are born with a tendency towards evil, which the Scriptures call the Fall of Man."

Jesus Christ, as the intercessor¹⁹ of mankind, occupies this supreme office by virtue of the fact "that his life and teachings have reconciled man with God (not God with man); the moral character of Christ and his unparalleled sacrifice exalt him to the office of Saviour"²⁰ (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Malmbäck, 1828). "The Son," says Tegnér (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 4), "is humanity represented in humanity's crown, in Jesus of Nazareth."

According to Tegnér, therefore, salvation of the soul depends not upon the faith in Christ's divinity as the personal Son of God, but upon the faith in the Christian virtues which made Jesus the Saviour of humanity. "Whatever wrong thou thyself hast done, no one else but thou thyself can atone for," Tegner makes the priest²¹ of Balder say to Frithiof in the canto "Atone-

¹⁸ "Om vi endast lyssna till den inre rösten i vårt hjerta, till samvetets vittnesbörd, så lärer detta oss osvikeligen, att vi icke kunne uppnå den helighet, som kan bestå inför gudomligheten, att vi alltid ha något att förebrå oss . . . , att vi äro födde med en böjelse till det onda, som skriften kallar för syndafallet."

¹⁹ "Vi erkänna blott *en* medlare, som är Jesus Kristus" (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 5).

²⁰ "Jesus Kristus . . . , som var världens försonare, emedan han försonat, icke Gud med människan, utan människan med Gudi; som befriat oss ifrån syndens herravälde, derigenom att han i sin egen lefnad visat oss helighetens väg; som är allas vår frälsare genom sin lära, den han bekräftat genom sin död."

²¹ In his thirteenth sermon (*Vid prestvigningar*) Tegnér says: "Hvad vill han (läraren) i templet, der han skall förkunna försoningens gudomliga lära, om hans eget hjerta är bittert och hatfullt och ofördragsamt." Exactly this thought occurs in the canto *Försoningen* (*Frithiofssaga*), when the priest of Balder tells Frithiof who still hates King Bele's sons: "Kan du ej förlåta, yngling, hvad vill du i Balders hus?"

ment" (*Försonigen*) of the *Frithiofssaga*. Nor does any sin weigh with the Almighty, if committed involuntarily or in ignorance of the law.²²

This spirit of moral majesty, which pervades all Tegnér's writings and especially his poetry, received in *Efter talets slut vid Vexjö gymnasii jubelfest* (1843) its final and classic expression (cf. the writer's article, *Pessimism in Tegnér's Poetry*, p. 132). Atonement is the final aim of true religion; reconciliation with God is the necessary condition for every human soul in order to attain spiritual progress, and this is (according to Tegnér) the only really Christian or religious factor that can be deduced from the orthodox doctrine of Vicarious Atonement. Since this doctrine denied the fundamental principle of the moral law (i.e., the principle of cause and effect) it became for Tegnér an immoral doctrine, which in his official religious utterances he found very difficult to harmonize with his own ideals as to the dignity of human character and the moral worth of human conduct.

c. *The Nature of God and Immortality*

Tegnér's conception of God was fundamentally the product of orthodox theism, blended, however, very largely with Romantic pantheism to which he added a certain element of Hellenic aestheticism (cf. especially his poem *Träden* (1813) and his *Epilog* of 1820). In this again Tegnér showed a striking similarity to Emerson and Goethe, who combined both the pantheistic and deistic elements in their conception of God, in that while they denied any essential distinction between the nature of God and man, yet at the same time they conceded the doctrine of moral freedom and individual diversity. But more than either of these two poets Tegnér clung devoutly to the Christian conception of a personal God, who as supreme ruler of the universe bears a personal relation to man. Altho God is a person, He is at the same time a spirit and the supreme law of the universe, a being whose nature is synonymous with the eternal verities; thru 'revelation' or religious experience His

²² "Guds barmhertighet är oändlig, och hvad menniskan ej frivilligt brutit, det kan hans rättvisa icke bestraffa" (*Vid ett barns döp*).

personal nature is made known to man (cf. *Vid prestvigningar*, No. 2).

Orthodox theism and the pantheism of the Romanticists differed not so much in regard to the essential nature of God as with respect to the personality of God. The Pantheists denied any personality to God; God is not a conscious being or personality, but an abstract essence, a life-power constantly at work in a process of self-evolution. The Christian Theists, on the other hand, personified this 'abstract essence' and endowed it with attributes corresponding to human conceptions. "God created man in His own image and man returned the compliment," said Voltaire. But, as a matter of fact, the Christian conception is insofar pantheistic as God is represented as everywhere existent, a ubiquitous and omniscient being.²³ But the pantheistic doctrine of Hegel and (to a lesser degree) of Schelling seemed to Tegnér to represent a mere cosmic mechanism based upon law itself rather than upon a supreme spirit as author of the law; back of the law must exist the infinite personality of God.

In his letter to C. F. af Wingård (1835) Tegnér expressed his aversion to all philosophic speculation and especially to Hegel's abstract doctrines on the ground of their mechanical nature. Religion is a matter of feeling and postulates a personal relation between man and God; personal immortality is a necessity because it represents the realization of man's personal hopes and ideals. "I could bow down," he continues,²⁴ "just as readily before Baal as before this new-fashioned Christ-god, which (note well) never came to full consciousness except in Hegel and his adepts."

Exactly this thought he reproduces with satirical humor in his poem entitled *Panteismen*:

"Gud är ej till. Han *blir*, der han förnimmer
sig sjelf, lik spegelns bild, ej sedd, ej till.

²³ This is the main theme of Tegnér's sermon at Berg (*Vid kyrkovisitationer*, 1835). He lays great stress on the Psalmist's praise of God as the omnipresent, universal spirit of creation.

²⁴ "Jag kunde likaså gerna böja knä för Baal som för denna nymodiga Kristus-gud, som *n.b.* ej kommit till fullt medvetande af sig sjelf förr än i Hegel och hans adepter."

I stjernan är han rörelse och skimmer,
i Hegel *tanke*. Tänk den, om du vill!"²⁵

Tho ridiculing Hegel's conception of God (as a mere thought-mechanism) and of an impersonal immortality, Tegnér in this same poem appeals to *impersonal* nature to confirm his own conception of *personal* immortality:

"Odödlighet, som ej vet af sig? Svvara,
hvad är väl det? Nej, gif mig Miltons dikt
om paradis och fall och död! Förklara
ej bibelns ord det samma?—O, hur rikt,
hur skönt syns allt! Låt oss gå ner i dalar,
der trasten slår i björkens äreport,
ros rodnar för sin längtan, bäcken talar
om Gud, som lefver, och allt skönt, han gjort!"²⁶

Thus did Tegnér blend the pantheistic with the deistic conception of God.

To Tegnér, as to Emerson, the personality of God is revealed in the human soul; man has the divine law written within him and therefore must be immortal.

Emerson says (*Essays*, 1st series, p. 265): "Ineffable is the union of man and God in every act of the soul. The simplest person, who in his integrity worships God, becomes God."

And Tegnér says²⁷ (*Vid kyrkoinnviñingar*, i Berg, 1835): "The spirit of God, to be sure, no longer comes in flaming fire,

²⁵ "God does not *exist*, He is *evolved*; His self-consciousness is like the reflection in a mirror, He himself being invisible and non-existent. In the stars He is motion and light, in Hegel He is *thought*. Think that, if you want to!"

Tegnér purposely represents the doctrine of Hegel as confusing and self-contradictory.

²⁶ "Unconscious (i.e., impersonal) immortality? Answer, what does that mean? Give me rather Milton's poem about Paradise and the Fall and death. Do not the words of the Bible have the same significance? O, how rich and beautiful does all creation appear! Let us go down into the dale where the thrush sings in the birch-tree's triumphal arch, where the rose blushes with desire and the brook speaks of the living God and of all the beauty He has wrought."

²⁷ "Väl kommer den anden icke numera såsom förr med eldstungor, men han röjer sig ännu alltjämt såsom en flamma, hvilken lyser, värmer och renar hjertat."

but it moves like a bright flame *within* the human heart, illuminating, warming and purifying it."

To Tegnér personal immortality is the realization of this divine law of religious instinct, for which he postulates an author of benign intelligence whose purpose is to fulfill the spiritual aspirations of humanity. The conception of personal immortality leads to the conception of a personal God, since the obliteration of the human soul in the Godhead destroys the beauty of life and the continuity of its development.²⁸

Emerson, on the other hand, is not so clear as to personal immortality, for altho he recognizes the immortality of the soul, death is rather a losing of self to gain a higher self, a merging of the individual soul into the Over-soul. Such a sentiment, for instance, as Emerson expressed in his *Threnody* (1842):

"House and tenant go to ground
Lost in God, in Godhead found."

was much nearer to the philosophy of Hegel than to the religious intuitions of Tegnér. Yet both Emerson and Tegnér were in complete accord in their conception of God as the permanent essence of creation and in their conception of the human soul as a part of this divine essence. Emerson says in his *Threnody*:

"What is excellent,
As God lives, is permanent;
Hearts are dust, hearts' loves remain;
Heart's love will meet thee again;"

In *Fridsröster* Tegnér admonishes man to guard this precious flame as his divine heritage:

"Menska, någon himmelsk flamma
lever i dig, vårda den!"

²⁸ In his letter to C.F. af Wingård (1835) Tegnér says: "Jag tycker lifvet är ömkeligt nog ändå och vill åtminstone ej låta bortdemonstrera hoppet om dess bättre utveckling och skönare former." The italics are mine.

This is the same argument in favor of personal immortality (i.e., "it is so, because we feel it must be so") as Schiller put forth, for instance, in his poem *Hoffnung*:

"Und was die innere Stimme spricht,
Das täuscht die hoffende Seele nicht."

and in his *Woodnotes* (II):

"All the forms are fugitive,
But the substances survive."

The thought and even the language of these latter two verses find almost an exact counterpart in Tegnér's *Fridsröster*, when he says:²⁹

"Hvad tillfälligt är må falla,
det väsentliga består."

"The worship of God arouses within man a consciousness of his higher nature, his nobler origin, his consanguinity with God, his inherited right to immortality"³⁰ (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Solberga, 1837). Since man thus partakes of the divine nature from which he was sprung, Tegnér saw no valid obstacle in the way of viewing God as the Father³¹ and man as His child. The consanguinity of the two exists, even tho the personal attributes of each may differ according to the nature of the infinite and the finite; for only *like* knows *like*. A God of infinite mercy and goodness, the Father of us all, cannot,³² according to the essence of his nature, refuse his children their one great desire for justice and eternal life (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 2).

The benign nature of God (*Guds goda behag*) Tegnér repeatedly emphasized (cf. *Vid prestvigningar*, No. 2, 3; *Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Gårdsby, etc.). He violently opposed the Old Testament conception of a wrathful and avenging diety. "No one can be frightened into the Kingdom of Heaven," he says³³ (*Vid prestmötet i Vexjö, vid mötets slut*, 1836). Thus,

²⁹ "The fortuitous must perish,
The essential survives."

³⁰ "Han (Guds ande) väcker henne (menniskan) till medvetande af sin egen högre natur, sitt ädlare ursprung, sin släktskap med Gud, sin arfsrätt till odödlighet."

³¹ In *Fridsröster* Tegnér says:

"Ack, hvad gör det, hur vi kalla
denne far, som dock är vår?"

³² "Gud är enkannerligen godhetens och barmhertighetens Gud; menniskoslägtet ligger som ett barn på hans arm, och han gläder sig, som en fader glädes, när det går hans söner väl."

³³ "Ingen skrämmes till himmelriket."

Tegnér espoused the spirit of the modern Liberal Church, which grew out of the harsh doctrines of Puritanism. In fact, his conception of God in its totality is intensely modern, for his personal God is but the concrete expression of the Spirit of the universe, as conditioned by the finite nature of man and the spiritual instincts of the human soul.

d. *The Trinity*

Tegnér regarded the orthodox dogma of the Trinity as one of the greatest absurdities in Christian theology. In a letter to Geijer (1821) he referred to the Trinity as "theology's squared circle," i.e., an impossible thing. According to his conception of the divine nature of man Tegnér found no real difficulty in reconciling his doctrine of the divinity of Christ with the orthodox view of the two-fold nature in Christ; for the Godhead *is* two-fold insofar as humanity is a part of it. But to encompass the personality of God within three natures was a far less logical process and required, therefore, a new interpretation of this third element, viz., the Holy Ghost.

Tegnér interpreted the nature of the Holy Ghost as being practically identical with that of *spirit*, i.e., the divine nature communicated from God to man. He does not attempt to define it, but postulates its existence on the basis of the life principle in nature and the spiritual instincts in man. The Holy Ghost is the essence of God's nature shed upon the world; it is the life of nature without and the functional organ of the soul within. "That the Holy Ghost should emanate from the Father and the Son is merely the theological vernacular for saying that it is the common thought of the two, that it links the divine with the highest in human nature; that is what we call as an individual personality the Holy Ghost"³⁴ (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 3). "The Holy Ghost," he says again (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 4), "is God's spirit; without it the world would be a dead mass, it is felt in every human heart that

³⁴ "Der utgår han (Guds ande) både af Fadern och Sonen, en djupsinnig bild, som betecknar, att han är begges gemensamma tanke, att han sammanbinder det gudomliga med det högsta mänskliga, der är han, hvad vi, såsom en särskild personlighet, kalla för den Helige Ande."

desires righteousness, seeks the truth and constructs the beautiful; it is everywhere present within us in our best, our holiest hours. To ask how it is communicated to man is equivalent to asking whether the spark is generated by the steel or by the flint, when it can be produced only by a co-operation between the two."

Tegnér, therefore, reduces the nature of God to one essence and whether that essence be expressed in two terms or in three, it remains indivisible and inseparable. Tegnér 'squared the circle' by making the three units equal to each other. In this, of course, he is despite his orthodox phraseology at one with the Pantheists and the Unitarians. His interpretation of the Trinity is strictly modern in spirit, being essentially the same as the so-called 'modal' Trinity of the progressive Orthodox Church of today, which regards the three Persons of God merely as *modes* or manifestations of the divine nature that in itself is inseparable and indivisible.

Tegnér's interpretation of the Holy Ghost as God's Spirit, the nature of which is incomprehensible and inscrutable but to apprehend which is the highest function of the soul, exactly accords with Emerson's views with regard to spirit. For instance, in his Essay on *Spirit* (*Nature Addresses*, 1836) Emerson says: "Of that ineffable essence which we call Spirit, he that thinks most, will say least. The essence refuses to be recorded in propositions, but when man has worshipped him intellectually, the noblest ministry of nature is to stand as the apparition of God. It is the organ through which the universal spirit speaks to the individual, and strives to lead back the individual to it."³⁵

Furthermore, Tegnér's conception that the Holy Ghost is communicated only to those who are open to its influence,

³⁵ Undoubtedly both Emerson's conception of Spirit (as an intermediating principle between the individual soul and the universal spirit) and Tegnér's interpretation of the Holy Ghost (as God's spirit at work in the universe outside of man as well as within man) have a common origin in the tenet of Universal Soul (*Anima Mundi*-Schelling's *Weltseele* and Emerson's *World-Soul*) as taught by Platonism; the *Anima Mundi* was the third person in the Platonic trinity. In fact, the Christian Trinity was an outgrowth of the Platonic trinity to which the Neo-Platonists had given a symbolic and mystical interpretation.

i.e., to those souls who are in harmony with the divine law of the spirit, accords exactly with Emerson's view of religious intuition. To none but the pure in heart are these intuitions opened, "for *so to be* is the sole inlet of *so to know*" (*Essays*, 1st series, p. 290).

The purpose of the Holy Ghost is to arouse within man his spiritual nature, to enable him to recognize his affinity with God and the immortality of the soul³⁶ (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Solberga, 1837). Therefore, Tegnér laid great stress upon the ulterior and essential significance of a dogma which in its strictly orthodox interpretation has no real ethical or religious value.

e. *Faith*

Schleiermacher and the Romanticists conceived of religion primarily as an act of faith. The religion of reason with its artificiality and skepticism gave way to the devotion of instinct and to faith in its integrity as a guide to truth. Tegnér, like Goethe and Emerson, stood mid-way between these two extremes. Altho sharing with the Romanticists their conception of religion as primarily an act of faith, he conceded to rationalism the truth that faith must be in strict accord with reason. A rational faith, according to Tegnér, is not one which finds its sole source in reason, but rather one which, based upon spiritual instinct, is guided by reason. Thus, in his fundamental conception of religion Tegnér stood between the old and the new School of philosophy, just as in his literary views he stood between the two extremes of the Phosphorites and the older Gustavian School of conservative and classic ideals.

"Faith," says³⁷ Tegnér (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 2), "is nothing more than piety; that is to say, you entrust your whole

³⁶ "Han (den Helige Ande) gör henne (menniskan) uppmärksam derpå, att hon måste vara något mera än blott kropp. Han gör henne uppmärksam på krafter, som sträfvat utom det lekamliga . . . , han upplyfter henne till känslan af det, som i hennes väsende är det renaste, det högsta, det gudomliga. Han väcker henne till medvetande af sin egen högre natur, sitt ädlare ursprung, sin släktenskap med Gud, sin arfsrätt till odödlighet" (cf. foot note 30).

³⁷ "Tro är ingenting annat än fromhet, det vill säga, att du öfverlemnar hela ditt väsende och med full tillförsigt åt Guds goda behag."

being with full confidence to God's benign nature." "Faith is the root and kernel of Christianity, but the first step to faith is knowledge; it is impossible to believe what no one has told you, insofar as you yourself have not discovered and perceived it"³⁸ (*Vid kyrkovisitationer*, i Agunnaryd, 1830). "There is a kind of doubt which is born of self-analysis; such is far from being reprehensible, it is rather the surest proof that one is seriously treating the most important things of human life. A thoughtful man wishes his faith to be founded on sure premises and the account balanced between reason and revelation"³⁹ (*Vid kyrkoherdars invigning i ämbetet*, i Tolg, 1824).

Tegnér's conception of religion as a system of ethics, as well as a feeling of dependence upon God, made faith a phenomenon which must accord with the moral laws of the universe. "Gold," he says (*ibid.*), "is tested in the crucible and truth by doubt; if they are genuine, they both emerge approved. This is just the glorious thing about Christ's teachings, that all their essential elements not only stand the test of time, but also show us in general a surer and shorter way to the truth." Faith in Jesus' precepts is, therefore, a wise and rational thing, because these precepts are in complete accord with the moral laws of the universe. The intuitive sense of the apostles arrived at the truth which reason now confirms. "Christianity," says⁴⁰ Tegnér (*ibid.*), "has, as it were, played its way up to the highest, like a child who finds the philosopher's stone in the grass." The man of spiritual faith is, therefore, truly wise, as Tegnér showed in his poem *Den vise* (1804) and as Lessing illustrated in his drama *Nathan der Weise*, provided his faith is in accord with the essentials of Christianity and pure religion.

³⁸ "Men första steget till tro är ju kunskap, det är ju omöjligt att tro hvad ingen har sagt dig, så framt du ej sjelf uppfunnit och insett det."

³⁹ "Det gifves åter en art af tvifvelsmål, som födes af sjelfva pröfningen. . . . Ett sådant bekymmer är så långt ifrån att vara straffbart, att det snarare är säkraste bevis därför, att man med allvar behandlar mensklighetens viktiga angelägenheter. En tänkande man vill ha sin tro byggd på säkra grunder, han vill ha räkningen uppgjord mellan förnuftet och uppenbarelsen."

⁴⁰ "Det är som om den hade lekt sig fram till det högsta, det är som om ett barn hade hittat de vises sten i gräset."

But faith must be something which can be translated into action and which forms an integral and indivisible part of man's conduct in life. Faith in itself is a realization of God's truth and not an outward act of compliance to the dictates of ecclesiastical authority; faith is, therefore, that act which makes religion a reality. "The Christian Church," says⁴¹ Tegnér (*Vid kyrkovisitationer*, i Pjetteryd, 1830), "is united not only by reason of its faith in the essential doctrines of religion, but also by reason of that faith, that right and living faith, which expresses itself in conduct, that faith which is the soul in the body of action, just as the sun expresses itself in daylight or the spring in flowers; and there is no other faith deserving of its own name, no other faith that works either for improvement in life or for blessedness in death."

Faith in the Christian virtues is the only means of salvation; a faith without inner conversion is dead. "He who relies upon a dead faith is like unto him who tries to find his way in the dark by believing in the sun"⁴² (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Malmbäck, 1828).

While Tegnér lamented the lack of religious faith, due to the materialism and skepticism of his age (cf. his speech upon Luther, *Vid jubelfesten*, 1817), he did not believe that faith was incompatible with reason. Like Emerson, he shared the Romantic doctrine of intuition, based upon Rousseaus's theory of instinct, but united intuition with reason and with those moral and spiritual principles which reason has sanctioned as an essential part of pragmatic religion.

d. *Christianity and Religion*

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that Tegnér interpreted the cardinal doctrines of the Lutheran Church according to his own personal convictions regarding the principles of Christianity. The essential feature of this interpretation is its simplicity; in fact, the basic element of Tegnér's religion is noth-

⁴¹ "Men den osynliga församlingen, hon är äfven enhällig i den tron, i den rätta, den lefvande, som visar sig i gerningarna, i den tron, som är själen till handlingens kropp, som uttrycker sig i lifvet."

⁴² "Den som förlitar sig på en död tro utan lefvernets förbättring, han är lik den, som ville vägleda sig i mörkret derigenom, att han tror på solen."

ing more than the ethical system of Jesus Christ and a faith in the benign nature of God.

So far as historical Christianity is concerned, Tegnér did not share the orthodox view that the Christian religion is an isolated phenomenon sent down from heaven at a particular time as the infallible word of God, but was outspoken in his acceptance of the modern view regarding the continuity of religion; viz., that the Christian religion is but a part of universal religion, a link in the great chain of man's spiritual evolution and has, therefore, in essence always existed in the history of man insofar as man has ever been able to perceive religious truth.

"There was much Christianity before Christ's time," says⁴³ Tegnér (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 2), "Christianity is only religion's baptismal name." But religion has found its most ideal expression in Christianity, "for certain it is that Christ's teachings have cleansed away religion's shell and laid bare its kernel" (*ibid.*). "God's spirit has always, altho more or less suppressed, been active among men. This is the spirit of righteousness, of goodness and of the perfect"⁴⁴ (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Berg, 1835). "Human law in itself is nothing more than the divine law whose authoritative text-book is conscience, only adapted to the particular conditions of human society"⁴⁵ (*Vid kyrkoherdars invigning i ämbetet*, i Jönköping, 1827).

This heretical view that Christianity is not the sole and infallible expression of religion but must be interpreted in the light of comparative religions, was the very corner-stone of modern theology which Herder and Lessing had laid. In fact, Tegnér in the passages quoted above expressed essentially the same ideas and that too, in almost the same phraseology as did Lessing, who says (*Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, 1780) that the Old and New Testaments are to be regarded

⁴³ "Der fans mycken kristendom före Kristus, kristendomen är endast fromhetens dopnamn."

⁴⁴ "En sådan ande har alltid, ehuru mer och mindre hämmad, verkat i menskligheten. Det är det rättas, det godas, det fullkomligas ande."

⁴⁵ "Är mensklig lag i sig sjelf något annat än den gudomliga, hvars lagbok är samvetet, endast tillämpad till särskilda fall inom det menskliga samhället?"

merely as the religious *text-books* of humanity and that "there was a religion before there was a Bible (*Axiomata*, 5, 1778); Christianity existed *before* the evangelists and apostles wrote (*ibid.*, 6); the Christian religion is not true because the evangelists and apostles taught it, but they taught it because it is true" (*ibid.*, 9).

It is clear, therefore, that Tegnér accepted the Lutheran faith only insofar as it accorded with the essential principles of universal religion. His conception of humanity as an indivisible part of divine nature made religion an indivisible part of the universal spiritual organism of man. This was the main argument of the Early Unitarians against the infallibility of the Bible, as Emerson said (*The Preacher*, 1879): "Sensible men and conscientious men all over the world are of one religion,—the religion of well doing and daring, men of sturdy truth, men of integrity and feeling for others."

In the funeral sermon of Dr. S. Heurlin (1835) Tegnér ventures to offer us his definition of Christianity. "What is Christianity?" he says.⁴⁶ "By no means a mere system of dogmas; it is essentially a *manner of life* rather than a doctrine; it concern acts rather than intellectual comprehension; its center of life rests in pious sentiment, it appeals more to the heart than to the understanding." And again he says⁴⁷ (*Vid kyrkovisitationer*, i Pjetteryd, 1830): "The principles of Christianity are few and simple, insofar as they are essential; a child can comprehend them, for they are grasped less by the intellect than by the heart."

The essential nature of Christianity Tegnér expressed with splendid simplicity in his poetry.⁴⁸ Here Tegnér, like the poet

⁴⁶ "Hvad är kristendomen, sådan den framställles i sina urkunder? Ingalunda ett dogmatiskt system, den lemnar endast ämnen dertill. Den är i sitt innersta väsende mera lefverne än lära, den går mera ut på handling än begrepp, den fromma känslan är dess lifspunkt, den vänder sig mera till hjertat än förståndet."

⁴⁷ "Dessa (lärosatser) äro få och enkla, i den mån som de äro hufvudsakliga; ett barn kan fatta dem, ty de fattas mindre med förståndet än med hjertat."

⁴⁸ This was the case especially in *Fridsröster* (1806), *Nattvardsbarnen* (1820) and the *Frithiofssaga* (1825), cf. the writer's article *Försoningen in Tegnér's Frithiofssaga*.

Emerson, revealed his finest conception of religion. The message of his poetry can be summed up in his own words, when he says in his sermon⁴⁹ (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 4): "Much depends upon the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, but little depends upon the various constructions laid upon them," and again in his sermon⁵⁰ (*Tal vid prestmötet i Vexjö*, 1836): "Holiness does not dwell in lecture-halls, but in the heart's chambers; real Christianity is not taught, it is lived." When again Tegnér says⁵¹ (*Vid kyrkovisitationer*, i Karlstorp, 1837): "Without love, tolerance or charity there is no real Christianity: he who hates and persecutes or harshly judges his brother, is only a baptized heathen," we have a clear and unqualified statement of that doctrine in which the (Christian) priest of Balder instructed the heathen Frithiof.

The inviolability of the moral law made religion for Tegnér an integral part of secular life (cf. his doctrine of *faith*). Since "Christianity is not taught but lived," religion and life must be identical. "Religion," he says,⁵² (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 11) "is not something created in an entirely different world and alien to this world, a sort of meteor, which suddenly and unexpectedly dropped down out of the heavens." Religion is the most important thing in everyday life, the most vital factor in the spiritual and moral health of the individual and of society. "The Church," he says⁵³ (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 6), "is the

⁴⁹ "På dess kristendomens hufvudlärar beror mycket; på deras olika uppfattning föga."

⁵⁰ "Det heliga bor icke i lärosalarna, det bor i hjertkamrarna. Den egentliga kristendomen läres icke, utan han lefves."

⁵¹ "Utan kärlek, fördragsamhet och öfverseende finnes ingen verklig kristendom; den som hatar och förföljer eller strängt bedömmar sin broder, han är endast en döpt hedning."

⁵² "Denna tanke är först och främst falsk; ty den förutsätter att religionen skulle vara, hvad den icke är, icke kan vara, något fullkomligen afsöndradt och enstaka i menskligheten, någonting bildadt i en helt annan verld och främmande för denna, ett slags månsten, som plötsligen och oförtäckt fallit ner ur skyarna."

⁵³ "Hvad är kyrkan, om icke hjertat i menskligheten, anden i samballets kropp?"

heart of humanity, the soul in the body of society"; and again⁵⁴ (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 1): "As the oak dies first in its withering crown, so society dies first in religion and if religion dies, then the whole artificial fabric of the State also perishes." "Christianity constitutes the law of gravity in the spiritual world, it furnishes human aspirations with a fixed goal, it enables us to direct our thoughts towards a stable center"⁵⁵ (*Vid kyrkoherdars invigning i ämbetet*, i Tolg, 1824). Since religion is divine, "the Christian Church may rightly be considered as a divine institution"⁵⁶ (*Vid prestvigningar*, No. 2).

Religion too ought to inspire joy in the activities of everyday life; religion is a life-giving principle which animates the soul, arouses the best instincts and enhances the capacity of man to enjoy the blessings which God has conferred upon him⁵⁷ (*Vid kyrkoinvigningar*, i Malmbäck, 1828). For this reason Tegnér looked with disapproval upon the morbid asceticism and pharisaical attitude of the Pietists, who misinterpreted the real spirit of religion (cf. *ibid.*, and *Vid prestmötet i Vexjö, vid mötets början*, 1836). The Rationalistic Movement had resulted in an extreme emotional reaction which stifled the natural instincts and the healthy spirit of religious devotion. Tegnér's common sense preserved an equilibrium between the emotional excesses of the Pietists and the intellectual extreme of the Rationalists.

⁵⁴ "Eken dör först i toppen, som fornar; och på samma sätt dör samhället först i religionen; och dör den ut, då förvisnar äfven den konstlade, den hop-satta statskroppen."

⁵⁵ "Tyngkraften sammanhåller den yttre världen; men kristendomen är tyngkraften i andans verld: han sätter de mensklige önskingarna ett fast mål före, han ger alla tankens riktningar en säker medelpunkt." Cf. his poem *Vid förrättandet af en prestvigning*, 1837: "Tyngdpunkt blifver och är i lifvet religionen."

⁵⁶ "En befodringsanstalt för sådant ändamål är den kristna kyrkan, ett samfund af vägfärande till himlen. Hon är den högsta af alla inrättningar i menskligheten och anses därför med rätta för en gudomlig stiftelse."

This thought Tegnér expressed frequently in his sermons elsewhere; cf. for instance, *Vid prestvigningar*, No. 11: "Religionen är ju tydligen något gudomligt just derigenom, att hon är det högsta i menskligheten."

⁵⁷ "Men är icke evangelium ett gladt budskap, äro icke glädje och förnöjsamhet den rätta gudaktighetens vinning."

In his interpretation of religion from within as the highest faculty of the soul, Tegnér stood on the same ground as did Lessing (*Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*), who held that the Bible revealed nothing to man which man, if left to himself, would not discover by his own reasoning; only revelation imparts it more quickly and more easily. Like Lessing, Tegnér did not entirely break loose from the traditional belief; he accepted its premises, adopted its phraseology, but gave to it a new interpretation. Like Lessing, he appeared to be a theist, yet he was undoubtedly also a pantheist.

The fruits of Herder's and Lessing's critical methods profoundly affected the theology of Tegnér's time, but the rational elements gave way largely to the mysticism of the Romanticists. Here Tegnér stood more closely to Emerson, in that he combined the two systems of thought, establishing as their uniform moral basis the fundamental principles of Kant's ethical system. Tegnér's idealism, like that of Emerson, consisted in a heroic standard of ethics. Emerson's mystic transcendentalism was never free from that puritanic moral rigor characteristic of his age, and the same attitude in Tegnér is most aptly expressed in his own words:⁵⁸ "Lawful liberty is the Lutheran's natural faith." No doubt the Kantian idea of necessitated freedom was to a large extent that element which drew both Emerson and Tegnér close to Schiller and alienated them from Goethe for whom the ideal of self-abnegation or of self surrender was not necessary for the realization of good. Virtue, Schiller's great watch-word, was the cardinal doctrine in both Emerson's and Tegnér's philosophy. According to Tegnér, virtue is the one true criterion of religion and of life, "for this much we know," he says⁵⁹ (*Vid S. Heurlins graf*, 1835), "that life itself is worth nothing more nor less than the right things we have desired, the good we have done and the memory we leave after us." Virtue, however, is relative, not absolute, and therefore human character must be judged according to the light which

⁵⁸ "Lagbunden frihet är född luteran,"—*Vid jubelfesten*, 1817.

⁵⁹ "Att lifvet icke är annat värdt än det rätta man velat, det goda man uträttat och det minne man efterlemnar."

each human soul possesses.⁶⁰ Religion is then, according to Tegnér, more than virtue; it is also the faith in virtue as an expression of the moral integrity of the universe, i.e., the faith in a divine intelligence as the supreme ruler of the universe, whose nature is both love and law.

In these fundamental conceptions of religion Tegnér stood closest perhaps to Emerson of all the great religious thinkers of his age. The healthy, heroic, Romantic spirit was strongly manifest in the general attitude of both these poets towards religion. Religion calls for character and virtue, the qualities of the hero; it calls for the prophet's vision and the mystic soul of the seer. The Romanticists demanded just such visionary but self-reliant and heroic characters; such as, for instance, Tegnér depicted in his ideal of Charles XII. Just such a hero is Emerson's man of religion, when he says (*Sacrifice*):

"Tis Man's perdition to be safe

When for the Truth he ought to die."

or Tegnér's 'wise' man (*Den vise*), when he says:⁶¹

"He desires the right, regardless of reward,

And believes virtue beautiful, even if punished."

Both Emerson and Tegnér were poets and prophets of religion; both were religious philosophers, the product of the liberal tendencies of their age, but without any definitely arranged system of philosophy; both were great individual personalities who gave expression to the national genius in the realm of spiritual thought. So far as the essentials of religious philosophy are concerned, Emerson and Tegnér concurred in every respect. They concurred in the conception of 1) the absolute reality of spirit, 2) the benign nature of God, 3) the absolute integrity of

⁶⁰ Cf. *Efter talets slut vid Vexjö gymnasii jubelfest*, 1843.

⁶¹ "(han) vill det rätta, sorglös om dess lön,
och tror dygden, äfven straffad, skön."

I have taken the liberty to translate these lines in my text in order that the affinity of thought and language between the two poets might be presented with greater vividness. The words of the poet in these two lines epitomize the character of Tegnér's greatest heroine, Ingeborg, and to a lesser degree also of his hero, Frithiof, in the *Frithiofssaga*. Even to Björn, who is thoroughly heathen, Tegnér lends certain ideal qualities such as the religious man (i.e., the Christian) must have (cf. foot-note 8).

the individual soul, its divine nature, and the sovereign worth of character. And in the expression of these fundamental principles of religion both poets preserved a healthy, optimistic and rational equipoise. Both believed that no finite form of expression could reveal the fullness of truth, but whereas Tegnér was constrained by the social conditions under which he lived to reveal the truth thru the medium of orthodox symbolism, Emerson was free to fling aside the fetters of orthodox tradition and openly espouse the cause of religious emancipation. Therefore, many of Tegnér's sentiments seem to be at variance with Emerson's, but upon close scrutiny we find that the difference consists almost wholly in the manner of expression and that the spiritual affinity of the two poets is remarkably close. This fact is all the more striking in that there is no evidence that Tegnér was acquainted with the works of Channing, Emerson⁶² or any of the Early Unitarians; nor is there a single reference to Tegnér in any of the writings of the New England philosophers. The assumption of any influence upon the part of Tegnér on Emerson or vice-versa is, therefore, out of the question. Their spiritual affinity had a common ancestry in the history of religious thought which, based upon Neo-Platonic mysticism, culminated in the idealistic philosophy of the German Romantic School. In fact, the strictly metaphysical element in New England Transcendentalism owed its origin largely to German⁶³ idealism and we have seen that

⁶² Emerson wrote many of his essays in the 30's and therefore chronology does not forbid the possibility that Tegnér might have read them. It is, however, extremely improbable that Tegnér ever read a word of Emerson, since the latter, so far as I know, was not introduced into Sweden until much later.

⁶³ Cf. H. C. Goddard, *Studies in New England Transcendentalism*, 1908; and G. W. Spindler, *Life of Follen*, Chapter II, *His Relation to Unitarianism*, (pp. 146-185), 1917. For further bibliography, cf. Index to Spindler's work.

Both the New England Transcendentalists and the German Romantic philosophers owed many of those doctrines which they shared in common to Greek philosophy, especially to Plato and to the later mysticized scheme of Plato's philosophy, formulated by Plotinus, known as Neo-Platonism. While Emerson's writings undoubtedly bear traces of indebtedness to German idealism, he did not identify himself closely with the German philosophers. Tho he agreed with many of their fundamental doctrines, he sought to interpret them in the light of Plato and to identify them with their Hellenic sources (cf. *Complete Works*, I., 160, 329, V., 291 f., VIII, 180, Centenary Edition, 1903).

Tegnér's religious philosophy bore many clear traces from the same source.

Thus, the message of Herder, Lessing and Schiller was carried on by the American and the Swedish poet, each in his own way. But whereas Emerson addressed himself chiefly to scholars and wrote in a language which enabled him to gain universal recognition in the realm of philosophy, Tegnér's religious thoughts were directed chiefly to the members of his own church, the common people of Sweden, and were not translated, except insofar as they were a part of his poetic master-pieces, into a European tongue universally recognized or understood. Therefore, Tegnér's influence, as a religious teacher, was far more provincial and his religious genius far less appreciated than was the case with Emerson. Small nations have always suffered the penalty of isolation in the world of culture, and therefore it is to be hoped that this brief comparison of the two poets may help to bring the Swedish genius of Tegnér a little closer to the heart of the American people, whose ideal character Emerson himself typified.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

Kansas University

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION

BULLETIN IV, AUGUST, 1919.

Devoted to the Interests of the Teaching of Scandinavian Languages in America.

MODERN LANGUAGE STUDY

Henrik Wergeland, the patriot poet of Norway, says: "Our time has understood that the basis of the happiness and life of a nation is general culture. If it is not general, the efforts of a few individuals to raise the national level can be but uncertain."

National life was to him the development of intellect, knowledge, reason, morality, and the sense of duty. In his speeches he illuminated his practical ideas with the glow of his poetic temperament and gave a perfect picture of his ideal of a state. In one of these speeches he beautifully reconciled the national spirit with the universal when at the unveiling of a monument of a great patriot he said, "Like this column we will be Norwegian in our make-up, in speech, character and grace; and yet while keeping the glory of Norwegian citizenship, we will look full and wide into the world."

America entered the world conflict to fight for the principles of democracy. Now she will struggle for the fulfillment of these principles. We will be *American* in our make-up, in speech, character and grace; and yet while keeping the glory of *American* Citizenship "we will look full and wide into the world." We must so comport ourselves as to attain the fullest American Citizenship, but in doing so we must bind still closer the bonds of universal brotherhood.

If general culture is the key to life happiness we should open the portals wide. Nothing can give a wider scope to general culture than language study. Just as Greek and Latin are the expression of ancient humanism, so modern languages are the medium of new humanism.

Modern language study is three-fold in its value: cultural, philological and commercial. It is cultural because it gives us

the great thoughts of master minds of other countries and reveals to us through their literature intimate glimpses of the life, customs and traditions of other peoples.

The philological value of language study is inestimable, for we cannot master fully our English language, which is fundamental, until we have studied other languages which are related to it in its rudiments.

In this stirring age of growing commercialism, the commercial value of language study is essentially vital. Our commerce with other nations will be greater than ever before. We must face the requirements which this intercourse exacts and must be ready to meet in the vernacular, as well as business methods, the demands of the nations of the world. We must make our national life universal. The great Roman Terence says, "I consider nothing of human interest, foreign to me." The knowledge of foreign languages will be a potent factor in this great work of reconstruction, for the full understanding of humanity.

MAREN MICHELET

REPORT

May 1, 1919.

During the war so much sentiment was aroused against the study of foreign languages (except French) that it is not strange that the study of the Scandinavian languages suffered thereby and made but little if any headway. Radical changes in the course of study now adopted in the Minneapolis High Schools have curtailed language study and thus diminished considerably the enrollment of the classes in Norwegian and Swedish. Still there have been sufficient numbers enrolled to justify the continuance of the work in both languages in all the high schools where the work had been introduced. The Swedish work in St. Paul lost an ardent and enthusiastic leader in the death of Mr. O. A. Abrahamson. The work which he began so well continues still.

Outside the twin cities the work has pursued much the same course as before and from the reports received it has been ascertained that the majority of the schools where the work was hitherto given have continued it. I have no reports

showing that either language has gained a new foothold during the present school year, but this could hardly be expected. That the work has been kept alive is sufficient to prove that it has been deep-rooted enough to withstand the hard test to which it has been put.

Now that the war is over it is to be hoped that there will be a return to more normal conditions. The one-language wave seems already to have spent its fury and we have all reason now to believe that foreign language study will again resume an important place in the educational work which the era of reconstruction demands.

Foreign language study must be an important factor in modern education if we can hope to attain the fullest American efficiency, the highest Americanism, and justify our nation's claim to recognition from other nations.

Two new texts have recently come from the publishers. They will be a great aid in our Norse work: *Björnstjerne Björnson's En Fallit* edited by J. A. Holvik and published by the Augsburg Publishing Co. and *Björnson's Synnöve Solbakken* edited by George T. Flom and published by the Free Church Book Concern. With these two texts in addition to those previously published the want of suitable texts for use in secondary schools has been considerably alleviated. All teachers of Norse in our secondary schools will welcome these texts as real aids in the promotion of the work.

May the work for the advancement of Scandinavian study take on renewed strength and growth during the coming year.

Respectfully submitted,

MAREN MICHELET.

249

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TUNAMÅL WORDS
DIALECT OF STORA TUNA PARISH, SOUTH
DALARNE, SWEDEN

The following *Tunamål* dialect words have been furnished me by three natives¹ of Borlänge, Stora Tuna socken, in Southern Dalarne, Sweden. It has seemed to me that they are of such interest as to warrant publication. The list contains about 200 words, with occasional illustrative phrases; many of them have not, so far as I know, been recorded before in Swedish dialects; others have here a meaning which differs from the one the same word has elsewhere. Some cases of more common words have been included on account of their form in the Tuna dialect. The words have been gathered piecemeal, and pronunciation and exact use carefully considered for each new addition to the list.

I realize the desirability of always having Swedish dialect material transcribed according to the system of the Swedish Dialect Society; this has, however, not been possible in this case. I have, therefore, employed the usual simpler notation,² retaining in one case the historical writing (see below). Long vowels are indicated; close *e* is written *e*, close *o*=*o*; open *e*=*ē*, and open *o*=*ō*; *ä* represents a mixed vowel as *ē* but a mid-mixed (*ē* is high mixed); *i*, close and open, will be printed *i*; thick *l* will be indicated by **black** type; the so-called "tje"-sound (palatalized *k* and *t*, whether prepalatal or dentipalatal) will be written *tch* medially, but *kj* and *tj* initially. My informants speak in these cases a sound that is intermediate but nearer prepalatal, i. e., the place of articulation is but slightly anterior to that of Swedish *j*; the *sh*-sound, in which the *s*-quality is less heard than in English,³ is here written *sj*; a long consonant will be so indicated by doubling; long *sj* is written *ssj*.

The abbreviations will be readily understood. The older gender designations masculine, feminine, and neuter (*m.*, *f.*, *n.*)

¹ Sigurd Norberg, Martin Jansson of Chicago and Agnes Theander of Borlänge, Sweden. The major part of the words are from Mr. Jansson, with whom I went over very carefully the use of all words in the list.

² Approximately that of the American Dialect Society.

³ It is, as in the Bergslag dialects of Värmland, an aspirated dorso-velopalatal fricative.

will be used. In references to Swedish dialects or provinces I have often employed the short abbreviations of Rietz: *Svenskt Dialekt Lexicon* (SvDL.); it is then to be observed that *Vm* = *Västmanland*, and *Värml.* = *Värmland*.⁴ In references to Norwegian dialects or districts I have retained the abbreviations of Ross: *Norsk Ordbok*. East Norwegian and West Norwegian will be written ENw. and WNw., respectively; Swedish is written Sw. Southwestern is therefore always *southw.*; also northwestern = *northw.* NSW. = New Swedish (*Ny svensk*). Words from *Dalmålet*⁵ will be cited in normal spelling.

It is now nearly forty years ago since Adolf Noreen's *Dalmålet* appeared. It is fitting to call to mind again in this connection this work by the great pioneer in Swedish dialect investigation. There had been evidenced dialect interest now and then in Sweden before that. Indeed the impulse toward the systematic study of Swedish dialects dates from 1872. And it was another "Noreen" namely, O. E. Norén, from whom the impulse⁶ came. There had been other accounts of dialects published;⁷ but A. Noreen's were the earliest accounts which emphasized the need of detail records of dialect speech and to offer such a study of a single dialect. During the summer of 1876 he studied on the spot the dialect of north Värmland, a stipend having been granted him for that purpose by *Värmlands naturhistoriska- och fornminnesförening*. Part of the results of these studies were published in the *Uppsala universitetets årsskrift*, 1877, under the title *Fryksdalsmålets ljudlära*; the words themselves were published in his *Ordbok öfver Fryksdalsmålet*, an undertaking which also was financed by the fornminnes förening mentioned. The latter work included,

⁴ I quote *Älfdalen*, however, not *Elfdalen*, as Rietz. Where not quoting I follow the present spelling.

⁵ See below.

⁶ Of O. E. Norén's work the reader may find a brief account in *De svenska landsmälen*, I, 1878, p. 2. There will also be found, pp. 8-9, the main facts regarding Professor Carl Säve's inspiring work at Upsala and the founding of the *Förening för nordisk språk- och fornkunskap*. The author is G. Djurklou.

⁷ A presumably fairly complete list is printed in *Dalmålet*, I, pp. 10-19.

furthermore, an *Ordlista från Värmlands Älfdal*, for the most part from Dalby socken, in the same northernmost part of Värmland. The results of fuller studies of the Dalby dialect were then issued as *Dalbymålets ljud ock böjningslära* in Vol. I of the *Svenska landsmålen* series in 1879.⁸ In the same volume of *SvL.*, Noreen contributes a study of *Fårömålets Ljudlära* (pp.283-369), a dialect of the northern part of the Island of Gothland, and possibly its most interesting idiom. In subsequent years there followed in quick succession similar studies of other regions by new investigators. The account of the Dalarne dialect referred to above appeared in 1881-82 in Vol. IV of *Svenska landsmålen* under the title: *Inledning till Dalmålet*, pp. 23, and *Ordlista öfver dalmålet*, pp. 240. From the preface we learn that the material was gathered in considerable part by Noreen in northern Dalarne in the summer of 1880, about 2,500 of the total 3,000 words the list contains; this had later been augmented from among north Dalarne students at Upsala University. The parishes represented are Orsa, by about half of the material, then Mora and Älvdal; local variations within each are frequently indicated. The landsmål alphabet is used.⁹

In the introductory pamphlet, pp. 1-10, an account is given of *Dalmål*. Noreen finds that within the province of Dalarne there are two easily distinguished dialect-forms. As the first he delimits that of Kopparbärgs bärgslag (Kopparbärgs, Näsgårds, Sätters läns and Västerbärgslags fögderier), i.e., the *bärgslagsmål*; as the second form there are the "valley" dialects proper: Öster- ock Västerdalarna, which is the so-called *egentliga dalmålet*. The dialect division of the bailiwick of Nedansiljan (below Lake Siljan) in Österdalarna shows a transitional form (toward Bergslag dialect) and Noreen would call it *nedre dalmålet*. The most characteristic *dalmål* is that

⁸ The two initial numbers are: 1, by G. Djurklou, an introductory article on earlier studies of Swedish dialects (9 pp.), and 2, by J. A. Lundell, who contributed to the series his fundamental work on: *Det svenska landsmåls-alfabetet*, 158 pp.

⁹ This had been adopted since the earlier publications; it is, therefore, not used in the Fryksdal treatise.

of Upper Siljan bailiwick, from which about half of the material in Noreen's study is taken.

Following this classification and terminology it will be necessary in any discussion to bear in mind that *nedre dalmålet* is the Lower or Nether Dalarne sub-dialect, belonging, however, within the North Dalarne dialect, i.e., the Dalarne dialect proper. The rest of South Dalarne (observe, esp. south of Dalälven), which may be called "South Dalarne dialect" specifically, forms a part of the eastern extremity of the Bergslagsmål—the Bergslag dialect.

Stora Tuna socken lies within Kopparbärsgs bärgslag. The parish is situated south by southwest of Falun, immediately south of the Dal River (Dalälven); Borlänge is the central town of the parish. The parish numbered some 20,000 people five years ago.¹⁰ It is bounded by the following parishes: Aspeboda, Gagnef, Grungärde, Silfbärg, Gustaf, and Forsång. The dialect is, thus, a Bergslag dialect; locally it is called *tunamål*.¹¹ Until a few years ago Borlänge was a municipal *samhälle*, but is now a *köping*. It owes its importance largely to its proximity to the steel works of Domnarvet. These employ between eight and ten thousand men. Borlänge is also a marketplace for the farming population of the surrounding country. It is an important railroad center, Bergslagsbanan and Södra Dalarnes järnväg intersecting at Borlänge. To what extent the conditions here noted may have obliterated somewhat pure dialect pronunciation of Tunamål I would not venture to say.

I may add here that the Bärgslag dialect of Värmland was, twenty years ago,¹² made the subject of an investigation by Gottfrid Kallstenius in an Upsala doctorate dissertation. I am not aware of any study of the inflections of the Värmland, i.e., West Bergslag, dialect, nor of any separate study of South Dalarne dialect or the very closely related dialect of North Västmanland. On the east our dialect exhibits several interest-

¹⁰ So given by Mr. Janssen.

¹¹ The rest of East Bergslag dialect is that of North Västmanland.

¹² 1898-1900 during the summers. The work was published in 1902 under the title: *Värmländska Bärgslagsmålets Ljudlära*. Pp. 195 and two maps.

ing points in common with the dialect of south Gestrikland and western Uppland.¹³

The Tunamål words are as follows:

alnacka, *f.*, almanac. NSw. *almanack(a)*; also, "nysv. hvardagsspr. *allnacka*; vissa trakter," *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok (SAO)*, I, Column 1125. The form *alnacka* is first recorded from *Columbus Ordeskjötsel* (1678) together with the form *almanack*. In Lind's *Ordabok på tyska och svänska* (1749) *allnache* is given but designated as vulgar. In Noreen's *Dalmålet* the Moramål forms seem nearest to Tuna, but by the side of this appear also others, as *almanaka* and *anak*.

aptêtc̃hē, *n. def.*, the drugstore. NSw. *apoteket*. A form with *ch* is recorded from Palma for 1610, *SAO*, col. 2003, and the form *apteke* from Castren for 1846. Tuna indef. is *apteke*.

assint, *pron.*, nothing. NSw. *alls intet*. The form is recorded by Rietz, *SvDL.*, for Norrbotten, Västerbotten and western Dalarne; *Dalm.* gives *asint* for Orsamål.

bagäboa, *f. def.*, the bakery. NSw. *bagarbutik* or *bagarbod*. Our word is, of course, the same as *bagarbodan*, *f. def.*¹⁴ The Tuna form is a hybrid which has assumed the *g* of NSw. *bagarbod*, *bageri*, and *bagare*. Elsewhere in Dalarne the vb. and all compounds and derivatives exhibit only *k* forms, it would seem. As to the form see *SAO* under *bagare*; earlier forms in Söderwall's *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltidspråket*.

beggla, to stare at from curiosity. Ex.g., *ho stog ve fönsträ å beggla mens vi jikk föbi*. Rietz, *SvDL.*, gives *begla*, "stå ock gapa," from w. Dalarne, and *bögling*, noun, "en som har stora ögon ock ser stinnt ut," from Mora and Älvdalen, where also the adj. *böglun*, "som ser stinnt ut," is used. *Böglas*, vb., "se stinnt ut," is cited for the same regions. Rietz regards the two words (that with *e* and that with *ö*) as identical and evidently *bögla* as the earlier. The latter he seems to refer to the noun *bög*, "skinnsäck," etc. The meaning of *bögla* would then originally be "to look like a puffed-out bag, stand with puffed

¹³ See, e.g., *Sveamålen*, by Bengt Hesselman, Upsala, 1905, pp. 4, 28, and elsewhere.

¹⁴ Old Swedish *-boðan*. The word appears extensively in Swedish place-names also in the form *-boda* or *-bo*.

out, staring eyes." But the West Dalarne word *begla* is defined, "stå och gapa," which suggests that the fundamental idea is that of stupidity, looking stupid, or something like that. Whether the West and South Dalarne words, which seem to be identical, may be identified with the North Dalarne *böglä*, is not wholly certain. Noreen gives the forms: *bögläs*, "glo stint," Älvdal, *bögel*, *böglä*, Mora, and *bäiläs* for Orsa; and he also gives the noun *bög*, *pl. böer*, "skinnsäck," Älvdal *bög*, Mora, *beg(e)*, Orsa.¹⁵ The Orsa form *beg* is to be noted; on the other hand it seems significant that our verb is not *begla* in Orsa but *bäiläs*. For the development *älg* > *ög* in North Dalarne, we may compare *tälga*, which becomes *tøa*, *tøia*, in Älvdalen, *tøiä* and *tejiä* in Mora and *teja* in Orsa (note also in the last: the pret. *tegdä*, pp. *tekt*).¹⁶ It is to be observed that *bög*, *n.*, and *bøglä*, *bøglas*, are purely North Dalarne forms; with these is also to be mentioned *bøgling*, "en som har stora ögon och ser stinnt ut," Mora and Älfd. (Rietz). The ordinary Sw. d. form is *bälga* or some form with *l* and the common meaning is: "vredgas, se stint ut"; cp. *bölkes*, "se ond, bös ut," Gothland, *bältjäs*, Norrb, Västerb. *bälga*, Sörmland, Öland, *bälja*, Hälsingl, etc.¹⁷

I refer Tunamål *beggla*, w. Dalarne *begla*, more immediately to another group localized further in e. and southw. Norw. dialects. Of this Aasen gives the word *begla*, and Ross records this form for Innherred and Östlandet in eastern Norway and for Jæderen and Dalarne in southw. Norway (adding "og flere," ie. dialects). Ross defines "kludre," and cites (with a query) *bägle bort Tia*, for Östlandet, and the adj. *beglen*, "kludrende," for "Jæderen, Dalarne og fl." There are also *u* and *a* forms as: *bugla bort Tia*, Ö Tel, and *bagla*, cited for Tel. Now these Norw. d. words and others given by Ross combine often the idea of activity with that of clumsiness and stupidity. This is a semantic development out of the semantic complex: "stare in wonderment," or "stare stupidly, stand and gape."

¹⁵ *Dalmålet*, p. 30.

¹⁶ *Dalmålet*, p. 202.

¹⁷ The original meaning is probably (as Rietz) "upplåsas." Cp. *bälgstinn*, adj., *bukstinn*, "upplåst," Västerb.

The latter is approximately represented by the South and West Dalarne *beggla*, stare, "stå och gapa."¹⁸

biväring, *m.*, recruit. The root seems to be OSw. *ver. man*. If so it is the same as *viring*, which, as a Kalmar Län dialect word, means "barnunge, liten stackare, sötunge" (Rietz); also *poj-k-viring*, "half-stor pojke." For the formation, *mannsing* < *mann* is compared. We would then have to assume a similar formation for Dalarne in 1, the meaning: "young man," then 2, soldier (since the soldier was usually a young man). We would still have to explain the prefix. To the countryman the soldier might come to be definitely associated with the nearby town, where the garrison was located; and so the prefix *bi-* might be the word *by*, hence *byväring*. In this connection observe such formations as *bying* "invånare i en by," Västergötland and Småland (Rietz); also in the meaning: 'neighbor in a town.' By the influence of such a word in Dal. and such words as *byaman*, *bylag*, etc., but perhaps especially other combinations of *by* with a word meaning "young man" (cp. modn *by-dräng*,¹⁹ *by-pojke*, etc.), *byväring* might have arisen as the regular form for older *väring*. If this is the origin of the word the formation is possibly not modern. The word *by* is *by* in Älvdalsmål and Moramål, but *bi* in Orsamål (also, in the last: *byföra* = *bifera*), and *bygga* = *bidza* (*Dalm.*, p. 29).

bussi, *adj.*, clumsy. E.g., *dä vä en bussi kamp*, "that is a clumsy old horse." See *böslutt*.

bärning, *m.*, a "carrying" or "bringing" of soup, pudding or porridge by some neighboring woman to the sick mother after childbirth, i.e., the food so brought. E.g., *gå mä bärning*. From *bära*, to carry.

bötcha, to wash clothes, "klappa klärna" at the brook or river in the old-fashioned way. *Dalm.* gives *bötsa*, "stänka vatten med skopa" (Mora). NSw. *böka*. The vb. is *betja* in Hälsingl.; also *bötje*. Nw. d. *böykja*, "koge i lud," Aasen, cited for Hallingdal; also *böka* in Nw. diall.

¹⁸ Possibility of semantic influence of *biglana*, "to stare, stare long at," is to be considered but this word is recorded only for southw. Norw. diall. and precisely here this meaning is not evidenced for *begla*.

¹⁹ Rietz gives *by-dräng*, *m.*, "bisittare under ordningsmannen i en by," Öland.

böslutt, cumbersome. Ross gives *bys(y')*,²⁰ adj., "buus, fremplumpende," for southw. Norway and Vestfold in e. Norway, citing the form *bös* for Hedemarken.

duppa, *tr.*, to dip (as cake or toast into coffee). See *kaffiduppa*. NSw. *doppa*, and variously in dial. usage: *dippa*, *dyppa*, *döppa*, etc. As far as I can find *duppa* or *duppä* is recorded for Vg. Mp., and in this meaning especially in Trondhjem, Norway.

Dömnärä, Domnarvet village and factory.

dūsa, to swing.

ella, to build a fire, fire up.

elln, *m. def.*, the fire.

farstu, hallway. NSw. *förstuga*. Cp. *fasstu*, do., Västerg., *Ant. T. f. Sv. II*, p. 162.

fäiin, fäijin, *adj.*, glad. Used with *å*, as: *ja ä fäiin å mä dä*, I am glad to see you go; good riddance! In *Dalm.* Mora forms are nearest.

femma, a bill of five kroner; a five-spot in cards.

fin, *adj.*, good, excellent. This use recorded in *SvDL.* for Kalmar and Öland.

fjolla, to behave in a silly or foolish way.

fjolla, *f.*, silly, lightheaded woman.

fjåling, *m.*, quarter of a mile. Also *fjålingväg*.

fjålla, girl. Cp. *fjålt*, "liten pilt," Halland, and *fjåltå*, "löpa smått som små barn. Ög." (Rietz). However, Sw. d. *fjåla*, conceal, cover up, Kalmar, is used in the phrase *fjåla på sig*, "put on a great deal of clothes," in some regions (Blekinge), or *fjålla på sig* (Kalmar). The Tuna word may be this, in which case it means "the one who puts on much clothes," > "the one who dresses up a good deal." Cp. discussion of *flicka*, *JEGPh.*, XII, pp. 83-86. *Fjålla* is somewhat slangy.

flåka, *m.*, a two-wheeled wagon. Literally "a flat arrangement." The word is used (forms *flake*, *flaka*, etc.) for various objects in Sw. diall., but not as here.

flessa, to be boisterous (mostly of children). Cp. *flasa*, "häftigt springa," Hälsingl., and *flas*, "oskicklig glädthet." Vb. Hs., etc. (Rietz), and a great many words with initial *fl*,

²⁰ i.e., open *y*.

varying vowels and *s* or *s*-combinations, signifying "boisterous conduct," as: *flaksa*, "hoppa och springa," Hs. *flokks*, "storgaper." G. Sk.; *flamsa*, do, Dls., Vm., Nk., Ög., *flansa*., Sm. Kl., Bl.

flina, to smile, grin; *flina så goa*, "give one a good smile." N. Sw. *flina*, giggle, titter; weep; in Sw. dialt. these and somewhat different meanings. In the sense of "smile" as in Tuna I have not found it used anywhere, but it may be.

flöbusä, *m.*, a hard worker, one who tears ahead and works fast. Cited for Uppland (*flåbuse*) as meaning "den som illa handterar hästar." Literally a "flayer of hides."

flösa, to pant.

föisä, *n. def.*, cowbarn. Rietz gives *fjäs*, *fjös*, "fähus, ladugård", only for Dal., and the cpds.: *fjäs-*, *fjäs-* and *fjös-glugg*, for Älvdalen and Mora, Böle, and Malung respectively. The forms *fojs* and *föis* are given for Norrb. and Ångerm. and *föjs* also for Halland and Värml. *Dalm.* cites forms in *io*, *io*, and *iö*.

förning, *m.* Same meaning as *bärning* above.

gäli, *adv.*, very. *Gäli gött*, *gäli vakkert*, *gäli noga*. *Dalm.* gives *galin*, *adj.*, "som är på tok" for Älvdal and *gali*, *adv.*, "på tok" for Orsa. *SvDL.* does not cite above use. It is a use of a strong intensive modifier that is paralleled often enough, as: *voldsomt vakker*, Nw.; *felande glad*, Nw. d.; *knasande* or *hoggande fin*., Nw. d., etc.,²¹ and such an English combination as: "frightfully interesting." In emphatic expression *rasende vakker* would not at all be impossible in Christiana Nw. Our word has thick *l*, hence not the same as *gälit*, etc., "ready," discussed by Hesselman, *Sveamålen*, p. 24. It is, however, possible that contamination has taken place in the two words in Dalarne.

gnëssa, to be restless, fidgety, said of a child.

gospiga, a daughter who is an only child. Cp. *goskula*, "kvinnlig universalarfvinge" (*Dalm.* for Orsa).

gospilt, a son who is an only child. Cp. *gos-gosse*, "manlig universalarfvinge" (*Dalm.* for Älvdalen).

²¹ For other examples see my discussion of "Forbindelsen, *adverb paa—nda + adjektiv* i norske dialekter" in *Maal og Minne*, Christiania, 1919, pp. 27-31.

gangsfluga, a native of Gagnef socken.

gössä, boy. NSw., *gosse*.

grina, to cry, bawl. Rietz renders "gråta, halfgråta," for *grina-gren-grint*. Österg., and *grina-grinade* or *grinte*, Mp. Hs. Nk., etc., otherwise in Sw. diall. mainly "*skratta*; vara arg, skrika; gnägga." Dalm. gives *gräina str. vb.*" grina, gråta," for Älfdalen (cp. *greina, str. vb.* southw. Nw., Ross). In West Norw. diall. the regular form is *grina-grain-grene*, meaning "cry (aloud), bawl." For ENw. Ross gives *grena(ee)* "lee uanstandigt," and for this meaning and that of: "to make a wry face," Aasen gives *grina* for ENw. My informant says such a use as *grina op sä*, "set up a grin," is rare in Tuna.

gumsä, m., a male lamb. NSw., *gumse*, a ram.

gå dāja, get away from there!

hāku, f., chin. NSw., *haka*. Dalm. gives *oko*, Älfdal and Mora. Rietz cites *haku*, *hāku* and *höku* for Västerb. Nw. diall. show a great variety of forms, almost exclusively the original oblique case-form in -u or -o (u): *haku*, Östl., *huku*, N. Gbr., *hookoo*, Totn., etc. In WNw. usually *hōka*.

hāsa, to slide, as on ice or down hill on snow. An old proverb cited in *SvDL.*, p. 247, for Västerb. and Uppl. says: *den hasande köm lika fort som den rasande*. Rietz defines: "gå och draga fötterna efter sig." See further Rietz under *has*, "ben."

havlu, adj., happy.

himmen, m., heaven. Dalm. and *SvDL.* give only forms with final l for Älvdalen, etc. A form *himin* is given in *SvDL.* for Småland, quoting Lagergren: *Samlingar till en ordbok öfver småländska landskapsmülen* (Ms.). Ross cites *heemin* for Österd., mentioning specifically Oos and L. Elvdalen. Aasen knows no form with -n, but he quotes a cpd. based on this form: *himnaleite*, "Horizonten," for Jæderen.

hink, m., pail. Same as NSw. *hink*, lever, swing-bar. Between these two lies the word given by Rietz: *hink, m.*, "en stolpe med häfstång m. m. hvarmed vatten uphemptas ur brunnen," and he adds: "nästan allm." Rietz also gives the verb *inka* and *hinka*, "uppfordra vatten med detta redskap, Österg." Not used, so far as I can see, in Nw. dialects (*hinka*,

"to go home," however, both ON. and Nw. diall. and *hinkra*, Nw. d. and Icel., "to halt").

huppa, to jump. Sw. d. usually *hoppa* (as NSw.) or *hyppja*, but SvDL. cites *huppa* for Småland adding: "vissa socknar i östra härad." In Nw. d., too, *hoppa* and *hyppja* are rather more common and with special meanings, but *huppa* appears in Vestfold, Follo, and Smaalenene in E. Norway. The form does not appear in North Dalarne.²² According to Hesselman the *u* in this and certain other words is one of the features Dalarne has in common with Uppland and Gästrikland, *Sveamålen*, p. 61.

hýtchi., *f.*, old witch, hag. The medial vowel is perhaps half-long. The source is *huk*, "squatting position," and a vb. *hykja*, which in Nw. diall., besides "to sit squatting," also means "to crouch or stand in bent-over position." The Sw. dial. of Småland has the corresponding vb. *hyka*, "draga sig undan af skrämsel" (Rietz). In Söndmøre, Norway, they say *en Hyk* for "en sammenfalden eller sammenkrøben Figur. En som hyker" (Ross).

- håll tä gōa! make yourself at home! help yourself!

hässje gubbə, the pole of a hay-drying arrangement or field-rack. Thick poles are set into the ground; they have five holes in them in which pins are put and on these the horizontal sticks (*stör*) are laid. For distribution of *hässje* see SvDL., and (for Nw. diall.) Ross. SvDL. citations are mostly for Dalarne, Västerbotten, and Hälsingland, but the generality of the vb. is noted. In Norway quite general. For the poles SvDL. cites various cpds.: *hässje-stad*, Ångerm., *häsi-ståd*, Västerb., *hässje-stänger*, etc. The Tuna cpd. seems not recorded elsewhere. *Hässje-stö*, the slender top or horizontally laid stakes of the field-rack, is of course used.

hässje-roa. Same as *hässje-gubbe*, but used less. Not in SvDL., but Ross gives it for several East Nw. dialects. The forms are *hesjeroa*, *hesjeroe*, Rörös, *hesjerøe*, Guldal, *hisjroo*, pl., *-rooaa*, Innherred, *hesjeraie*, Österd. *Hesjeroa*, the Rörös form,

²² However, cp. the Älvdalen compound *stjinuþa*, *Dalm.*, p. 158, and note 6, p. 159.

Ross suggests = *hessje troda*, but the *-a* forms are either def. sg. or indef. plurals. Yet it is possible, of course, that when *-troa* had become *-roa* the *a*-ending should here and there have come to be felt as the plural or def. f. sg. ending. However, this is probably not the explanation of *-roa*, for the form *-troa* should have maintained itself somewhere. We evidently have to do with a form in *ro* or something like it. The source is evidently *raa*, f., "tyk stang" (Aasen), which is cited with varying *aa*- and *a*-forms from southern and southw. Norway by Ross, but which shows the form *roo*, def. *rooa*, and pl. *rooe* in Strinda and Fosen in eastern Norway. Further *rooe* is cited for Guldal and Røros and *roo*, def. *rooaa*, for Innherred. The cpd. *hæssje-roa* in Tuna would seem to have come from Nw. diall.

hörka, be able, NSw., *orka*.

ikkärä, m., squirrel. NSw. *ekorre*. There seem to be mainly two groups of forms in Sw. diall., one with *-orn*²³ or *-on*, and one with *-ar* or *-er*. The former are represented by *ikorn.*, Värml., Dalsl., Västerg., *ikone*, Blek., *igon*, Bohusl., and *ikorning*, Österg. The other by *ekare*, Hälsingl.²⁴ The Tuna form belongs with the latter, with assimilation of its next-last vowel, *-are* to *äre* (*ärä*).

jëtthöktu, adj., obstinate.

jölplon, *jöläplon*, n. pl., potatoes. This would appear to be *jordäpplen*, "earth-apples, pommes de terre," the term used for potatoes in certain West Sw. diall. *SvDL.* cites *jöläpple* for Dalsland and Värml. However for Dalarne Rietz gives only the form *jordpära* (earth-pear), which is also used in Halland, Blekinge, Västerg., and Östergötland. In the Tuna form the *ə* before *p* is not heard as a rule. The form *jölplon* therefore hardly represents a contamination of *jöläpplen* and *jordpäron* but is the word *jordpiron* with the thick *l* carried over from *jöl-*. See *piron*.

jussom, adv., just like, sort of.

järboa, f., the hardware-store. *Järnbodan*. Cp. *jär*, iron, d. of Hälsingland.

²³ As.ON. *ikorni*, O Sw. *ikorni*, *ekorni*.

²⁴ In Skåne *egern*, *igarn* = as Dan. *egern*.

jänta, *f.*, jäntunä, *def. pl.*, girl. Found in many Sw. diall. from Kalmars län on the south and Värmland on the West to Ångermanland in the North as given in *SvDL.*, but often in derogatory use. In Hälsingl. the *pl.* given is *gente*.

(kaffi)duppa, *n.*, a lunch of cake or toast dipped in coffee. See *duppa*.

kammarä, *m.*, bed-room.

kamp, *m.*, raw-boned horse. See *SvDL.*

kār, *m.*, man, fellow.

kāsa, to sleep (used of children). *Dalm.* offers the noun *kas*, "liten näfversäng för barn," for Älvdal; also for Mora but adding: "föråld."²⁵ Cp. also *kāsa tåv*, "göra ifrån sig barnsbörd," Hälsingl.

kjila, to run, hurry. See also Rietz.

kjirra, *f.*, *pl. kjirrunä*, lamb, but chiefly used as a call. Cp. *kjir*, *kjiranne*, call to young calves in W. Norway.

kjortil, *m.*, skirt.

kjäft, *m.*, mouth.

kjāk, *m.*, food. Slang, about="grub" in English slang.

klō öpp, to "beat up," whip.

klōa, *f.*, the itch. NSw. *klāda*. The *d* is preserved in N. Dal.

klossa, *f.*, toad.

klōu, *adj.*, fidgety. In Hallingdal, Norway, the form *klaauit*, "forkjålet," occurs. Our Tuna word would be from *klādug*.

knāta, to walk, "hoof it." Slangy.

knēpu, ingenious, clever. Cp., with ablaut, *-ig*, the *adj. knēpig*, "knipslug, förslagen, Väst. and Närke" (Rietz), and NSw., *kneþ*, "trick," Nw., *kneþ*, do.

knōga, to work. Used in somewhat more specialized meanings in the diall. cited in *SvDL.*, Hälsingl., Västerb., Jämtl., Finl., etc. NSw., *knoga*, to act tardily.

knusslin, *adj.*, stingy. NSw., *knussla*, to stint. Cp. *knusslig*, *adj.*, "smutsigt snål," Götaland (Rietz). In E. Norw. rather common in this meaning as: *knusl.*, *n.*, "prutten,"

²⁵ = *föråldrad*, "antiquated."

knusling, "Gnier," *knuslen*, and *knuslutt*, adj., "smaalig, gnidsk, gniende" (Ross). Cp. also without *l*-augment: *knusa*, "gnie; prutte," Nordhordl., Norway, imperfect sometimes *knaus*, as: "Ho knaus paa mat'n." With this cp. *knausig*, adj., Götaland (Rietz).

knykka, to pilfer. *knykka* in dial. of Götaland means: "hastigt och häftigt rycka till" (Rietz). The word, in somewhat varying forms, is widely distributed in Sw. and also in Nw. dialects, but I have not found it in the Dalarne meaning.

knökkla, *f.*, *pl.* *knökkulunä*, bunion. Cp. *knokkel*, *m.*, (*pl.*, *klar*), "utstående benknota; i altmänhet hvarje framstående kant eller upphöjning," in South Skåne, Sw. The vb. is extensively used in Sw. diall.: *knukkla*, "skrynkla ned," Västerg., *knokkla*, *knykla*, *knokkla*, etc., elsewhere.

kōa, *m.*, gum, rosin. N. Sw., *kåda*.

kōk, hut, shanty. The same as *kåg*, *kåk*, *m.*, "en liten enmastad segelbåt," Bohuslän. *Dalm.* gives *kok*, "ussel koja," for Älvdalen.

koksa, to look. *Koks etter økken kuta om*, "see who ran by."

kōla åv, *intr. vb.*, to be overcome, be stricken. This interesting vb. is used in as widely separated regions as Kalmar Län (*kora å*, to die), Blekinge, Östergötl., Väst. (*Kola åv* or *å*, "svimma, blifva sanslös"), and Väst. (*kool*, "svimma," etc.). The Tuna word has its nearest equivalent in that of Väst. Rietz shows that in one form or another it is in use among most widely removed members of the Finno-Ugrian family of languages. In Sweden its occurrences suggest a northern and a southern form-group. In spite of its range in Finno-Ugrian today it is, no doubt, a loan there from Old Swedish *kval*, vb., *kvälja*. The word is also found rather extensively in Norw. diall. as *kol-all*, "fuldstændigt afkræftet, udmattet," Helgeland; *kolast*, "forkulles," S. Trondhj; *kol-dömd*, adj., "dödsdömt," Mandal; *kolgammel*, "meget gammel, affældig," Helg., etc.

kōnka, to carry something that is heavy so that one walks with difficulty.

korn, *n.*,¹ barley.

kövan, *n.*, money. Root clearly the same as in *kofring*(*q*), "Drikkepenge, Lommeskilling, Nordh. og fl." (Aasen); variant forms given are: *kaavring* and *kauring* (in Hardanger), and in the form *kovr*, "Erhvervelse," in Sogn, WNw. Possibly the same as *kuv*., pile, heap, in some border diall. In Vik, Sogn, one says *kovraakr* of a field owned (as his property) by a pensioner.

kratta, to dig or spade up (as in a garden). The word usually has very different meanings; in Vm., Smål., Kl., and Bl., *kratta* = "nedmylla (säd) i jorden" (Rietz).

krønglutt, complicated. NSw. *krånglig*. Cp. *kranglutt veg*, "trang, kroget, besværlig gjennemgang," Follo (Ross). Also Sw. d. words of somewhat more removed meanings.

krønjl, *m.*, a slim bony fellow.

kūta, to run. Widely met with in varying forms in Sw. diall.; quoted in this form by Rietz for: Hälsingl., Ångermanl., Medelpad, Värml., Uppl., Dalsl., and Sörm., and *kuut* or *kut* in Västerb. and Jämtl. For *Dal.* only the forms *kojt*, *kåjt* and *kåjta* are given. *Dalm.* gives also *kaut*., *n.*, for Älvdalen., the vb. *kaita*, to run, for Orsa, and *koyta* for Älvdalen and Mora. Across the border in neighboring Norw. diall. it seems to be equally common. E.g., *kut*., *m.*, *n.*, a run, Rom., Stjör., Österd., and into Gubr. and Valdars, *kute* vb., löbe, rende. Meget brugelig i Österdalen" (Aasen);²⁶ the Trondhj. form is given as *kyte*, which is also the Jämtland form.

körpral, *m.*, corporal.

köl., *n.*, coal.

lädu, *f.*, barn. NSw. *lada*. Norw. with final *u*, *o*, also in Västerb. and Fl. *Dalm.* gives *lodo* for Älvdalen.

lir, *n.*, shed. See *velir*.

lisslęsta, the smallest. The positive appears not to be used. For the diall. of Jämtl. and Västerb. Rietz records *sl*- and *ss*-forms of the positive: *liss gossen*, and that in *ss* also for Hälsingl. and Upland (presumably only in the definite). Cp. Tel. Norw. *lisle*.

lön, to borrow.

²⁶ Also in Gbr., Hedem. and Nedre Tel. (Ross).

luppa, *f.*, flea (on plants). NSw. *loppa*. The meaning = about "leaper, (leaf-)hopper." SvDL. does not show any related forms. Cp. above *huppa*.

makk, *m.*, worm.

makka, *f.*, worm (the female).

marhakk, *n.*, hash from mare's meat. Horse-flesh was formerly eaten, hardly now any more.

missmörsduppa, sauce of "mysost" (a kind of cheese). A dish of fried pork with a gravy made of "mysost."

må hä, = about English: 's 'at so? (is that so?). Cp. *må dä?* Närke, Upland, etc. (Rietz).

mennisja, *m.*, woman. *Där kommer en kar q en mennisja p q landväg'n.*

munka (p q se), to move aside a little. *Munk p q dei Knut, s q ja f q sätt mei.*

mökka, to shovel. General in meaning,²⁷ not, as usually, confined to: removing the manure from the stable. SvDL. gives *möka*, "skotta snö, m. m. med skofuel," from Västерб., Östерб., and Nyland, and the expression *måka kol* from Västм. In central Sw. diall. the form is regularly one with ö.

mölöma, möluma (possibly hardly ever the latter form), *f.*, bumblebee.

nittu, *adj.*, cute; funny.

nybbänko,²⁸ a cow that has just given birth to a calf. (= *nybär + ko*). The word is given in SvDL. in the form *nybärko* for Västм.

nänn, to speak of, mention.

näva, *m.*, hand.

qkkän, *pron.*, who.

oknu, *adj.*, unknown.

okynnu, *adj.*, mischievous.

orimli, *adv.*, very.

oskapli, *adv.*, very.

ovasslin, *adj.*, extravagant. *Du skä'nt va så ovasslin mä söglö.* See *sögel*.

palta (or pallta), *f.*, a woman who is dressed raggedly.

²⁷ Hence = NSw. *skovla*.

²⁸ Close y.

paltur, *f.*, *pl.*, old ragged clothes.

parvill, little boy, a term of endearment. Latin 'parvulus'? Now NSw. also in the form *parvel* (Selma Lagerlöf in *Nils Holgersons resa*, etc.). Rietz gives it in the latter form for Götal., as *pirvel* for Sörml. and *pervel*, Hälsingl.

pīn kjit, trickery, meanness. *Han jik ut på pīn kjit*, he left the room out of pure meanness.

pīra, *n.*, pīron, *pl.*, pear. See jolplon above.

pulla, *f.*, chicken. NSw. *pulla*, hen.

pöik, *m.*, boy.

ressa, to fuss, fidget. Cp. *ressa*, "vara ostyrlig, mycket munter och liflig," Hälsingl., Medelpad, and *rissa*, "väsnas," Skaraberg (Vg). Many derivatives in Sw. diall. Also Nw. d. *rissa* (Ross).

ressu, *adj.*, restless; used of children (= *ressug*). See above.

rēvkūsa, a foxy person; a child that is unruly and always meddling with things he should not. NSw. *räv+kusa* (Rietz under last word).

rökk, *m.*, coat.

röga, *adj.*, brimful. NSw. *rågadt* (*mål*), full (measure).

riktin, *adj.*, real, veritable; also "in one's right mind." *Karn mått v'int va riktin*, "the fellow could not have been in his right mind."

rumpdrag, *n.*, a "sky-hook." A mythical tool often made the object of a practical joke at slaughtering time. The victim is sent to a neighbor to borrow a "*rumpdrag*," To be sent to borrow a —, "to run a fool's errand."

röna, *pl.*, the hips; said also of the haunch of animals.

säl, *m.*, parlor.

sjävelapp, *m.*, a native of Skedvi socken.

sjönn, *adj.*, good. NSw. *skön*. Used in Tuna instead of *gō*, *gött*, as: *ett sjönt äpple*, a good apple. Cp. *fin*.

skalle, head. NSw. *skalle*, skull, pate, forehead.

skölgroa, *f.*, a mixture (of mainly potato peelings) for the swine. The first part is NSw. *skal*, "rind," and varying dial. forms, Nw. d. *skala*, to peel potatoes. Romsd., *sköl*, *n.*, peeling, southw. Nw.

skötöling, skötäling, *m.*, the word is used of a short knitted sock (the foot part only) which is put outside the regular sock in cold weather; it may be made out of an ordinary sock by cutting off the upper part. Cp. *skoträling* or *skoteling*, *m.*, "socka som sättes inuti skon utanpå strumpan då det är kallt," cited by Rietz for Gästrikland. The word would seem to be composed of *sko*+*til* (in *tilja*). Rietz cites for Mora the form *teln.* golftilja, (and *govteln*), *pl.* -*tenner*, Älvdalen, and *tälningar*, *m. pl.*, Jämtland. The Gästrik. use shows that the *träling* or *teling* was set inside the shoe, hence it was a kind of lining for it. Cp. *slag-telning*, *m.*, "smal kjäpp till hvilken slag-klumpen skarfvas," Vb. (*SvDL.*).

skrift, *f.*, -*a*, *def.*, Scripture. *Han ä lard i skrifta.*

skrilla, to slip. Also used as *håsa*. Given in *SvDL.* for Kl., Öl., Nk., Sk., Vb., Nb.; in the last only = "åka skridsko." On formation see Rietz.

skönk, *m.*, leg. NSw., *skank*, thigh, leg. *Dalm.* gives the word in this form for Mora, and *skaunk* for Älvdalen. The form *skänk* is also cited in *SvDL.* for Österb. in Finland.

skörsten, chimney. N Sw. *skorsten*.

slägu, flail. NSw. *slaga*. Cp. *haku*. The nom. forms *slagu* and *slogu* are cited for Västerb. In varying forms general Sw. in its geography; in Norway, east. and especially northeast. dialectal in the forms *sloga*, *slogo*, *sloo*, *slugen*, and *slun*.

slarva, to "slavver" while drinking; to drink too much, be addicted to drink. In Sw. diall. elsewhere used of wearing dirty clothes or wearing one's clothes in a slovenly way.

sletchu, *n.*, a mixture for cows consisting of oats, salt, flour, water, etc.

släplir, *n.*, shed where the grind-stone is kept.

sneгла, to look sideways at a person.

starru, *adj.*, obstinate. NSw. (*hals*)*starrig*. Halstarrig is also Dan-Norw. (literary); *starrig* or *starrug* seems not recorded in dial. use. Cp. *starre*, "stridig, ubøielig person," Hårdanger, Norway.

stimma, to be boisterous (said of one or many).

stimm, *n.*, noise, continuous racket.

stinn, *adj.*, sated, the feeling of having eaten one's fill. (Sw. *mätt*.) Cp. *stinn*, "stiff," and *stinn*, "fat," Norrbotten.

stirra, to stand gaping, stand and stare stupidly.

stäkku, *adj.*, short. *Dalm.* gives the form *stäkkut* for Mora and *stekkun* for Orsa. *SvDL.* cites *stäkkug* for Dalarne, loc. Rättvik, and *stükku* for Malung in Dalarne. The forms *stäkku* or *stükkug(r)* are further cited for Nk., Sörml., and Värmland. Elsewhere we have a variety of other forms (as *stakkot*, Kalmar, etc.). The vowel *ä* would seem to be the vowel of the comparative and superlative which has established itself in the positive; cp. the Skåne forms: *stakked-stäkcre-stäkkst*.

stölpä, *m.*, post.

svärsjö-kråka, a native of Svärdsjö socken.

svenskor, *pl.*, shoes made by a local cobbler.

syna, *f.*, the face.

sänja, *f.*, the bed.

sögel, *n.*, *def.*, söglä, sweets. NSw. *sovel*. Nw. d. *sul*, *sugll*. Rietz cites *sugel* for (i) sömras, *adv.*, last summer, Vg., and *saugl*. for Älvdalen, Dal.; otherwise more removed forms.

(i) sömras, *adv.*, last summer.

tafflu, *adj.*, awkward. Cp. *tafla*, "gaa svagt og snublende," Rog., I. Sogn (Ross), *tufila*, "arbeide klodset," and var. forms. Also Norw. *tufs.*, stymper, and vb. *tafse*, do., Götal. Sweden.

takka, *f.*, young sheep (a year old).

tarv, *adj.*, eager for, wanting badly (e.g., as a child is *tarv* for a piece of cake).

timotäi, timothy.

tinningja, *f. def.*, the newspaper.

tinta, *f.*, small kerosene lamp (tin-cup with a wick in it).

tjüla, to cry, bawl. Cp. *tjäl*, "låta illa, skrika," Vb. (Rietz).

tjülär, *pl.*, children. *Ga'n q lädjdjen er tjulär*.

tjüta, to yell.

töku, *adj.*, wrong, as: *ja kom in tä toku fölk* (the wrong house); *e toku bok*, a (the) wrong book.

tjälta för, to importune one for something, keep at a thing aggressively.

tordyvil, *m.*, dung-beetle. Sw. *torrdyvel*.

tökskalleg, *m.*, simpleton.

tökutt, troublesome, wearisome (NSw. *tråkig*).

tukkqa, *f.*, chewing gum.

tunglä, *n.*, *def.*, the moon. *Dalm.* also *tungöl* for North Dalarne. *SvDL.* for north and central Swedish dialects, with many cpds. (mostly from Dalarne).

tungəljust, tung'ljust, *adj.*, *n.*, moonlight. Cited by Rietz for Rättvik, etc.; also *tungelljos*, noun, for Mora.

tūnhūk, *m.*, a native of Tuna, tunhuka, *f.*, do.

Tūn-sokna, *def.*, the parish of Stora Tuna.

tvärtföskråka, an obstinate person.

tytcha öm, to like. *NSw.* *tycka om.*

tōr, *m.*, a sip. *En tōr kaffi.*

tōrä, *m.*, *pl.* tears.

tä, *prep.*, to.

tävlapp, *m.*, a bold person, one who acts too freely, is fresh (said mostly of children). *Du ä'n rikkin tävlapp*, "you are a fresh one, a bold youngster."

unjen, *m.*, *def.*, the child. The vowel is *u* not *o*, that is not the close *o*-like vowel of the word in many Norw. diall.; nor is it the fronted short *u* (broad *ö*) of *NSw.*

upptiokrök, *m.*, a gathering hook, about eighteen inches long and made from a single piece of wood, used in gathering the small grain after it has been cut down. (Literally a pick-up hook.)

uslin, *adj.*, skinny, sickly.

utböling, *m.*, a rowdy. Rietz gives the word as widely distributed and adds: "e.g., utböring, person som ej hör till släkten, byen äller socknen, med bibegrepp af dåliga egen-skaper," and then also as meaning "utskott, elak människa." In Tuna used only in the sense given.

vā, to be. *NSw.*, *vara.*

vangslir, *n.*, wagon-shed.

vēlir, *n.*, vēlrä, *def.*, wood-shed. The *def.* also *velrä.*

vetcha, *adv.*, I should hope (think). *NSw.* *vet jag.* *Nw.* *d.* *vett eg.*

vetträ, *n.*, a stick of wood. Also *vitträ*, with open *i*.

vikkluft, *adj.*, wobbly, not properly balanced. Used also about a person's unsteady walk. Cp. *vikklig*, "ostadig, icke fast," Blekinge, and *vikkug*, "vickande," Sörml. (Rietz).

vinn, *m.*, attic, loft-room. I do not find the simplex recorded anywhere,²⁹ but, to be sure, in cpds. Thus *SvDL.*: *vind-og*, "en liten glugg på logen" Dal. (Mora) and "glugg på en torkstuga" (Malung); *vinn-äuge*, "glugg på fähus ock stall hvarigenom spillning utkastas," Jämtland, and in the form *wind-öga*, do., Hälsingl.

vitsi, *adj.*, smart, would-be-clever.

vörn, *pron.*, *m.*, our, vörn gössä.

väddje, *m.*, *pl.*, walls.

vädrä, *n.*, *def.*, used in two ways, 1, weather; 2, air. Ex.: *han halka o slo bena i vädrä*, "he slipped and his legs flew up into the air."

väfföla, what do you mean? (= *vad-för-slag*).

vällut, *adv.*, wonderful, fine. NSw. *väldigt*. *Dä va vällutt gött! Dä va vällutt hq du ha växt!*

vättä, *m.*, wheat.

yttänärökk, *m.*, overcoat.

ärv, *m.*, inheritance.

öm, *adv.*, by. NSw., *om*.

ändra . . . ällär, *conj.*, either . . . or.

It would hardly be warranted, on the basis of a small number of words, to attempt to draw conclusions regarding the relation of Tunamål to surrounding dialect territory. It would be hasty to draw any inference concerning a possible closer relationship of southeast Dalarne and Gästrikland-Uppland from the presence of certain words in all three, as *skotöling* (Gästrikland) and *flöbusä* (Uppland), for the latter word is a characteristic dialect formation and may be present in almost any region; *skotöling* is more significant, but possibly this word rather points to northern connections (if it is used only in northern Gästrikland). The word *hink*, *n.*, *e.g.*, seems to suggest central Swedish connections as it is a common term in Sörml., Östergötl., and Västergötl. But it is also a Västerbotten word; hence, is its geography as yet incompletely recorded? Some words Tuna has in common with West Swedish and border dialects (*kūta*, vb., *roa*, *n.*, etc.), rather more perhaps

²⁹ Except, of course, in the word *vind*, wind.

than it shares with the east or southeast; however, they too are limited in number. And everything depends on the kind of words. However, in their form and their use Tuna words seem most often to find parallels to the north (*assint*, *föis*, *vinn*, n., *ikkärä*, *ljūla*, vb., *ressa*, vb., *kāsa*, vb.). And this, to be sure, is what we should expect.

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ARNE GARBORG¹

In a general way, Garborg reflects the tendency of his time towards criticism of existing conditions; but the individual note in his works is very strong, and in his ultimate conclusions he differs widely from most Norwegian authors of his day. The central problem for him is religion. It forms, in a way, the theme of his first larger work, *Ein Fritenkjar* (A Free Thinker) 1878, which first appeared in *Fedraheimen*, a weekly which Garborg had founded in 1877. The author himself makes the following comment: "This story is dealing with the time when the last great combat over faith was waged up here; and whatever else may be said of it, it bears evidence that he who wrote it himself had taken part in the conflict." What Garborg here expressly states, is certainly even more true of several other works from his pen. The reader of Garborg very soon becomes convinced that the author almost exclusively depicts observations and experiences of his own, characters from real life. But his experiences were for the most part of a concrete nature, and not of such a subjective character as for instance the inner experience of Ibsen which led to the production of *Brand*. It is probably from this reason that several of Garborg's characters re-appear in a number of his works.

¹ This study is based on the edition of Garborg's works which appeared in 1908. (Arne Garborg, *Skrifter i Samling*, Kristiania, 1908-9.) It contains, in the *landsmaal*, Garborg's poetic works, the *Ferdabrev*, *Kolbotnbrev*, *Knudaheibrev* and *Brev um Finneferdi* 1905, but not his various polemic tracts. In the latter, he dealt primarily with the *landsmaal* question, though in a number of them, he also discussed other social and political problems. Articles of this kind are always of a more or less ephemeral and chiefly local importance, and so it seems permissible to omit them here from consideration. The chief reason for the omission is, however, the great difficulty of obtaining access to the tracts in question.

In a number of instances, utterances have been quoted which Garborg puts into the mouths of his characters. The views so expressed are, however, in full accord with direct statements of Garborg, made on other occasions.

Ein Fritenkjar is not at all a polemic, as one might expect; the work primarily depicts the fate of a number of individuals. The question whether or not even an infidel is entitled to freedom of conscience, convictions and the right of utterance is not answered, but we may be assured that Garborg would very strongly affirm it. We know by his own utterances that at the time when the story was written, or, at any rate, a few years previous, he stood on the side of free thought, and for this sole reason could not accept the financial assistance which he so badly needed on the supposition that he should study for the ministry. It is therefore but natural that in his presentation, though it is free from exaggeration, light and shade are distributed somewhat unevenly.

The hero, Eystein Hauk, is a lofty, unbending idealist, who firmly adheres to his convictions, even where they conflict with his deepest affection and ruin his happiness. Like most people who in their lives are governed by theories, he does not spare others any more than himself, and is exceedingly one-sided. But in spite of all the sympathy one experiences for Ragna, Hauk's wife, who is crushed in the conflict, the feeling of the impartial reader for Eystein Hauk is more one of pity than of condemnation. Only when it is too late, does Hauk repent of his short-sighted course, which has really brought to pass what he most of all desired to prevent. Then it also dawns upon him that convictions are only something relative and that it is perhaps unwise to steer too unbending a course.

"My whole life spoiled; my happiness and my endeavors ruined; and I myself too, and several others with me; and my son—completely ensnared by the forces to the combating of which I consecrated my life.

"I was too insistent upon principles; I was a doctrinary. I should have proceeded more cautiously and more slowly; I ought to have been 'practical.' I might have had the boy baptized. Things could have run smoothly and nicely; and I should have found happiness and a chance to work for my ideas.—

"But it would have been a lie?

"Oh yes, all sagacity is lies. All men are liars. They can't help it. Society is still barbarous; society must take the blame.

"Here in this country, thought is free, as free as a bird; but one must always see to it that one arrives just at the conclusions which have been established beforehand as the only right and true ones. 'You shall have your own free will, my daughter, but may the deuce take me, if you don't become Madam Østmo!!—Thoughts are free, oh yes, but if one arrives at conclusions that differ from the accepted ones, he is outlawed;—and an outlawed man gets along as best he can."

Shortly before his end, Hauk declares: "Give me back my youth and Ragna and I shall believe whatever you wish. . . at any rate, act as if I believed it." But it is just his unflinching devotion to the plain truth, his intellectual honesty, his inability to dissemble, which make Hauk such an admirable character, in spite of all his faults.

The author introduces only one other representative from the camp of the rebels, "candidate"² Breide, who with his cynicism and inconsistency makes a far less favorable impression than Hauk. Among the opponents there are but few figures which win our sympathy. The most lovable is pastor Vangen, Ragna's father, whose greatest shortcoming consists in the narrowness of his horizon. Other members of the clergy, who figure in this story, make a very unfavorable impression, especially the fanatic Balle and Eystein Hauk's own son, another of the same ilk, who does not hesitate to declare at the grave of his father that the latter surely has gone to perdition.

When Hauk, in a strenuous effort to regain the simple faith of his childhood, goes to attend a church service, he has the misfortune to strike a preacher who is little more than a phonograph, and the congregation is described as a herd of weaklings and degenerates, "a collection fit for a hospital," who have come to church to seek forgetfulness and a sort of intoxication. One of the characters of the story, the bailiff

² *Kandidat*, one who has passed the state examination in a certain field. It is not possible to render some of the Norse terms fully satisfactorily in English. *Lensmann*, *Ful*, even *Bonde*, etc., have no exact English equivalents.

(*Fut*), is a sceptic and a scoffer, and does not even succeed in keeping up appearances when a guest in Vangen's house. But he stoutly defends the need of christianity, in as much as it is the very foundation of his own authority; and so, of course, he is finally laid to rest under a stone bearing the inscription: "Be thou faithful unto the end, and thou shalt be given the crown of life."

Illustrations of this kind could be multiplied, and there can be no dispute over the fact that the representatives of the clergy and the adherents of the church in this narrative appear in a very disadvantageous light; the sympathies of the author seem to have been entirely on the side of the infidel and outcast. Garborg in his works has not reverted at length to the problem of free thought, though in some of his latest *Læraren* and *Heimkomin Son* (The Teacher and The Son come home) he introduces in the *Lensmann*, Jens Eide, a free thinker, who proves to be a man of sterling qualities and the staunch, unselfish friend of his deeply religious brother-in-law.

Representatives of the clergy are to be found in Garborg's novels and stories repeatedly, and they often appear in a damaging light. In the sketch *Hemn* (Revenge), for instance, a country parson is depicted who, partly for the sake of gain, and partly from fear of the bride's father, marries a couple, though the bride clearly and distinctly answers "no"; and in *Seld til den Vonde* (Sold to the Evil One), we have a fanatic who, deeply imbued with religious superstitions, proceeds to perform with fear and trembling the rites of exorcism, apparently with as much conviction as the most hide bound monk of the middle ages. That he exacts a high pecuniary reward for his services seems less reprehensible, since the money goes to the church rather than into his own pocket.—It is hardly a tribute to the clergy when a practical businessman remarks of a bishop engaged in the political game: "Oh, he is a clergyman, he is on to the ropes." And a journalist confesses: "As seldom as we discover an able politician among the members of the legal profession, as frequently one finds a very pronounced talent for politics among the clergy. One is almost tempted to say that the church is the kingdom of this world *par excellence*."

The essence of Garborg's criticism is that the clergymen, as state officials, place the interests of the state and society above true christianity, that they are intolerant, reactionary and worldly wise. A pastor of this type is represented in *Hjaa ho Mor* (She who stayed with Mother). In one of the *Knudshreibrev* of the year 1902, we read: "We must indeed be glad as long as the state does not persecute people for their faith. Hans Nielsen Hauge was the last one here in this country who suffered for his faith, that is: outright. And yet, one can hardly claim that it was his faith for which he suffered; if they were after him, it was for the sake of regularity in church affairs. It was not a question of faith; the dispute was over who should preach and interpret it. The clergy of the state church was of the opinion that only those should preach whom the state had appointed for this purpose; for they had been brought up and instructed in the faith which the state wanted; and what else could one rely upon? That they imprisoned Hauge, who thought himself a messenger of Christ without being so appointed by the state, was a matter of course, against which no adherent of the state church can have anything to say.

"The state church manages all in the best possible manner. It preaches the official faith according to the written code and is a clearing house for marriage, baptism, burial and other church business (*Kyrkjelige Forretninger*). All should then go well. The kingdom of God and the temporal kingdom have in the state church found each other.

"But the people don't believe it. The people fall back upon the utterance that God's kingdom and the kingdom of this world are opposed to each other. And when they keep company, it is because the church has submitted to the world. It is the humble and little respected, those who suffer and in whom no one is concerned, unless it is a question of taxes and burdens, those are the ones who belong to the kingdom of Christ; therefore they must suffer in this world."

Of the institutions and customs of the church, Garborg rejects infant baptism. In *Ein Fritenkjar*, he assails it by means of logical arguments, chiefly on the grounds that it is an interference with the right of every individual to freedom of

choice; in *Ungdom* (Youth), he satirizes it. His own child, he has none the less baptized, "so he will escape being baptized later in the penitentiary. . . we live in a free country, you know," he comments ironically. The mother insists that the boy be named Arne after his father, and, of course, gets her way. But less enthusiastic over his name and fame than Hulda, Garborg adds to Arne the name of the first Norse socialist, Olaus Fjørtoft, and chuckles over the fact that the pastor thus is compelled to pronounce blessings upon two names which spell anathema for him.

Confirmation just at the beginning of the period of adolescence, Garborg also desires to see abolished, designating it as a most unreasonable compulsion. The young ones only too often make their vows merely with their lips, and the intelligent and conscientious among them suffer torment, since they are well aware of the fact that their hearts know nothing of the pledges which are exacted from them. That the church, or its servants desecrated the marriage ceremony, Garborg has indicated repeatedly, and in his own case, he confines himself to the civil marriage rites. But marriage as an institution he does not attack, as some charge. To make the author responsible, as has been done, for radical utterances put into the mouths of his characters (*Mannfolk*, *Hjaa ho Mor*), and to ascribe to him personally the views in question, is a very injudicial method of procedure, unless there exists ample supporting evidence in the nature of direct statements from his pen. But even if Garborg in his earlier years had fault to find with the institution of matrimony, he has later made abundant amends. In *Læraren*, Paulus Høve, whose views are largely identical with Garborg's own, as becomes evident from a number of instances where the author expresses himself without the use of any disguise, defines marriage in a very lofty and purely spiritual sense. But the highest tribute to matrimony, Garborg pays in *Heimkomin Son*, where we read: "Married life is seriousness not play and pleasure, affection and deep joy alternating with toil and struggle, and at times with sorrow and loss. But just from these results growth for the parents: in married life, the two halves of mankind become a whole,

become united in a complete human being. And only such a complete human being can gain the greatest riches life has to offer. . . . To marry is to become united with the sum total of existence; through matrimony, one reaches the fulness of life." Of church societies and foreign missions Garborg has no very high opinion. "Christian charity is to help worthy persons in need on the condition that they shall become converted" declares Paul Høve. "Aside from the poor commission this is the most ridiculous aping (*Skalkeherming*) of a christian way of helping the poor that one could invent."

The clergy have first of all far departed from the real teachings of Christ; but worse still, they do not even practice what they preach. In the second part of *Haugtussa, I Helheim*, a preacher is made to confess:

—Ja, han frelste oss
 fraa vaare Skyldur,
 ofra seg,
 at me kunde spara oss,
 forsaka Verdi,
 at me kunde njote Verdi
 og enda smyrja oss med Himil-Von,
 heldt Lovi,
 at me kunde synde,
 var lydig,
 at me kunde vera ulydige,
 elska,
 at me kunde hata,
 gjorde alt
 for oss,
 so no gjer me som me vil,
 og pryder oss med hans Namn,
 og segjer etter hans Ord,
 og sminkar oss med hans Blod,
 dyljande soleis vaar Rotinskap.³

³ Yes, he redeemed us / from our sins, / sacrificed himself, / so that we might spare ourselves, / forsook the world, / so that we could enjoy the world / and yet flatter ourselves with the hope of heaven, / obeyed the law, / so that we could sin, / was obedient, / so that we could disobey, / loved, / that we might hate, / did it all / for us, / and now we do as we please, / and adorn ourselves with his name, / and say up his words, / and paint ourselves with his blood, / hiding thus our rottenness.

But Garborg does not criticise the clergy any more severely than various people in other walks of life, and we find throughout his works clergymen who are true christians and loyal to their duties. Some of Garborg's dearest memories cluster about the country church where he attended as a boy and he eloquently extols the highly beneficial influence of the church in the rural districts. And so we are not surprised that he advises against separation from the Lutheran church. "Many a thing may be said against our temple, too. But the key-stone is the word of Christ; and the interpretation has as much of him as our learned men (*Skriftlærde*: scribes) could attain.

"And we shall not separate from the church. The world is inclined to believe that the separatists are chosen people; and churches and congregations of dissenters come into existence right along. But thus it shall not be among us. In the outer things, we are like the rest. Only in our lives do we distinguish ourselves, when the occasion is given; we let our light shine, so that people may see our good deeds." Without deeds, a man's faith is dead, is Garborg's opinion.

Of the doctrines of the church, he most emphatically rejects the conception of eternal punishment. In his works, especially in *Fred* and *Seld til den Vonde*, we are shown how these teachings become a source of the most horrible torment, for the conscientious far more so than for the confirmed sinners. As late as 1905, Garborg designates these doctrines as the cause of much insanity. "It will be a great improvement when Satan and his hell are finally removed from the public school and the church." The doctrine of hell is perpetuated by those in authority in various places, he believes, because obedience to the law and morality would cease, according to their opinion, if eternal punishment were no longer threatening the offenders. To many, hell is an essential feature of christian teachings, and woe to him who denies its existence. "Paul Høve is the antichrist, he denies the existence of hell. But who, do you think, would listen to the word of God, if there were no hell?" For the masses, hell is, moreover, a consolation since it holds for them the promise and guarantee of ultimate justice. "If the poor did not have hell, into which they can

cast sheriff (*Lensmann*) and bailiff (*Fut*) and the whole litter, we would have more murderers than we could house," declares Jens Eide.—"Jesus allotted salvation to Lazarus, and damnation to the rich man, now-a-days it is just as likely Lazarus who is damned and the rich man who is saved; can that console the people?" Paul Høve objects. But Jens thinks that this does in no wise alter the case. "When the pastor sends the rich man to heaven, the people put little faith in that. They know well enough that Lazarus may enter heaven just as readily, even if the pastor does not deliver a funeral sermon at his grave; to him who suffers much, much is forgiven, the people think. And as long as we cannot change conditions, we must allow the poor this consolation. The views of mankind will become brighter when life becomes more bearable."

And yet, Garborg accords to hell a certain reality, but it does not consist in eternal torment, but in eternal death, i.e. in the extinction of the soul. Lack of character and integrity leads to such annihilation.

Arme Sjælir som tærest burt
og ikkje sin Røyning held,
dei hadde kje Hugen heile,
som stend i den siste Eld.

Arme Sjælir som tærest burt
og gjeng so reint til Tjon,
det er den andre Dauden;
daa er der kje Botevon.

Det er den største Rædsle,
det er den namnlause Sut;
Daa er dei storkne or alle Bøkar
og or Guds minne ut.⁴

Many souls perish even long before their bodies die.

⁴ Poor souls who wither away / and their trials did not stand, / a whole heart they lacked, / and now are expunged by the flames. / Poor souls who wither away / and go to eternal doom,— / the second death it is indeed / and hope for redemption none. / This is of all the greatest awe, / it is the nameless blight; / here they are stricken from every roll / nay even from God's thought.

Her ser du faae, mi gode Syster;
dei fleste vin ikkje hit.

Dei laga einannan paa Jordi
eit Helvit av Kiv og Kjav,
og tjaaka og tjaada ut einannan
med Skulding og Sjølvhugs Krav.

Dei svidde einannan med Hat og Harm
og Ord som bitande brende;
so aat og øyde den Uhugs Elden,
til dess det paa Sjæli var Ende.

Dei pintest av arge, saare Hjarto,
og øydest Hugnad og Heim;
og daa dei naadde fram aat Gravi,
det var kje meir att av deim.⁵

The second part of *Haugtussa, I Helheim*, represents the existence of the damned souls in hell as a continuation of their earthly lives; their sufferings consist partly in the perpetuation of their enslavement to folly and sin, partly in the consequences of their evil doings. Many of the features of their surroundings, it is interesting to note, are borrowed from Norse mythology rather than from the conceptions of christian theology and art, that is: cold, fogs, torrents and darkness take largely the place of eternal fire. The course of their trials, it would seem, may lead upwards and onwards, when they have atoned for their wrongs.

Dei skuldar andre, dei skuldar Gud
For Syndi som hit deim sende;
fyrr dei Skuldi si eigi finn,
der er ikkje Von um Vende.⁶

⁵ Here you see few, my sister dear, / most do not reach this place. / They create one another in their earthly lives / a hell of haggles and strife, / and fritter and weary each other out / with charges and selfish claims. / They scorch each other with hatred and wrong / and words that cut to the quick; / thus ate and wasted the fire of wrath, / until of souls there was nought. / They were tormented by their evil hearts, / and destroyed their peace and homes; / and when at last their graves they reached, / of souls there was nothing left.

⁶ God they wronged and their fellowmen / by sins that them hither sent; / and ere not their debts in full are paid, / hope for relief there is none.

These are the main features of the more or less negative religious conceptions of Garborg; they are easily out-weighted by his positive ideas, which we shall briefly summarize in the following paragraphs.

One's creed is unimportant; it is something made by man. Faith is essential but it must be a living faith which automatically results in obedience to the teachings of Christ. God is the loving father of all men, not a stern judge. Whether Christ be God or man, is of no importance. The conception that Christ died on the cross to redeem mankind, Garborg regards as an invention of Saint Paul. Christ is our guide, but not our redeemer. In the first place, God, the loving father of all mankind, could not have demanded such a sacrifice; secondly it could not be made available for us, for we must redeem ourselves by our own deeds. We must obey the will of God unconditionally and without fear of consequences. We are able to do so if we only will. In obedience to the promptings of his conscience, Paul Høve sells all he has and gives the money to the poor, since he at the time being considers it God's will that he should act thus. Our religion must permeate our whole lives. But not the luke-warm religion of our day. "We have transformed the original Christ into a gentle prayer-book Christ for the ladies, nay even into a pillar of society, into a padlock for our pantries and safes, into a night-cap for the model citizen; and the gospel of the poor, we have recast into a rampart and stronghold for the mighty in this world! Kings and princes were to persecute us for the sake of Jesus; now Jesus stands guard for these kings and princes. And they feast and fatten themselves in his name, and gamble and whore in his name, and wage war and kill in his name, and they plunder and steal in his name; and Christ's ministers stand stooping until they are doubled up and bless them in his name, and make the doors wide and the portals high for them; and receive rewards and honors and power from them; nay even their holy offices they receive of the mighty ones of this world. And christianity, which was to revolutionize and create anew this world, has become a couch of ease for everybody."

Christianity, as it is taught by the church, is but a petrification of the living spirit of Christ. "It signifies always the decline (of a religion) when rules and ordinances for the daily life are made. A christian does not live after rules. He lives after God's own will; without compulsion and dissembling he lives according to his new nature (*Hug*), which is nothing else but his inborn human nature, elevated and cleansed from all base tendencies (*Huldra-Haattar*).

"Life is one continual sacrifice, but these sacrifices become a means of spiritual growth, if we learn to make them willingly and gladly. Our deeds must be our sermons; evil we must overcome with good, alleviate all suffering, regardless of the fact whether the sufferer is deserving or not; it is not for us to judge. We must forsake the evil in the world, but not the world itself; joy is not contrary to the teachings of Christ, and all things beautiful are but memories from paradise, which we shall not reject. It is worship of God to rejoice in his works."

Pietism is harmful when coupled with an ascetic tendency. The injunction that we shall take the flowers of the field and the birds of the air as examples is valid enough, but we must not overlook the fact that these beings of a lower order continually strive to maintain and unfold their lives to the best of their ability. They are models of industry and effort, not of idleness and ease. All desire to rule and govern, to be raised above one's fellowmen is un-Christlike. He who would rule must serve. Referring to Matthew, XX, 25 ff., Paul Høve exclaims: "But such opposites are the kingdoms of this world and the kingdom of God.

"The life of this world is strife. Thou shalt love thyself and hate thine enemy, is the fundamental law; great is he who holds his brethren under his tyranny and uses might against them, and the first among them is he who best can rake in and accumulate; the strongest brute is the greatest.

"But God's kingdom is peace. Thou shalt love thine enemy as thou lovest thyself, is the fundamental law here; great is not he who demands, but he who helps and gives; the servant and the serf are great; he serves and toils from love and for his brethren; greatest is he who loves most."—The

objection that society cannot exist on these principles, Paul Høve disposes of very thoroughly and categorically. "Society?" he queries. "I don't understand what concern of mine it is whether society stands or falls. I pray each day in the Lord's Prayer that the kingdom of God may come; and that can exist on communistic principles." But he does not grant that his principles are really communistic, and not without good grounds. "You say communism; but you know, I presume, that communism and christianity are really two opposites? Communism teaches people to make demands; christianity teaches people to give; are they then not opposites?" His attitude towards the present status of society is further characterized by the following: "This universal war of all against all which you call society concerns me so little. I give Caesar what belongs to Caesar; and when it comes to sacrificing, even one's blood and life, the disciples of Christ lead; but the proper society will be established upon co-operation and peace, and not upon strife. And he who wants to reform society must begin with himself."

Naturally enough, 'practical' men with 'good common sense' call such ideas crazy, and predict the direst consequences from their adoption to culture and progress. But culture and progress seem to Garborg not unmixed blessings, nay at times they appear to him rather harmful than beneficial. "More and more I am inclined to believe," he writes in 1889, "that the invention of printing was a new fall of mankind, even worse than the original sin. This Johann Gensfleisch, Guttenberg, as they call him—I cannot think otherwise than that he was the Evil One himself, who came in a new guise and taught people to eat from the tree of knowledge again; he probably thought that he had not sufficiently ruined us the first time. But now he has accomplished it the much the better."—The enjoyment which Garborg finds in the simple rustic life at *Kolbotn* impresses him so strongly that culture pales in comparison. "Would you give me all the beautiful poetry which has ever been written in this world, from *Sakuntala* and *Kalvala* to Maeterlinck and Verlaine?" he addresses his friend.

"Poor fellow. If you have no more to give, go home and lie down; I shall not make a deal with you."

But in moments of more sober judgment, he is less radical. Speaking of an able and prosperous farmer, he remarks: "In his spare hours, he likes to busy himself with books and reading. That is the kind of farmer of which we need many." And yet this farmer is but an untutored man, and "he now sees that he may learn more by tilling the soil and that there may be more satisfaction in it than there probably is for most people in the grind of the school and the office." In *Lararen*, Garborg extols a simple peasant as a true representative of real culture, not a culture created and acquired by him personally, but the result of the slow growth, attained and accumulated by the combined efforts of generations, the heritage of the past. Such, to be sure, is the nature of all culture, the unusual thing is that here it is attributed to the member of a class which ordinarily is considered as destitute of culture. Book learning does not lead to it. It even destroys our vision. In *Haugtussa*, we read:

Trollmann med eit Ris

Eg trollar i Haug dei leikande Smaa'
og klæd dei i Trælebroki;
naar ut dei kjem kann dei inkje sjaa;
eg batt dei for Augo med Boki.⁷

Here the reference is to the humble efforts of the young, the learned men and sages are infinitely worse. *I Helheim* harbors scholars and scientists who sought not the truth but honor and power, a reputation and a following. They are quarreling bitterly and endlessly over views and theories which they know to be sheer nonsense. Envy alone keeps them in the futile fray, for if one should desist, might not his opponent drape himself up as victor. The objection is, of course, valid that in hell we should expect to find the insincere. But Garborg seems to hold that it is difficult to find any honest ones, no

⁷ Goblin with a rod. / Into the hill I enchant the children small / and dress them in serfdom's garb; / when out they come they can't see at all; / up I tied their eyes with the book.

matter where we search for them. His estimate of the scholar is certainly not a high one. When, visiting his home parish, he stumbles upon a spick and span professor from Christiania, he thinks to himself: "The Lord only knows what such people like you and me are good for," and repeatedly he deplores the calling into which he has drifted. He is convinced that the preference for the learned professions is a most harmful tendency of our age. "But we are in period of decline. Many go to the dogs. It is expensive to live, people grow up at various schools; there they usually become soft and weak; in the end they are little able to toil and win their way to the fore. But a comfortable life is only for a few. And only a small number attain real power. It then goes, as it inevitably must: the rogues become derelicts."

Garborg sees some good in the agricultural schools, though as yet, they are better versed in foreign conditions than in the problems of their own country. And no one really learns farming there. Pupils from such schools ultimately have to learn from their parents, and indeed that which is of most importance. Schools are needed, but to be of real value, they must teach the pupils and students how to work.

The methods used in the education of children displease him greatly. The change from the itinerant schoolmaster to a fixed school with compulsory education seems to him a step in the wrong direction. "But now we have gotten these smart public schools. There the children have to sit and listen to some German theology and other deep matters, which they never get through their heads.

"These public schools are largely responsible for the fact that there is so little association between the children and the folk at home. At school a language entirely different from that at the command of the folk at home is used. And now there have sprung up so much responsibility and method about speaking to children. The parents have been deposed and the fourth commandment rescinded. Not being a parent, but having graduated from a normal school, gives one the right to speak to and instruct children."—Unfortunately the teacher remains often a stranger to the children, an overseer

placed there to exact from them the performance of certain tasks. His moral influence is therefore very small.

The purpose of the public schools, as they were in his youth, Garborg describes thus: "We were to be fitted for a place behind the counter (*Krambugutar*). Only those who were not intelligent enough were to stay at home and slave on the farm, if they could not manage to get to America." To be sure, that was many years ago, yet Garborg suggests that there has been but little improvement.

Much of Garborg's criticism of the machinery of state and the manner in which it functions pertains only to the conditions which existed in Norway two or three decades ago. The country was then but pasturage for officials (*Embættsmann-Beite*), and the officials he classes with the Finns and the tramps. They are all nomads. But some of his observations have a wider bearing and may well be applied to the present. "The state, which for a while was so omnipotent, has gotten more or less stuck now and is perceiving with surprise that it is the people who must support it, and that it is not the state which is supporting the people. Of the state, we need not expect a rain of manna. It was a mistaken notion, all this reliance on the state help. New taxes we may expect of the state with its annual budget of a hundred millions, and a debt of two or three hundred millions; and new loans is what we have to look for of the state. And continually new officials, who must be well supported, whoever else may be starving. That is the sole and only thing the state is able to accomplish: create new offices and pay and reward the officials and members of commissions. If one appeals to the state—and gets any reply at all, it is always one and the same: a certain number of new officials and commissions. . . . For to increase the power of bureaucracy is what they call promoting the welfare of the country—here in Norway."

All politics are a struggle for power and for the spoils, and an honest man should shun them. In *Uforsonlige* (Irreconcilables), Garborg has given us a satirical picture of the great game of politics; the press, this indispensable tool of all practical politicians, is included in the presentation. The above men-

tioned drama is the only work in this form and vein from the pen of Garborg. Naturally it reminds one of Ibsen and Bjørnson, but it is in every respect an independent work. Both the politicians and the press are depicted in a very repellent light. The press is characterized in a later production in the following manner: "When I take a newspaper into my hand, it is as if I came into a saloon. Each one is ranting about his own affairs. Some scold and fight, others gibe and laugh, still others are telling stories and slander, and deal in suspicions and vile language and the mongers and crooks brag and cheat. I hurry away from all this din and from the oppressive atmosphere; I become in it incapable of thinking and sully my soul."

Also the so-called non-partisan papers do but harm. "All sides of the question, free discussion. The largest assortment of opinions and views of life. Accursed are those editors who are interested in everything and stir it all into one mess, and give us three different views of life each day, and ten lies and twenty occurrences and accidents, but kill in us the ability to reflect. Go home to your business, my good fellow, and to your office and dole out your sensational morsels (*Sensations-drammer*), but let serious people alone."

Just as the different parties are primarily interested in the acquisition of power, so are the so-called liberals and champions of freedom only intent on liberty for themselves, but ever ready to deny it to their opponents. "Seven, eight years, I (Garborg) have wasted with the worst humbug, in order that the liberals might get into power. Well, when I trusted that I must be at least as free as before, to think and speak my mind, they put me out of office, because I had lived in conformance to paragraph 100 (which guarantees freedom of speech). You can go now, old man, don't you see that we have arrived—the liberals say." Garborg had at the time been removed from office, avowedly by reason of the supposed immoral tendency of his novel *Mannfolk*. He himself, however, did not regard the publication of this novel as the real cause of his removal. "No; but I had of late written various things about the administration of Sverdrup, and about the farmers and the clergymen allied with them in the legislature. . .

something to which I had a perfect right according to the constitution—and so they took my livelihood away from me.

“It was really very natural; why should they not do so? Why should they tolerate criticism, since the power was in their hands? There are, moreover, but few tyrants who tolerate criticism; so it was not to be expected that the liberals should put up with it, when the power was theirs.

“When politics some day become co-operation between brethren instead of war, then we can truthfully say that the people or the commonwealth rule, instead of Caesar or material power. May God grant that this day will arrive soon.”

Political parties are, however, not the actual rulers. “It is more and more getting to be mammon which rules, in the government of the state as well as elsewhere. Those who for the time being are in office are but his servants; but they cannot all hold office, all the time. *Baglar* and *Birkebeinar*⁸ are at war with each other. We are familiar with this, for this sort of war often sweeps over the country. Each group claims: the state is we; and the group which won last rules until the next feud. The spoils are distributed among the leading men of the party that won; people are taxed a little less at first, but later on commonly a little more.”

The principal and fundamental cause of all distress in the present day world, Garborg sees in the rule of mammon, i.e. capitalism.

Aldri som no
var den Vonde klok,
daa Mammon til fyrste
Tenar han tok.

Daa fyrst fekk han
Ovmagti rette,
daa Mammon til Jarl
paa Jord han sette.

⁸ *Baglar*, from baculus, crosier. *Birkebeinar*, because they had to use birch-bark for foot-wear. Political parties that originated in the second half of the twelfth century.

I Verdi no
 hev Mammon Styre
 meir enn sjølve
 dei store Dyre.⁹

A sinister monster he is that feeds on the blood and marrow of human beings. And yet wealth does not even bring happiness to those that own and control it. "Usually a rich man ends in despair; he becomes weary of his own self and his very existence. The millionaires who roam through all the world and vainly attempt to lull to sleep tormenting recollections can bear witness to this; and similarly those who cheat on a gigantic scale, and who patch up their suffering consciences by gifts to churches, and poor houses, and what not. But honestly won and properly used wealth is a blessing of God."

Unfortunately wealth of this kind is rarely found, and for this reason capitalism as an institution is harmful. To the argument that wealth is a necessary presupposition for the attainment and preservation of culture, Paul Høve replies that there should be an abundance of wealth for the promotion of true culture, if there were no longer any idlers and all were contented to live frugal lives. His brother Gunnar, the matter-of-fact businessman comments on the entire situation as follows: "My brother is preaching christianity, and in the foreign countries they are preaching revolution; one is just as hopeless as the other.

"The world does not budge from its course. Might rules, and might is *money*. We can curse this hell created by capitalism, but we shall not extinguish it. Least of all with petroleum.

"Uprisings simply strengthen those in power; teach them to be on their guard. Revolution does not end slavery, gives it only a new name and new garb; afterwards conditions are even worse instead of better.

"The old serfs had each his master to fall back upon. And the master could oppress them or starve them; but such did not pay; to starve a serf was as unwise as it is to starve a horse.

⁹ Never as wise / was Satan as now, / when mammon he made / of his servants the first. / Only now he obtained / supremacy real, / when mammon he placed / to govern the world. / Now in this world / mammon does rule / more potently he / than the men of might.

The serfs were given enough to get along with; often they got along well.

"Now it is worse. The serfs are free; that is to say: without masters; that is without any one to defend them and answer for them. The masters are free from any responsibility as before, and into the bargain also free from the old business obligation. They use serfs when they need them, and when they are done with them they kick them out. And the serfs must be glad if they earn enough to keep body and soul together.

"Now the workers begin to understand that they must stand by each other. And if they hold together well, both against their masters and the crowds that are starving, then they can keep wages high nicely—when the times are good. But the larger the wages are, the sooner hard times come, and with these unemployment. And now the masters on their part are also learning to stand by each other.

"It is uncanny at times; new revolutions seem to be brewing. But the power is on the side of money. Socialists and anarchists may have powder and dynamite; but the christian commonwealth has more powder and dynamite, and, into the bargain, men who have been trained in the use of powder and dynamite; with a few cannon, they can in an hour's time turn the largest manufacturing city into hash."

Garborg himself is a pacifist, opposed to the use of force on principle, regardless of the question of expedience. But a few stray remarks would seem to indicate that he under certain circumstances would consider the use of force justifiable or admissible. They reveal the point where Garborg's pacifism, like that of all the rest, no longer can stand the strain and breaks down.

At one time, he saw some hope in socialism, but later he looks upon it with distrust. "I have busied myself a great deal with socialism and anarchism," he states, "and there is much in them which seems hopeful. Especially in anarchism, which is the same as the absence of government, complete self-government; socialism, or the rule of the people, I am afraid, would beget a whole lot of governmental control. But however

this may be: all such scientific and wise solutions are a long ways off, and meanwhile people are starving to death every day."

One of the features of modern economic life which our author laments again and again is that the very soil has become an article of commerce, and he believes that the reforms advocated by Henry George in his "Social Problems" would remedy the situation. Garborg apparently was under the impression that the ideas of Henry George had gained considerable ground here in America.

In regard to the usefulness of mental labor, or rather of purely intellectual pursuits, his attitude approaches that of Tolstoi, although he does not go to the same extremes. In the *Knudakeibrev* dated June 24, 1902 and addressed to one Steinar, Garborg professes scruples because of his unproductive life and, anticipating the objections of his friend, argues with himself in this manner:

"Yes, but I am working, too, in a manner?—Bosh, is this work? It should be nothing but recreation for one's spare time.—Yes, but then the product is always accordingly.—It then turns out best; and it does not matter, anyhow; we have books enough.—Yes but I surely do as much good as the average Peter or Paul in some government office (*Partements-Lars*)?—Yes, but then people simply could heave Peter and Paul, and me, too, upon the dung heap." He, to be sure, admits that it is the ceaseless, drizzling rain which makes him so philosophical; but he has elsewhere and when not under the spell of a pessimistic mood, expressed the same thought repeatedly, though perhaps less emphatically. All the purely practical suggestions which he makes with reference to the badly needed reforms insist on a return to a simpler, more primitive mode of life. They may be summed up in the slogan: "Back to the farm!" The *Kolbotn* experiment, and residence in his summer home in *Jæderen* constitute efforts of Garborg to achieve this simplicity for himself.

For one of the most modern movements, the women movement, Garborg has but little sympathy. In *Hjaa ho Mor*, *Mannfolk*, and *Trætte Mænd*, the striving of women for their

so-called emancipation is satirized. But here it must be remembered that Garborg did not necessarily share the views which he attributed to his characters. Since the whole movement in many cases was accompanied by a strong preference for mental work and aversion for all manual labor, Garborg was bound to view it with disfavor. The problem, moreover, requires in his opinion no special attention; it will be solved, like all the rest, by obedience to the teachings of Christ.

Despite his dissatisfaction with the conditions of the present, Garborg is hopeful for the future, though he is too clear-sighted to believe that a change for the better is near at hand. And yet, the seed is already sown and has sprung up and taken root; in due time it will mature.

Men midt i den m d de
Mannaheimen
fritt lever
Freds Rike;
aukande daa,
naar det andre minkar,
sterkt ved ein C sar
du seint skynar,
han som mot vondt
vin med godt
og Verdi tok
med Teikne dette¹⁰

An idealist though adverse to the use of high-sounding rhetoric, a christian but not a churchman or moralist, a revolutionary though opposed to the use of force for the attainment of any, even the noblest ends, such appears Arne Garborg in his works. His practical teachings are few and simple: unselfishness, industriousness and simplicity are the guiding principles. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men is his all embracing message.

Smith College

JOSEF WIEHR

¹⁰ But in the midst of the world / weary of strive / there exists / the kingdom of peace; / augmenting ever / while the others wane, / strong in a ruler / you at last understand, / who the evil / conquers with good / and masters the world / by the sign of the Cross.

"MAALSTRAEV" IN NORWAY

The energetic and so far successful fight made in Norway to replace the Dano-Norwegian literary and official language (called *Riksmaal*) by the vernacular (in its model form called *Landsmaal*) was by the opposition ironically termed "maals-træv" (language-striving), and this name was readily accepted by the *maalstrævere* or language-strivers themselves. The movement, which has several, though not exact, parallels in various parts of Europe, began in earnest only some thirty-five years ago and has grown steadily ever since; it has gained several important victories in the national parliament, in that *Landsmaal* was first placed on an equal legal footing with *Riksmaal* and, somewhat later, made a compulsory subject in the secondary schools. The people are much divided and the controversy bitter; the final outcome must be considered very doubtful.

In Norway numerous dialects are spoken, differing often widely, yet bearing enough mutual resemblance to be regarded as one language apart from Swedish and Danish. The "new" language was built up from these dialects by the great philologist, Ivar Aasen, in the 70's and 80's of the last century and is as yet far from being strictly defined; aside from this, most writers in it do not follow Ivar Aasen in every respect, usually preferring to place their own dialect in the foreground if they happen to have been bred outside the Danish sphere, otherwise writing more according to individual taste. It stands in much the same position to old Norse (and Icelandic) as modern Greek does to the later classical language, and the development has been somewhat analogous so far as simplification of forms is concerned. The difference between it and the other two Scandinavian tongues is, roughly, as that between German and Dutch or, between Spanish and Italian. *Landsmaal* is richer in inflections than Danish and Swedish but does not possess by far the complexity of Old Norse. Its syntax does not vary

very much from Swedish and Danish although it is very simple and natural and without the artificiality of the latter language. The vocabulary constitutes its principal distinction, not so much in its richness, but in the quite regular variations of vowels and consonants in words common to it and either Swedish or Danish or both. In this respect its resemblance to Old Norse is strongest.

Norwegian and Swedish both differ from Danish in preferring the voiceless stops, *p, t, k*, to the voiced ones; Norwegian is sharply distinguished from the other two in employing diphthongs (*ei, øy, au*) instead of the corresponding simple vowels. Examples: *skreg*, cried, *skrek, skreik* (D., S., and N. respectively); *røg*, smoke, *rök, reyk*; *høg*, hawk, *hök, hauk*; consonants, common to S. and N.: *had*, hatred, *hat*; *mad*, food, *mat*; *gribe*, seize, *gripa*; *lyve*, lie, *ljuga* (*l* not pronounced in S.); *lov*, lamb, *lag*, etc. As an illustration of the chaos at present reigning in the spoken language of the people it may be mentioned that there are districts in Norway, also outside of the Riksmåls belt, where even these two main characteristics as against Danish have disappeared, but hardly ever both in the same place; thus in one of the chief strongholds of the vernacular, the valley of Østerdalen, diphthongs have been supplanted by the simple vowels; in a few southern districts voiced stops are heard; and in the Southwest the proper trilled articulation of the *r* has degenerated into the guttural sound heard in Denmark, many places in Sweden, and in Germany and France. The only point where the native language has maintained itself in pure form is in the accent, the Swedish-Norwegian musical quality is universal. The only clear difference everywhere maintained between Danish and Riksmåls—often styled Dano-Norwegian—is just this, for there is some vacillation in the matter of hard consonants, and the diphthongs are not yet recognized by the opponents of the vernacular.

On the point of certain consonant combinations which offer a natural difficulty to the human tongue there is also much uncertainty. Some of these combinations have an analogy in the Slavonic languages: *krjupa*, creep; *fljuga*, fly;

strjuka, stroke; compare Russian *Dnyeper*, *znyat*, *v-kneegi*, *k-dnyep'r*. Simplification will probably be agreed upon here, e.g., *krypa*, *fluga*, *stryka*.

Another peculiarity of Norwegian is the pronunciation of *k* and *g* before the front vowels, e.g., *kþýra*, drive, which is also written *kjþýra*, and also before a hard vowel when immediately preceded by a front vowel: *kveikja(nde)*, *brac(ing)* = *D. kvæge(nde)*. But while the first applies even to the pronunciation in Riksmåal the latter rule is not so firmly established so that in this case the *j* must be written. A similar case is found in the pronunciation of modern Greek; γῆς is pronounced between *yees* and *ghees* just as *gjera* is in some Norwegian dialects, although the *gj*-sound more frequently becomes consonantal *y*; and *k* is softened in the same way in Greek while in Norway it is rather pronounced as Greek soft *x*. The word *kyrie*, which has found its way into Scandinavian, is pronounced in Norway as in Greece except that the *y* sounds as *υ* probably did of old (as German *ü*, in some places like French *u*). Whether one or the other is to be preferred is a matter of taste.

Many survivals of old inflections are found among the dialects spoken in the valleys. But few of them are used so extensively as to justify their adoption. The development of living languages has everywhere been toward simplicity and perhaps it would be for the best to eliminate even the few forms still extensively used and to which Ivar Aasen clung. Danish stands next to English as probably the simplest inflectionally of all the Indo-European tongues. The principal variations in vernacular Norwegian, as proposed by Aasen, are: 1. *Plural* in present and past tenses of *verbs*; (no longer used in Danish, nor universal in Norwegian). 2. *Three genders*. This is one of the strongest characteristics of the vernacular, is firmly established among the people, and constitutes its chief distinguishing mark as compared with Swedish and Danish, where masculine and feminine have blended into one.

Although Old Norse possessed very full inflected forms the new language has practically lost the dative and the accusative, except in the plural, where the common ending

-om in the definite is tolerably universal and also so easy that it will no doubt be a decided advantage to retain it. In fem. sg. the case form is likewise in extensive use and Aasen wanted that retained too. In numerous expressions there are traces of the dative in Danish and Swedish as well as in Norwegian.

Perhaps the most unfortunate loss sustained by the modern language is the gen. fem. and in the definite of the other two genders. Danish and Swedish have here an enormous advantage in the formation of the possessive case of all nouns in *s* while the Norwegian dialects have to resort to prepositions as in the Romance languages. Norwegian has an advantage, however, over the Romance languages in that it also may use the possessive pronouns. This is often very convenient and is quite without analogy in other languages except in antiquated Danish: *boki hennar Margit* (*boki till M.*; in D. and S. *Margaretes bog* or *bok*). Furthermore, nouns can be written together, with or without case ending, in the same manner as in Danish, Swedish and German (similar to the English co-ordination). Still, the slightest contact with the neighboring languages makes this deficiency so keenly felt that the formation of genitive in these is being imitated in many places. The worst obstacle is met with in the feminine where in Danish and Swedish the blending of this gender with the masculine has paved the way for a common genitive but where in Norwegian the *s* as possessive ending sounds vulgar.

Another deficiency of Norwegian, but which it shares in common with most languages, is in the formation of the passive. While Swedish and Danish both express the passive in the present and past tenses without an auxiliary verb, by the ending *s*, as *elskes*, *elskedes*, is, was loved, the Norwegian still retains the original: *verd* and *vart elskat*, and *bli(ve)r*, *bleiv elskat*; the latter method, with the auxiliary *bli(ve)*, be(come), is also extensively used in Danish. But the evolution of the original reciprocal form in *st* into pure passive is now taking place just as it long since did in the other two. Examples of the reciprocal and the impersonal usage of this form: *slaast*,

fight, from *slaa*, strike; *minnast*, remember, from *minnar*, remind; *finst*, exists, from *finna*, find; *tykkjest*, seem(s) (also active: *tykkjer*), from *tykkja*, think.

The plural endings of nouns are also materially different from those in Danish, corresponding more with Swedish as is the case with the language as a whole. The *e* of Danish becomes *r*, *er*, *ar* and *or* while the neuters should not have any ending. Vowel-mutation is somewhat more extensive but follows about the same rules (*a*—*æ* or *e*, *a*—*o*, *u*—*y*, *o*—*ø*).

The adjective gets the ending *a* in certain cases, when not preceded by the article, but otherwise it follows the same rule as in Danish. In Swedish the *a* is here much more predominant.

The Scandinavian languages are distinguished from almost all other languages in that they affix the definite article to the substantive except where this is preceded by an adjective: *landet*, the country; *dagen*, day; but *det store land*, the great country; *den lange dag*, the long day. In the latter case the article is repeated in Norwegian, preferably: *det store landet*. Otherwise its use does not vary much, with the exception of the feminine form.

In the form and use of words the difference between Norwegian and Danish is great. Swedish, being more purely Scandinavian than the latter, stands much nearer the language familiar to the masses in Norway. Danish seems to have attempted to accommodate itself to other great foreign literary languages and often wears the aspect of a compromise between the complexity of German and the simplicity of French. This holds good, however, only as to the manner of composition while in the matter of words and their use Danish is artificial in the extreme, or at any rate very often so. There was always the love of the foreign. I need not give examples of the extravagant use of French and Latin words, of foreign forms of all kinds. Danish resembles English somewhat in this respect, but English has usually taken only what it needed and has known how to assimilate it—for the most part.

Even to the people of Denmark the confusion and multiplicity of words must still be embarrassing. It is so to an infinitely greater extent to the majority of Norwegians. The

results of the use of Danish in all public schools in Norway up to a generation ago were anything but satisfactory. The pupils would learn a lesson word for word so as to be able to recite it; usually the lesson did not make the faintest impression upon the mind! Of course, that state of affairs now belongs to the past. But I myself clearly remember how as a boy of ten I used to try to solve the puzzles of the words and phrases I found in my text-books; why, *e.g.*, a certain parable should be entitled "*Den Forlorne Søn*," "The Prodigal Son," and not "*Den Tabte Søn*." Who knows but that the Bible text used (together with the methods of imparting Christian dogmas to young and old) in the state schools did not materially contribute to creating an attitude of indifference to the church on the part of the young of that generation? I call to mind some passages in the books of the eminent freethinker, Haeckel, about his own school days.

In most cases the myriad of words poured from German into Danish simply replaced native words. Translators and writers were mentally too lazy to think out the native ones, or they did not care to use them, which was more often the case. And during the 17th century, when this influx of German words took place, the Germans had the same contempt for *their* own language, and a corresponding craze—for French! Danish has also been a heavy borrower from the French and Latin dictionaries; this was equally bad but generally more understandable; translation was not so easy, more frequently necessitating circumlocution; many of the words so introduced were of a technical character or stood for ideas or institutions unknown among the Scandinavians. On account of their origin from remoter languages, these did not secure such a foothold in the language, did not so often drive out the native word. The Germans have since greatly purified their language, but nothing practically has been accomplished in Danish, a fact which greatly assists the case of the "language strivers" in Norway. Among such words I shall mention, as examples: GEMYT, Ger. Gemüt, for *sindelag* or *lynne*; GEBURSDAG, Ger. Geburtstag, for *fødselsdag*; MULKT, Fr. mulcte, for *bot*; FRUENTIMMER, Ger. Frauenzimmer, Low Ger. Fruentim-

mer, for *kvinde*; FORKJERT, Ger. *verkehrt*, *endevednt*; FORRYKT, Ger. *verrykt*, for *galen*; KONTRASKJAERET, a place in Christiania, from Fr. *contrascarpe* (observe the perversion of meaning of Norwegian *skjær*, skerry, reef).

And finally as to its artificial style. The German method of presenting everything of least importance first has left its mark also upon Danish (and Dano-Norwegian). The German construction exemplified in such a case as "a for many years in business and commerce active man" may be used in good Danish. In Norwegian only the more natural order of English and French is possible. To be sure Danish does not often exhibit the syntactical monstrosities of German, with its sentences of a hundred words and a dozen clauses.

The case for and against the Norwegian model vernacular may be summed up briefly as follows: For it there is, first, the argument of nationalism. It is often pushed to extremes and has, in my opinion, after all but doubtful value; secondly, it is argued that *Landsmaal* is more sonorous, more beautiful than Dano-Norwegian. Possibly; thirdly, Danish is not properly understood by the common people except in the towns and along the coasts; fourthly, it is, on the whole, simpler than Dano-Norwegian and truer to the national spirit. The artificiality of the *Riksmaal* with its mainly Danish origin makes it less suitable to Norwegians than *Landsmaal*. Against the vernacular and for *Riksmaal* it is argued that Ivar Aasen's normalized vernacular is not so well understood by the people as a whole as Dano-Norwegian is now, after having been for so long the official language of the country and until a generation ago also the exclusively used literary language of Norway. It is the main argument of the conservatives; they hold further, that the neglect of the native Norwegian for centuries, in that it has not been cultivated for literary purposes, makes it unsuitable to the demands of a culture language either in social intercourse, literature, or science. Finally, those who would preserve Dano-Norwegian deem its foreign elements a virtue, in that these bring the people nearer to the intellectual life represented in the great European languages.

There are those who look for a solution along the lines of compromise. But each side holds firmly to its program—and the end is not yet.¹

Laurvik, Norway

A. HOBEC.

¹ The editor wishes to say for Herr Hobek that this paper was written before the proposal of 1917 formulated by the committee appointed in 1913 to find a common form for Riksmaal and Landsmaal. The report of this committee was published in 1918.

THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met at the Chicago Norske Klub, 2346-48 Kedzie Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, on Friday and Saturday, May 2 and 3, 1919.

First Session, Friday, May 2, 3:00 P. M.

In the absence of the President and the Vice-President, the meeting was called to order by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society, whereupon Professor Julius E. Olson was elected president pro tem.

1. The St. Olaf's Cult in Sweden. By Professor Jules Mauritzson, Augustana College. (20 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Professors A. M. Sturtevant and Julius E. Olson, Mr. C. W. Schevenius, Miss Emma L. Lee, and Mr. J. C. M. Hanson.

2. *Gerd* and the Ice-Church in Ibsen's *Brand*. By Professor Julius E. Olson, University of Wisconsin. (20 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Professors Julius Mauritzson, A. M. Sturtevant, G. T. Flom, and Miss Carle Brantung.

3. Norwegian Surnames, a Brief Survey, with Special Reference to Orthography and Foreign Influence. By Professor George T. Flom, University of Illinois. (15 minutes.) Discussion by Professors A. M. Sturtevant and Jules Mauritzson. Printed in this journal, Vol. V., pp. 139-154.

4. The Family in Björnson's Tales. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. (15 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Julius E. Olson and George T. Flom. Paper printed in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 607-627.

Thereupon the chairman appointed the following committees: (1) To audit the treasurer's report, Mr. C. W. Schevenius and Professor Thure Hedman; (2) To nominate officers, Professors Jules Mauritzson, Julius E. Olson, and A.

M. Sturtevant; (3) To present resolutions, Professor George T. Flom and Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson.

There were twenty-one present at this session.

The dinner at the Norske Klub at 6:30 o'clock was attended by forty-seven persons. After the dinner a program of speech-making followed. Mr. C. F. Arnet, the President of the Norske Klub, gave the address of welcome. Mr. J. C. M. Hanson acted as toastmaster and introduced the following speakers, who spoke on the subjects indicated: Professor Julius E. Olson, "The Times Have Changed"; Vice-Consul Olaf Bernts, "Fremtiden lysere"; Professor Jules Mauritzson, "Vi få bida vår tid"; Judge O. M. Torrison, "The Scandinavian Departments in Our Universities"; Librarian Arne Arnesen, of the Deichmanske Bibliothek, Christiania, Norway, "Præg paa folkelynn og tænkesæt i Amerika og Norge"; Consul O. N. Holmsen, "Erindringer fra Filippinerne"; Professor George T. Flom, "Work in Scandinavian at American Universities and Colleges"; Dr. Thomas Warloe, "Vort modersmaal"; Mr. Joachim G. Giaver, "A Toast to the Ladies"; Professor A. M. Sturtevant, "Personal Experiences with Scandinavian Study"; Professor Joseph Alexis, "Varför studiet av främmande språk är viktigt för oss." The speeches were followed by a musical program in the club parlors, where Mr. Andrew Hummeland added a further word of welcome to the members of the Society and spoke appreciatively of the work the Society has been doing.

Second Session, Saturday, May 3, 9:30 A. M.

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented and accepted with the Secretary-Treasurer's report.

The report of the Editor of Publications was accepted.

The report of the Educational Secretary was accepted.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following: The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study desires to express its appreciation of the hospitality shown by the Chicago Norske Klub during the present meeting and of the efforts of the Committee on Arrangements, which contributed much toward a successful and very enjoyable meeting.

The resolution was adopted.

The Committee on Nominations reported as follows:

For President, Dr. Lee M. Hollander of the University of Wisconsin.

For Vice-President, Professor A. M. Sturtevant of the University of Kansas.

For Editor of Publications, Professor George T. Flom of the University of Illinois.

For Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

For Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of the South High School, Minneapolis.

As District Secretaries:

1. Central District, Mr. Andreas Wittrup, Chicago.

2. Northern District, Dr. M. B. Ruud of the University of Minnesota.

3. Eastern District, Professor A. B. Benson of Yale University.

4. Western District, Mr. Harvey Hansen, Piedmont, Cal.

As members of the Advisory Committee for three years:

1. Professor Lawrence M. Larson of the University of Illinois.

2. Professor W. K. Stewart of Hanover, N. H.

These nominees were elected.

The Society gave a vote of thanks to the Editor of Publications, Professor George T. Flom, and to the Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis.

The Society expressed its regrets that conditions made it impossible for the President, Professor A. A. Stomberg, and the Vice-President, Dr. Lee M. Hollander, to be present at this annual meeting.

Reading and discussion of papers was then resumed:

5. Unpublished Letters of H. W. Longfellow to His Danish Friends. By Professor A. W. Porterfield, Columbia University. (15 minutes.) Read by Professor George T. Flom. Discussion by Professors Julius E. Olson, Jules Mauritzson, Thure Hedman,

George T. Flom, and Joseph Alexis, Mr. Aksel G. S. Josephson, and Professor A. M. Sturtevant. Paper printed in this journal, Vol. V, pp. 169-180.

6. Shakespeare in Denmark. By Dr. M. B. Ruud of the University of Minnesota. Summary presented by Professor George T. Flom. Paper printed in this journal, Vol. V, pp. 191-196.

7. Swedish Instruction in High Schools. By Miss Vendla Wahlin, Lindsborg, Kansas. Summary presented by Professor Joseph Alexis.

Adjournment.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*.

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GEORGE T. FLOM
University of Illinois

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
DAVID F. SWENSON: Sören Kierkegaard.....	1-41

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III

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT: Tegnér's <i>Gerda</i>	43
HERMANN COLLITZ: Old Icelandic <i>Raun</i> and <i>Reyna</i>	58
The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study.....	68
Pedagogical Section:	
GEORGE T. FLOM: Pedagogical Notes on Norwegian Grammar	71

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
HENNING LARSEN: Vidga in Scandinavian Hero Legend.....	75
CHAS. A. WILLIAMS: The 1917 Translation of the Swedish Bible.....	82

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XII

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ALBERT M. STURTEVANT: Tegnér's Poetic Treatment of Death.....	93
Members.....	113

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IX

CONTENTS

	PAGE
JULIUS E. OLSON: Gerd, The Hawk, and the Ice Church in Ibsen's Brand	127
ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT: Oehlenschläger and Tegnér's "Frithiofssaga"	134

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XI

CONTENTS

	PAGE
HJALMAR R. HOLAND: The "Goths" in the Kensington Inscription.....	159
A. LE ROY ANDREWS: Ibsen's <i>Fruen Fra Havet</i> and Molbech's <i>Klintekongens Brud</i>	176
P. K. TOKSVIG: The Danish Folk Lore Society.....	180
Reviews.....	183
The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study.....	184

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XIII

CONTENTS

	PAGE
DANIEL KILHAM DODGE: Longfellow's Scandinavian Translations	187
EDITH SMITH KRAPPE: The <i>Casina</i> of Plautus and the <i>þrymskviða</i>	198
ADOLPH B. BENSON: Was <i>Gustavus Vasa</i> the First American Drama?	202
Reviews	210

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SÖREN KIERKEGAARD

I

The outer aspects of Kierkegaard's career suggest the placid and uneventful life of a student and man of letters. Born in Copenhagen on the 5th of May, 1813, the youngest son of a merchant of means, he received the humanistic discipline of a classical school, and was enrolled in the University at the age of eighteen. The ten years following were spent in somewhat discursive studies, ranging over the fields of esthetics, philosophy, and theology. At twenty-seven he received the degree of *Magister artium*, and soon thereafter entered into an engagement of marriage, broken after a year upon his own initiative. He remained unmarried, and from this time until his death, which took place on the 11th of November, 1855, he devoted himself unremittingly to his literary labors, unfolding an extraordinary productivity.

Kierkegaard was endowed with a sensitive organism, and under the calm surface of his outward life there stirred a tense spiritual vitality. The trait which Wordsworth eulogizes as a mark of spiritual elevation, "the capacity to be excited to significant feeling without the application of gross or violent stimulants," was his in an extraordinary degree. Events which in the lives of most men would have passed without creating a ripple upon the surface, stirred his soul to its depths; and hence the apparent exaggeration which so many of his critics have found in his interpretation of himself and his experiences. The man of genius is naturally characterized by freshness and fulness of feeling, and Kierkegaard's personal experiences were certainly deeply felt; so profoundly, indeed, that they served to stimulate in him a reflection of universal significance.

II

Both parents were of peasant stock. The father, Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard, came to Copenhagen as a boy of twelve, and was apprenticed to an uncle engaged in trade. He even-

tually set up for himself, achieved success, and retired at forty with a competence regarded as considerable for the times. This retirement from business synchronized with his second marriage, a year after the death of his first wife. Of the seven children of this second marriage, Sören Aabye was the youngest. Thus the father was already fifty-seven years old at the time of Sören's birth, while his mother was forty-five.

Sören's mother had been her husband's housekeeper. Of a cheerful and domestic disposition, she seems to have been but little capable of entering into the intellectual life of her two gifted sons, and appears to have exerted a minimum of influence upon Kierkegaard's development. His journals maintain silence with regard to her.

The father was a dominant figure, austere and precise. A deep strain of melancholy in his disposition, nurtured by unhappy and disquieting memories, tended in its turn to keep these memories alive. From this melancholy he sought relief in a pietistic religiosity, and to some extent, it appears, in philosophical reading. To him Kierkegaard attributes the deepest formative influences of his life. A merchant who retires at forty from a successful business career in order to have leisure to repent his sins, read Wolffian metaphysics, and bring up his children in the fear of God, cannot be set down as an ordinary or commonplace character; and it is not surprising that his influence upon the son should have been profound.

The melancholy which was the common heritage of father and son can be described by citing a single characteristic trait. One day while herding sheep on the bare Jutland heath, embittered by his privations and oppressed by loneliness, the elder Kierkegaard, who was then a boy of eleven or twelve, had mounted a hill and assailed with curses the God who had condemned him to so wretched an existence. In Kierkegaard's journal for the year 1846 there is a reference to this incident in the following terms: "The terrible fate of the man who had once in childhood mounted a hill and cursed God, because he was hungry and cold, and had to endure privations while herding his sheep—and who was unable to forget it even at the age of eighty-two." When after Kierkegaard's death this

passage was shown to his surviving elder brother, Bishop Peder Christian Kierkegaard, he burst into tears and said: "That is just the story of our father, and of his sons as well." Elsewhere, in *Stages on the Way of Life*, Kierkegaard suggests that these dark moods served to link the father and the son in a fellowship of secret and unexpressed sympathy.

"There once lived a father and a son. A son is a mirror in which the father sees himself reflected, and the father is a mirror in which the son sees himself as he will be in the future. But these two did not often look at one another in this manner, for their daily intercourse was carried on through the medium of a gay and lively conversation. But sometimes it happened that the father would pause and turn with sad face toward the son, saying as he gazed into his eyes: 'Poor boy, you are the victim of a silent despair.' This was all that ever passed between them; no explanation of the meaning of these words was ever vouchsafed, nor any discussion of how far they might possibly be true. The father thought that he was responsible for the boy's melancholy, and the son thought that it was he who caused his father so much grief—but not a word was ever exchanged between them on the subject."

There are two other phases of Kierkegaard's boyhood, and of his father's influence upon the development of his mind, which I shall allow him to describe in his own words, quoting the sketch given of Johannes Climacus, the principal character in *De omnibus dubitandum est*, an unfinished metaphysical essay, written by Kierkegaard in 1842-3, and undoubtedly autobiographical in character.

"His home-life offered but few diversions. He was scarcely ever permitted to go out, and thus he became accustomed, at an early age, to attend to himself and to his own thoughts. His father was very strict, and dry and prosaic on the surface; but underneath this coarse and unpretentious exterior he preserved a glowing fancy, which not even his extreme old age was able to dull. When Johannes sometimes asked for permission to go out, he was most often refused; but occasionally, as if to make up for this refusal, the father proposed a walk together up and down the room. This seemed at first a poor substitute; and yet, like his father's coarse gray coat, it concealed under its plain exterior something very different from that which appeared on the surface. The proposal accepted, it was for Johannes himself to decide where to go. They passed out the gate and visited a neighboring palace; or went to the seashore, or wandered about the streets, all at the boy's pleasure. For the father's imagination was powerful enough to create a realizing sense of anything and everything the boy desired. While they walked up and down, the father described the sights along the way; they greeted the passers-by; the vehicles rumbled and drowned the father's voice; the dainties displayed by the fruit-woman on the corner

seemed more alluring than ever. When they were on ground familiar to Johannes, everything was given a description so vivid and minute that not the smallest detail was overlooked. When the way took them to scenes new and unfamiliar, the father knew how to draw so explicit a picture, and give it so vivid an intuition, that after but half an hour of this promenade Johannes was as tired and overwhelmed by his impressions as if he had been out of doors an entire day. He soon learned how to practice his father's magic art for himself. A dramatic representation supplanted the former epic narrative; for they conversed together on the way. When they walked amidst scenes with which Johannes was familiar, they prompted one another faithfully, lest anything should be overlooked; when the way was strange, Johannes trusted his fancy to combine the elements of his memory into pictures, while his father's all-powerful imagination brought into being every least detail, utilizing every childish wish as an ingredient in the drama. To Johannes it seemed as if he were witnessing, during the course of their conversation, a world coming into being; it was as if his father were the Creator, and he himself a favorite, permitted freely to introduce his own childish fancies into the creative process. For he was never repressed, and his father was never at a loss; every suggestion tendered was made use of, and always to Johannes' complete satisfaction.

"With an all-powerful imagination the father combined an invincible dialectic. And hence when at times the father was engaged in argument with a neighbor, Johannes was all ears; and this so much the more, as everything in these discussions was arranged with ceremonious order and precision. His father never interrupted the opponent, but let him speak through to the end; when he appeared to have finished, he always cautiously asked him if there was anything more he wished to say, before beginning his answer. Johannes had followed the argument with concentrated attention, and was, in his own way, a truly interested participant. There came a pause, and then the father's reply; all was changed in the twinkling of an eye. How it was changed was a mystery to the boy, but his mind was fascinated by the spectacle. The opponent spoke in rebuttal, and Johannes was still more deeply attentive, if possible, than before; he wanted to bear every point in mind. The opponent approached his peroration, and Johannes could almost hear his own heart beat, so impatient was he to hear the outcome of the argument. Then came the father's reply, and in a moment everything was changed. The things that had seemed clear before, suddenly became inexplicable; the things that had seemed certain became doubtful, and their very opposites were made to appear evident.

"What other children possessed in the enchantments of poetry and the surprises of adventure, Johannes had in the calm of a vivid intuition and the swiftly changing perspectives of dialectics. When he became older he had no need to cast his playthings aside, for he had learned to play with that which was to be the serious business of his life; and yet it never lost its allurements. A girl plays with her dolls until at last the doll is transformed into a lover, for a woman's entire life is love. A similar continuity characterized Johannes' life, for his entire life was thought."

In later years Kierkegaard was accustomed to spend days and weeks in practicing on himself different emotional and temperamental states, an exercise which he describes as "a kind of nimble dancing in the service of thought." This making of himself an instrument for the exploration of the passions, by which he attained an extraordinary command of the scale of human feeling, was undoubtedly to a large extent made possible by the strange training of the imagination above described, fantastic as it must seem to all straightforward souls.

A final and decisive paternal influence was that which had its source in the elder Kierkegaard's sombre religiosity. The sternness of the parental discipline, indeed, gave the boy a lofty impression of duty, for he was trained to a strict obedience. Not that he was enmeshed in the web of a multiplicity of petty obligations, but with respect to the few commands that were laid upon him, it was the parental principle that no evasion was to be tolerated. Kierkegaard's large esthetic sensibility thus received a restraining and balancing counterpoise in the form of a strong sense of the value of obedience, of authority, and even of an uncompromising severity. This left a permanent mark upon his thought.

But it was in connection with the teaching of the Christian dogma that the father's influence was most pregnant with significance. The boy heard little at home about the gentle Christmas Child, but so much the more of the suffering and crucified Saviour. These impressions were brought so vividly to bear upon the boy's inner life as to do violence to his personality as a child; and in conjunction with his native melancholy they helped to rob his childhood of its natural heritage of spontaneity and immediacy. "I have never," he says, "enjoyed the happiness of being a child." This "well-meant violence" on the part of his father he later came to regard as a training, unnatural to childhood and youth, but which nevertheless later, when he was mature enough to profit by it, became his most precious spiritual inheritance. But his childhood, he avows, was burdened with impressions "too heavy to bear, even for the old man who laid them upon me." "My father's error, however, was not to be lacking in love, but to forget

the difference between a child and an old man." The misunderstanding, indeed, served to strengthen the bonds of filial piety. "To love one who makes me happy, is, viewed in reflection, an imperfect form of love. To love one who from motives of malevolence makes me unhappy, is virtue. But to love one who makes me unhappy because he loves me, and hence by a misunderstanding, but nevertheless really makes me unhappy, that is a form of love which to my knowledge has never yet been described, a form of love, nevertheless, which when viewed in reflection, is revealed as the normal form of love." The religious discourses of Kierkegaard's authorship were repeatedly dedicated in their successive issues to "my deceased father, Michael Pedersen Kierkegaard, formerly a merchant of this city."

III

When Kierkegaard was twenty-five, his father died. At this time, so he describes himself, his personality was a strangely developed potentiality. Fortunate in the external circumstances of his life, initiated into all kinds of pleasures, equipped with a superfluity of culture, gifted with imagination and the power of dialectic, he was an observer and student of human nature. His spirit was high-strung and proud. That he should ever be defeated in any undertaking seemed to him inconceivable, except that he had no hope ever to be able to overcome his melancholy. In his heart he entertained a lively sympathy for all who suffered oppression and hardship; and his total attitude toward life was thoroughly polemic. He had long entertained the ambition to be able to help others to clearness of thought, especially in connection with the Christian religion, for which he had never lost his respect, although troubled indeed by doubts, in many instances doubts of which he had never even read or heard. The death of his father, however, had caused a revival of the religious impressions of childhood, which he now came to experience in a somewhat idealized and less harsh form.

A passage from the journals, written at the age of twenty-two, reveals the nature of his intellectual orientation. The

entire passage is a sort of stock-taking, a review of his varied interests and ambitions. "My misfortune," he says, "is that I am interested in too many things, and not decisively committed to any one thing, to which I might subordinate everything else." Along with jurisprudence, the theatre, theology, he takes up the claims of natural science as a possible prospective vocation. Distinguishing between the industrious collector of facts and the organizing intellectual genius who succeeds in gaining a view of the whole, he expresses his admiration for the latter. Nevertheless, he concludes that it does not seem possible for him to make natural science his chief concern. The passage continues:

"It has always been the life of reason and freedom which has most interested me, and it has always been my wish that I might solve the mystery of life. The forty years in the wilderness, before I could enter into the promised land of science, appear to me too precious; so much the more, since I have an idea that Nature may also be viewed from another side, without requiring an insight into the secrets of science. In a particular flower I may train myself to see the whole world; or I may listen to the many hints and suggestions which Nature offers with respect to human life.

"Theology would seem to be the sphere to which my interest most clearly inclines me, but my theological studies have hitherto met with the greatest difficulties. Within Christianity itself such great contrasts present themselves as at least to place obstacles in the way of an impartial survey. *Orthodoxy* I have so to speak been brought up in; but as soon as I began to think for myself, the huge Colossus began to tumble. I call it purposely a Colossus, for it has in the main much inner consistency; and in the course of centuries the individual parts of it have been so fused together that it is hard to come to close quarters with them simply as isolated features. There are individual points on which I might be able to reach an agreement with the orthodox doctrine, but these would then have to be regarded as the green sprouts which may sometimes be found growing in the cleft of the barren rock. On the other hand I might possibly be able to discern the errors and perversities present at other points; but the foundation itself I would have to hold for a time *in dubio*. If the foundation were to be changed, the whole would of course have to be viewed in a different light; and so my attention is drawn to *Rationalism*. But Rationalism seems to me to cut a very sorry figure. In so far, indeed, as the Reason consistently follows its own impulses and spirit in the attempt to clear up the relation between God and the world; and in so far as it thus considers man in his deepest and most intimate relationship with God, and hence also comes to take Christianity into account, from its own standpoint, as the religion which for so many centuries has satisfied man's deepest religious need—in so far indeed no objection can be urged against it. But this is not what Rationalism proceeds to do. It takes

its essential coloring from Christianity, and hence stands on an entirely different footing; it is not a system, but a Noah's ark, wherein the clean and the unclean animals lie down side by side. It makes about the same impression on me as the civilian guard we formerly had here in Denmark, beside the Royal Potsdam Guard. It seeks essentially to base itself upon the Scriptures, and sends a legion of scriptural passages before it at every point; but the exposition and development is not itself saturated with this consciousness. The rationalistic theologians behave like Cambyses, who in campaigning against Egypt sent the sacred fowls and cats before him; but, like the Roman consul, they are quite ready to throw the sacred animals overboard when these refuse to eat. . . .

"What I really need, however, is a clear mind regarding what I ought to do; not so much as to what I ought to know, except in so far as some sort of knowledge precedes all doing. I need to understand my place in life, and to see what call the divine power has for me; I need to discover a Truth which is a Truth for me; I need to find the idea for which I can live and die. For what would it profit me if I discovered some so-called objective truth; if I worked my way through all the philosophical systems, and could pass them in review when necessary; or if I were able to point out the inconsistencies within each particular school of thought; what would it profit me if I were able to develop a theory of the State, to combine scattered facts gathered from many sources into a totality, and thus construe a world in which I did not live, but only held up to the gaze of others; what would it profit me if I could expound the significance of Christianity, and explain many of its particular phenomena, if it had no deeper significance for me and for my life? . . . What I need is the power to live a complete human life, and not merely a life of knowledge; lest I come to base my thought upon something so-called objective, in any case something not my own. I need something that is connected with the deepest root of my existence, something through which I am linked, so to speak, with the divine, and to which I could cling even if the whole world were to fall in ruins about me."

It is in these closing aspirations that the key-note of Kierkegaard's subsequent life and thought is clearly struck.

IV

In September, 1840, Kierkegaard became engaged to Regine Olsen. This young woman of seventeen had an important influence upon his authorship; so important, indeed, that it was Kierkegaard's expressed desire that the entire literature should after his death be dedicated jointly to his father and to her. A graceful and attractive figure, she was a child of joy and sunshine. So complete a contrast did she present to the profound melancholy and many-tongued reflection which was Kierkegaard's own inmost self, that "it was as if Simeon

Stylites had stepped down from his pillar to invite a young lady of beauty and fashion to share his narrow pedestal." (Georg Brandes). Kierkegaard thought it possible and permissible to conceal the symptoms of his own inner unhappiness; he believed it his duty to use for this purpose his native liveliness of wit and whatever acquired virtuosity in concealment he possessed, and so make possible the realization of the projected marriage. "My father was the most melancholy man I have ever known. But he was at his ease and happy the entire day. He needed only to employ an hour at night to drain, like Loki's wife, the cup of his bitterness; this sufficed to make him sound again. For my part, I do not even require as much time as this. Only a moment or two as opportunity offers, and all is well with me once more. From the bitterness of my melancholy I distil a joy, a sympathy, a tenderness of feeling, which surely cannot embitter anyone's life. I will not marry in order to compel another to share the burden of my melancholy. For me, therefore, marriage presents a most difficult problem, an anxious task; but it is also my dearest wish." Such were the ideas with which he entered into the engagement. But the moment he faced the situation at close range, the principle of concealment began to appear untenable, a violation of that spirit of mutual confidence and understanding which he considered fundamental to the marriage-relation. His frail health, concerning which he obtained a physician's unfavorable prognosis; his melancholy, which he looked upon as unconquerable; his penitence for sins of youth — all rose up in protest against him to make impossible the realization of his love in marriage. For a year he wrestled with the problem. In October, 1841, he broke the engagement. The journals are filled with echoes of this experience, and the Kierkegaardian literature is largely built up about it, though it cannot justly be said that the appropriate imaginative transformation of the material is ever neglected. In the journals of 1849, when his former fiancée had been for some years happily married, and at a time when the death of her father had given him a new impulse to reflect upon the relation between them, he reviews the story of the engagement in several parallel

accounts. One of these, under the motto "*Infandum me jubes, Regina, renovare dolorem*," describes the proposal, the engagement, and the subsequent inner struggles between his conscience and his love. "Inwardly, almost the next day, I saw that I had made a mistake. A penitent such as I was, my *vita antea acta*, my melancholy, these were enough. I suffered indescribably all the time." The year of the engagement falls by this account into five periods, each of which is briefly characterized. In the first, he suffers from his melancholy and his conscience, reproaching himself with having torn her loose from her moorings. In the second, "she gives herself free rein in a boundless self-assurance. At once my melancholy with respect to the engagement disappears, and I breathe freely again. Here is a fault on my side. I should have taken advantage of this period to permit her to break the engagement; it would then have been a triumph for her. But the problem of realizing a marriage was too serious a problem for me, and besides, there was something childish in her presumption." In the third, "she yields herself in complete devotion, and is transfigured into the most lovable creature imaginable." His first difficulty now returns, intensified by the sight of her devotion and by the sense of his own responsibility. In the fourth, he comes to the conclusion that a separation is unavoidable, and writes her the following note, reprinted verbatim in *Stages on the Way of Life*.

"Not too often to experiment with something that must in any event be done, and which, when it is done, will undoubtedly give the needed strength, let it now be done. Above all, forget him who writes this note; forget a man, who, whatever may be his powers, could never make a woman happy.

"In the orient, the sending of a silken noose means death for the recipient; in this case, the return of a ring will undoubtedly mean death for the sender."

She refused, however, to let the matter rest with this decision. "In my absence she comes up to my room and writes me a desperate note, adjuring me, for Christ's sake, and by the memory of my deceased father, not to leave her." The crisis was temporarily postponed. In the meanwhile, Kierkegaard attempted to make himself obnoxious to her, "if possible to sustain her by a deception, and to incite her pride." Two

months later he broke the engagement for the second time, despite her protests and those of her father. The gossip in Copenhagen accused Kierkegaard of experimenting with the affections of his fiancée. He himself went so far as to lend some encouragement to this opinion, thinking it might strengthen her self-assertion and sense of independence. His brother, a few days after the event, threatened to call on the Olsens and show them that Kierkegaard was not a scoundrel. "If you do," was his vehement reply, "I'll put a bullet through your head."

This was the experience which placed Kierkegaard almost at a stroke in the full possession of his esthetic and literary powers. The wealth of feeling which derives from it and centers about it constitutes a rich vein in the Kierkegaardian literature, and is one of its prime claims to distinction. The experience had probed deep. That he should have ventured upon an undertaking which he could not fulfill, and that he had been compelled to sacrifice his honor in the breaking of a solemn pact, stirred his sense of pride and self-feeling profoundly. A passage in *Either—Or* reflects one of the moods in which he reacts on the experience.

"What I need is a voice as penetrating as the eye of a Lynceus, as terrifying as the sigh of a giant, as persistent as a sound of nature, as full of derision as a frosty gust of wind, as malicious as Echo's heartless mockeries, running the gamut from the deepest bass to the most mellifluous soprano, and capable of modulation from the softest whisper to the utmost pitch of raging energy. All this I need in order to relieve my spirit of its burden, and to get expression for what is on my mind, to stir the bowels of my sympathy and wrath."

What the estheticist in *Either—Or* thus desires, Kierkegaard came to possess in the fullest measure; for his unhappy love-affair had made him an imaginative writer of the first rank.

But the experience had, according to his own interpretation of it, also a deeper import. It gave his life its definite and final direction. "When I broke with her," he writes, "my impression was: either sensuality in extremest measure, or else absolute religiosity, and that according to a standard quite different from the clergyman's *mélange*." The latter alternative was at bottom already chosen, prepared for by his father's discipline,

and matured by the very motives operating to bring on the crisis above described. He came to make a beginning in two different places at one and the same time, namely, as a poetic and as a religious nature; such is his own epigrammatic description of the situation. "Because of my previous religious training the fact in question [the broken engagement] took hold of me in a far deeper manner than would otherwise have been possible; it annihilated, to a certain degree, in religious impatience, the 'poet' that had been born within me. The poetic within me therefore became something essentially foreign, something that had merely happened to me; the religious awakening, on the other hand, though not indeed produced by myself, nevertheless came to possess the most intimate relation to myself. That is, in the 'poet' I did not recognize myself in the deepest sense; but rather in the religious awakening." However, the poetic endowment demanded expression. The religious side of his nature, being the deeper self, took it in charge, and made it serve its own purposes. All the while it stood waiting, as it were, for the esthetic productivity to be got through with as soon as possible. The authorship bears the mark of this situation, since it has from the first a double character—esthetic and religious; and during the production of his esthetic writings, Kierkegaard tells us, "the author himself lived in categories that were decisively religious."

V

The number of external influences to which Kierkegaard reacted was considerable. An author may gain a certain degree of originality through mere exclusion, but the individual stamp and coloring so highly characteristic of the Kierkegaardian literature is the consequence rather of an intensiveness in the personal reaction, and of an energetic assimilation of the given influences. What an author is able to write the day after his library has been burned has been suggested as a crucial test of his resourcefulness. Almost every line of Kierkegaard's seems to meet such a condition, so little is it the product of a bookish erudition, and so completely is it the expression of a free creative energy. Nevertheless, many general intellectual influences

reveal themselves in his work, and enter deeply into its form and structure.

As a true son of his native land, his inheritance included the full wealth of Danish culture as expressed in its literature. But of all Danish writers, he appears to owe most to Holberg, the great pioneer of Danish comedy. Holberg's humor is something which Kierkegaard may almost be said to have absorbed *in succum et sanguinem*. The Holberg comedies served him for a veritable language; and the more technical philosophical treatises are replete with references to Holbergian characters and situations, giving substance and mass to the delicate comedy of their fine-spun polemic.

Kierkegaard offers many points of contact with romanticism. The style of the esthetic pseudonyms has an emotional intensity and abandon, a lyrical effervescence, at times an extravagance of feeling and statement verging close upon the limits of the rational. By way of contrast, the religious discourses are written in a style noticeably sober, even, and restrained. The involved literary structure of the pseudonyms, with one author inside another like the compartments of a Chinese box, has also been cited as a romantic trait. More significant, however, is the strong attraction which Kierkegaard felt, in common with most romanticists, for the primitive in folk-lore, ballads and sagas. He made systematic studies of the great representative figures that stand out so strongly for the medieval imagination: a Don Juan, a Faust, The Wandering Jew, a Robin Hood. And he shares with the German romanticists an unbounded admiration for Shakespeare. Of the rich Shakespearian insight he makes liberal use for his own delineation of the passions. Though he may be said to have had a sympathetic appreciation of the German romantic movement, his dissertation, *On the Concept Irony*, reveals him as a severe critic of its aberrations. His attitude was on the whole too objective and analytic for him to be classified as a romanticist.

Kierkegaard's relation to Hegel was that of a student sufficiently docile to absorb the master's teaching, but whose matured criticism just on that account became all the more

dangerously destructive. To Hegel he owes his mastery of a precise and finished philosophical terminology, and Hegel's influence may perhaps also be traced in the frequent reversion to an algebraically abstract style, clashing somewhat strangely with expressions vividly poetic in their concreteness. But undoubtedly the most important and the most intimate influence leaving its mark upon Kierkegaard's work and thought, was the personality of Socrates. His dissertation was an interpretation of Socrates from the point of view of the Socratic irony. This study reveals a sympathetic appreciation of the Athenian sage, and became the point of departure for an increasingly deeper understanding, culminating in the sense of an intimate spiritual kinship. Kierkegaard recognized in his own life-work the fulfilment of an ethical and intellectual task analogous to that which Socrates performed for ancient Greece. This thought received its first expression in the journals immediately after the publication of *Either—Or*.

"There once was a young man, happily gifted as an Alcibiades. He went astray in the world, and in his distress looked about him for a Socrates; but he could not find one among his contemporaries. Then he asked the gods to transform him into a Socrates. And behold, the young man who had been so proud of being an Alcibiades, was so shamed and humbled by the grace the gods had bestowed upon him, that when he had received a gift of which he might well be proud, he felt himself the humblest of all."

Twelve years later, while engaged in the agitation which stirred Denmark so profoundly, he expressed the same thought more emphatically, reading into it a still deeper import.

"The point of view which I have to represent and expound is so absolutely unique, that in the eighteen hundred years of the history of Christendom there is, quite literally, nothing analogous or corresponding to which I might link myself. In this sense also—over against the eighteen hundred years—I stand alone.

"The only analogy I have is Socrates. My task is a Socratic task—to revise the conception of what it means to be a Christian. I do not call myself a Christian (keeping the ideal free) but I can reveal the fact that the others are still less entitled to the name than I am.

"O noble, simple sage of antiquity, the only human being whom I admiringly acknowledge as a thinker: there is but little which tradition has handed down concerning you, true and only martyr of the intellect, equally great as character and as thinker; but that little, how infinitely much! How have I not longed,

living in the midst of these battalions of thinkers that Christendom brings out into the field as Christian thinkers (for otherwise, in the course of the centuries, there have lived in Christendom a few individual thinkers of significance), how have I not longed for one short hour of converse with you!

"Christendom has been sunk into a veritable abyss of sophistry, far worse than that which prevailed when the sophists flourished in Greece. These legions of preachers and Christian docents are all sophists, earning their livelihood—here is the ancient mark of the sophist—by filling with delusions the minds of those who understand nothing, and then making this mass, this number, this human majority, the test and standard of Christianity and truth.

"But I do not call myself a Christian. That this is very embarrassing to the sophists, I understand very well; and I understand, too, that they would much prefer that I should loudly proclaim myself the only true Christian, and I know very well that the attempt has been made, untruthfully, to represent my agitation in this light. But I will not allow myself to be made a fool of. . . . I do not call myself a Christian.

"O Socrates! If you had only loudly proclaimed yourself the wisest man in Greece, the sophists would soon have been able to finish it off with you! No, no, you made yourself ignorant; but at the same time you had the malicious characteristic that you could expose the fact (precisely as being ignorant) that the others had still less knowledge than you, they who did not even know that they were ignorant."

An estimate of Kierkegaard's total significance in these terms it would require a more comprehensive and detailed study of his entire career to motivate. But it may be of interest simply to name a number of individual traits in his personality and his work which have a strong Socratic coloring. Such for example is his talent for conversation, and for establishing a point of contact with all sorts and conditions of men. Such also is his living enthusiasm, wrapped in an objectifying reflection. We note, too, a concentration of interest upon morals, with a corresponding depreciation of the significance of natural science and cosmological speculation; a devotion to the maieutic method and great skill in its exercise; and a tendency to ironical self-isolation. The instrumental subordination of the conceptual apparatus of thought to the ends of the personality, and a consequent high contempt for objective and external results, is also a Socratic trait. And finally, we have in Kierkegaard a concretely polemic attitude toward the currents of contemporary life, expressed in intimate personal contact, and with the assumption of some degree of personal risk and peril.

VI

Kierkegaard was unique in the degree to which his enormous energy of reflection was directed back upon himself. Subsequent criticism has uncovered very few points of view for his interpretation not already suggested either in the literature itself, or in the wealth of comment which the journals afford. In the *Unscientific Postscript*, his pseudonym, Johannes Climacus, reviews the esthetic literature, and assigns to each work its place in relation to his own central thesis. Some years later, after the bulk of the religious literature had appeared, Kierkegaard wrote a literary autobiography to serve for an interpretation of the whole. The latter work, however, was not published during his lifetime, only a brief abstract of it appearing in pamphlet form.

It was Kierkegaard's purpose, so he tells us in the course of this self-criticism, to formulate a definition of what it means to live, and to make this formulation fruitful and suggestive for life, stirring the reader to a degree of self-activity that might help him to find himself. He believed that the age suffered from an over-abundance of knowledge. Life was being made increasingly unreal, since living was being confused with knowledge about life. In this situation it would be superfluous and even harmful merely to increase the store of knowledge already existing, even if it were possible to attain a considerable improvement upon current conceptions; this would only tend to promote the disease it was intended to cure. Kierkegaard therefore resolved systematically to eschew the abstract, objective, didactic, systematic, scientific form, and to choose instead the subjective and incidental form characteristic of a knowledge completely assimilated to the personality. In other words, he presents knowledge-in-use, as distinct from knowledge in the form of potentiality-for-use.

To delineate different standpoints and ideals of life in this way is to present personalities "existing in their thoughts," and thus revealing through self-expression the personal significance of the standpoints they occupy. As a consequence, the esthetic literature is pseudonymous and polyonymous; the different authors are Kierkegaard's creations, but "their words,

their views, and even their prefaces, are their own productions," their standpoints nowhere precisely coinciding with Kierkegaard's own. Being ideal personalities only, they can express themselves "with a disregard for consequences in good and evil limited only by the requirements of an ideal consistency, a freedom that no actual author speaking in his own name could appropriately claim."

The work with which the literature was launched is *Either—Or, a life-fragment*, by Victor Eremita, (1843). An ethical view of life is here contrasted with a purely esthetic attitude. There are two authors, an estheticist and an ethicist. Victor Eremita is merely the editor and publisher of the material, which has fallen into his hands by accident. The estheticist is the author of the papers that constitute the first volume, and is designated as A; the ethicist, B, is responsible for the second volume, consisting of letters written to A, couched in terms of friendly admonition. The title of the work suggests that the reader is confronted with a decisive alternative; he is invited to weigh and choose for himself. The style of the first volume is impassioned, and throughout the work, the thoughts presented glow with the warmth of personal appropriation. The alternative presented is thus characterized both in its emotional and in its intellectual significance, and the service rendered to the reader is the Socratic one of formulating the question proposed with the greatest possible clarity and precision.

The estheticist is purposely made the more brilliant of the two authors. His glowing fancy, his hectic eloquence, and his dialectic power, are all devoted to the exploitation of quasi-dialectic power, are all devoted to the exploitation of a quasi-byronic despair. A group of lyrical aphorisms introduces the volume. One of these gives expression to the inner discord of a poet's life, while another has a certain symbolic character, as a hint of Kierkegaard's determination to utilize the comical as a factor in his literary program. I quote them here as typical of the tense eloquence characteristic of the entire volume.

"What is a poet? A poet is an unhappy creature; his heart is torn by secret sufferings, but his lips are so formed that when the cries and the sighs escape them, they create a sound of beautiful music. His fate is comparable to the fate

of the wretched victims of the tyrant Phalaris, who were imprisoned in a brazen bull, and slowly tortured over a low fire. Their cries could not reach the tyrant's ears so as to strike terror into his heart, for they came forth transformed as sweet music. And men crowd about the poet and say: Sing for us soon again. That means: May your heart be tormented by new sufferings, and may your lips continue to be formed as before; for the cries would only disturb our peace, but the music is lively. And the critics come upon the scene and say: Quite correct, so it ought to be; the rules of esthetics have been obeyed. To be sure, a critic resembles a poet by a hair, lacking only the sufferings in his heart and the music on his lips. And that is why I would rather be a swineherd, and be understood by the swine, than be a poet and be misunderstood by men."

"Something wonderful has happened to me. I was carried up into the seventh heaven. There all the gods were assembled together. As a mark of their especial favor I was granted a wish. Said Mercury: Will you have youth, or beauty, or power, or a long life, or the most beautiful of maidens, or some other of the many grand things we have here in the chest? You may choose what you will, but only one thing. For a moment I was at a loss, but quickly recovered myself and addressed the gods as follows: Honorable Contemporaries, I choose always to have the laugh on my side. None of the gods answered me by a single word; on the contrary, they all began to laugh. This I interpreted as a sign that my wish was to be fulfilled, and I perceived that the gods knew how to express themselves with taste; for it would hardly have been suitable to the occasion for them to have answered me solemnly: Your prayer is granted."

The essays which make up the bulk of the volume deal with a variety of topics. There is a criticism of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, which seeks to exhibit this opera as a classical expression for sensuous geniality; an essay on the topic of "Ancient and Modern Tragedy," including a sketch of a modified Antigone; psychological studies of Marie Beaumarchais, Donna Elvira, and Margaret in Goethe's *Faust*; an oration on "The Unhappiest Man"; a criticism of Scribe's comedy, *The First Love*; an essay entitled "The Method of Rotations," describing how one may best escape being bored; and finally, "The Diary of The Seducer," in all respects a most amazing and brilliant production, a study of a reflective Don Juan, a highly complicated esthete who has concentrated himself upon the enjoyment of the feminine in all of its various nuances.

B is a gentleman into whose house the young man who is the author of the preceding papers frequently comes as a welcome visitor. This gives occasion for the two long letters that

make up the second volume; the subjects discussed are those which have been touched upon in conversation between them. Himself married, the ethicist writes in defense of marriage, presenting it as the deepest and most concrete manifestation of life, and hence as essentially fitted to bring out the ethical in its true significance. A second letter discusses "the equilibrium between the esthetic and the ethical in the development of the personality." His ethical formula is: the choice of one's self, a choice by which the absolute distinction between good and evil receives validity for the will. In choosing himself the ethicist also becomes manifest to the world, and enters into the life of the community so as to realize its social tasks. Time is interpreted as an ethical category, since it is the condition which makes a history and a development possible for the personality; the individual thus achieves an ethical continuity. The specifically ethical enthusiasm constitutes the individual's victory over esthetic secrecy, selfish melancholy, illusory passion, and despair. Such a view of life, he asserts, does not destroy the esthetic, but preserves it and ennobles it.

"When I view life from the ethical point of view, I see it in its beauty. Life becomes rich in beauty, and not poor, as it really is for you. I do not have to travel round the globe to find traces of beauty here and there, nor to rove about the streets. I do not have to choose and select, to criticize and reject. To be sure, I am not blessed with as much leisure as you are possessed of; for since I am in the habit of regarding my own life from the standpoint of its beauty, I always have enough to do. But sometimes, when I have an hour free, I take my stand at the window and observe the passers-by; and every human being that I see, I see as having beauty. Let him be ever so insignificant and humble, I can nevertheless see his beauty; for I see him as this particular individual who is at the same time the universal man. He has his concrete task in life; he does not exist for the sake of anyone else, even though he be the humblest of wage-servants; his teleology is self-contained. He realizes his task, he conquers, and I can see his victory. For a brave man does not see spooks, a brave man sees everywhere victorious heroes. It is only the coward who can see no heroes, but only spooks."

At the close of the work is a sermon, the fruit of the meditation of a country parson, a friend of B's. It gives expression to that religious enthusiasm which overcomes the incommensurability existing between the infinite and the finite, removing the obstacles caused by the misunderstanding between God and

man by resolutely braving this misunderstanding out. Its theme is "the happiness to be derived from the thought that as over against God you are always in the wrong." The final word of this sermon has a peculiar significance. The sermon ends, namely, with the epigrammatic proposition that "only the truth which edifies is truth for you." This is a pragmatic principle on a higher level, and serves as a concrete expression for Kierkegaard's ethical individualism. The appeal to edification is not, as might perhaps be imagined, a refuge for vagueness of thought, since Kierkegaard gives the concept of edification itself an elaboration precise and definite.

The ethic thus presented in the second part of *Either—Or* is an ideal ethic. It ignores the possibility of a radical evil. It assumes that the individual may find himself, even in his despair, without breach of continuity with his former self, and without the necessity of a new point of departure. Now this is a view of the matter that Kierkegaard did not at the time hold; but he tells us that he wished to develop the implications of an ideal ethic before taking up the problem of evil. When a man has reached a point in his experience where the ethical ideal exists for him in all its infinitude, then and not before will he be prepared to have his attention called to the fact of the evil will. Here the strictly religious crises begin, for here the individual needs divine assistance.

An immanent ethical doctrine of life necessarily assumes that man finds his individual duty and destiny commensurate with the life of the community. The ethical and the universal are for such a view coincident. In the realization of his ethical task the individual is consequently manifest to all and intelligible to his social environment. The individual neither needs nor experiences any private relationship with the divine, a relation distinguishable, that is to say, from the relationship which he sustains to the community; the community is for him essentially identical with the divine. God is like the horizon of the landscape, or like the point outside the picture which determines its perspective; but God does not enter immediately into life as an individual factor. When the fact of sin is acknowledged, however, the whole situation is changed. An

individual relationship to God becomes a life-necessity, and it is only by a transcendence of the old immediacy, and of the social relationships grounded therein, that the ideal self can be found in its reality. Such a personal relationship between God and the individual is by Kierkegaard identified with the Christian concept of Faith. The clarification of this concept thus becomes the next problem in his literary program. By means of three successive volumes he advances, step by step, to a psychological motivation of faith: *Fear and Trembling, a dialectical lyric by Johannes de Silentio*, (1843); *The Repetition, a psychological experiment, by Constantine Constantius*, (1843); and *Anxiety, a simple descriptive psychological inquiry, with a view to the elucidation of the dogmatic problem of Original Sin, by Vigilius Haufniensis* (1844). The last named was published on the same day as the *Philosophical Chips*, and constitutes, from the point of view of content, a companion volume.

Fear and Trembling uses the story of Abraham's sacrifice of his son. Abraham is not a tragic hero, for he cannot claim, like Jephtah or the Roman consul, a higher ethical justification for his deed. His intention to sacrifice his son has a purely personal motivation, and one which no social ethic can acknowledge; for the highest ethical obligation that his life or the situation reveals is the father's duty of loving his son. Abraham is therefore either a murderer, or a hero of Faith. The detailed exposition elucidates Abraham's situation dialectically and lyrically, bringing out as *problemata* the teleological suspension of the ethical, the assumption of an absolute duty toward God, and the purely private character of Abraham's procedure; thus showing the paradoxical and transcendent character of a relation in which the individual, contrary to all rule, is precisely as an individual, higher than the community. A number of examples of the tragic hero are delineated to form a background for the exposition.

The Repetition attacks essentially the same problem, but modernizes the situation. A young man falls in love; he discovers to his surprise and chagrin that he has become a poet, and cannot fulfill his engagement to marry the young woman who was so unfortunate as to have awakened the poetic pro-

ductivity within him. He struggles with himself for a while, and finally flees the field without leaving any word of explanation behind. His honor has received a blow and his pride is wounded to the quick, but he is not conscious that he could have acted otherwise. In eloquent monologues he voices his despair, and his sense of the bitter injustice that life has visited upon him. In his agony he discovers Job, whose plight seems to fit his case precisely—"if Job is a fictitious character, I hereby assume full responsibility for his words." The story of Job helps him first to give vent to his emotions; later, it suggests the possibility of a solution. Without having any clear idea as to ways and means, and with the probabilities of the case completely against him, he begins to expect a thunder-storm that will clear the air, give him back his honor, and show him that the whole experience is merely a trial. This expectation constitutes his analogy with Abraham, and gives him a resemblance to a believer. The actual resolution of his difficulty comes in a somewhat different form, with the news, namely, that his former fiancée has married another. This liberates him for a poet's career. The experience was transitory. Its result is a religious awakening which does not quite break through, but registers itself in a profound but unutterable religious undertone.

The author of the book, Constantin Constantius, follows the development of the young man's love-affair in the role of a consulting psychologist. He is himself occupied with the problem of a "repetition," which he interprets esthetically, as the problem whether an experience gains or loses in esthetic value by being repeated. He comes to the conclusion, based upon experience, that a satisfactory repetition is altogether impossible, and seeks comfort in a cynical self-limitation. The young man of the love-affair illustrates the same problem, but in the form of a religious experience. He wins a "repetition" as a reintegration of his personality, and as the restoration of his consciousness to its integrity in a higher form. It is in this latter sense that the concept of Repetition becomes the chief subject-matter of the book. The essential purport of this concept is the same as the Christian idea of a "new creature,"

but viewed as if from afar, and with a certain ambiguity, in hints and suggestions, in distant gleams. The alternation between the esthetic and the religious points of view gives occasion for dealing with the category in a variety of moods, mingling jest with earnest; in order, says the author, "that the heretics may not be able to understand me." Repetition is described as "the *interest* of metaphysics, and at the same time the interest upon which metaphysics makes ship-wreck; the solution of every ethical view of life; the *conditio sine qua non* for every dogmatic problem." A psychological characterization of the concept is given in a beautiful passage which I shall here quote *in extenso*.

"Hope is a new garment, starched and stiff and glittering; but it has never yet been worn, and hence one does not know whether it will fit, or how it may become one. Memory is an old garment, and useless, however beautiful; for it has been outgrown. But the repetition is an imperishable garment, fitting closely and tenderly; it neither flutters too loosely about the person nor presses the body too close. Hope is a beautiful girl who slips away through your fingers; memory is a handsome old lady, never quite serving the purpose of the moment; but the repetition is a beloved wife of whom you never tire, for it is only the new that tires. The old never tires, and when the mind is engrossed with the old it is happy. Only he finds a true happiness who refuses to yield to the delusion that the repetition ought to give him something new; for then he will be bored. Hope is a prerogative of youth, and so is memory; but it requires courage to will the repetition. Whoever is content to hope is a coward, and whoever is content to remember is a pleasure-seeker; but whoever has the courage to will the repetition is a man, and the more profoundly he has known how to interpret the repetition to himself, the deeper is his manhood. But whoever fails to comprehend that life is a repetition, and that this constitutes its beauty, condemns himself, and deserves no better fate than that which will eventually befall him, which is: to be lost. For hope is an alluring fruit that fails to satisfy; and memory is a miserable pittance that fails to satisfy; but repetition is the daily bread that not only satisfies but blesses. When a man has circumnavigated the globe, it will appear whether he has the courage to understand that life is a repetition, and the enthusiasm to find his happiness therein. Whoever does not circumnavigate the globe before he begins to live, does not begin to live. Whoever makes the journey, but is overtaken by weariness, shows that he had a poor constitution. But whoever chooses the repetition, lives. He does not run here and there to catch butterflies, like a child; nor does he stand on tiptoe to behold the glories of the world, for he knows them. He does not sit like an old woman at memory's spinning-wheel, but he wends his way through life calmly and quietly, happy in the repetition. And what indeed would life

be, if there were no repetition? Who could wish to be a tablet on which every moment Time writes a new inscription, or a mere memorial of the past? Who could wish to be subject to everything that is new and flighty, and to permit his soul ever and again to be engrossed with an ephemeral pleasure? If God had not willed the repetition, the world would never have come into being; for he would either have permitted his fancy to pursue the easy plans of hope, or recalled it all, and kept it only in the memory. But this he did not do, and therefore the world stands, and stands because it is a repetition. In repetition lies the reality and the earnestness of life. Whoever wills to repeat, proves that his earnestness is full-grown and mature."

In the two volumes above described, Faith is delineated in some of its more abstract and formal characteristics. It is described as it appears in exceptional situations, and with a psychological motivation that falls short of the concrete and decisive back-ground which, according to the Christian teaching, it has for every man in the experience of sin. The advance to a more concrete treatment is made in the last of the above-mentioned volumes, *Anxiety*; and the *Philosophical Chips* occupies itself with the logic of the same situation that *Anxiety* psychologically describes.

In the interval between the *Philosophical Chips* and its continuation, the *Unscientific Postscript*, Kierkegaard produced a new poetico-psychological treatment of the problems already dealt with. This résumé, which seems to have all the lyrical vitality and freshness of his first handling of the subject, is called *Stages on the Way of Life, studies by various authors, collected and published by Hilarius Bookbinder* (1845). The volume is divided into three parts, corresponding to the three spheres of life which Kierkegaard regarded as fundamental, the esthetic, the ethical, and the religious. The first part is a reminiscent reproduction of a banquet-scene, "In vino veritas." Five estheticists discourse on the subject of woman. Their speeches invite comparison with the similar discourses of Plato's Symposium, and neither in beauty of form nor in pregnancy of thought do they suffer by the comparison. The second part of the book deals with marriage and its problems from the standpoint of B, the ethicist of *Either—Or*. To the esthetic proposition put forward in the first part, that the significance of woman culminates in the moment, the ethicist opposes the view that

her beauty grows with the years. The ideal resolution with which marriage begins, and by which it is sustained, is eulogized as constituting the true ideality of human life; and the validity of marriage is defended against attacks from both the esthetic and the religious side. The third part, comprising the bulk of the book, is a 'psychological experiment' by Frater Taciturnus, "Guilty or not Guilty?" This is again the story of an unhappy love-affair and a broken engagement, presented in the form of a diary. The subject of the experiment is equipped at the outset with a high-minded ethico-esthetic view of life, which his experience shatters. In his despair he is made to approach as nearly as possible to the problem of the forgiveness of sin; but without finding rest in a Christian interpretation of himself and his situation. Frater Taciturnus dissects him psychologically, and indicates his idiosyncracies, expounds the tragedy and the comedy of his situation, and points to a view of life, religious in character, and in advance of his own standpoint as a humorist, as being deducible from it all. The sympathetic collision described is brought home to the reader with tremendous force in a beautiful lyrical prose. In Kierkegaard's own view, this book is emotionally the richest of all his writings, but too ideal to become widely popular.

Then came the continuation of the *Philosophical Chips*, with its strange title: *Final Unscientific Postscript to the Philosophical Chips, a mimic-pathetic-dialectic composition, an existential presentment*, by Johannes Climacus (1846). It discusses briefly the objective approaches to Christianity through biblical criticism, the authority of the Church, philosophical speculation, the evidences of Christianity's historical achievements. It dismisses all these modes of approach as incommensurable with the problem of Christianity, and as tending to subvert its significance. The rest of the book, through five hundred pages of dialectic, humor, pathos, and irony, is devoted to the elucidation of the following subjective problem: "I, Johannes Climacus, born and brought up here in Copenhagen, now thirty years old, assume that there exists for me as well as for a servant-girl or a professor of philosophy, a highest good; I have heard that Christianity conditions its attainment. I ask the question:

how do I enter into relations with Christianity?" The exposition of this personal question develops a philosophy of religion, and incidentally, an analysis of the concepts of Reality and Truth. It is here that Kierkegaard makes up his final accounting with the Hegelian philosophy, and with the interpretations of Christianity which rest on a Hegelian basis. The work is a sustained polemic not only against Hegelianism, but against all system-making in philosophy, taking its stand upon an ethico-dynamic conception of reality, and emphasizing the categories of existence, actuality, life. Over against the subjective thinker, "the Greek philosopher, whose life is an artistic embodiment of his thought," it sets by way of contrast the objective thinker, "the German professor of philosophy, who feels bound to explain everything *a tout prix*," and delivers him over to a comic interpretation.

"We smile at the life of the cloister, and yet no hermit ever lived so unreal a life as is common today, for the hermit did indeed abstract from the whole world, but he did not abstract from himself. We know how to describe the fantastic situation of the cloister, far from the haunts of men, in the solitude of the forests, visible in the pale blue of the distant horizon; but the fantastic situation of pure thought altogether escapes our attention. And yet, the pathetic unreality of the solitary monk is much to be preferred to the comic unreality of the pure thinker; and the passionate forgetfulness of the hermit, which takes the world away from him, is far better than the comical distraction of the world-historic thinker, in which he forgets himself."

The *Unscientific Postscript* is an extraordinary book. Its polemic coloring, and the tremendous power of its dialectic, naturally suggest the simile of the huge battleship, with which it has been compared by Brandes. Its easy conversational tone, its aptness in anecdote and humorous characterization, the playful facility with which it handles the most difficult of abstractions, and its ironical self-depreciation, mark it as embodying a quite novel species of philosophical writing. It is a philosophical introduction to Christianity of a most original kind. It describes "the way from philosophical speculation back to Christianity, from the profundity of philosophical thought to the simplicity of Christian faith, just as the previous esthetic pseudonyms had described the way from the poetic to the religious, from the interesting to the simple." "Whatever

actual significance they may come to have in the world," says Kierkegaard of these works in a personal note affixed to the *Unscientific Postscript*, in which note he acknowledges the authorship of the pseudonyms, "is absolutely not to be found in the making of any new proposal, or in exploiting any unheard-of discovery, or in beginning any new movement, or in taking up any advanced position. Their significance lies in the precise opposite, in the renunciation of all claim to significance, and in merely attempting to read through again, *solo*, at a distance of double reflection, the scriptures of our human, individual, existential relations, the old and well-known scripture, handed down to us from the fathers; if possible reading them through again with increased inwardness."

Of the twenty-one religious discourses issued from time to time under his own name, while the above esthetic pseudonyms were being published, all but the last three strike the universal religious note, i.e., they attempt to exhaust the possibilities of edification in the religious sphere without drawing upon any of the conceptions peculiar to Christianity. The last three, however, run parallel to the exposition of the *Chips* and the *Postscript*, and deal in edifying form with the considerations which these works introduce problematically and esthetically. The Kierkegaardian literature has thus far brought its reader merely to the threshold of the Christian view of life, marking the end of the first phase of a most unique literary undertaking.

VII

Despite the isolation which the unremitting labor of his authorship naturally imposed, Kierkegaard managed to keep in closest touch with his contemporaries. Although he received no visitors at home (except such as came to him for assistance, to whom his door was always open) he spent much time on the streets, talking with the acquaintances he chanced to meet, professors at the University, editors of Copenhagen newspapers, politicians and officials, writers and students and men about town, or striking up a conversation with some casual passer-by. In this way he took his recreation of an afternoon, when he did not vary the program by one of his frequent carriage-rides into

the country. He took pains to make himself generally accessible, and the promiscuity of his intercourse was noticeable. This contact with men on the street had a considerable personal significance for him; among other things, it helped to enrich his literary vocabulary. "What you have vainly sought for in books," says Frater Taciturnus, "is suddenly illuminated for you while listening to a servant-girl as she talks with another servant-girl. An expression that you have vainly attempted to torture out of your own head, you hear in passing; a soldier-boy says it, and he does not dream how rich he is." He felt that this mode of life tended to undermine the ideal conception of an aloof greatness which the public might otherwise have formed of him. He notes Shakespeare's testimony, in *King Henry IV*, to the method by which "a great host of kings and emperors and spiritual dignitaries, jesuits and diplomats and clever people of all kinds" have known how to profit by the illusion of distance, so as to enhance their personal reputation. But he would not adopt this method, preferring to give the situation the stamp of truth. "All the unselfish witnesses for the truth have always been accustomed to mingle much with men; they have never played hide-and-seek with the multitude."

Simultaneously with the completion of the *Postscript*, Kierkegaard ventured upon a step that resulted in placing him in a still more conspicuous position before the Copenhagen public. He became a standing comic figure in the most widely circulated journal of the town, *The Corsair*. This sheet had obtained a considerable ascendancy as a vehicle for ironical, levelling attacks upon well-known men, and was much feared, Kierkegaard thus describes its influence:

"The whole population of Copenhagen had become ironical and witty, especially in proportion as it was ignorant and crude; there was nothing but irony first and irony last. If the matter had not been so serious, if I could bring myself to regard it from a purely esthetic standpoint, I would not wish to deny that it was the most ridiculous phenomenon I had ever witnessed. I believe that it would be necessary to travel far and wide, and even so be favored of fortune, before one could find anything so fundamentally comical. The whole population of a town, all these many thousands, became 'ironical.' They became ironical by the aid of a journal which, again, ironically enough, by the aid of straw men as editors succeeded in striking the dominant note and the tone

struck was—the ironical. I believe it impossible to imagine anything more ridiculous. Irony presupposes a specific intellectual culture which in every generation is very rare—and this chaos of people were ironical! . . .

“But the matter was only too serious. This irony was of course nothing but, in essence, vulgarity; and in spite of a not inconsiderable degree of talent in the man who was its originating force, by passing over into these thousands of people it became, essentially, a mob trait, a trait which is always only too popular. In view of the proportions of the little country, it threatened a complete moral dissolution. One must envisage at close range how no attack is so much feared as that which singles one out as an object of laughter; how even one who would bravely risk death for a stranger, is not far from betraying his own father or mother when the danger is that of being laughed at; for such an attack isolates the victim more than any other, and at no point does it offer him the support of pathos. Frivolity and curiosity and vulgarity grin; the nervous cowardice which itself trembles for fear of such an attack cries that it is nothing; the wretched cowardice which by the use of bribery or good words protects itself cries that it is nothing; and even sympathy says that it is nothing. It is a terrible thing when in a little land idle prattle and vulgar grimaces threaten to constitute public opinion.” (Abbreviated)

The publisher of the sheet in question was a talented young man who was himself an admirer of Kierkegaard, and *The Corsair* had more than once praised the pseudonyms to the skies. Victor Eremita had been pronounced immortal; from a sketch in the journals at the time it appears that Kierkegaard had projected a reply to this pronouncement, asking to be spared the distinction. A little later an opportunity offered itself, apropos of an article published in P. L. Möller's Literary year-book, *Gaea*, in which Möller had made some irresponsible animadversions upon the third part of *Stages on the Way of Life*, bringing it into connection with the gossip current in Copenhagen about Kierkegaard's engagement. This gentleman had described himself in the Dictionary of Authors as a regular contributor to *The Corsair*, author of pieces “both lyrical and satirical.” Frater Taciturnus replied to the criticism, taking a very superior tone, and took advantage of the fact just mentioned to add the following remark at the end:

“Now may I soon be put into *The Corsair*. It is pretty hard for an author to be so singled out in Danish literature, that he (assuming that we pseudonyms are one) is the only one who is not vilified in its pages. My own principal, Hilarius Bookbinder, has been flattered in *The Corsair*, if my memory serves me right; and Victor Eremita has even had to endure the disgrace of being immor-

talized—in *The Corsair*! And yet, have I not already been there? For *ubi spiritus ibi ecclesia*, *ubi P. L. Möller ibi The Corsair*. Our literary tramp therefore characteristically winds up his 'Visit to Sorø' with one of these wretched *Corsair*-attacks upon peaceable and respectable men, who in honorable seclusion follow their vocations in the service of the state; excellent men, in many ways deserving well, and in none having made themselves worthy of ridicule."

Nothing daunted by the delicacy of its own situation, *The Corsair* took up the gauntlet flung at it with an attack on Frater Taciturnus, the silent brother, who could not restrain himself, but had to reveal the secrets of *The Corsair*, entrusted to him in confidence. Frater Taciturnus countered with a summary article: "*The dialectical result of a piece of police work.*"

"With respect to a sheet like *The Corsair*, which though read generally and by all sorts of people, has hitherto enjoyed the distinction of being ignored and despised, never answered, absolutely the only thing that could be done in a literary way was for one who had been praised and immortalized in its pages to ask to be vilified, thus expressing the moral literary order of things as reflected in the contrary order which this sheet has done its best to establish. I assume that the procedure adopted has met with success. One can therefore engage vilification at the hands of *The Corsair*, just as one can hire a hurdy-gurdy to make music. . . .

"I can do no more for others than this—to ask to be attacked myself. The fallen cleverness of *The Corsair*, and of its collective secret helpers, the professional tradesmen of wit and vulgarity, ought to be and shall be ignored in our literature, just as in civic life one ignores the public prostitute. . . .

"The way is now open, and as the pseudonyms say, the method is changed. Everyone who is insulted by receiving the praise of this sheet, can, if he happens to learn of the fact, reply, and thus testify to the judgment that decent literature has passed on *The Corsair*. It is to be permitted to pursue its livelihood by way of vilification and attack as much as it likes; but if it dares to praise, it shall meet with this brief reply: 'May I ask to be attacked; it is an unendurable disgrace to be immortalized in *The Corsair*.'"

Kierkegaard did not pursue the polemic further, but *The Corsair* kept up a steady fire of satire and caricature for many months. Kierkegaard was featured as he went about the streets, his umbrella under his arm; the thinness of his legs and the uneven length of his trousers were portrayed as characteristic idiosyncracies, while vanity and pride were described as his besetting sins. It became exceedingly unpleasant for Kierkegaard to show himself on the streets in his accustomed

manner. The mob grinned, boys and hoodlums greeted him with a chorus of nick-names, and passers-by took occasion to inspect his trousers. If he stopped to talk with anyone, it made his interlocutor an object of embarrassing attention. So deep did the campaign sink into the popular consciousness, that during this period and afterward, one might find a nurse attempting to correct a child for faults of dress, by calling it "Sören." Kierkegaard was not insensible, and the journals show how profoundly the experience affected him. As usual, his reflection explored all its various phases in an objectifying and idealizing manner. We have, as a by-product, profound estimates of the press and its influence on public opinion, probing its anonymity and its irresponsibility in relation to characteristic features of modern life. On the other side, the aloofness and indifference which he met in relation to the matter from the side of the higher circles in which it had previously been urged, privately, that something ought to be done about *The Corsair*, but where there was now maintained the most complete silence, leaving Kierkegaard to bear the brunt of the attack alone—this prudent aloofness confirmed Kierkegaard in his view of the mediocrity of the world, and gave a characteristic coloring to the religious literature that followed. In his subsequent description of the religious life, the inner collision, by which a man comes into conflict with himself, a collision which had been the chief burden of his early delineation, began to yield precedence to the external collision, in which a man in the pursuit of his duty comes into conflict with his environment, a conflict whereby the performance of this duty becomes an act of true self-denial. A passage from *The Works of Love* will illustrate this new emphasis, which is characteristic of the second phase of his authorship.

"A self-denial of a merely human scope reasons as follows: Give up your selfish wishes, dreams and plans—and you will be honored and respected and loved as just and wise. It is not difficult to see that this form of self-denial does not reach God, but remains on the worldly plane of a relationship between men. Christian self-denial reasons as follows: Give up your selfish wishes and desires, give up your selfish plans and purposes, become the servant of the good in true disinterestedness of spirit—and prepare to find yourself hated and scorned and derided, just on that account, precisely as if you were a criminal; or rather,

do not merely prepare to find yourself in this situation, for that may be necessary, but choose it of your own free will. For Christian self-denial knows what will happen beforehand, and chooses the consequences voluntarily. Human self-denial rushes into danger without regard for the consequences—but the danger into which it rushes is one in which honor awaits the victor, and the admiration of his fellow-men beckons the daring hero, and urges him on. It is easy to see that this form of self-denial does not reach God, but is delayed on the way, losing itself in the relativities of human life. Christian self-denial also rushes into danger without regard for the consequences; but the danger is one which the environment cannot interpret as yielding any honor to the victor; because the environment is itself blinded, ensnared, guilty. Thus the Christian is confronted by a double danger, for the derision of the spectator awaits the hero whether he wins or loses.”

VIII

A volume of literary criticism, devoted to the interpretation of a Danish novel, and notable for its characterization of the contemporary age as against the background of the revolutionary period, followed close upon the publication of the *Unscientific Postscript*. From the beginning, Kierkegaard's plan had not included a distinctively religious authorship, but rather an introduction to such an authorship. The underlying religious motivation was something he had intended to express by taking a charge as a clergyman in some country parish. But now, influenced partly by the trouble with *The Corsair*, partly by a sense of his own unfitness for an official position, and partly by the acquired momentum of his productive impulse, he determined to devote himself to religious writing, and thus his authorship entered upon its second phase. To the first half of this period belong *Edifying Discourses* (1847), *The Works of Love* (1848), and *Christian Discourses* (1848). Though each religious discourse is complete in itself, the individual themes are logically connected, and the methodical and systematic advance so noticeably characteristic of the esthetic productions, finds its counterpart also here, in a gradual approach to more and more concrete conceptions, and to an increasingly severe judgment of the actual contemporary life in the light of the ideals delineated.

Edifying Discourses deals in a *first* section, with the unity of the ethical ideal,—“that the heart can be clean only when it

has a single aim," and that this singleness of aim is possible only for one who chooses the good, and actual only when he chooses the good in truth; in a *second* section, with the lessons to be learned from the lilies of the field and the birds of the air,—contentment with our common humanity, an appreciation of its glory, and an understanding of its blessedness, which consists in first seeking the kingdom of God; and *thirdly*, with the gospel of suffering, "the happiness to be derived from the thought of following Christ," "how the burden can be light though the sorrow is heavy," "that the school of suffering prepares for eternity," "that it is not the way which is narrow but the narrowness which is the way," "that in relation to God we always suffer as those who are guilty," "that eternity outweighs in its blessedness even the heaviest temporal suffering," and "that the spirit of courage in suffering takes power away from the world, and transforms derision into honor, defeat into victory."

The Works of Love presents the elaboration of a social ethic on the basis of Christianity. It makes no attempt to formulate an ideal organization of society, nor does it so much as even give a suggestion of a hint of any external polity; but it deals profoundly with the attitude of the individual toward his fellowmen. "These are Christian reflections," says the preface, "and therefore not about love, but about the works of love. They concern the works of love, not as if all its works were herein enumerated and described, far from it; not as if the particular works herein described were now described once for all—praise God that this is impossible! For that which in its whole wealth is *essentially* inexhaustible, is also in its least expression *essentially* indescribable, because it is essentially present everywhere in its wholeness, and essentially incapable of being described." The beauty and simplicity of the language, the tender persuasiveness of the idealism, and the universality of its appeal, make this perhaps the most popular of all Kierkegaard's religious writings; it forms a striking contribution to the world's sermonic literature.

Christian Discourses contains in the first part a treatment of the anxieties of the pagan mind, "the anxieties of poverty, of

wealth, of lowliness, of high position, of presumption, of self-torture, of doubt, inconstancy and despair," devoting a discourse to each; second, a series of discourses on the Christian gospel of suffering; third, a number of discourses critical of the prevailing religious situation under the caption: "Thoughts which wound from behind—in order to edify"; and *fourth*, a treatment in sermonic form of the Christian doctrine of the Atonement, seven discourses on the Lord's supper. The following significant motto is attached to the third section: "Christianity needs no defense, and cannot be served by means of any defense—Christianity is always on the offensive. To defend Christianity is the most indefensible of all distortions of it, the most confusing and the most dangerous—it is unconsciously and cunningly to betray it. Christianity is always on the offensive; in Christendom, consequently, it attacks from behind." Here we meet with the first definite anticipation of the attack which Kierkegaard was soon to make upon the open or tacit assumption, current in Christendom, of an established Christian order.

A little esthetic article from Kierkegaard's pen, "The Crisis in the Life of an Actress," saw the light in a Copenhagen journal during the summer of 1848, to serve notice upon the public that his exclusive devotion to religious themes for the past two or three years did not have its ground in an obtuseness to esthetic values. In the spring of the following year there were published anonymously two remarkable theological essays: "Has a man the right to allow himself to be put to death for the Truth?" and "The Difference between a Genius and an Apostle"; the former with an indirect bearing upon the Atonement, and the latter attempting to clear up the Christian concept of Authority.

To the second half of Kierkegaard's religious authorship may be assigned the following volumes: *The Sickness unto Death* (1849); *Practical Introduction to Christianity* (1850); and *For Self-Examination* (1851). In these writings Kierkegaard presents the Christian teaching in its highest ideality, and with a reference to the prevailing state of religion in the Christian world. The ideal is presented sharply and clearly, without

compromise. But the consequent judgment on Christendom is formulated as gently as possible, urging nothing but admissions in the interests of sincerity, "in order that we may learn to take refuge in grace, even with respect to the manner in which we use grace." *The Sickness unto Death* marks the appearance of a new pseudonym, Anti-Climacus. The standard for human life here delineated is so ideal that Kierkegaard did not wish to present it in his own name and character, as if his personal existence embodied it; it was therefore presented in the light of a poetic and imaginative rendering—for the ideal ought at least to be heard—under which Kierkegaard wished to humiliate himself *qua* reader. Too much the poet to be a reformer, he preferred to represent himself as a spy in the service of the ideals, his mission being the Socratic one of detecting and exposing illusions. The journals from these years show the intensity of his feeling about what passes for Christianity in Christendom, his unmeasured contempt for its paltriness and its mediocrity; they disclose also the long-continued self-examination which preceded all these publications, and his anxious fear lest he should assume too high and authoritative a role, and say more than he had a right to utter. The *Practical Introduction*, for example, was written in 1848, but held back from publication for two years, while Kierkegaard was debating in what form it ought to appear, or if it ought to appear at all. It was finally published as by the pseudonym, Anti-Climacus, and the preface virtually appeals to the authorities of the Danish church to make the admission that the religion preached and practiced in the Church was really a modification, several degrees lower than the Christianity of the New Testament. With such a concession publicly made by the highest authority, Kierkegaard felt that the established order could be made to embody a sufficient measure of sincerity and truth, so that it would be unnecessary for him, at least, to make any open attack upon it. No such admission was forthcoming, and Bishop Mynster found means to let Kierkegaard know, indirectly, that he regarded the *Practical Introduction* in the light of a vicious and dangerous exaggeration, not to say distortion, of Christian teaching. But he refused to discuss the

matter with Kierkegaard personally, and publicly maintained silence.

The Sickness unto Death is a psychological study of despair in its various forms, conscious and unconscious. Its point of view is that despair is a universal disease of the spirit, so that every man who has not been cured of it, suffers from it whether he knows it or not. And despair is an imperfect expression for sin; on a higher level of consciousness despair reveals itself as the consciousness of sin. The *Practical Introduction* is perhaps the clearest and most precise exposition of the Christian dogma in its pragmatic significance and meaning for life to be found in any literature. It was published in a form carefully calculated in its bearing upon the concrete contemporary situation in Denmark. *For Self-Examination*, two series of discourses, of which the second was not published until after Kierkegaard's death, presents a critical estimate of Lutheran protestantism, acknowledging the significance of Luther's mission as a corrective, but condemning modern protestantism for taking advantage of Luther's one-sidedness to leave out the deeper ethical implications of Christianity, ignoring the requirement of following Christ, and "taking the grace of God in vain."

The ideas which were to play a part in the grandiose agitation that followed some years later, as the climax of Kierkegaard's career, were now laid down in the religious literature as a whole. But as yet they were brought to bear at a distance from the actual situation, in the form of imaginative delineations, suggesting no other requirement to the reader than concession, admission and personal humiliation under the ideal.

IX

From September, 1851, to December, 1854, there was a pause in the steady stream of publications flowing from Kierkegaard's pen ever since the year 1843. His reflection had not become sterile, but its energy was consumed in self-preparation for a new role, one more decisive than any he had yet played, as the journals of the period bear witness. He was engaged in probing the distance between modern life and the ideals which it professes; and particularly, his reflection seized upon the

difference between the life of Christendom and the Christianity of the New Testament. As always, his thought was impassioned, pregnant with indignation and scorn. Financial worries, which had assailed him for some time, helped to mature his personality, and there are indications that Kierkegaard began, during this period, a course of self-discipline by means of ascetic exercises, to replace the somewhat luxurious life he had permitted himself earlier to lead.

Then, in the year 1854, came an opportunity which, in view of his previous publications, appealed to him as a challenge that must be squarely met. In the fall of 1853, Bishop Mynster died. He had been a pulpiteer of great ability, and as bishop he had ruled the church with a strong and conservative hand. Kierkegaard maintained close personal relations with him, Mynster having been his father's pastor. He admired his ability, and had frequently defended him against attacks which he deemed unjustified. But he had not hesitated to let him know where and how far he differed from him. A few weeks after Mynster's death, Professor Martensen (whose *Christian Dogmatics* had so wide a vogue in theological circles at one time) preached a memorial sermon in which the late bishop was eulogized as "one more link in the holy chain of witnesses for the Truth, stretching all the way from the days of the apostles to our own times." This idealization of Bishop Mynster seemed to Kierkegaard an impudent falsification of the Christian ideal, symptomatic of that demoralization to which Christendom as a whole was subject. He wrote at once a brief but emphatic protest. Professor Martensen was a candidate for the vacant bishopric, and hence Kierkegaard postponed publication until the appointment was announced, so as to avoid entanglement with political cross-currents and other irrelevant considerations. Martensen received the appointment, and in December, 1854, the article was published, in the columns of a daily newspaper in Copenhagen. It places in question the truth of the assertion that Bishop Mynster was a witness for the Truth, maintaining that both as regards the content of his preaching and the form of his personal life Bishop Mynster fell far short of the Christian ideal of a witness. It accuses Professor Martensen of *playing*

Christianity, just as children play at being soldiers. This decisive attack upon the ideal legitimization of the established order created a sensation, and naturally awakened a storm of protest. Kierkegaard was accused of attacking the memory of the dead, and of violating the sanctity of the grave; of a lack of earnestness of purpose; of an overweening personal pride; of being insane; and of whatever else the wounded feelings of his antagonists could invent. But Kierkegaard brushed objections and objectors aside, keeping straight to his main theme, and maintaining it with increasing intensity. For four months, publishing altogether a score of articles at irregular intervals, Kierkegaard kept up the agitation in the columns of *Fädrelandet*. It quickly became clear that here was no attack upon the reputation of Bishop Mynster, as that phrase would be ordinarily understood, but that Denmark was confronted with a most searching critique of the whole established order which Bishop Mynster represented.

"If Bishop Mynster is a witness for the Truth, then every clergyman in the country, as even the blindest can see, is also a witness for the Truth. . . . What we call being a clergyman, priest, or bishop, is a means of livelihood, just like every other in the community; and a means of livelihood carried on, if you please, within a community where all call themselves Christians, where there is therefore not the slightest danger connected with the preaching of the Christian doctrine, but where on the contrary this situation in life must be regarded as one of the most respected and attractive. Now I ask: Is there the slightest resemblance between these clergymen, priests, bishops, and what Christ calls his witnesses? Or is it not ridiculous to call such clergymen, priests, bishops, 'witnesses' in the sense of the New Testament—as ridiculous as to call field manoeuvres in time of peace, war?

"But Bishop Martensen persists in calling them witnesses, witnesses for the Truth. If the clergy understood their own interests in the matter, they would without delay petition the Bishop to give up this terminology, which puts the whole profession, to say the least, in a ridiculous light. For I know several most respectable and able, very able, clergymen; but I venture to say that in the whole kingdom there is not one, who when viewed in the light of a witness for the Truth does not present a comic figure."

With rapid strides and bold strokes Kierkegaard advanced to the position that the notion of a Christian people or nation is an illusion, that a Christianity with official sanction and authority is directly contrary to the teaching of Christ, that

protestantism in general is a slyly dishonest perversion of Christianity, and that New Testament Christianity is so completely non-existent in modern states that it is nonsense even to talk of a reformation, there being nothing to reform. In two separately published leaflets the situation was intensified almost to the breaking point. "Whoever you are, my friend, and whatever your life may be, by refusing any longer to take part (if you have hitherto done so) in the public worship as it is now conducted, with the pretense of being the New Testament Christianity, you will have one less crime, and a heavy one, upon your conscience; for you will no longer take part in making a mockery of God." . . . And shortly after this pronouncement, he sharply called the attention of the public to the fact that the clergy were bound by oath to the New Testament; and then went on to apply the words of Christ in Matthew 23:29-33 and Luke 11:47-48, without reservation, to an official Christianity of every description, and particularly that of the Danish church.

The last week in May, Kierkegaard began the publication of a pamphlet called *The Moment*, of which altogether nine numbers appeared up to the end of September. A tenth number was made ready for publication, but its appearance was delayed by Kierkegaard's last illness, so that it came to be published posthumously. In these stirring pamphlets the agitation is carried on to its last consequences, and the measure of the distance between the Christian ideal and the actual life of the Christian world, is taken with a certainty and an accuracy that leaves no illusion unexposed. "He was a great agitator," says Brandes. "His soul was full to the brim with a living indignation; he had the language completely in his power; by his religious writings he had trained himself to speak the plain man's tongue; and his quiver was full of the sharpest arrows of wit. He was just the man to carry on an agitation of which the nineteenth century will scarcely see the equal. He united the personal weight of a La Salle to the eloquence of an O'Connell and the biting scorn of a Dean Swift. It is impossible to describe his procedure. One must see how he chisels his scorn into linguistic form, and hammers the word until it shapes

itself into the greatest possible, the bloodiest injury—without for a moment ceasing to be the vehicle of an idea.”

His purpose was ideal. He had no finite end in view, no proposal of a changed organization, no displacement of authorities, no derogation of persons, nothing but a clarification of consciousness in the direction of greater honesty and sincerity. For those who wondered what his motive might be, he replied: “I want honesty. I do not represent Christian severity as over against Christian mildness; by no means. I represent neither severity nor mildness, I stand for human honesty. . . . And if the human race or my contemporaries wish honestly, sincerely, frankly, openly, to rebel against Christianity, and to say to God, ‘We cannot and will not subject ourselves to this power,’—well and good; provided this be done openly, frankly and sincerely, then, however strange it may seem for me to say this, I am with them; for I want honesty.”

In October, 1855, he fell in a faint on the street, and was taken to a hospital. In the notes of the young interne who kept an account of the case, there are incorporated certain expressions to which Kierkegaard gave utterance. The following is from the first day’s journal: “He considers his disease mortal. His death is necessary to the cause he has used all his spiritual and intellectual powers to further, the cause for which alone he has lived, and which he considers himself especially called and fitted to serve; whence the great intellectual powers with which he has been endowed, in connection with so frail a body. If he were to live, he would have to continue his religious agitation. But people would soon tire of it; if he dies, on the other hand, the strength of his cause will be maintained, and as he thinks, its victory.” On the 11th of November he died, forty-two years and six months old. It appears as a fitting poetic symbolism that the patrimony which had made his untiring literary labors possible should have been found just exhausted at the time of his death.

X

It would be interesting to speculate upon the reputation that Kierkegaard might have attained, and the extent of the

influence he might have exerted, if he had written in one of the major European languages, instead of in the tongue of one of the smallest countries in the world. An idealism more powerful and more consistent than that of either Emerson or Carlyle, a democratic individualism as thorough-going as the aristocratic individualism of Nietzsche, and presented with an equally passionate intensity, an ethical voluntarism clothed in a literary form as persuasive as that of Schopenhauer's philosophy, and a species of pragmatism more carefully and thoroughly worked out than that of either James or Bergson—these qualities must have attracted world-wide attention. And yet, he himself believed that the limitations under which he was compelled to labor, and the consequent lack of any effective opposition from the outside, was a necessary factor in the peculiar development of his personality, and one demanded by his peculiar task. Had he written in English or in German there would have naturally been enough significant opposition to have consumed a great part of his energy in external polemic. As it was, the outward opposition was negligible; he was compelled to set his own standard and to be his own critic. His reflection was thus turned inward in a greater measure than would otherwise have been possible; this he regarded as essential for the kind of literature it was his mission to produce. This literature will always remain in one sense a luxury; it does not have the kind of one-sidedness which would adapt it for the foundation of a school or the promotion of a movement. Nevertheless, it is bound to have an enduring significance, for it "delineates the essential thought-determinations of life, and of individual existence, in a manner more dialectically precise and more emotionally primitive than anything comparable to be found in any modern literature."

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TEGNÉR'S *GERDA*

For every student of Swedish literature it is a matter of deep regret that the poem *Gerda* was never finished, for the theme must have suggested to Tegnér much that was vital to his ideal of poetry and of life. The fact that in his old age Tegnér turned back to this theme which he had begun over twenty years before (1820), proves that the poet thought well of his work and therefore had never entirely relinquished his purpose to complete it. His biographer, Böttiger,¹ says that Tegnér considered *Gerda* as his favorite poem (*älsklingsdikt*), and when we remember Tegnér's modesty and his tendency to underrate his own works (even his *Frithiofssaga*), we may be justified in the belief that if in his last days he had been granted the strength to complete this work upon which his heart was set, he would have given to the world a poem equal in beauty and in profundity of thought to the *Frithiofssaga*.

Indeed, the fragment *Gerda* is one of those literary torsos which suggest the outlines of a master-piece. It is, therefore, an important task to analyse the literary features of this work, if we are to have any adequate conception of the poem as Tegnér intended it to be in its completed form. The question naturally first arises why the legend of Axel Hvide and Gerda should have so attracted Tegnér as to induce him to write a poem which was to hold his interests thruout so long a period of his life and to which he himself attached so much importance. To this question I shall in the following analysis endeavor to suggest an answer, which I offer, however, only as a tentative solution based upon the poet's natural proclivities and literary associations.

In *Gerda* the main theme consists in the favorite thesis of the Romanticists, viz., the struggle between Christianity and Paganism. In connection with Gerda's conversion to Christian-

¹ Esaias Tegnér's *Samlade Skrifter*, Stockholm, 1893, I, p. 470.

ity the poet was, according to Schück and Warburg,² also to have treated the great question of "renunciation in love," just as in his *Axel* (1822) and in his *Frithiofssaga* (1825). But since the ideal of self-abnegation is essential to the Christian religion, we may believe that in *Gerda*, just as in the *Frithiofssaga*, the love-theme must have been secondary to the great question at stake, which in reality was the motif of the poem, viz., the conversion to Christian ideals.

We know³ that even before the appearance of Oehlen-schläger's *Haakon Jarl* in 1807, Tegnér had hoped to give dramatic treatment to the great conflict between Christianity and Paganism, and that he had even begun a tragedy (i.e., *Blot Sven*) upon this subject. However, he abandoned his project, no doubt because he realized that he was a poet rather than a dramatist and therefore could not treat this theme in such dramatic form as might favorably compare with Oehlen-schläger's *Haakon Jarl*. Nevertheless, he intended⁴ to return

² Cf. Schück och Warburg, *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria*, Stockholm, 1897, II, p. 706: "Liksom Frithiof och Axel skulle äfven den hafva behandlat försakelse i kärlek."

³ Letter to Martina von Schwerin, Lund, Oct. 4, 1821; also his letter to G. F. Åkerhjelm, Jan. 22, 1826.

⁴ "Möjligtvis återkommer jag en gång dertill;" letter to Martina von Schwerin, Lund, Oct. 4, 1821.

Cf. also his letter (1842) to Brinkman, in which he states that *Gerda* treats of the relation between Christianity and Paganism in continuation of the theme already expounded in the canto *Försoningen* of the *Frithiofssaga*: "Där Frithiof slutar, vidtar Gerda. Frågan är om striden mellan kristendom och hedendom, såväl i slutet af F. som i början af Gerda."

It seems probable that the reason why Tegnér laid *Gerda* aside was because this theme (i.e., the conversion thesis) was amply covered by the *Frithiofssaga* to which he accordingly devoted his whole attention. To be sure, the loss of his manuscript *Jätten Finn* (cf. letter to J. Adlerbeth, 1822) interfered with Tegnér's resolution to complete the cycle of poems entitled *Helgonabacken*, but there is no evidence that Tegnér conceived of *Jätten Finn* as an original part of his *Gerda*. In 1825 he wrote Martina von Schwerin that he was working upon a poem entitled *Helgonabacken eller Minnen af Lund* (according to Böttiger, Tegnér also used the preposition *från*), which was to contain much that reflected his own personal relations. The *Frithiofssaga* was completed in this year (1825) and no doubt the *Frithiofssaga*, especially *Afskedet*, also reflects the poet's personal relations to Martina von Schwerin (cf. Otto Sylwan, "Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga*," *Edda*, X, 4, 1919, p. 220 f.).

to this theme and did so later in his two poems, the *Frithiofssaga* and *Gerda*, both of which he began about the year 1819.

The fact that Tegnér changed the title of his work from *Helgonabacken eller Minnen från Lund* to *Gerda* indicates that the poet realized that his work was not merely a lyric poem representing a series of episodes in connection with the folk legend, but that it was in reality an epic poem, telling the story of Gerda and her conversion to Christianity; just as the *Frithiofssaga* was an epic poem, telling the story of Frithiof's life and his conversion to Christianity (i.e., to Christian ideals).

Both *Gerda* and the *Frithiofssaga* were based upon national (i.e., Scandinavian) legends, both were love stories and both had as the basis of their conception the conversion thesis, i.e., the conversion of a heathen heart to Christian ideals, which in a conventional sense belonged in general to the Romantic School but in its ulterior and spiritual sense belonged in particular to Tegnér, as the expounder of Christian ideals in poetic form. Both *Gerda* and the *Frithiofssaga* were religious as well as Romantic poems, the product of Tegnér's literary genius at the zenith of his strength and inspiration. Therefore, it is not surprising that the literary features of the *Frithiofssaga* throw much light upon the nature of *Gerda*, and I shall have occasion to interpret in *Gerda* much which seems to have a literary and spiritual affinity with the *Frithiofssaga*.

The year 1820, when Tegnér turned from *Gerda* to complete his *Frithiofssaga*, was one of joyful hopes for the future. In his poem *Sången* (1819) Tegnér says:

Den gyllne lyran skall ej klinga
Om kval, dem själf jag diktat har,
Ty skaldens sorger äro inga,
Och sångens himmel evigt klar.

Certainly this joyful tone was fully preserved in the poem introductory to *Gerda* (i.e., *Jätten Finn*), where exactly the same spirit of burlesque humor appears as in the *Frithiofssaga*.⁵ Nor

⁵ Cf., for instance, the description of King Ring's embassy and his suit for Ingeborg's hand, the wrestling bout between Frithiof and Atle, Frithiof's acrobatic feats in *Isfarten* and in *Frithiof på hafvet*:

is there anywhere in the fragment any evidence of that "anlag för vemod och tungsinnighet" which characterises both Frithiof and Ingeborg; Tegnér seems to have kept thruout the poem "the eternally clear heaven of song."

Just as in the first canto of the *Frithiofssaga* (*Frithiof och Ingeborg*), an idyllic tone is likewise reflected in the first canto of *Gerda* where the poet introduces us into the primitive and Utopian habitat⁶ of the giantess. The sentimentality of the *Frithiofssaga* is lacking, but the same Rousseauian atmosphere of primitive civilization, undisturbed by the conventions of modern society, is represented with far greater directness and simplicity. If the influence of St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* is present in the canto *Frithiof och Ingeborg*, as Sylwan suggests (*ibid.*, p. 214), then this influence is still more clearly in evidence in the description of Gerda's home, where all nature serves

Som en mård han flög
uti masten opp,
och der satt han hög
och såg ned från topp.

Otto Sylwan ("Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga*," *Edda*, X, 4, 1919, p. 220 ff.) attributes this spirit of burlesque humor to the influence of Wieland. No doubt Tegnér owed something to Wieland especially for his inspiration in portraying the graceful and the sensual features of love; cf. his reference to Wieland in his poem *Vid en borgarflickas graf* (1804). But the tendency to burlesque humor was undoubtedly native also to Tegnér, as is shown, for instance, in his poem *Eskulap* (1804) or in *Halkan* (1819) or in *Hammerspik* (1815). Tegnér's good humor may also be detected in his poems *Jorden och årstiderna*, *Förlofvade och gifta* of 1806.

⁶ In the description of the subterranean caverns (*bergets jättesalar*) with their treasures Tegnér indulges in that love of splendor which characterizes especially his *Frithiofssaga*. Before describing these wonderful treasures he says:

Underliga ting att se
voro der, och många de.

just as in *Frithiof hos Angantyr* he says:

der mycket var att skåda,
som Frithiof ej sett förr.

Then follows in both poems a detailed analysis of the wonderful and beautiful things with which the chamber is equipped and which fill the guest with a sense of admiration and awe.

man in absolute love and harmony; even the wild beasts are tamed⁷ and man without effort wrests from earth the fruits of nature. Tegnér again utilized the Utopian theme in his *Frithiofssaga* when Frithiof (*Afskedet*) depicts for Ingeborg their new home in the South where the Garden of Eden is to be restored amid the ruins of Ancient Greece.

In his Romantic fervor the poet seems, however, to have transgressed the limits which he had set for Gerda as an unsophisticated child of nature. Gerda's entirely concrete and objective religion is hardly compatible with that subjective Neo-Platonic doctrine of the Romanticists, which identifies God with nature. Yet the reason she gives for sleeping in the tree-top is that there she is nearer to heaven and its divine inspiration. Thus, a primitive Utopian ideal is blended with a spiritual sentiment characteristic of the Romantic philosophers:

Friare jag andas der,
ty det himmelska är när,
och de stora tankar stiga
opp ur det oändeliga,
och den gamla Natten ser
vänligt på sin dotter ner.

Evidently the poet could not resist the temptation to glorify thru Gerda this divine inspiration which he himself felt in communion with nature. The serenity of nature at even-tide inspires the poet with immortal thoughts (just as it does Gerda); at such moments heaven is nearer ("det himmelska är när") and man receives the influx of the Infinite ("och de stora tanka stiga opp ur det oändeliga"), just as Tegnér says, for instance, in *Efter talets slut vid Gustaf Adolfsfesten* (1832):

7

Längre fram bland höga lindar
sprang en hjord af tama hindar;
tama elgkor deribland
slickade på Gerdas hand.

Det gifves stundar i ett jordiskt lif,
helst sedan dagen slutat⁸ af sitt kif
 och söft sin korta fröjd, sin korta smärta,
 då menskan hvilar invid *nattens hjerla*
 och *högre tankar, bättre känslor slå*
 sin rot i hjertan, som dem ej försmå.

In this *philosophic* contemplation of nature (alien to Gerda's untutored mind) the influence of Young's *Night Thoughts* (1743) is plainly evident.

In the *Frithiofssaga* the Utopian ideal was merely incidental, inasmuch as it had no essential bearing upon the motif of the poem, i.e., Frithiof's conversion to the precepts of the Christian religion. But in *Gerda* the life of primitive virtue and simplicity was synonymous with Gerda's religion and therefore represented a most vital factor in the motif of the poem. Evidently the legendary Gerda assumed in Tegnér's mind a symbolic figure identical with that of *Svea*, as she once was in all the glory of her heathen health, strength and virtue. Gerda, therefore, incorporates all the ancient virtues of the Swedish race.

Furthermore, it is evident that in *Gerda*, as in *Svea* (1811), the poet availed himself of the Utopian ideal as a patriotic appeal for the moral regeneration of the Swedish nation; a Romantic theme became thus utilized for national ends. Just as in *Svea* the poet had depicted the degeneration of the national character, due to the contamination of modern social influences, and had lamented the loss of that primitive virtue which had raised Sweden to a great military and cultural nation, so too in *Gerda* he depicts (in the mouth of Gerda) the cowardly, hypocritical and sickly race whose ancestors had been the heroes of the sagas and fit companions of the Gods.

⁸ Cf. the elegy *Elof Tegnér* (1815):

Och då och då jag dikta vill ett qvåde,
 * * * * *

helst sedan qvällen spänt sitt flor kring bergen
 och himlens stjernor spegla sig i sjön.

and *Fridsröster* (1808):

Qvällen är med friden slägt.

In *Svea* he says:

Jag älskar dig ej, tid,
som smilar öfver oss i falsk och vekligh frid.
Mig gläder stormens sus och fädrens stora minnen;
jag älskar deras mod och deras höga sinnen,
då Nordens son ej än tog andras seder an
och njöt hvad jorden gaf, och tålte som en man.
Bort med den falska konst, som sinnets kraft förvekar,
och flärdens tomma prål och yppighetens lekar!—

as in *Gerda* he says:

och ett starkt och klarsint slägte
fädrens fria jord betäckte
och från slagfält och från våg
djerft till djerfva gudar såg.⁹
Nu en matt och sjuklig lära,
utan merg och utan ära,
smyger som en feber i
Nordens kropp, nyss sund och fri,
blott försonar, blott förenar,
talar frid och svaghet menar,
af allt stort och kraftigt glömsk,
gråtmild, hycklande och lömsk.

Altho Gerda's words have reference to the Christian religion which the heathen Norsemen regarded as a cowardly and contemptible doctrine that undermined the primitive heathen virtues, yet it is clear that Tegnér here had the same thought in mind as in *Svea*, viz., the degeneration of the Swedish national

⁹ Cf. these four verses in *Gerda* with the following in *Svar på Atterboms inträdestal i svenska akademien* (1840):

Der bodde fordom i det höga Norden
från hedenhös en kraftig ätt,
ömtålig om sin frihet och sin rätt,
med hårda händer och med hårda sinnen,
och öfver vågor, öfver dal och slätt
förblödde deras vilda strider.

In the poetic expression of this ideal, viz. the primitive virtue of the Swedish race, Tegnér reflects the sentiments of Geijer's *Manhem* (1811) which to a large degree served him as a model for his *Svea*; cf., for instance, the opening verses of *Manhem*:

Det var en tid, det bodde uti Norden
en storsint ätt, beredd för frid som krig.
Då, ingens slav och ingens herre vorden,
hvar odalbonde var en man för sig.

character and the loss of that primitive virtue which was once the pride of the Swedish race.

In the last canto of the *Frithiofssaga* (*Försoningen*) in which Tegnér brings about the inner conversion of his hero, the priest of Balder unites¹⁰ the salient virtues (i.e., strength, courage, etc.) of the Old Norse religion with the essential elements of Christianity (i.e., piety, love, forgiveness, etc.). Frithiof's heathen virtues are thereby naturally incorporated into and blended with these new ideals, which to be realized must be supplemented by the ancient, primitive virtues that alone lent to the ancient viking the quality of vitality and true heroism. Evidently in *Gerda* too Tegnér sought the same solution for his motif (i.e., the blending of the heathen with the Christian virtues), for Axel Hvide, who here is the spokesman of Christianity, clearly recognizes the true worth of Gerda's heathen virtues and realizes that they are the foundation upon which the new ideals of the Christian religion must rest. He says:

Denna Gerda, hur hon hatar
fridens lära, hur hon matar
Odens korpar i sin barm,
annars för allt ädelt varm!

There is something in Gerda akin to a Valkyrie in the majestic beauty of her warlike spirit, which is, however, tempered with chivalrous ideals. In her one is reminded of the heroic figure of Tegnér's *Charles XII* (1818) who represents the masculine ideal of Svea with drawn sword, but tender and noble at heart, that giant of a by-gone age to whom the poet listened as he told the story of Axel Roos and his Russian bride:¹¹

Der slog så stort ett hjerta,
uti hans svenska barm,
i glädje som i smärta
blott för det rätta varm.

¹⁰ "En barnlek blott är fromhet, ej förent med kraft."

¹¹ The meeting of Axel Roos and Maria has many points in common with that between Axel Hvide and Gerda. The two lovers are brought together accidentally; the maidens (Maria and Gerda) are both of a different race than their lovers; and both are described as possessing the same type of physical beauty (dark complexioned with sturdy limbs but refined and delicate contours)

In Gerda, as in Charles XII, there is that same self-reliant character, sublime courage and defiance of the enemy, which every true son of the North has inherited from the Viking Age:

Än i dag hvar Nordens son
kommer ej så lätt ifrån
jätten i sitt bröst, som pockar
jämt på sjelfbestånd och lockar
jämt till uppror eller knot
alla himlens makter mot.
Nordens kraft är trots, och *falla*
är en seger för oss alla,
ty förr än man föll till slut,
fick man ändå kämpa ut.

just as Tegnér says of Charles XII:

I med- och motgång lika,
sin lyckas öfverman,
han kunde icke vika
blott falla kunde han.

or of Frithiof (*Afskedet*):

Hur glad, hur *trotsig*, hur förhoppningsfull!
Han sätter spetsen af sitt goda svärd
på nornans bröst och säger: *Du skall vika!*

As Axel Hvide contemplates these virtues in Gerda, he idealizes her in his love. Out from the inanimate beauty of the metal and rock (of which she is by nature a part) shines a soul undeveloped but untainted, the impersonation of a cruder but sounder and more virtuous age:

Hvarför skymtar Gerdas bild,
hög, men sällsam,—skön, men vild,
fram ur speglande metallen,
kikar utur bergkrystallen?
Vore hon allenast döpt!
Vore hennes själ blott köpt
från *de mörka maklers skara!*
Gud må hennes själ bevara!

and as exerting a powerful sensual influence upon the surprised youth. It is possible that Tegnér retained in *Axel* an indistinct impression of that atmosphere which surrounded Axel Hvide and his meeting with the beautiful giantess.

To rescue such a soul from the sinister doctrines of revenge and hatred for the race of man was to be the crowning effort of the true Christian. "The dark powers" that beset her soul were exactly the same as harassed Frithiof and weighed upon him as a burden too heavy to bear, until the light of Christian love dispelled the darkness. Thus Frithiof cries out (*Frithiof på sin faders hög*):

Hvart nidings dåd, i vredens stund bedrifvet,
det är hans verk, är *mörka maktens gård*.

and again:

Tag bort din börda, jag kan den ej bära,
qväf i min själ *de mörka skuggors spel*.

Christianity was to bring light and consolation to the sinner (Frithiof) and to the heathen (Gerda).

Since Axel Hvide has not yet (i.e., in the first canto) entered the priesthood for the purpose of converting Gerda, his religious enthusiasm, especially in the portrayal of the cathedral at Lund, is rather surprising. But Tegnér has evidently invested his hero, just as he did Frithiof, with much of his own self. In describing the cathedral at Lund, the poet reveals the same ecstatic mood of pious veneration as he does in *Nattvardsbarnen*, or in the description of Balder's temple in the last canto of the *Frithiofssaga*. That Gerda is not in the least moved by this ecstatic apotheosis of the Christian ritual or by the outward expression of the esthetic side of the Christian religion is quite natural, since as a child of nature she cannot comprehend artificial beauty. An inward conversion is necessary, as in Frithiof's case, since she, like Frithiof, still believes in the heathen doctrine of revenge. The poet, then, most probably intended to portray a tragic struggle between the old and the new religion within Gerda's heart. Gerda's conversion would then necessitate, on the one hand, the entire devotion of Axel Hvide to the cause of the church and therefore his renunciation of all earthly pleasures, and on the other hand it would necessitate Gerda's renunciation of her sacred duty of revenge, which she had inherited from her father (Jätten Finn) and to which she devotes

herself with religious fanaticism until the time of her conversion. She thus sacrifices that which she holds most precious in life, just as does Ingeborg when she sacrifices her love for Frithiof's sake, or more exactly, as Frithiof does, when he sacrifices his *desire for revenge*, in order to be reconciled with God and thus to deserve Ingeborg's love on whose account he has offended God:

Ett offer vet jag, som är gudarna mer kärt,
än rök af offerbollar, det är offret af
ditt eget hjertas vilda hat, din egen hämnd.

Even if this theme of "renunciation in love" was intensified by some personal experience in Tegnér's life, as Schück and Warburg suggest,¹² the deeply religious significance of this theme seems to me consonant with Tegnér's literary ideals without any necessary connection with his personal love affairs.¹³ "Renunciation in love" is in itself only a part or a manifestation of the larger ideal of Christianity.

When we remember that the *Frithiofssaga* first took root in Tegnér's mind in the year 1819 and that he began *Gerda* in 1820 and then set this work aside possibly in order to finish the *Frithiofssaga*, it is not at all surprising that the two poems should have had a central theme in common. Aside from the love story, this theme involved the conversion of the chief character to Christian ideals, and not after the conventional and superficial manner of Oehlenschläger and the Romantic School but rather thru that inward process which should result in the redemption of character. No doubt Tegnér felt too that the conversion thesis might well be treated as a question of national import and that his own countrymen stood in

¹² Cf. *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria*, Stockholm, 1897, II, p. 706: "Liksom Frithiof och Axel skulle äfven den hafva behandlat *försakelse i kärlek*. Pekar detta manne öfver på något själfupplefvadt? Äfven lyriska dikter från dessa år tyda på ett alltför lättörddt hjärtas kval."

¹³ Sylwan in his article on the *Frithiofssaga* (*Edda*, X, 4, 1919, p. 216-217) has shown, for instance, how Tegnér's relations to Martina von Schwerin influenced the poet's conception of *Afskedet* and gave to the character of Ingeborg in this scene a much loftier tone than might perhaps otherwise have been the case.

sore need of "redemption." Gerda (Svea) should not forfeit her ancient virtues to the corrupting influence of politics and desire for luxury; Ancient Svea should be restored to life, but purified and chastened by Christian ideals. Thus the Gothic elements of the poem were to be welded into those larger qualities of Christian virtue, which transcend the limitations of any particular era. As in the *Frithiofssaga*, the poet evidently intended to present a picture of ancient Sweden (i.e., Scandinavia), but so blended with the ideals of our modern Christian era as to produce an idealized conception of the Swedish character.

The old folk legends centered about his beloved Lund were especially dear to Tegnér and these memories must have inspired¹⁴ him with the desire to convert an old legend into a story wherein the true or ulterior significance of the cathedral at Lund and of the Christian religion should be made real, just as Ibsen in his *Peer Gynt*, or Goethe in his *Faust*, fused into the old folk legend the eternal elements of truth and life.

We know from the plan of the poem which Tegnér has left us that he intended to extend the little picture about Lund

¹⁴ Cf. his poem *Klosterruinerna* (date not given but probably not later than 1805, Cf. F. Böök, *Esaias Tegnér* I, p. 64 ff.), where Tegnér expresses his desire to bring to life the old legends buried in the ruins of the cloister and mentions the story of Heloise (which he had planned to incorporate into his *Gerda*).

Se, tidens vishet åt legenden ler,
och tviflarns fötter på reliken trampa;
jag vördar, forntidsminnen, ännu er
och tänder åter er förtärda lampor,
* * * * *

Så, okänd Heloisa, småningom
hon tärdes af, blev bortdöd och begrafven,
och ingen Pope med sångens trolldom kom
att väcka hennes minne upp af grafven.

In the next to the last strophe of this poem Tegnér laments the fact that the old Gothic altar lies in ruins and there is no longer any Thor destined to return with his hammer and arouse (in the Swedish people) the old spirit of the viking warrior; a thought consonant with the theme in *Gerda* and in *Svea*:

Öch djupt förgömd bland fjällens skrefvor bor
den götiska, den blodbestrukna stoden,
ty på sin hammar sofver Asa-Thor,
och ingen kämpe gästar mer hos Oden.

into a large panorama of historical events during the 12th century, with a description of the principal historical personages of that period, such as Valdemar the Great, Saxo Grammaticus, etc. The figure of Gerda would thereby have become much more national than local and would have more nearly assumed that significance which the poet from the beginning probably intended for her, i.e., heathen Svea converted into the modern ideal of humanity.

The old race of giants had given way to a new era of life, but much that was splendid and heroic had also passed away. The union of these two phases of civilization, the best in both ages and in both religions, was evidently the ideal for which Tegnér was striving, i.e., the union of simplicity, strength and virtue with the Christian ideal of self-abnegation and devotion to a great cause. A similar blending of the old with the new as the ideal religion of the future Tegnér proclaimed in his masterful address upon Luther (*Reformations jubelfesten*, 1817). After comparing the virtues and failings of Luther's age with his own, Tegnér expressed the hope that the future age would combine the religious devotion of the Middle Ages with the love of truth and free thought, which characterizes our Modern Era. But after the close of the Napoleonic wars when the reaction against democracy set in, Christianity seemed to have failed; primitive man with his vicious instincts seemed to have gained the victory.¹⁵ Thus, in his poem *Jätten* of this same year ¹⁶ (1817) Tegnér cynically remarks concerning the primitive virtues:

"Hvad vill du med din oskuld,
du Emblas dotter?"
Se, uti trollets armar
har blomman vissnat.

¹⁵ Cf. the poet's sentiments as expressed in *Nyåret* (1816):

"Hejsan! Religionen är jesuit,
menniskorätt jakobin,
världen är fri, och korpen är hvit,
vivat påfven—och hin!"

¹⁶ Published in 1817, but no doubt written as early as the summer of 1812; cf. F. Böök, *Esaias Tegnér*, p. 451. The poem *Jätten* expresses Tegnér's contempt for the atheistic and materialistic doctrines which prevailed directly

When in his old age Tegnér returned to the legend of the giantess Gerda, it is quite possible that he intended "Embla's daughter" (i.e., Gerda) should preserve in all its freshness that flower "which had withered in the arms of the troll" (i.e., the savage instincts of human nature). Christianity alone could do this, and if in his poem *Jätten* Tegnér concludes that

Det onda är odödligt,
liksom det goda,¹⁷

we may infer that in *Gerda* the poet intended thru Gerda's conversion to Christianity to illustrate the truth, as in *Det eviga*, that

Det goda är odödligt,
liksom det onda.¹⁸

after the Napoleonic era. The spirit of the age is "the Giant," the friend of evil and the enemy of man, the hideous creature who in *Asatiden* drank to Loke's health out of human skulls:

I bergens salar satt jätten med trotsigt mod
och drack för Loke en skål ur människoskallar.

¹⁷ The whole poem *Jätten* expresses the pessimism of a sensitive spirit much in the same fashion as Schiller's *Die Worte des Wahns* which Tegnér translated (cf. A. Nilsson's *Introduction* to Tegnér's "Filosofiska och estetiska studier," p. 91 f.). The following passages from Tegnér's translation reflect the spirit of his *Jätten* ("Det onda är odölig liksom det goda"):

Så länge du tror på den gyllne tid,
der det rätta, det goda skall gälla.
Det rätta, det goda är födt till strid
och dess fiende kan ingen fälla.

Hon (lyckan) gifter sig med de onde blott
och den gode besitter ej jorden.

¹⁸ Cf. *Kulturen* (1805):

Lärd af Sekler skall en dag Kulturen.
(Sekler tala vishet i sin flygt)
Föra menskan åter till naturen
Från hvars sköt den henne fordom ryckt;
Icke mer en blodig gäst i öcknar
Men förädlad, lycklig, ren och god,
Sådan som en dag bland Kaos' töcknar
Hennes bild för Skaparns tanke stod.

In *Försonligheten* (1806) Tegnér likewise emphasizes the final victory of the good over evil:

Eröfrar det Onda all världen till slut,
din själ kan det Goda dock vilja.

Both the *Frithiofssaga* and *Gerda* grew out of Tegnér's ideal of representing Ancient Svea in the light of modern culture, and as the national poet and the spokesman of Christianity in the realm of art, Tegnér might have produced in the completed form of *Gerda* a poem of national significance, fused with those ideals of virtue and humanity which characterized both his religion and his poetry. Tegnér was keenly disappointed when he found that his failing energies prevented him from completing this poem (along with other works which he had outlined, such as an epic poem on Charles XII and another upon Napoleon), and a reflection of this sentiment was clearly expressed in his touching poem *Afsked till min lyra* (1840):

Den dag skall komma, då utur min aska
 en skald skall uppstå för att sjunga ut
 i slag, som klinga, uti toner raska
hvad jag ej hunnit, förr'n min kraft tog slut,
 hvad stort och ädelt i det nordanlänska
 som återstår ännu, det väldiga, det svenska.—

But the fragment *Gerda* still reminds us of the truth of Tegnér's own words (*Karl XII*, 1818):

Än bor i Nordens lundar
 den höge anden kvar.

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OLD ICELANDIC *RAUN* AND *REYNA*

In his well known article "Zur etymologischen Wortforschung," KZ. 20 (1872), pp. 1-50, Sophus Bugge suggested, (p. 9), among other etymologies, a connection between the Icelandic feminine noun *raun* 'experience, experiment, trial, etc.,' together with the weak verb *reyna* 'to experience, test, prove,' and the Greek feminine noun *ῥευνα* 'search, inquiry,' together with the derivative verb *ῥευνάω* 'to track, trace, investigate.' At the first glance the similarity between the Scandinavian and the Greek words seems rather striking. We are apparently concerned not merely with similar formations, based on one and the same root, but with words nearly identical in form and meaning, and accordingly inherited from the vocabulary of the Indo-Eur. parent speech. It is only natural then that this etymology should have met with general favor both on the part of Scandinavian philologists¹ and of authors of Greek etymological dictionaries.²

The impression, however, of complete identity is hardly borne out if the words in question are examined more closely. The similarity, above all, in sound between the Greek diphthong *ευ* in *ῥευνάω* and Icelandic *ey* in *reyna* proves to be deceptive. As is generally known, the vowels regularly corresponding in Icelandic to I.-Eur. *eu* or Greek *ευ* before dental consonants are either *y* or *jó*, the former being found where in Early Germanic the diphthong was followed in the next syllable by *i* or *j* or *u*, and the latter where it was followed by *a*; e.g., 3d pers. sing. *býðr*, Goth. *biudip*, inf. *bjóða*, Goth. *biudan*, alongside of Greek *πείδομαι*, *πείθεσθαι*, etc. The stem vowels then of both *raun* and *reyna* are seen to be different from those of the two Greek words.

¹ E.g., Cleasby-Vigfusson, Icelandic-English Dictionary, s. v. *rán*; A. Noreen, Abriss der urgermanischen Lautlehre, p. 82; Falk & Torp, Wortschatz der germanischen Spracheinheit (= Fick's Vergleich. Wörterbuch, 4. Aufl., 3. Bd.), p. 349.

² Prellwitz, Etymol. Wörterb. der griech. Sprache, s. v. *ῥευνάω*; Boisacq, Dictionnaire étymol. de la langue grecque, s. v. *ῥέω*.

Nor can we admit that the relation in Icelandic between *raun* and *reyna* is the same as that in Greek between *ῥευννα* and *ῥευννάω*. While there is no objection to regarding *reyna* as a denominative verb, derived from the noun *raun*, a similar explanation can hardly be applied to *ῥευννάω* in its relation to the noun *ῥευννα*. The latter, as has been pointed out by Wackernagel in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* 30 (1890) p. 300, is first found in Sophocles, whereas the verb *ῥευννάω* occurs in Homer. Wackernagel's conclusion that *ῥευννα* is a secondary formation, based on the verb *ῥευννάω*, is evidently correct. The verb *ῥευννάω*, on the other hand, appears to belong in the same category with Homeric verbs like *δεικανάσμαι*, *ῥυκανάω*, *λοχανάω*, *μενοινάω*, *παμφανάω*. In other words, *ῥευννάω* is not a denominative but a deverbative formation. Owing to certain changes in form and meaning, however, its relation to the simplex from which it is derived, is not quite so clear as that of most of the other verbs of this type. Etymologists generally seem to agree in holding that it is a near relative of the Homeric verbs *ῥέω* (= Attic *ῥομαι*) and *ῥεεῖνω* 'to ask.' This too is Bugge's opinion, and his identification of *ῥευννάω* and Icel. *reyna* is generally quoted in support of the current view.³ Possibly, however, we may have to look for the etymon of *ῥευννάω* in a rather different direction. Judging from the evidence of the Homeric poems, it would seem that we are concerned with a term borrowed from the sportsman's language. In two of the three passages in which it occurs in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Σ 321 and τ 436) it is used of hounds or wild animals tracing the footsteps of game or of human beings. In the third passage (χ 180) it refers to the searching after arms hidden away in an attic. This latter passage marks the transition to the later more general, or we may say more faded meaning of searching or inquiring. The original meaning of this verb then must have been 'to trace or track by following up a scent.' We cannot help being reminded of the Mod. German (and M.H.G.) verb *riechen* 'to smell,' which is now supposed to be identical

³ Cp. the works quoted in the preceding note and, e. g., G. Curtius, *Griech. Etymologie*, 5. Aufl., p. 343; F. Bechtel, *Lexilogus zu Homer* (Halle, 1914) p. 136.

with Icel. *rjúka* 'to smoke,' Lat. *ērūgo* and Greek *ἐπεύρωμαι*, 'to disgorge, belch.'⁴ Our first impression very likely is that these verbs differ fundamentally in their meaning. Yet the variation has many parallels, for the explanation of which it must suffice here to refer to the chapter on 'Riechen' in Bechtel's well known book "Ueber die Bezeichnung der sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen in den idg. Sprachen" (Weimar, 1879) p. 49ff. and to F. A. Wood's instructive article "The semasiology of words for 'smell' and 'see,'" Publ. MLA. 14, pp. 299-346.

Above all we must keep in mind that language does not always feel bound to distinguish carefully between the notions of emitting an odor or scent and of perceiving or detecting an odor. However different from a strictly logical point of view these two notions may appear to us: as a matter of fact a constant interchange is going on between them, so that many verbs—like Engl. *to smell* or Ger. *riechen*—may be used in either meaning. As a rule the former notion, that of emitting an odor, proves to be the older one. Often it may be traced back to verbs meaning 'to exhale, to give out fumes, to smoke, steam, evaporate.' Engl. *to smell*, e.g., is related to the verb *to smoulder*, and Engl. *to reek*—etymologically identical with Ger. *riechen*—is in Webster's Dictionary explained by the synonyms 'to fume, steam, smoke, exhale.' Taking into account, moreover, that the verb *to exhale*, so closely associated in meaning with terms of smoking or smelling, is illustrated in our dictionaries by synonyms like 'to give forth (gaseous matter), to breathe out, to emit,' we are no longer surprised if we find verbs meaning 'to exhale' related to others meaning 'to belch' or 'vomit.' The few categories which I have mentioned by no means exhaust the etymological possibilities to be reckoned with in the case of words expressing the notion of scenting or smelling. They may serve, however, to justify our view that *ἐπεύρωμαι* probably belongs to the group of Greek *ἐπεύρωμαι*, Icel. *rjúka*, and Ger. *riechen*.

⁴ See Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch* s.v. *ilaruchjan*; F. A. Wood, JGPh. 2 (1898) p. 226 f., Publ. MLA. 14 (1899) p. 308 f., Mod. Phil. 5 (1907) p. 277 f.; Falk u. Torp, *Germ. Wortschatz* p. 349; Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wtb.* s.v. *erugo*.

Let us now return to Icel. *raun* and *reyna* in order to attempt a different solution of the etymological problem presented by these two words. The verb *reyna* shows three principal meanings, viz. (1) to test, examine, try to find out; (2) to experience, find out by experiment or trial; (3) to prove oneself, be proved, turn out to be. The common notion by which these various meanings are linked together, is obviously that of 'evidence.' To test or experiment is to seek evidence; to experience is the equivalent of gaining or obtaining evidence; whereas to prove oneself means to give evidence of. The legal phrase *sem þat reynisk* (*Grág.* I, 18) is rendered in Cleasby-Vigfusson's Dictionary by 'according to evidence.'

If *reyna* be justly regarded as a denominative of the noun *raun*, we may take it for granted, or at least regard it as probable, that the latter originally meant 'evidence,' a meaning which may easily pass over into the closely related notions of experience, proof, test, trial, etc. Perhaps the earliest, or certainly one of the earliest texts in which *raun* occurs is the Lamentation of Oddrun (*Oddrúnargrátr*). The line (stanza 18, 1.2)

svát ver þill hofum órnar raunir

is rendered in the Corpus Poet. Bor. (I, p. 312): 'of which we have proofs enough.' Yet we may just as well translate: 'of which we all have ample evidence.' This being the only passage in which *raun* occurs in the Elder Edda, its testimony is of paramount value, though it does not necessarily imply that the meaning found here was the only one known in early heroic poetry. It is easily seen, however, that the various shades of meaning found in the Saga period (viz., 'investigation, trial, danger; sad experience, affliction, grief,' etc.) may all be regarded as developed from the notion of 'evidence' through the intermediate stages of 'proof' and 'experience.' The root of the word *evidence* being the Lat. verb *videre* 'to see', we are allowed to look for a similar root in *raun* and *reyna*. Or, taking into account the close similarity in meaning of words like 'sight' and 'eyesight' or the fact that in German 'evidence' is *Augenschein*, a compound made up of the words for 'eye' and for 'appearance' or 'semblance,' we may perhaps expect

to find an etymological connection with the Icel. word for 'eye,' i.e., *auga*.

At this point we observe that the couple *raun* and *reyna* bears a close similarity in sound to *laun* and *leyna*, i.e., the noun *laun* 'secrecy, concealment' and the verb *leyna* 'to conceal, hide.' The former is, like *raun*, a fem. *ni*-stem, the latter, like *reyna*, a derivative verb. In the case of *laun* and *leyna* there is no doubt as to the etymology, since the verb *leyna* is generally admitted to be identical with the Germ. verb *leugnen* and Goth. *laugnjan* 'to deny.' In Gothic the compound *ga-laugnjan* shares with the Icelandic verb the notion of concealing or hiding. Icel. *laun* has a companion in the O.H.G. fem. noun *lougna* 'denial, denying.' If *laun* and *leyna* then are descended from **laugn* and **leygna*, we are entitled to presuppose for *raun* and *reyna* the earlier forms **raugn* and **reygna*.

The latter forms will certainly serve to carry us a step nearer to the noun *auga*, provided it be possible to remove the only remaining obstacle, i.e., the initial *r*. We shall attempt to explain this *r* with the aid of the Ags. verb *ræfnan* (1) 'to endure, suffer, undergo;' (2) 'to do, perform, accomplish, carry out.'⁵ Judging from the fact that no etymology is given for this verb by either Grein or Bosworth-Toller, its origin may seem to be obscure. Yet obviously it bears a close resemblance, both as to form and meaning, to the verb *æfnan* 'to perform, execute, labor, show,' so much so that the two are regarded as one and the same verb by Sievers, Ags. Gramm. §193, 2. We therefore need not hesitate to agree with J. W. Bright, who in the Glossary to his Ags. Reader (N.Y., H. Holt) analyzes *ræfnan* as **ar-æfnan*.⁶ The initial *r* of *ræfnan* then is to be regarded as a remnant of the prefix *ar-*, the form regularly employed in verbal compounds in West-Germanic for the old preposition *ur* = Goth. *us* (or *ur-* in compounds beginning

⁵ The various meanings are quoted from Bosworth-Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

⁶ See for further details (e.g., the relation between Ags. *æfnan* and *efnan* and between *ræfnan* and *aræfnan*) my remarks in the Johns Hopkins Univ. Circular, July, 1920, pp. 52-54.

with *r*-).⁷ While in Old High German the form *ar-* generally remained intact (e.g., *arlösen*, Mod. Ger. *erlösen* = Goth. *us-lausan*), it is found reduced in Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon before consonants to *ā-*, later *a-* (e.g., O.-Sax. *a-lōsian*, Ags. *a-lȳsan*). In *ræfnan* we have an example of the corresponding reduction of *ar-* to *r-* in composition with verbs beginning with a vowel.

In Icelandic we can hardly expect to meet with exactly the same treatment of the prefix *ar-* as in West-Germanic, for the reason that the Scandinavian languages show a distinct aversion to unaccented verbal prefixes like *be-*, *ge-*, *fer-*, etc., so frequently used in West-Germanic. Certain traces, indeed, of the W.-Germ. method are still to be found in the early stages of Scandinavian.⁸ As a rule, however, the old unaccented prefixes have been either eliminated or have been reduced to a single consonant which no longer gives the impression of a prefix, but is felt to be an integral part of the verb itself. Instances of the latter kind are, e.g., *teygja* 'to show' (= Goth. *at-augjan*; see below), *greiða* 'to arrange, disentangle, equip' (= Goth. *ga-raidjan*, Bugge, *Arkiv* II, 213), *gnúa* 'to rub' (= O.H.G. *gi-nuan*).⁹

Among the instances of the latter description we shall have to count the verb *reyna*. As soon as we are agreed to regard its initial *r* as a remnant of the Germanic prefix which in Icelandic survives in the form *or-*,¹⁰ *reyna* turns out to be the equivalent of a primitive form **uz-augnjan*, later **ar-augnjan*; a derivative verb belonging to the noun **uz-aug-n (i)-s*, later **ar-aug-n*, identical with Icel. *raun*. Looked at in this manner

⁷ With regard to the form and function of this prefix see: Grimm, *Dt. Gramm.* II, pp. 704-07 and 818-32; Ernst Schulze, *Got. Glossar s. v. us*; Graff, *Ahd. Sprachsch.* I, col. 15-18 and 393-402; Paul, *PBrB.* 6, p. 208; Wilmanns, *Dt. Gramm.* II, pp. 150-57 and 571-73.

⁸ Cp., e.g., the frequent occurrence of the so-called adverbs *of* and *um(b)* in the Elder Edda.

⁹ See for further examples esp. El. Wadstein, *Nordische Bildungen mit dem Präfix ga-*, *IF.* 5 (1895) pp. 1-32, and Noreen, *Altisländ. Gramm.* §146.

¹⁰ It should be noted, however, that Icel. *or-* is not properly a verbal but a nominal prefix and accordingly corresponds, as regards its vocalism, not to West-Germ. *ar-*, but to West-Germ. *ur-*.

these two words lose their enigmatic character, and are recognized as members of a well known family, since verbs and nouns derived from the word for 'eye,' i.e., *auga*, (= Goth. *augo*), are found in every Germanic language, especially as second members of compounds. For our present purpose it will hardly be necessary to give an exhaustive list of such formations. We may find it helpful, however, to compare at least two similar words which in this connection appear especially instructive. The first is the Icelandic verb *teygja* 'to allure, decoy, entice, draw towards,' etc. This verb is generally supposed to have originally meant 'to draw, pull, lead,' and to be etymologically connected with verbs like Goth. *tiuhan*, Ags. *tāon*, O.H.G. *ziohan*, Mod. Ger. *ziehen*.¹¹ A different etymology has been suggested by Elis Wadstein in the *Arkiv f. nord. fil.* 18 (1901) p. 179 ff. Laying stress on a passage of the *Völundarkviða* (st. 18, 1.2),

tenn hqnom teygjask,

i.e., 'he shows his teeth' (liter. 'his teeth are shown'), Wadstein identified *teygja* with O.Sax. *tōgian*, O.H.G. *zougen*, Goth. *at-augjan*, etc.,¹² 'to show.' In the third edition of his Glossary to the songs of the Edda, H. Gering has justly adopted this etymology not only for the passage referred to, but for the verb *teygja* as used in the Elder Edda generally. The meaning 'to decoy, allure' is explained by him as: 'ein Tier (durch zeigen einer Speise) anlocken.' Whether we adopt this or a slightly different explanation of the meaning 'to allure' (e.g., to make appear = to cause to come forward from a hiding place), the

¹¹ Falk and Torp, *Wortschatz der german. Spracheinheit* p. 167 have tried to rescue the traditional etymology by deriving *teygja* from a supposed causative **taugjan*. Tho this view is unobjectionable from a phonetic point of view, we may doubt whether it furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the use of Icel. *teygja*.

¹² In Ags. the corresponding verb is *æt-iewan* (with various irregular and dialectic byforms, discussed by Sievers in *PBrB.* 9, pp. 289-291 and in his *Ags. Gram.* 3rd. ed., §408, Note 10). Cp. the recent comment on this whole group by Gutmacher (who, however, does not mention the Icelandic verb) in *PBrB.* 39, p. 254 f.

change in meaning would in any case seem comprehensible. At all events, the shortening of the prefix *at-* to a simple *t-* in O.Sax. *tōgian* = O.H.G. *zougen*, M.H.G. *zöugen*, etc., furnishes an unmistakable parallel to the reduction of the early *ur-* or *ar-* to a single *r-* in *reyna* and *raun*. Icel. *teygja* 'to show' being the exact equivalent—both as regards form and meaning—of O. Sax. *tōgian* and M.H.G. *zöugen*, there is every reason for claiming *teygja* as a near relative of *reyna*, however different the two may look.

Outside of Scandinavian, *reyna* has an almost exact counterpart in the Mod. German verb *ereignen*, especially if we restore the latter to its earlier form *eräugnen* or *ereugnen*.¹³ By removing the initial vowel and by substituting a Scandinavian for the High German ending we obtain a form almost identical with *reyna* in a somewhat earlier stage of its development, viz., **reygna*. The verb *ereignen* or *eräugnen*, then, seems to support the view that the *n* of *reyna* dates back to a pre-Scandinavian period. Yet a comparison with the corresponding forms in M.H.G. and O.H.G. leaves no doubt that in High German *eräugnen* is a later substitute for *eräugen* (= O.H.G. *ar-augen* or *er-ougen*, i.e., *er-öügen*, for **ar-augjan*). Considering that the type **augnjan* is unknown to the oldest Germanic languages generally (i.e., to Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Saxon in addition to Old High German), we must reckon with the possibility that in Scandinavian also *reyna* represents a somewhat later type than *teygja*.

Again, the testimony of Old High German may be invoked in favor of the contention that at least in the noun *raun* the *n* is an archaic element. I am referring to the O.H.G. verbal abstract *ar-aucnissa* or *ar-oucnessi* 'manifestatio, ostentatio,'

¹³ *ereignen*, due to association with the adj. *eigen* (aided by a confusion, peculiar to many Central and Southern German dialects, of the diphthongs *eu* and *ei*), is gradually replacing the older form since the latter half of the 17th century, tho *eräugnen* remains in use, alongside of *ereignen*, down to the end of the 18th century. Cp. especially Grimm, Dt. Wtb. s. vv. *eräugnen*, *ereignen*, *eräugen*, *ereugen*; Paul in Kluge's Zeitschr. f. dt. Wortf. 10, 108; Weigand-Hirt, Dt. Wtb. s. v. *ereignen*.

i.e., 'showing.' (Graff, I, 126). At the first glance the similarity does not seem very striking, either with regard to form or to meaning. But the variation in meaning is slight, and as regards the form, we must remember that old feminine *ni*-abstracts have frequently furnished in West Germanic the foundation for abstracts ending in *-nessi*.¹⁴ E.g.:-

Goth. *sōkns* 'dispute, quarrel,' Icel. *sōkn* 'attack, persecution': Ags. *sēcness*, O. Fris. *sēknisse*, O.H.G. *ar-suochnissa*.

Icel. *förn* 'offering': Ags. *fērness*, O.H.G. *untar-fuornissa*.

Icel. *heyrn* 'hearing' (cf. Goth. *hauseins*) : Ags. *ge-hīrness*, O.H.G. *gi-hōrnessi*.

Icel. *laun* 'secrecy': Ags. *lǫgniss* (i.e., *liegness*).

Icel. *lausn* 'redemption' (cf. Goth. *lauseins*): Ags. *līsness*, *a-līsness*; O.H.G. *ar-lōsnessi*.

Icel. *stjórn* 'steering, rule': Ags. *stīrness*, *stýrness*.

raun and *ar-oucnessi* may, therefore be derived from the same prototype **ar-augn*.

As is generally known, verbal abstracts frequently retain the accent of the verb, and accordingly share the reduction of the prefix. The difference, in this respect, between such verbal abstracts and the usual type of compound nouns may be observed in Mod. Ger. instances like *Erlaubnis*, *Erteilung* (from *erlauben*, *erteilen*) as compared with *Urlaub*, *Urteil*. The *r*, reduced from *ar*, therefore, of the noun *raun* is in keeping with this tendency of verbal abstracts.

The same applies to the Mod. Ger. verbal abstract *Ereignis*. This noun being the modern counterpart of O.H.G. *ar-aucnissa*, we might feel tempted to maintain that it is as closely related to Icel. *raun* as the verb *er-eignen* to Icel. *reyna*. Yet the fact that the noun *Ereignis* is not apparently found in Middle H.G. should make us cautious, the more so as the meaning 'event' of Mod. Ger. *Ereignis* constitutes another barrier between the O.H.G. and the modern noun. Under these circumstances, it

¹⁴ Cp. with regard to the *ni*- and *nessi*- abstracts, e.g., v. Bahder, *Verbal-abstracta* p. 80 ff.; Kluge, *Stammbildung*² §149; Losch in *Germania* 22 (1887) p. 223 ff.; Falk in *Ark. f. n. fil.* 4 (1888) p. 355; Wilmanns, *Dt. Gramm.* II² p. 356 ff. (esp. p. 360); Gutmacher in *PBrB.* 39 (1914) p. 42 ff.

can hardly be doubted that *Ereignis* is a recent abstract, formed from the verb *sich ereignen* after the model of, e.g., *sich verhalten: Verhältnis; sorgen: Besorgnis; gleichen: Gleichnis*. Nevertheless the Mod. Ger. noun remains an interesting parallel of Icel. *raun* and may, therefore, help to illustrate the formation of the latter.

HERMANN COLLITZ

Johns Hopkins University

THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met at Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn., on Friday and Saturday, May 14 and 15, 1920.

First Session, Friday, May 14, 2 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by the President of the Society, Dr. Lee M. Hollander, who introduced President O. J. Johnson of Gustavus Adolphus College. President Johnson extended to the members of the society a hearty welcome to Gustavus Adolphus College.

The reading of papers was then begun:

1. *Freya and Isis*. By Professor Jules Mauritzson, Augustana College. (15 minutes.) This paper was discussed by Dr. Lee M. Hollander, Dr. Henning Larsen, and Dr. H. J. Hoff.

2. The Relation of Vidga and Heimir in the *Didriks saga*. By Dr. Henning Larsen, University of Iowa. (15 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Dr. Lee M. Hollander.

3. The Duality of Jonas Lie and his Authorship. By Professor Julius E. Olson, University of Wisconsin. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Gisle Bothne and Jules Mauritzson.

4. Tegnér's *Gerda*. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Professor Julius E. Olson, Professor Jules Mauritzson, and Dr. Lee M. Hollander.

Thereupon the chairman appointed Professors A. M. Sturtevant and A. A. Stomberg as a committee to audit the treasurer's report.

There were thirty present at this session.

The dinner at 6:00 o'clock was attended by twenty-five persons. Professor Ernest G. Svenson of Gustavus Adolphus College served as toastmaster and called on State Senator

Henry N. Benson and Dr. Henning Larsen to give informal talks.

At 8:00 o'clock the following program was given in the college auditorium: Selections, The Lyric Male Chorus; The History of the Society, Professor Joseph Alexis; Vocal Solo, Professor Arthur Ryberg; The Greatness of Tegnér, Professor A. M. Sturtevant; Violin Solo, Professor Walter Scott Johnson, accompanied by Professor A. Waldemar Anderson; Greetings from Augustana College, Professor Jules Mauritzson; Address, Professor A. A. Stomberg; The Significance of the Small College, Dr. Lee M. Hollander; Address, Professor Julius E. Olson. The program was attended by 200 persons.

Second Session, Saturday, May 15, 8:45, A. M.

The Executive Board met at 8:45 A. M.

At 9:30 the society had its business meeting.

The report of the Auditing Committee was presented and accepted with the Secretary-Treasurer's report.

In a letter to the society Professor Geo. T. Flom, editor of the publications, stated that it was impossible for him to serve longer in the capacity of editor of Scandinavian Studies and Notes.

Mindful of the great work Professor Geo. T. Flom had done for the publications from the very beginning, the Society moved that the President and the Secretary express to Professor Flom the profound gratitude of the Society for the excellent work during the past nine years.

Professor A. M. Sturtevant of the University of Kansas was thereupon elected Editor of Scandinavian Studies and Notes.

The other officers elected were:

President, Dr. Lee M. Hollander of the University of Wisconsin. Vice-President, Dr. Henning Larsen of the University of Iowa.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

Educational-Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of South High School, Minneapolis.

Members of the Advisory Committee for three years: Professor Julius E. Olson of the University of Wisconsin and Professor A. A. Stomberg of the University of Minnesota.

It was decided to eliminate the offices of district secretaries.

It was moved and carried that the salary of the Secretary-Treasurer be made five hundred dollars a year.

The secretary was instructed to thank the American-Scandinavian Foundation for generous assistance received during the year.

It was moved and carried that the Society thank the faculty and the students of Gustavus Adolphus College for the open and cordial hospitality extended to the Society at this meeting.

Professor Geo. T. Flom was by unanimous vote made life member of the society.

The Society interrupted the session for half an hour in order to attend the chapel exercises, at which Professor E. Olson delivered an address to the students of Gustavus Adolphus College.

Reading and discussion of papers resumed:

5. Old Icelandic *raun* and *reyna*. An etymological inquiry. By Professor Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University. Read by Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Dr. Lee M. Hollander, Dr. H. J. Hoff, and Dr. Henning Larsen.

6. Some of the Difficulties in Teaching the Scandinavian Languages in Our American Schools. By Professor K. A. Kilander, Gustavus Adolphus College. (15 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Julius E. Olson, Jules Mauritzson, H. J. Hoff, A. A. Stomberg, and Dr. Lee M. Hollander.

7. Notes on the *Edda*. By Dr. Lee M. Hollander, University of Wisconsin. (15 minutes.) Discussion by Professors Julius E. Olson and H. J. Hoff.

Adjournment.

At 12:00 o'clock the Society was the guest of the College at a dinner given at Johnson Hall.

JOSEPH ALEXIS, *Secretary*.

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION

BULLETIN IV, MAY, 1920.

Devoted to the Interests of the Teaching of Scandinavian Languages in America.

PEDAGOGICAL NOTES ON NORWEGIAN GRAMMAR

Every teacher must develop his own method, but it is very helpful sometimes to learn the practice and experience of others. I have had classes in beginning Norwegian made up of all Norwegians, or of all Americans, or again of three or four nationalities mixed. That is usually the case in the Scandinavian work at our Universities. The emphasis will necessarily not be upon the same things in the three cases, but it will not vary so very much. But the important thing is to emphasize the characteristic and fundamental things, and with a mixed or an American class to emphasize the difference with English; the similarities will take care of themselves. One may, e.g., emphasize at the outset the greater simplicity of the Norwegian consonants as compared with English by reason of the facts: 1, that the letters *c*, *q*, *w*, and *z*, are not used in native words and hardly ever otherwise; 2, that in the Norwegian consonantal system the sounds *q*, *w*, and *z* do not exist, and in connection with the last that *s* is always voiceless.

The two points that *s* is always *s* (as in English 'see,' never also *z*) and that *j* is always *j* (that is like consonantal *y* in English, never *dz* as in just) must be drilled on a good deal. Other things under consonants will not be troublesome. (Many have difficulty in acquiring the trilled *r*.)

From the standpoint of sounds and spelling the most important thing to observe is that the sound *j* is written *j* regularly before back vowels, but that before a front vowel there is a good deal of (apparent) irregularity. To the American student this may seem as irregular as anything in English. It becomes the business of the teacher to present this matter in a way that will show the reason for it, and make certain main facts stand out, and let these be learned. For example: one never writes *ji*—

or *jy* (except *Jyde*, a Jutlander); and the writings *je*—, and *jæ*—are almost wholly limited to the words *jern* and *jevn*, *jæger*, *jægt*, and *jætte*. This is already a great gain. Now, if we add that the writing *jø*—is limited to *Jøde* and *jøkel* it will be seen that the whole matter may be formulated about as follows: The sound *j* is written *j* before back vowels regularly (only exception *gjælde*, 'to resound'), but *gj* before front vowels (exceptions, the nine words: *jern*, *jevn*, *Jyde*, *jæger*, *jægt*, *jætte*, *Jøde*, *jøkel*, and the colloquial *jøsses*).

Under the vowels it is necessary to emphasize the greater completeness and exactness of Norwegian in the matter of the letters, as it has the three letters *æ*, *ø* and *å*, and furthermore the *y* is always a vowel. There are in all 9 vowel letters to 5 in English (*y* as a vowel has no independent value in English). Norwegian would seem also here then to be much easier, and certainly is clearer and more phonetic, since *a* always is *a*, *u* is always *u*, and the sound *æ* is regularly so written, for English *a*, *e*, *ai*, *ei*, *ay*). However, beyond this the complexity begins; and the student must be prepared to find that, after all, the Norwegian vowels are not at all a simple matter. Study and a good deal of practice in pronunciation will be necessary here. The main difficulty is the letters *o* and *å* and the sound *ø* (i.e., narrow *o*, short or long, *bønne*, *ørde*).¹ Here just a word regarding the former. It does not help the student much in the first stages of the work to be told that one writes *å* (*aa*) ordinarily in words which have cognates in *a*, for in the first place there are many exceptions, and in the second place he cannot know which are related words before he knows anything about the language. It is well here also to fix certain spellings if they in a measure represent the real scope of certain writings. For example, short *å* (that is, open short *o*) is practically limited to the combination—*aand* (*aann*), and the words are mainly *baand*, *haand*, *aand*, *aande*, and *aann* ('busy season').

¹ It is quite misleading to say, as one of our grammars does, that "*o* closed has the sound of *o* in *open*; *bok*, *book*; *sort*, *black*."(!). It is astounding that a book, in many respects excellent, should teach this wholly dialectal pronunciation of *o*. Nor is it correct to say that "*i* has the sound of *ee* in (seen): *skrive*, write *min*, my"; or that "*ø* has the sound of *e* in (her): *høre*, to hear; *tør* (short vowel), dry."

There are, to be sure, five diphthongs in Norwegian but in actual practice (barring a few, mostly foreign, words) there are only three, of course: *ei*, *au* and *oi*. These then should be emphasized as the diphthongs of Norwegian; and in their pronunciation the unphonetic quality of *au* must be seen and the correct sound acquired. Incidentally it may be noted, as it sometimes is, that there is rather a limited number of words with *au*. As far as *ai* and *oi* are concerned, the spellings *Mai* 'May,' *hai* 'shark,' must be learned, but beyond this the diphthongs *ai* and *oi* need no special discussion, . . . leave it until the few words having these diphthongs (*-oi = oi* and *wa*) occur.

It would be desirable to have transcriptions of new words introduced in the successive lessons in all cases, where there could be any doubt in the student's mind as to the exact pronunciation. Our grammars rarely do this. But it is important that these transcriptions be clear to the student and absolutely correct. It is, of course, not sufficient for clearness simply to use either the Norwegian or the English alone, for both are more or less unphonetic. A fairly adequate alphabet for transcription would be the Norwegian letters with the vowel *ø*, *ö*, *ê* and *ι* (open i) added. Transcribed texts of some length are surely a desideratum in the elementary work. But these should represent the pronunciation much more minutely than the rough system I have suggested.

Native students of dialectal speech, Danish and Swedish students,² and American students who have no previous knowledge of Norwegian have considerable difficulty in mastering the pronunciation in those categories of words and forms and in those irregular words which have silent letters, or spellings that are quite unphonetic. I have often found that dialect-speaking students have the greatest difficulty; the task is here a double one for it also includes the unlearning of an already acquired pronunciation. The teacher will have to think out his own method of presenting this most effectively,

² Swedish least. Danish students find it hard to acquire Norwegian or Swedish pronunciation.

i.e., in the way that may be most readily learned and mastered by the pupil. Aside from acquiring at the outset the correct pronunciation of such groups of orthographic irregularities as: *jeg*, *mig*, *dig*, *sig*, and the words *egn*, *tegn*, *regn*, *døgn* and *løgn*³ with diphthongal vowel + *g*, it is especially important that the student observe, and not be allowed to form a habit of careless pronunciation in, certain other cases; of, e.g., especially the difference between the syllable—*et* as the suffixal article and as the ending of the past participle in verbs.

In regard to the pronunciation of *ld* and *nd* there is likely to be a good deal of uncertainty, since about as many words are pronounced with *ld*, *nd* as with *ll*, *un*. The most helpful rule I know to give my students at the outset is: *ld* > *ll* and *nd* > *nn* if the combination is final or followed by final *e*. To this there are very few exceptions. The student will then note that an especially important group of words where the pronunciation *ld*, *nd* remains is where *-re* or *-er* follows, as, e.g., *aldrig*, *alder*.

GEORGE T. FLOM

Dec. 12, 1919.

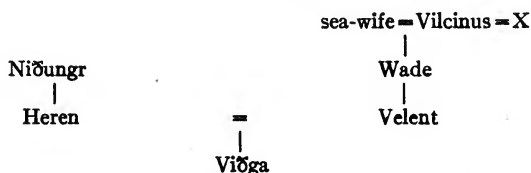
³ Or *gn* as *ngn*, as in those cases where *g* follows a back vowel.

VIÐGA IN SCANDINAVIAN HERO LEGEND

In Scandinavian legends Viðga, the follower of Þiðrik, or Theodoric the Goth, has assumed such proportions as almost to overshadow his master. This Viðga, Vidga, Virga, or Vidrik, is by everyone recognized to be identical with the Wudga, follower of Eormenric, mentioned in the Old English poem *Widsith*, Widia, the follower of Theodoric, mentioned in *Waldere Frag. B*, and Witege of the South German "Volksepos."

The Scandinavian sources of the Viðga story fall in two groups,—the Old Norse *Þiðriks saga* and a group of Danish and Swedish heroic ballads. The *Þiðriks saga* is a thirteenth century saga based directly on North German sources. The introduction (*formáli*), though it may not belong to the original saga, gives early evidence of the German origin. The name-forms, and the very form of the legends, bear out the statement of the *formáli*. The other sources, the ballads, are according to Grundtvig¹ based on material brought from North Germany in the thirteenth century, though in their present form they date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Swedish ballads are based on the Danish.²

The story of Viðga in the Norse sources is much more complete than that preserved in English or German tradition. Most complete is the *Þiðriks saga* account, which relates Viðga's life from boyhood till death. The saga makes him Velent's (Wayland's) son, and establishes the following genealogy:



¹ *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser* I, 63.

² G. Storm: *Sagnkredsene om Karl den store og Didrik af Bern*, p. 169, argues that the ballads are based on the Swedish version of the saga. The same position is taken by Klockhoff: *Studier over Þiðriks saga*. Boer: *Ark. f. n. f.* XX, 103 ff. and 260 ff. supports Grundtvig.

After the death of Niðungr, Velent marries Heren, and brings her and the son Viðga to Sealand, where he succeeds to the throne.

A new section of the saga here sets in with the following words: "Her hefr sago Viðga sunnar Velennz ok kœmr sagan fram at Þiðriks sunnar Þetmar konungs af Bærn." The episode relates in a clear, coherent, and spirited way Viðga's departure from home and his entry into the service of Þiðrik. Velent equips him splendidly with the famous sword Mimungr, helmet and armor, a shield with the well known coat of arms—a hammer and tongs in gold, and three carbuncles, on a white base—and the stallion Skemming. Viðga after performing wonderful feats on the way, meets Þiðrik in single combat and overcomes him. He swears fealty to Þiðrik, and always remains loyal to him.

In the service of Þiðrik, Viðga performs many valiant deeds and only once is worsted in battle. The greatest feat of arms is Viðga's victory over Ætgeirr, the giant, an episode parallel to that portrayed in the Danish ballad *Kong Diderik og hans Kjemper*.³ Particularly important in the saga account is Viðga's transference of allegiance from Þiðrik to Ermenrik. The saga is unique in explaining this through the marriage of Viðga to Bolfriana, the widow of Aki Aurlungatrausti. By this marriage Viðga becomes a vassal of Ermenrik. From this time on, Viðga is in a difficult situation; for war soon arises between Ermenrik and Þiðrik. Viðga remains loyal to his new master, Ermenrik, but avoids any hostile act against his old friends, Theodoric and his followers. Finally, however, in the last great struggle, the battle of Gronsport (i.e. die Rabenschlacht), Viðga becomes the unwilling slayer of the sons of Attila and of Þether, the brother of Þiðrik. Viðga, seeking to avoid combat, addresses Þether, "þat væit guð með mer at þat geri ek nauðiger ef ek drepr þik firir sakar þins broðor." Þether neglects the words, and attacking, is soon slain. Pursued by Þiðrik, who now seeks revenge, Viðga flees to the sea and sinks into it in time to escape Þiðrik's wrath.

³ *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* #7.

The Swedish version adds that in the sea he was received by his "fadhër fadhër modher" who brought him to "Sælandh." Later he went to Fimber where Þiðrik found him and slew him.

The second group of sources, the ballads, deal only with the hero's early life. Most important of these is *Kong Diderik og hans Kæmper* of which Grundtvig⁴ gives nine Danish and four Swedish versions; Arwidson⁵ gives four Swedish. The first of these *DgF.* #7, consists of two parts—Vidrik's fight with Langben Redsker, and Diderik's expedition against Isack, king of Berthingsland. All other redactions give one part only, two Danish and five Swedish give the first; six Danish and three Swedish, the second. Two Faeroe versions, clearly based on the Danish, join both episodes. The account of Viðga's fight with Langben Redsker corresponds in almost every detail to the *Þiðriks saga* report of his encounter with Ætgeirr Rise. Part two, the expedition against Isack of Berthingsland, also shows close resemblance to the saga, but here divergencies are greater.

According to *DgF.* #7A, Diderik and his heroes set out on an expedition to Berthingsland. On the way they have to pass through a wood where Langben Redsker lies. When the courage of the others fail, Vidrik promises to seek the giant. Boldly riding forward, he stirs the giant, who turns sleepily and speaks:

Siig mig fouerenn ungersuennndt
aff dine vaaben sløffue.

Vidrik answers:

Skemming saa heder min guode hest
er født paa Grimmer-stodt:
Mimring heder mitt guode suerdt,
thett rinder y kiempe-blod.

This question and answer seem odd: and possibly, #7B has the more correct reading.

(Redsker): Huen monne suenden komen were
ther saadan ordt tuorde sige?
(Vidrik): Werlandt heder min fader
war en smed well (s)kön:

⁴ *Danmark gamle Folkeviser* I and IV.

⁵ *Svenska Fornsånger*.

Buodell hede min moder,
en koning datter wen.

This genealogy is very important; for it agrees with *Völundarkviða* and with *Deor's Lament*. The fight progresses until Vidrik slays the giant and wins the treasure. Here a bit of comedy—not known to the *Þiðriks saga*—is introduced to extol Vidrik at the expense of Diderik and his followers.

A31 Hannd thog Langbeen Ridsker
 hand reysett hannom thill enn eg:
 Saa redt hand thill Didericks thieldt
 sagde hand haffde Redsker seett.

When Diderik and his men proceed, they are greatly frightened by the sight of Redsker and want to flee. Vidrik laughs mockingly:

Torde ieg manden leffuendis biide,
thor y hannom icki döder see?

The second part of the ballad is devoted chiefly to a description of the shields of Diderik's men. Second in the list is that of Vidrik.

Ther skiner y de andenn skioldt
en hamer och en thang
denn förer Viderik Verlandzonn
beder slaa och ingen thage thill fange.

The last part of the ballad is of interest only in that it brings together Siuord (Sigurð Fafnisbane) and Vidrik.

The ballads constantly remind us of Viderik's superiority over Diderik's other men. *Kong Diderik og Holger Danske, DgF. #17*, is of special interest, for it is evidently a bit of political propaganda. Here Diderik is the exponent of Germanism; Holger Danske represents Danish nationalism. Viderik Verlandson is here represented as a Danish knight opposing Diderik.

In all Scandinavian sources Viðga's glory bids fair to outshine that of Þiðrik. In all probability, he has been a hero of great popularity in North Germany—the original home of the

Danish Theodoric legends. English poems—also drawing from North German traditions—bear out this theory.

A comparison of the Scandinavian versions of the Viðga story with the South German accounts immediately shows a glaring difference in the treatment of Viðga's character. In South German epics, our hero is known as the "ungetriuwe Witege"—the typical villain. These epics, which stress Ditrich's later life,—his exile and his conflicts with Ermenrik, picture Witege as a renegade deserter from Ditrich. Particularly do the authors of *Alpharts Tod* and of the *Rabenschlacht* stress the faithlessness of Witege.

The Þiðriks saga, as we have already seen, makes a conscious effort to keep the character of Viðga clear and untainted. The episode of the slaying of Attila's sons and Ditrich's brother, which the *Rabenschlacht* makes so much of, and the desertion stressed in *Alphart*, the *Þiðriks saga* carefully explains away. There the slaying of the princes takes place against Viðga's will, and the desertion does not figure at all, for Viðga becomes the vassal of Ermenric, at Þiðrik's request, through the marriage with Bolfriana.

The Scandinavian ballads, as well as the Old English sources, deal only with Viðga's early life; they know him only as the noble champion. Theodoric's wars with Ermenric are not mentioned; therefore the *Rabenschlacht* and *Alphart* episodes are unknown. The ballads look upon Vidrik as a Danish champion and have lost all traditions of his Gothic origin. The Swedish ballads bring this even more home to us; for here we find name forms, as Hendrick Welambsson, which indicate total ignorance of the hero's origin. All the ballads join in extolling him at the expense of his fellows.

The complete development of the Viðga story is late. Early Norse sources, as the *Eddas* and the skaldic lays, do not know him at all. Though the *Eddas* have elaborate legends of Jǫrmunrekr (i.e. Eormenric), they know none of the later versions where Theodoric and Eormenric are joined. The Harlung story is the central motive. This has been joined loosely to the Volsung-Niblung material, a combination that presupposes a full

development of these legends. Theodoric is barely mentioned; Viðga not at all.

We know from English sources that Viðga figures early in traditions of Eormenric and of Theodoric. In *Widsith*, possibly from the early seventh century,⁶ he is listed as one of the greatest of heroes and as a follower of Eormenric. In *Waldere B*, from the eighth century,⁷ he is a follower of Theodoric. The poems refer to the hero, but with no elaborations of his deeds, implying a thorough knowledge of them. The stories must, therefore, have been fairly well developed and must have been common property in 7th and 8th century England. If, however, the figure of Viðga were anything but loosely connected with the Eormenric lays in the North German sources of *Widsith*, we should expect to find him in the early Scandinavian records, as the *Eddas*. This, we have already noticed, is not the case. In the *Waldere*, Widia figures as Theodoric's follower. This is prior to the union of the Theodoric and Eormenric stories. If, therefore, Viðga figures sometimes with one sometimes with the other, we are safe in supposing that he, as an epic hero, is only loosely bound to either one.

Better evidence for the lateness of the Viðga stories is the hero's place in the Weland legends. One of the central points in the Viðga stories still preserved is his descent from Weland. This fact is most clearly brought out in the Northern versions.⁸ The ballads make Vidrik son of Werlandt and Buodell.⁹ The *Þiðriks saga* gives: Viðga son of Velent and Heren, daughter of Niðungr. We immediately recognize in Buodell the Beaduhild, daughter of Niphad mentioned in *Deor* and Bǫðvild of *Vqlundarkviða*. Imagine Viðga, the hero, sprung from such a relationship! It is impossible to conceive of such a thing unless we presuppose a late and weakened Weland story; for in *Deor* and *Vqlundarkviða*, Weland's violation of Beaduhild is an act of vengeance. Such a relationship could hardly be considered a

⁶ Chambers: *Widsith*, p. 178; Holthausen; *Beowulf* II, xxvi.

⁷ Müllenhoff: *Zfda.* XII, 274; Holthausen: *Beowulf* II, xxii.

⁸ North Germany is the home of the Weland stories; cf. Maurus: *Die Wieldandsage*.

⁹ DgF.#7B.

proper source of a great epic hero. The weakening of the Weland story (that we must suppose) can actually be seen in the *Þiðriks saga*. There the old relationship shines through, but the author has lost sight of its significance. The Viðga story, as we know it, must then have reached its full development after the true significance of Weland's vengeance has been lost.

Even later comes the special South German development of the "ungetriuwe Witege." As Jiriczek has pointed out,¹⁰ the change in Witege's character is the result of, or is it at least hastened by, the joining of the Eormenric and Theodoric cycles, in both of which he figured. The time of this fusion can be fairly well conjectured. In the *Hildebrandslied*, dating from ca. 800, Theodoric's main opponent is Odoacer; Eormenric is not mentioned. The *Quedlinburg Chronicle*, from about 1000,¹¹ relates that Ermenricus, instigated by Odoacar, drove his nephew Theodoricus from Verona and forced him to go into exile to Attila, king of the Huns. As Jiriczek points out, the chronicle clearly represents the first step in the change from the old conception of Odoacer as the leader of the opposition to the new where Eormenric takes over this rôle. Witege—the typical traitor—comes then, in all probability, after the year 1000.

The conclusion can now fairly reasonably be drawn that the Viðga story in its fully developed form, is late; but that the Scandinavian presentation of him, as a noble hero, antedates the South German and is nearer the original Viðga of Germanic tradition.

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¹⁰ *Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 303.

¹¹ Golther: *Deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter*, p. 69.

THE 1917 TRANSLATION OF THE SWEDISH BIBLE

De kanoniska böckerna. Översättningen gillad och stadfäst av Konungen år 1917.

This translation of the Swedish Bible, appearing in the anniversary year of the Reformation, represents in a way the culmination of the labors of the Royal Bible Commission during nearly a century and a half.

The history of Bible translation in Sweden goes back to the first half of the 14th century; some parts of the Old Testament and the book of Revelation had been translated before 1520 when the Reformation in Sweden began. The important version of the New Testament which appeared in 1526 was made by Laurentius Andreä and Olaus Petri after Erasmus' Greek text and Luther's German version. Parts of the O. T. appeared in 1536 and were followed in 1541 by the whole Bible of Gustavus I. Vasa. The O. T. in this version was the work of Archbishop Laurentius Petri, with the assistance of the two translators mentioned above, and followed Luther's Bible of 1534.

As early as 1600 Gustavus Vasa's son, Carl IX, appointed a translation committee of four members. Gustavus Adolphus did likewise, but the results were inconsiderable. Under later rulers several cautiously revised editions appeared; probably the most important one of these was Carl XII's Bible of 1703, which became the commonly accepted version in Swedish churches ("*vår gamla kirkobibel*") previous to the revisions of the last forty years. It differs only slightly from the first complete Bible of 1541. One might compare its popularity with that of the King James ("Authorized") version in English. It is, of course, still circulated, printed in Gothic ("German") type in an old orthography, with the text slightly modernized.

The work of the Royal Bible Commission began in 1773 under Gustavus III.¹ A specimen translation was made by

¹ For the following outline of the work of the Commission I am indebted to the scholarly articles of Dr. S. G. Youngert of Rock Island, in the *Augustana Theol. Quarterly*, vol. 10 (1908), 129ff., and in the weekly *Augustana* for Feb. 27, 1913; also to Hauck's *Realenzyklopädie für protestant. Theologie*, 10, p. 150 f.

1793, but being a rather rationalistic, exegetical paraphrase, it was not accepted. A partially new commission was now formed and in 1816 a new tentative translation of the N. T. was issued, but it too was rejected. Part of the O. T. was done by the same commission, and still other parts by 1837 which may be called the end of the first period of the Commission's activity. In 1841, the three hundredth anniversary of the complete Swedish Bible, the Commission was reorganized. Another trial version of the N. T. appeared in 1853, somewhat revised in 1861. This revision was sent back to the Commission by the Council or Conference of the Swedish Church in 1868. The work was continued with zeal and a new tentative translation of the N. T. was submitted to the Church in 1873. It was based upon Tischendorf's Greek text and was the most radical effort to modernize the Swedish N. T. before the translation of 1907-17. But it encountered opposition and was referred back to the Commission. Another trial version of the N. T., prepared along more conservative lines, was presented five years later (Council of 1878). The O. T. too was worked over again by this time (a thorough revision of a preliminary version of 1868). But the Swedish Church declined (1878) to accept the new version. The work was printed, however, and widely circulated. The O. T. of 1878 was, in fact, the only modern version in common use (bound with the N. T. of 1883) until the appearance of the new one of 1903 (*Normalupplagan*).

After 1878 the Commission took up the N. T. once more and the resulting version was recommended by the Church Council of 1883 and by the King for use "vid undervisningen i kyrka och skola." This 1883 version of the N. T. (*Normalupplagan*, "Nya översättningen") was accordingly the official revision in Sweden until the latest translation was approved and it is, I believe, still the preferred revision in the Swedish churches of America. The N. T. thus disposed of in 1883 for the time being, the Commission proceeded again to the revision of the O. T. A version was elaborated with little regard to the translation of 1878. Their work was published in 1893-98. The Council of 1898 praised this O. T., but directed the Commission to continue revising it. The Council of 1903 then recommended the O. T.,

as presented that year, to the same extent as the N. T. of 1883. Thus from 1904 on the "Normalupplaga" of the whole Bible was in circulation (O. T. 1903, N. T. 1883).²

But the O. T. was now a more modern revision than the N. T. The next step was to make a translation of the N. T. to harmonize better with the latest O. T. Such a new translation of the N. T. (not a revision of the 1883 version) was brought out in 1907, the work of the same translators who prepared the O. T. of four years previously. The Church Council of 1908 declared this N. T. was an admirable piece of work, but in many passages it was too much of a paraphrase, the style, too, was capable of improvement, etc. In other quarters something of an uproar was made about it. A petition signed by five hundred Swedish ministers found fault with it.³ It was felt that the Commission was too far removed from the people, hence an advisory committee of five, three of whom were churchmen, was appointed to confer with the Royal Bible Commission. One of these men was J. A. Edman, who had published an excellent independent Swedish translation of the N. T. in 1900. The 1907 N. T. was accordingly worked over and made ready in 1912 for presentation to the Church Council which acted upon it favorably.⁴ Much of the objection to the N. T. version of 1907 and '12 came from readers who felt that the Commission should merely bring the N. T. of 1883 up to date and not make a new translation. All previous Swedish versions (except 1873) had been based upon younger but longer Greek sources; the

² This edition of the Swedish Bible is also distributed by the American Bible Soc., N. Y. (as "Swedish Nos. 12-17" in their catalog). On the O. T. of 1903 see the article by C. A. Blomgren in *Augustana Theol. Quarterly*, 10 (1908), pp. 8-20.

³ V. Rudin: "Svaromål på petitionen om Bibelkommissionens nyaste översättning" (six articles in *Stockholms Dagblad*, also separate, 1908); J. Personne: "Bibelkommissionens principer vid 1907 års översättning av Nya testamentet," in *Bibelforskaren*, Uppsala, vol. 25 (1908), 1-16; see also the excellent article by Dr. S. G. Youngert, in *Augustana Theol. Quarterly*, 10, 129 ff. on the N. T. of 1907.

⁴ There is a series of very carefully prepared articles by Dr. S. G. Youngert on the N. T. of 1912 in the weekly *Augustana* (Rock Island, Illinois), 1913 (Feb. 27, March 13 and 27, April 10), which the reviewer has found very useful for the 1917 edition.

N. T. of 1907 and '12 was mainly a translation of the Greek N.T. of the German, Edward Nestle,⁵ itself based upon Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort, hence following the two oldest Greek codices (Sinaiticus and Vaticanus). When the Commission thus went back to older but shorter Greek sources than those which had previously been used for accepted Swedish versions of the N. T., many readers rebelled at the omissions and changes; they preferred the popular "normal" revision of 1883 or the N. T. of the "old Church-Bible." Serious objection was not made, so far as I know, to the O. T. revision of 1903, made on the same principles as the N. T. of 1907 and '12. That was because the O. T. text is fixed in the Massoretic Hebrew version. But the case was different with the N. T., for some 2000 MSS. are preserved and they all differ from one another, sometimes very considerably. In going back to the older and shorter MSS. the Swedish Bible Commission was scarcely more radical than the committees who revised the English Bible (1881, 1885; and the "American Standard Version").

It seems that the O. T. of 1903 and the N. T. of 1907 and '12 were again referred to the Commission for certain changes. The final result is the new Bible of 1917. It has the approval of the Swedish Church, confirmed by the ultimate authority, the King. It accordingly replaces officially all other published translations, though of course congregations are not forced to use it.

As to whether the work of revision will rest at this point for many years, the reviewer has no information. The appearances are that it will. Yet work of that sort is really never done. One feels that in all of the principal languages there should be a Bible version with literary merit (e. g. the King James version in English, and Luther's German Bible) for general use, conservative readers, etc., which might need no revision for a century or more; there should also be another translation, revised say every ten years, for readers with scholarly interests who wish

⁵ *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart, Württembergische Bibelanstalt; also re-edited in 1904 for the British and Foreign Bible Soc. (the Am. Bible Soc., N. Y., is the American distributor of the special edition of this scholarly and very cheap Greek N. T.).

to keep in touch with the work done on the original Hebrew and Greek texts.

The 1917 version prints poetical passages as verse. The orthography is, of course, modern (*v* for voiced *f*, *fv*; omits the old initial *h* before *v*, etc.). The aim was to use natural modern Swedish; that includes a matter like word-order, e.g. Ps. 1, 3, Old Bible: *såsom ett trä . . . hwilket frukt bär i sinom tid; och dess löf förfalna intet*; 1917: *såsom ett träd . . . vilket bär sin frukt i sin tid, och vars löv icke vissna*. Long periods are broken up as far as possible; this sometimes involves introducing particles and such expressions as "han vet," "att bevisa," "ty jag önskar," "jag menar," "vill jag," etc., which are not actually represented in the originals. In the following some passages from the two parts of the 1917 translation are given, together with the reading of one or two older versions for the sake of comparison.⁶

The Old Testament, 1917. The revisers point out that, although the Hebrew text used by Luther practically coincides with that followed by Bible translators of the twentieth century, the original is now much better understood. This patent fact explains many variations of the modern Swedish translations from the "old Church-Bible" of 1703, e.g. Gen. 30, 37, Old Bible: *Men Jacob tog gröna aspekäppar, hassel och castaneen, och barkade hwita ränder deruppå*; 1878: *Och J. tog sig käppar af frisk poppel, mandelträd och lönn och randade på dem hwita ränder, derigenom att han blottade det hvita på käpparne*; 1917: *men J. tog sig friska käppar av poppel, mandelträd och lönn och skalade på dem vita ränder, i det han blottade det vita på käpparna*.

The following passages taken at random bring out various differences between the old version and the recent ones.

Gen. 1, 11, Old Bible: *Bäre jorden gräs och örter, som frö hafwa, och fruktsam trä, att hwart och ett bär frukt efter sin art, och hafwer sitt eget frö i sig sjelwo på jordene*, 1917: *Frambringe jorden grönska, fröbärande örter och fruktträd, som efter sina arter bära frukt, vari de hava sitt frö, på jorden*.

⁶ My quotations from the "old Church-Bible" are from a modern reprint, not accurately representing the version of 1703.

Gen. 1, 16, (Old): Och Gud gjorde tu stor ljus; ett stort ljus, som regerade dagen, och ett litet ljus, som regerade natten; och stjernor. 1917: *Gud gjorde de två stora ljusen, det större ljuset till att råda över dagen, och det mindre ljuset till att råda över natten, så ock stjärnorna.*

Gen. 24, 62, (Old): Men Isaac kom ifrå den brunnen, som kallades dens lefwandes och seendes; ty han bodde i det landet södernt. 1878: Och Isak var på väg hem ifrån brunnen Lachajroi, och han bodde i sydlandet. 1917: *Men Isak var på väg hem från Beer-Lahai Roi, ty han bodde i Sydlandet.*

Ex. 20, 5, (Old): Bed icke till dem, och tjena dem icke; ty jag HERren din Gud, är en stark hämnare, den som söker fädernas missgerning, inpå barnen, allt intill tredje och fjerde led, de som mig hata. 1878: Sådana skall du icke tillbedja och icke dyrka; ty jag Herren, din Gud, är en nitälskande Gud, som hemsöker fädernas missgerning på barnen i tredje och fjerde led, på dem som mig hata. 1917: *Du skall icke tillbedja sådana ej heller tjäna dem; ty jag, Herren, din Gud, är en nitälskande Gud, som hemsöker fädernas missgerning på barn och efterkommande i tredje och fjärde led, när man hatar mig.*

Ps. 23, 2, (Old): Han föder mig på en grön äng, och förer mig till friskt watten. 1878: Han låter mig hvila på gröna ängar, han förer mig til lugna vatten. 1917: *han låter mig vila på gröna ängar; han för mig till vatten där jag finner ro.*

Ps. 42, 6. (Old): . . . ty jag skall ännu tacka honom, att han hjälper mig med sitt ansigte. 1878: . . . ty jag skall ännu en gång tacka honom, min frälsning och min Gud. 1917: *. . . ty jag skall åter få tacka honom för frälsning genom honom.*

Is. 11, 1, (Old): Och ett Ris skall uppgå utaf Isai slägte, och en Telning utaf hans rot frukt bära. 1878: Och ett skott skall utgå ifrån Isais stam och en telning uppspira ifrån hans rötter. 1917: *Men ett skott skall skjuta upp ur Isais avhuggna stam, och en telning från dess rötter skall bära frukt.*

The New Testament, 1917. Here too the revisers compared and used preceding versions. These included the unofficial translations of Myrberg, Waldenström, and Edman; also the Swedish Catholic version of J. P. E. Benelius, made in 1895 (of course from the Vulgate) was not ignored.

Since the shorter Greek text was used, numerous passages in older versions do not appear in the 1917 translation. The revisers call attention (under "Nya testamentets text" in the Appendix of the edition used by the reviewer) to the omission of a number of verses, because the same passages occur in a more suitable context in other parts of the N. T.; e. g. Matth. 18, 11 was left out, since the best evidence is in favor of its presence in Luke 19, 10. Where verses are omitted the verse number is still printed, with a footnote referring to the Appendix which indicates where these verses may be found in the N. T.

Other passages disappeared entirely. In Matth. 6, 13 the closing words of the old version of the Lord's prayer, "Ty riket är ditt, och magten, och härligheten, i evighet" are omitted, as they are in modern versions in other languages. Otherwise the older language of the prayer (as in the N. T. of 1883, not just as in the old Church-Bible) is kept in the 1917 version, but in the Appendix a thoroughly modern translation of the Lord's prayer is given, both according to Matthew and to Luke.

Some other omissions are (1) the end of Matth. 19,9 (1883: . . . och den som tager en fränskild till hustru, han gör hor); (2) the second half of Mark 6, 11; (3) in the Ave Maria the words: välsignad är du ibland qvinnor (Luke 1, 28) do not appear; (4) Luke 9, 56 the words of 1883: Ty menniskosonen har icke kommit för att förderfva själar, utan att frälsa dem; (5) 1 Cor. 11, 24. 1883: . . . Tagen, äten. Detta är min lekamen, som brytes för eder In 1917 "Tagen, äten" is omitted and "brytes" is changed to "*varder utgiven*"; (6) Luke 11, 11, 1883: Och hvilken bland eder är den fader, som, om hans son beder honom om ett bröd, gifver honom en sten? Eller ock om han beder om en fisk icke gifver han väl honom en orm i stället för en fisk? 1917 omits much of this and reads: *Finnes bland eder någon fader, som när hans son beder honom om en fisk, i stället för en fisk räcker honom en orm?*

Two important passages are put in brackets (also bracketed or set off in the English and American revised versions): the close of the last chapter of Mark (verses 9-20) and the story of the adulteress taken in sin, John 7, 53 to 8, 11. In the first

draft of the new Swedish translation in 1907 the latter passage was put in fine print at the bottom of the page like a footnote but this procedure met with considerable objection.

On the other hand the 1917 version introduces some words in Matth. 10, 23 which are lacking in all translations the reviewer has compared, whether Swedish or not. After *När de förfölja eder i en stad, så flyn till en annan*, 1917 adds: *och om de också där förfölja eder, så flyn till ännu en annan*. This is one of the "noteworthy rejected readings" of the English scholars.

In other cases the new version exhibits considerably more conservatism. Where good MSS. differ the translators usually preferred to follow the reading which appeared in the old Swedish Bible. Again, in the last chapter of Luke, for instance, some good MSS. lack a number of passages which have all been retained in the 1917 version.

The attempt to give smoother and more natural modern Swedish is everywhere evident, e. g. Matth. 9, 2, Old Bible: Och si de hade in för honom en lam, som låg uti en säng; 1883: Och se, de förde till honom en lam, som låg på en säng; 1917: *Då förde de till honom en lam man* (etc. like 1883). The older translations with "Och se" followed the Greek too literally. But changes of this sort brought the Commission a good deal of criticism. Compare also the following: (1) Coloss. 1, 22 (Old Bible): med sins köotts lekamen, 1883: i hans köotts kropp; 1917: *i hans jordiska kropp*. (2) Mark 8, 33 (Old): Gack bort ifrå mig, du Satan; 1883: Gå bort ur min åsyn, Satan; 1917: *Gå bort, Satan, och stå mig icke i vägen*. (3) Jude, verse 7, 1883: Sodom and Gomorra) gingo efter främmande kött; 1917: *stodo efter annat umgänge än det naturliga*. (4) John 13, 10 (Old): . . . men han är all ren; 1917: . . . *han är ju i övrigt hel och hållen, ren*.

Some of the latter quotations lead us to the matter of free paraphrases, to which serious objections had been made in the 1907 and 1912 drafts of the new translation.

Mk. 6, 31, 1883: Ty de kommende och gående voro många, så att de icke ens hade tid till att äta; 1917: *Ty de fingo icke ens tid att äta; så många voro de som kommo och gingo*.

Mk. 10, 38, 1883: Döpas med det dop, hvarmed jag döpas; 1917: *genomgå det dop som jag genomgår.*

1 Thess. 5, 3, 1883: Det är frid och säkerhet,—this is a plain and direct rendering of the Greek, but 1917 has: *Allt står väl till, och ingen fara är på färde.*

Wherever the word *helvete* occurred in older Swedish versions it was changed either to *Gehenna* (following the lead of the unofficial translations of Myrberg, Edman and Waldenström), or to *dödsriket* (when it represented "Hades" in the original). This toning down of the idea of hell in the new translation encountered some earnest opposition. Since "Gehenna," for instance, would doubtless have an unfamiliar sound to many Swedish ears, the Appendix contains a full, up-to-date explanation of the word; also of "dödsriket."

Instead of the old expression "*sitta till bords*" the 1917 N. T. has "*ligga till bords*," since in ancient times the custom of reclining at meals was current in Palestine just as it was among the Romans at home.

Dr. S. G. Youngert pointed out a passage of the new translation in which *tu* occurred twice in previous versions but has been changed to *två* in only one of the two cases, Matth. 19, 5, 6, (Mark 10, 8): 1917: Och de *tu* skola varda ett kött. Så äro de icke mer *två*, utan ett kött. It is not clear why "*de tu*" should be retained here (and in 1. Cor. 6, 16; Ephes. 5, 20) when even the old Church-Bible has "*Hwilken af de två*" in Matth. 21, 31.

The 1917 Bible has appeared or is appearing in many editions. Perhaps the most convenient one would be the 8° edition published by Norstedt (1353 and 442 pp., priced in 1917 at 6.50 kr. in cloth). The same publisher has a pulpit edition, 4°, at 140 kr., and is getting out a somewhat smaller 4° edition in parts. The Bibelförlag, Stockholm, is also issuing a 4° edition in parts, while the Nordisk Familjeboksförlag, Stockholm, has begun the publication of a folio edition as "*Gustav V:s Kirko-bibel.*" The edition examined by the reviewer is, "De förenade Bibelsällskapens edition," published by the Sv. Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag in Stockholm, 1918, (in cloth and leather at various prices, originally 4-10 kr.). The type in this edition is not too small but, at least in the cheaper editions,

not everywhere sharp and clear (due to war quality of paper and ink?). Each verse is here set off by itself (rather strange in a modern Bible, but no doubt a concession to the general reader), and references are printed in finer type at the end of the verses they belong with,—this is often very disturbing especially in the poetical books where the lines are much broken up anyway. This edition (I am not sure about those of other publishers) contains a carefully prepared Appendix “Ordförklaringar och sakupplysningar” (already referred to), a table of weights and measures, the texts of the Church year, and maps.

It is no doubt too early to say how successful the 1917 translation will be with Bible readers. It has the official sanction of the Church of Sweden, and the interest is now great, because of the novelty of the work. No translation can suit everybody; it may be that the objections to the present version are not so great as those which were made at first to the King James Bible. This translation will not do for Swedish what the King James Bible did for English; it is too late to expect that—Swedish does not need a new Bible version as a model for good style. There is no doubt still a considerable number of passages in this work which could be bettered, either in style⁷ or as translations. On the whole this is a conscientiously prepared, easily intelligible, modern translation, neither too radical nor too conservative, and the Swedish people are to be congratulated upon its possession. It is a work that will be carefully studied by translators and revisers of the Bible in other tongues for a long time to come.

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⁷ Under the heading of “Den nya Bibelsvenskan” G. Cederschiöld, in *Språk och Stil*, vol. 19 (1919), pp. 1-27, gives 25 pages of roughly classified quotations showing differences in the language of the Old Bible (1703) and the 1917 translation. The article contains on pp. 19-21 lists of passages in the new version which might have been improved or in which the reasons for changes in the 1917 translation are not clear.

TEGNÉR'S POETIC TREATMENT OF DEATH

INTRODUCTION

The conception of death in its relation to the individual soul is an essential part of all religion. Since Esaias Tegnér was primarily a religious poet, it is not surprising that he dwelt with deep interest upon the subject of death and that too, not only in his elegies but also in nearly all his didactic and philosophical poetry. According to the character of his poetic technique¹ (viz., the use of vivid contrasts in thought and color) Tegnér was prone to contrast death with some phase of life, either physical or spiritual and by this method of contrast to reveal the relation of the two states of existence to each other and the final harmony of both in the great chain of existence. Altho he was often wont to express his conception of death in orthodox or conventional terms, his fundamental idea regarding death was in keeping with that of the Romantic School of Philosophy, viz., that death is not a negation of life but a supplement of life, preserving the moral integrity of the universe and constituting an indispensable part of that completed circle of existence for which man was created. Tegnér's poetic exposition of death reveals his sympathies with the prevailing Pantheistic and Neo-platonic doctrines of his time and like all Romantic poets he drew largely upon nature for his symbols and metaphors. It is the purpose of this article to point out in Tegnér's poetic treatment of death these characteristic features of his poetic art.

a. Death a survival of the divine essence

One recurrent thought regarding death, characteristic of Tegnér, is that the essential cannot perish; the divine essence survives, even tho its manifestations are in a constant state of change.

¹ Regarding Tegnér's poetic technique, cf. G. Ljunggren, "Esaias Tegnér's bildspråk," *Smärre Skrifter*, Lund, 1879; Francis Bull, "Tegnér og Wergeland," *Til Gerhard Gran*, pp. 128 ff., Kristiania, 1916.

Thus, he says in *Fridsröster* (1808):

Hvad tillfälligt är må falla,
det väsentliga består.

in *De tre bröderna* (1817):

Stoftets former äro många,
det gudomliga är ett.

in *Svanen och fjälltrasten* (1812):

Konstens former äro många,
fast dess väsende är ett.

in *Vid förrättandet af en prestvigning* (1837):

Formen må skifta och växla alltjämt, men väsendet blifver.

in the canto *Försoningen* of the *Frithiofssaga* (1825):

En är Allfader, fastän fler hans sändebud.

and in *Skaldebref* (1815):

Kroppen förvittras till luft, men sinnet är evigt det samma.

The divine attributes of the human soul, the eternal verities, survive the form of their manifestation, as he says, for instance, in *Skaldebref*:

Sanning och snille och dygd lefva bland skuggorna qvar.

or in his elegy to *C. A. Tiliander* (1806):

Och hvad godt, hvad ädelt vi den lemne,
vädren ej förströ.
Evigt lefver, som en gud, dess ämne,
fast dess former dö.

In other words, the *symbol* perishes but the *thing* itself, the divine essence, lives:—"tecknet är ej saken."² Therefore, the human

² Tegnér's favorite expression for distinguishing the essence from its outward form, cf. *Frithiofssaga*, *Natiboardsbarnen*, *Epilog* (of 1820).

soul, which is divine,³ cannot perish. The sense of the soul's divinity is a spiritual instinct with which man is endowed and this instinct was with all the Romantic poets the only sure guide to spiritual truth. Thus, Tegnér says in *Lifvet*:

Men i hjertat ropade hvar dag
så en röst: "I tingens stora kedja"
hvarje länk skall lefva, skall sig glädja
åt sitt lif, sin varelse, som jag."

and in *Till en far* (1805):

Se, i Ödets taflo skuren
Står en lag som evigt stått:
Intet dör uti Naturen;
Lifvet byter former blott.

b. *The human soul as a part of the divine essence in nature*

Tegnér's love of nature is reflected in the many parallels he draws between nature and man. Just as the vital principle of nature is never destroyed but, in spite of decay, continues to assert itself in some other form, so the human soul survives the dissolution of the body, whether the soul preserve its individual

³ Cf. *Fridsröster*, *Nattvardsbarnen*, and *Försoningen* of the *Frithiofs saga*.

⁴ Cf. *Förvillelsen* (1804):

Helgd vare ryktet tänkarn har!
Hans forskning villorna förtränger.
Vi se den länk för länk,—men hvar
är fästet, hvarvid kedjan hänger?

and *Religionen* (1801), where exactly the same metaphor occurs:

och att du sjelf den kedjan gjorde,
som länk för länk du vandrar vid.

This metaphor (i.e., "life as the great chain") was no doubt taken from Leopold (*Försynen*) who in turn appropriated it from Pope (*Essay on Man*), cf. *Epist.* I v. 33 f.:

Is the great chain, that draws all to agree,
And drawn supports, upheld by God, or thee?

Cf. Albert Nilsson's *Introduction* to Tegnér's *Filosofiska och estetiska studier*, Stockholm, 1913, p. 42, footnote.

identity or not. Thus, the poet says in his elegy *Till en sörjande make* (1810):

Utur vinterns graf föds våren,
lifvet föds ur människans.

Nature and spirit are one; both share in the divine essence. Thus in nature we worship God, as the poet says in *Träden* (1813):

Fall ned och tillbed, icke ett skapat ting,
men håg som lever!

Every human being in the hour of spiritual exaltation senses this divinity within himself and his kinship with the divine essence in nature, as the poet says of himself in *Lifvet*:

Och du eld, som mig din värma ger,
och du våg, som i min bägar blandas,
och du luft, uti hvars famn jag andas,
ja, som syskon vill jag älska er.

and in *Träden*:

O, låt mig trycka hvar väsen till kärligt bröst!

Thus, Frithiof, when love had swept all hatred from his heart, felt himself in tune with the Infinite and therefore seemed to hear the heart-beat of nature (*Försoningen*):

Det var, som kände han *naturens hjerta slå*⁵
emot sitt hjerta.

This divine harmony with nature is the manifestation of God in the human soul and a proof of its kinship with God and, therefore, a most potent manifestation of the immortality of the soul. This was a cardinal dogma of the nature-loving

⁵ Cf. *Axel*:

Det var som om naturen sade,
att nu sin herdestund hon hade,
så lifligt och så tyst ändå,
du kunde hört dess *hjerta slå*.

Romanticists and in keeping with their doctrine of Pantheism which had profoundly affected Tegnér's religious thought.⁶ Tho opposed to the principle that the human soul is destined to lose its identity in the spiritual essence of the universe, Tegnér, nevertheless, sympathized with the Pantheists insofar as they believed that the spiritual essence manifested outwardly in nature corresponds within to the human soul. Thus, for instance, in his poem *Panteismen* Tegnér portrays the beauty of nature as a proof of the divinity of the human soul:

Låt oss gå ner i dalar,
der trasten slår i björkens äreport,
ros rodnar för sin längtan, bäcken talar
om Gud, som lefver, och allt skönt, han gjort!

c. *Death preserves the integrity of the spiritual law*

Since death does not, according to the poet, destroy the individual integrity of the human soul, he is often forced to depart from his analogy with nature, inasmuch as the individual manifestations of nature are in a state of constant change and decay. In nature there is no sense of justice; Death mows down indiscriminately the flower and the weed. Thus, in lamenting the death of *J. Beckfriis* (1822) Tegnér says:

En tröstlös lära går igenom menskans öden,
som genom merg och ben en feberrysning går;
det usla frodar sig, det härliga förgår,
och lian svänges blindt af *vensterhändta* döden.⁷

⁶ Cf. *Introduction* to Tegnér's "Filosofiska och estetiska skrifter," by Albert Nilsson, Stockholm, 1913, ch. V. *Naturuppfattning*.

⁷ Cf. *Resignationen* (1808):

Frid i ert eget bröst, frid, dödligt, med tiden!
Hur flitigt ock hans *lia* går
fram öfver eder skörd, så hoppens dock och liden.

and *Den vise* (1804):

Skörden utaf solar och af jordar
mejas mogen af hans *lia* ner.

⁸ The metaphor of Time (Death) as an old man, armed with a scythe, is a traditional Christian conception.

But the human soul, as a part of the divine order of things, has no necessary connection with material or natural life. The body, like all things mortal, perishes, but the soul takes its flight unto God, as Tegnér says in this same elegy:

och anden lade glad ifrån sig stoftets börda
och ur det låga grus flög, som en bön, till Gud.

The fate of the human soul is thus after all determined not by blind chance (and thus lost in the chaos of the mechanical forces of the universe), but by the guiding hand of an intelligent and loving spirit, as the poet says in his elegy to *E. Rosenblad* (1806):

Broder! denna helsning öfver stjernor,
detta handslag i de dödas land!
Låt oss tro, att *öfels blinda tärnor*
ledas likväl af en faders hand.

We shall not be lost in the chaos of nature's night, but shall survive all change and decay in the cosmos of the spiritual world of which we are a part. Thus, the poet says in *Den vise* (1804):

Allt är rof utaf förgängligheten,
tomt står rummet, der naturen var;
menskan blott är än den samma qvar,
hennes tanke fyller evigheten.
Uti kaos' natt ej lif, ej ljud,
intet, intet utom hon och Gud.

That we are a part of the divine Spirit and that death serves only as a step upward towards the Infinite, Tegnér expresses most beautifully in his conception of Heaven as a spiritual state in which we share even in this life, whenever the soul apprehends the divine (either in itself or in nature). Thus, he says in his elegy to *K. L. Beckfriis* (1834):

Vi flytta deras luftiga gestalt
till himlen,—är ej himlen öfverallt?
I sen dem icke, men I dem förnimmen
i middagsglansen som i midnattstimmen,
så snart ett högre, ett odödligt hopp

uti förvissnadt hjerta blomma opp,
 så snart en ädel tanke lyfter vingen,
 en bättre känsla söker stjerneringen;
 ty allt hvad lifvet stort och heligt har
 från andeverlden kommer till en hvar.

Earth life is thus a part of the future and eternal life of man; the two states of existence are divine and, therefore, in reality constitute but one harmonized and continuous life. Thus, Tegnér says in *Försoningen* (*Frithiofssaga*):

Så är de höge Asars lif en förebild
 till mensklighetens lägre: bägge äro blott
 Allfaders stilla tankar, de förändras ej.

This faith in the divinity of the human soul and in the divine nature of its existence in the body as well as after death was in keeping with the doctrine of the Romantic philosophers, who laid special stress upon the immanent God. The change in death is purely physical, not spiritual. Viewed from the standpoint of its religious or moral aspects, life serves as a preparation for this change and is merely the pathway⁸ leading up to the Eternal. The human soul does not after death lose its identity but only continues its normal and natural development; thus the integrity of the spiritual law regarding justice and morality is preserved.

⁸ In *Förvillelsen*, for instance, the poet compares earth life to "the portico in the temple of eternity":

Och var vårt lif bestämdt till mer
 än till portiken för ditt tempel?

which is exactly the same thought as that expressed by the priest of Balder in *Försoningen*:

Ty jorden är dock himlens skugga, lifvet är
 förgården dock till Balderstemplet ofvan skyn.

In *Mjeltsjukan* (1825) earth life is similarly compared to that school wherein "the foundling of time" receives instruction for the eternal life:

och tidens hittebarn, här satt i skolen,
 får kanske se sin fader—bortom solen.

This sentiment is also reflected in his elegy to C. A. Tiliander (1806):

Nej, hvad lifvet börjat i sin skola
 bildar grafven ut.

d. *Death as the complement to life*

One great outstanding fact regarding death is, according to the poet, that it affords a release from the sorrows and disappointments of life, even if the promised reward for a noble life be not realized. Life's pleasures and ambitions are delusions from which the grave offers certain escape, as the poet says in his elegy to *N. F. Sparrsköld* (1809):

tro mig, lifvets glädje dårar;⁹
endast grafven håller ord.

and to *Sven Hylander* (1825):

Gläd dig, yngling i din himmel! Ack, all jordens glädje är
som en hektisk rodnad, för minuten
öfver lifvets bleka kinder gjuten:
gläd dig bättre der!

Life at best is always unsatisfactory and incomplete;¹⁰ only death, therefore, can fulfill the broken aspirations of

⁹ Cf. his elegy to *fru Stoltz* (1814):

Säg dem, lifvets glädje dårar,
men att dygden evig är.

¹⁰ Characteristic of the Romantic poets, Tegnér has most frequently chosen the flower as a symbol for this idea. The flower perishes in all its beauty; even so does human life. Thus, the poet says in his elegy to *Den drunknade gossen* (1818):

Derföre bröt han i hast en förgängelig blomma och lade
henne, en vänlig symbol, hän på din tidiga graf.

and in *Till en yngling* (1810):

Bryt blomman, o yngling; i morgon skall den
på grafven strös.

Thus, a young life cut short by death, is "a lily plucked too soon"; cf. "en lilja bruten i förtid" (*Nattvardsbarnen*), "du hvita lilja uti förtid bruten" (*Till friherrinnan Martina v. Schwerin*). For the dead poet *David Aspelin* (1821) Tegnér, however, uses the appropriate symbol of "the broken lyre":

Lik en splittrad lyra

du ligger der, och himlens melodier
ha slumrat in uti de brustna strängar.

and for *Nils Trolle* (1827) the symbol of "the artist's torso":

Men nu är din lefnad lik den store
konstnärns torso, kraftig, skön som den,
ack, men stympad!

humanity. The insufficiency of human life and its transitory character Tegnér emphasizes repeatedly, as, for instance, in *Försoningen* (*Frithiofssaga*):

Ack, allt det bästa ligger på hinsidan om
grafhögen, Gimles gröna port, och lågt är allt,
besmittadt allt, som dväljes under stjernorna.

or in his elegy to *Elof Tegnér* (1815):

För lågt, för lågt hvar enda dödlig bygger,
som bygger under stjernorna ännu.

But death fills out this broken circle of existence, as the poet says in *Ynglingens sotsäng* (1805):

lifvet äger ej ett högre hopp än döden.

and in his elegy to *C. A. Tiliander* (cf. footnote 8):

Nej, hvad lifvet börjat i sin skola
bildar grafven ut.

Death delivers up the soul free from material dross, even as fire renders asbestos more beautiful and pure (*Elden*, 1812):

herbergera du den vilsna gästen
och gör honom, som du gör asbesten
mera skön och ren!

Best of all, death unites the soul with those gone before, as the poet says, for instance, in his elegy to *L. P. Munthe* (1807):

Säkert minnets turturdufva
flyger öfver grafvens rand,
döden löser ej de ljufva
sammanstümnda sjärlars band.

in *Till en aflägsen älskarinna* (1804):

Välkommen efter mig, Anna!
Döden löser ej våra band.

and in his elegy to *Anna B. Leijonhufvud* (1835):

Dock samlas en gång, som vi gerna höre,
de många vänner der, som vandrat före,
och därför blicka vi med fromt begär
till himlen opp: o, den som vore der!

Death is the Brother of Love, the merciful Liberator who removes us from life's trials and brings us face to face with the divine Being. Thus, the poet says in *Nattvardsbarnen*:

Döden är kärlekens bror, är dess tvillingbroder, allenast
mera allvarlig att se:

* * * * *

Död är befrielse¹¹ blott, är förbarmendet stumt; vid hans hjerta
lättare andas mitt svalkade bröst, och anlet mot anlet¹²
skådar jag Gud som han är.

And in *Mjeltsjukan* (cf. footnote 8) he says:

och tidens hittebarn, här satt i skolen,
får kanske se sin fader—bortom solen.

Death reveals the secret of life and thus bridges over the great gulf between humanity and the unknown. Thus, in *Till friherrinnan M. v. Schwerin* Tegnér says:

och gåtan, som vi fåfängt gisse här,
det tros att ordet dertill finnes der.

and in the *Epilog* of 1843 (*vid Vexjö gymnasii jubelfest*):

derföre ödmjuk var och hoppas med bäfvan, tills döden
öppnar sin skola och tyst förklarar dig gåtan af lifvet.

This "riddle of life" (*gåtan af lifvet*), which shall be revealed to us when the veil between Heaven and Earth shall have been

¹¹ Cf. his elegy to *C. G. Leopold*:

Då kom der tyst, kom oförtänt befriarn,
den stille guden, nattens äldste son.

¹² Cf. St. Paul, *I Cor.* 13, 12: "For now we see in a mirror, darkly; but then face to face."

torn aside, is "reconciliation," and "reconciliation is love," as the poet says in *Nattvardsbarnen*:

Se, då remnar med hast förlåten i templet, som skilde
jorden och himmelen åt, och de döde stiga ur grafven,
hviskande sakta hvarann i örat med bleknade läppar
ordet, blott anadt förut, till *skapelsens gåta: försoning!*
Kärlekens djup är försoningens djup, försoning är kärlek.

Since the spirit life must represent a higher state of love and reconciliation with God, the poet in *Försoningen* (*Frithiofssaga*) depicts Death as the great Reconciler; reconciliation for the human soul means the return to that original state of purity and love which was native to the soul at birth:

På jorden går försonarn kring och heter död,
All tid är från sin början grumlad evighet,
Allt jordiskt lif är affall från Allfaders tron,
försonas är att vända renad dit igen.¹³

¹³ Cf. the fragment *Mennisko-anden*. Here the poet conceives the soul before birth as dwelling in Heaven:

Kanske flöto dina barndoms-stunder
sakta fram ibland dess* lunder,
som en bäck bland Edens trän?—
Kanske flyktade din ungdoms fröjder
på dess* solbeglänsta höjder,
som en dagg bländ rosor hän?

*Dess refers here to Heaven (*det blåa landet*.)

Thus, the soul at death flies back again into Heaven, as the poet says in his elegy to *Helena C. Åkerhjelm* (1828):

tills en gång, när dagen grydde,
hon såg ömt uppå sin vän,
lyfte vingarna och flydde
till *de himmelska igen*.

or in his elegy to *C. A. Tiliander* (1806):

Du, den ädlaste deri, den bäste,
som oss älskat än,
hof ditt öga opp till stjernströdt fäste
och for hem igen.

The affinity of this thought with Neo-platonic conceptions is self-evident. The doctrine of pre-existence is most clearly brought out in *Elden* (1820):

Himlalåga! när den trötte anden
en gång flyger till de blåa landen
der hon kanske bött för länge se'n.

So Frithiof (*Frithiofs lycka*) longs for death in order that his love which is divine may find its true home in Heaven, removed from the contaminating influences of earth life:

Till himlen mera än till jorden
min kärlek hör, försmå ej den!
I himlen är han ammad vorden
och längtar till sitt hem igen.
O, den som re'n der uppe vore!

Death completes, then, man's spiritual existence and bestows upon him finally that perfect state of happiness for which he was destined. As a spiritual creature, he is a part of God and is thus destined to share in the eternal life of God, which death alone can fully reveal to him.

e. The poet's method of contrasting life and death

In nearly all his elegies Tegnér portrays the great contrast between the physical and spiritual aspects of death, between the hopeless and gruesome features of the grave and the happy and beautiful existence of the new-born spirit. This method of contrast enhances the effect which the poet wishes to produce, viz., the ideal life which the spirit realizes in death.

One of the most heart-rending aspects of death is the absolute silence of the grave, the insensibility of nature to the grief of the mourner. Thus, in his elegy to *E. Rosenblad* (1806), the poet says:

Ack! när solen utur böljan stiger,
när hon rinner uti böljan ner,
ropar du hans namn. Men grafven tiger,
*eko*¹⁴ svarar dig—och ingen mer.

even as Frithiof (*Frithiof på sin faders hög*) calls out in anguish to his dead father, but receives no answer from the silent grave:

"Ej svar, ej tecken för din son i nöden
du eger, fader! O, hur arm är döden!"

¹⁴ Cf. *Lifvet*:

Står jag ensam i en vidsträckt graf,
der min suck blott *ekos gensvar* väcker?

In his poem *Vid invigningen af Gårdsby kyrka* (1837) Tegnér depicts the grave in all its gruesome aspects, but the most overwhelming and awe-inspiring of these is its eternal silence:

Känner I det stället,
den stilla staden, der de tyste bo?
* * * * *
Ej sorl,
ej kif hörs der, en hvar är der belåten
och tvistar ej med andra om sin plats.

But just as in most of his elegies, the poet suddenly resorts to an abrupt contrast between the physical and spiritual aspects of death, which convinces the reader of the victory of the spirit over the flesh and effects a heightened sense of the happiness and loveliness of the future life:

Men rysen icke! ty de multna benen
få lif igen och undanvälta stenen,
och himlalöften och odödligt hopp¹⁵
gå som en morgon öfver grafven opp.
Hvad kärt, hvad dyrbart I på jorden haden
det mognar der, som frukten under bladen,
och står en gång ifrån förmultnad stam
föryngradt, skönare och luftigare fram.

This method of contrast is so frequently employed by the poet¹⁶ that it would be a useless task to trace its application

¹⁵ The "immortal hope" (*odödligt hopp*), as symbolical of the spirit arising from the grave at death, was a favorite metaphor with Tegnér; cf., for instance, his elegy to *fru M. Meck* (1842):

Men när du lagt neder vandringsstafven,
se, då flyger utur grafven
ett odödligt hopp
präktigt mot sin himmel opp.

Cf. also a similar use of this phrase in his elegy to *K. L. Beckfriis*:

så snart ett högre, *ett odödligt hopp*
uti forvissnadt hjerta blommer opp.

¹⁶ Cf. Tegnér's own words in *Till Leopold*, introduction to *Axel*:

Som blomstren skifta i det gröna,
så skiftar diktens lätta här.

in all the poems in which it occurs. I have, therefore, confined myself to a quotation from the above poem as a fitting illustration of this artistic device peculiar to Tegnér.

f. *The poet's conception of the dead*

But the gruesome aspects of the grave are not always uppermost in the poet's mind. Being himself disappointed and at times weary of life, it is not surprising that Tegnér depicts the grave as a haven of blissful rest for the weary wanderer in life's journey; over him the cares and trials of life pass unheard and unheeded. Thus, the poet says in his elegy to *Frans Suell* (1817):

Lycklig du, som hvilar derinunder,
innan landets sorgespel spelts ut.

and to *Nils Trolle* (1827):

Sof i rol ty det är orons stunder,
endast orons, som på jorden bo,
hvilans stunder börjar först *inunder*.
Sof i rol

and to *friherrinnan M. v. Schwerin* (1839):

Hur månet år, som ingen än hört af,
går med sin oro öfver jungfruns graf!
Lycksalig du, som i dess natt förbiser,
nej, sofver bort århundradens sottiser!

But in reality the grave, like the dreams of the living, is a delusion, for the soul of the dead has already taken its flight up to Heaven. Thus, in his elegy to *Vilhelmina U. Cedercrantz* (1814) the poet says:

Vårens stigande sol skall amma en blomma på grafven,
vingade sångarn skall slå klagande toner derkring.
Men *du sväfar* i glans *deröfver* och ännu som fordom,
tyst som den nattliga dagg, gjuter välsignelse ner.

That the human soul arises from the body at death, like some ethereal substance which seeks the pure and radiant

atmosphere of the heavens, was a traditional Christian conception.¹⁷ Thus, Tegnér often depicts the dead as a sort of ethereal being, hovering above Earth and looking down with physical sight upon the living, as, for instance, in his elegy to *J. Beckfriis*:

Som stjernorna se ner, se neder derifrån,
gjut af din salighet en fläkt uti hans hjerta.

and to *J. Kröger* (1818):

Bor du der som stjernor skina,
glöm ej jordens sorg likväl;
blicka neder till de dina
och gjut tröst i deras själ!

The traditional conception of Heaven, as a state corresponding to our physical life in a refined and idealized form, often finds expression in Tegnér's poetry.¹⁸ In keeping with this conception, the spiritual body is also idealized as a beautiful and perfect counterpart of the physical body. Thus, the poet says in his elegy *Till en sörjande fader* (1827):

Der är honom godt att vara: i en evig morgonvind
lättare hans hjerta klappar, rosigare är hans kind.

The spiritual body is, moreover, often adorned with those heavenly attributes which the conventional idea of Heaven has bestowed upon it, as in the elegy to *Samuel Heurlin* (1835):

Och en gestalt, lik doft ur blomsterskålar,
så skön, nej skönare än hon var här,
dig möter der uti en dräkt af strålar.

The dead are the living "transfigured" by the holy light of

¹⁷ Cf. St. Paul's doctrine of the Resurrection, I *Cor.* 15, 44; "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body."

¹⁸ Cf., for instance, *Nattvardsbarnen*, and his elegy to *Helena C. Åkerhjelm* (1828).

Heaven. Thus, Maria in *Axel* (1822) depicts herself after death as "a spirit transfigured upon the far strand":

då är jag död, då sitter *anden*
förklarad på den fjärran stranden
 och beder godt för dig, och ser
 med alla himlens ögon ner.

Since the dead are thus conceived as dwelling in the heavens above and as sharing with the living the physical senses, Tegnér frequently identifies the departed spirit with some appropriate manifestation of nature. None but a Romantic poet would seek to comfort the bereaved by appealing to this instinct which unites the human soul with the spirit of nature and thus attempts to identify with nature the soul of the deceased. The symbol of the star in the heavens, as the eye of the deceased spirit looking down upon earth in the peace of night, or the symbol of the gentle breezes, as the sigh of the departed in answer to the bereaved, is a thoroly Romantic conception and especially peculiar to Tegnér. Thus, in his elegy to *fru Stoltz*¹⁹ (1814) Tegnér says:

När en *stjerna* från det *höga*
 blickar ned i *nattens fred*,
 tänk dig, att det är hans *öga*,
 som till dig ännu ser ned!

¹⁹ Cf. his elegy *Till en sörjande make* (1810):

Sörjer du, att detta *öga*
 en gång utan tårar ser
 från det obekanta *höga*
 som en *morgonstjerna* ner;
 * * * * *

att du mången gång skall höra
 hennes ande stiga ned,
 hviska tröst uti ditt öra
 i *den helga nattens fred*.

The "peace of night" (*nattens fred*) was a favorite expression with Tegnér; "Qvällen är med friden slägt," he says in *Fridsroster*. Cf. also *Afskedet* (*Frühiofs-saga*):

Blott då och då, när uti *nattens frid*
 du mönstrar än en gång förfutna dagar.

När de lätta vindar fara
och hvar suck ifrån ditt bröst
återsuckande besvara,
tänk dig, att det är hans röst!

Consonant with this conception Tegnér depicts the dead, tho invisible, as present with us even in this life. They hover around about us and are our guardian angels, guiding us on the path to Heaven, as he says in his elegy to *K. L. Beckfriis*:

Tro mig! de döde äro icke fjärran,—
de sväfva kring oss som en fläkt från Herran
och vagga fram oss, mellan böljors krig,
till lifvets stilla ankarplats,—till sig.

To the conception of the dead as ghosts²⁰ (who rise from the grave at night, etc.), so popular in folk-lore, Tegnér occasionally resorted, especially during periods of great depression. Nevertheless, the morbid and uncanny aspects of the dead were peculiarly attractive to Tegnér and like all Romantic poets he drew upon the imaginative element of folk-lore to enhance the vividness of his poetic conception.

This conception of the dead as "shades," whose life is a counterpart of our physical existence, was also characteristic of classical mythology, and it is, therefore, not surprising that Tegnér, whose artistic sense was so deeply affected by classical ideals, should have occasionally resorted²¹ to classical figures in depicting death.

²⁰ This conception was no doubt enhanced by the influence of Bürger and Ossian, the best examples of which may be seen in the elegy to *Elof Tegnér* (1815) and to *K. L. Beckfriis* (1834). The pessimistic and morbid aspects of Tegnér's poetry have in part been treated in my article "Pessimism in Tegnér's Poetry," *Pub. of the Soc. for the Advancement of Scan. Study*, Vol. III, p. 127, 1916.

²¹ Cf. for instance, *Resignationen* (1808):

Och hopp, tag du min hand, och led mig och förljufva
min vandring utmed *Stygens strand*!
Hur hjertligt skall jag der hvar fiende förlåta,
hur jag skall söka opp bland *skuggorna* en vän.

But, however Tegnér may have in his poetic imagination conceived the dead, the future life signified to him a great spiritual revelation. The symbol for this revelation is "light"; thus the poet says, for instance, in his elegy to *C. G. af Leopold* (1829):

Hur klart är nu, hur ljust i fadershuset!
Farväl, du ljusets vän, och fröjda dig i ljuset!

and again:

"Hvad bor i mörkret?"—"Du skall bo deri
(en stämma sade), skenet dig bedrager,
i natten sitt och tänk! *när den blir slut, blir dager.*"

and to *Jacob Faxé* (1827):

Dock, när den nattliga syn, den kära, blir ute för alltid,
detta är tecknet för er; glädjens, *ty dagen är när.*

"Light," as the symbol for immortality, corresponds exactly to Tegnér's ideal as to the essential qualities of poetry—*kraft och klarhet*—which he so nobly expounded in his *Epilog* of 1820. And when death came to the poet himself, it is said²² that he demanded "light," for he could not endure the darkness ("endast mörkret ej"). Whether or not this episode recorded of Tegnér's last moments be fact or fiction,²³ the vital fact remains that "light," as the symbol of immortality, expressed the very essence of Tegnér's poetic and religious instincts.

CONCLUSION

In Tegnér's poetic portrayal of death we see now the Romantic philosopher and now the Lutheran bishop, who in

and especially *Till en yngling* (1810) where the classical Hades is portrayed:

der Cerberus skäller med trekäftadt dån
i öde rum,
och furier piska den fege ifrån
Elysium.

²² Cf. *Schück och Warburg*, "Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria," Vol. II, 2, p. 719, Stockholm, 1897.

²³ Cf., for instance, the parallel tradition related of the great German poet Goethe at his death: "Mehr Licht."

order to comfort the bereaved lends himself to the traditional conceptions of Heaven and the dead. But in either case there are revealed the characteristic features of his poetry, viz., his great love of nature and of humanity and his tendency to draw sharp contrasts in thought and color. The various phases of death are thus presented like a painted picture in which the variegated colors of nature and the sublime effect of the artist's conception of the soul are blended in a beautiful panorama.

The seeming contradictions in Tegnér's conception of death and the dead are for the most part merely metaphorical and characteristic of all poetry. Tegnér was, in fact, primarily a poet and not a philosopher, and it is mainly for this reason, I think, that his religious philosophy cannot be pieced together into any definite and logical system. When, for instance, he pictures Heaven, on the one hand, according to the orthodox conception (i.e., as an abode above the clouds where winged angels are singing about the throne of God and playing upon golden harps, etc., cf. *Nattvardsbarnen*) and, on the other hand, as a purely spiritual state of mind (cf. his elegy to *K. L. Beckfriis*), the difference lies rather in the poetic than in the philosophic conception. Tegnér's poetry in its totality reveals his fundamental conception of death as a continued existence of the soul in an idealized state of happiness; which by the poet may well be expressed²⁴ either in concrete (physical) or abstract (spiritual) terms.

It is also significant that Tegnér in his poetry rarely gives expression to the orthodox conception of Hell or eternal punishment. Both his artistic sense and his idealistic philosophy naturally rejected a conception which is at once ugly and inconsistent with the poet's purpose. Wherever the ugly appears (such as in the portrayal of the physical aspects of the grave), it is so contrasted and blended with the beautiful (i.e., the conception of the spirit life) that the total effect is never marred. His religious philosophy too was constructive

²⁴ Here we are again reminded of Tegnér's own admonition regarding poetry and life,—“tecknet är ej saken.”

and therefore the poet naturally emphasized the positive elements of religion such as faith, hope, life, etc., to which the conception of Hell is alien.

Together with his conception of death, however, there is inextricably woven the poet's philosophy of life, which views death in its supreme significance to the living. Death pronounces judgment upon the living;²⁵ death means *life*, not life as we have lived it here in its fragmentary and unsatisfactory form, but life in its fullest and richest sense, viz., the progress upward toward the Infinite of whom we are a part. The spirit is the "essential" thing for which man should strive, and death reveals the tremendous significance of this fact to the living:

Hvad tillfälligt är må falla,
det väsentliga består.

The poet's moral perception and religious instinct thus find expression in portraying a phenomenon which still remains the great mystery to humanity, but a mystery which in no wise vitiates the truth of those principles of life which the poet has laid down as the only sane and wholesome way to regard death. If he has not answered the question of death, Tegnér has, nevertheless, answered the question of life, at least insofar as he has thru his poetry made a most powerful appeal to the highest instincts in man.

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²⁵ Cf. especially the noble sentiments uttered in *Efter talets slut vid Vexjö gymnasii jubelfest* (1843):

Den, som föds, skall dö,
och lycklig den, som lemnar kvar ett minne,
om icke af det stora, som han gjort,
dock af det ädla, som han sökt och velat!

or in his elegy to *Anna B. Leijonhufvud*:

Dock—mycket är af grafvarna att lära,
af deras helst, som hvila der i ära,
ty allt hvad menskan här sitt värde gaf,
förspriddt i lifvet, samlas på dess graf.

or in his elegy to *Vilhelmina U. Cedercrantz*:

Döden är lifvets kontroll; gå hän och se hur hon lefvat!
blommar ett paradiset ej rundt kring den saligas graf?

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GERD, THE HAWK, AND THE ICE CHURCH IN IBSEN'S BRAND

In my experience with Ibsen's *Brand* as a piece of literature for intensive study, I have found that Gerd and the Ice Church, and also the Hawk, are of very great assistance in bringing the drama vividly before the mind of the student, and in elucidating many of its difficulties of interpretation. This means that these things are symbols, although it might easily be argued that *Gerd*, whose origin is told with so much detail, is too human to be viewed as a symbol. In his work entitled *Iconoclasts*, James Huneker says of Ibsen's symbols: "Technically we know that the Norwegian dramatist employs his symbols as a means of illuminating the devious acts and speech of his humans." This is exactly what *Gerd*, the *Ice Church*, and the *Hawk* do in *Brand*. But Ibsen's symbols are not always so palpable and tangible as they are in *Brand*. I instance "the white horses" in *Rosmersholm*.

Though *Gerd* may seem *all-zu-menschlich* to be a symbol, she plainly does serve as such, and was so conceived in Ibsen's mind, which may be proved by reference to the long narrative poem known as *Den Episke Brand*, upon which Ibsen was at work before he wrote the poetic drama *Brand*. In the narrative poem, her significance appears in the following lines:

Iskirken gik hun till. Et Pust fra Bræen,
et Gufs af Snerög og af Isslagsvej
han tyktes kjende, da hun stod ham nær.
Hun kom fra Sneen og hun gik til Sneen.

Alt stod for ham i Skjær af denne Kulde.
Han saa sin Hjembyggs Liv, dens Døs, dens Kamp,
som gjennem Slöret af en Rimfrosts Damp;
og det var tvers igjennem *den*, han skulde.

This is plain enough. She represents the cold snowfields of Ibsen's native land, whose people, in the poet's own words:

. . . . rakte mig den landflugts-stav,
den sorgens bylt, de angstens rappe såler.

Or, as a Norwegian critic, Just Bing, interprets it:

"The snow is her world, the eternal snow which at last is to bury Brand, —the terrible symbol of heartlessness."¹

Here Gerd is plainly a symbol. Nothing is said of her human origin, though this might have been indicated if the poem had been completed, which it apparently never was.

Now, although conceived as a symbol, Gerd is not, in the drama, "*the terrible symbol of heartlessness.*" She does not represent the coldness of Mother Norway to the poet. That rôle is, in the drama, transferred to the Mother. When Brand sees her approaching, after his long absence from the home, he exclaims:

Hvilket iskoldt barneminde,
hvilket gufs fra hjem og fjord
drysser rim om denne kvinde,—
drysser værre rim herinde— —?
Nådens Gud! Det er min mor!

Before we leave Gerd as she appears in the narrative poem, it should be noted that she is not accompanied by the Hawk.

As we get into the heart of the drama, we find that Gerd appears in quite a different rôle from the one she plays in the narrative poem. I say again, "as we get into the heart of the drama." For in *the first* act Gerd appears only as a half-crazed Gypsy girl, pursued by an hallucination,—a hawk, which Brand cannot see. She is merely introduced to the reader,—which is dramatically correct. Her appearance, however, heightens the dramatic effectiveness of the scene. Incidentally she mentions the Ice Church, which, as a dramatic device, the reader has a right to expect foreshadows something that is to become of significance in the fate of the hero. And he will not be disappointed. The reader is led to feel also that the church in the valley will come in for consideration in the drama. I used to think that Brand's words to Gerd: "Guds fred med dig," represented a foreboding in Brand that he was to be mysteriously and sympathetically associated with this strange creature.

¹ *Just Bing: Henrik Ibsen*, p. 37.

But I cannot now feel that there is any element of foreshadowing, in a sympathetic sense, in these words, particularly in view of the closing words of the act, where Gerd represents the last of the words of the well-known triplet: *letsind*, *slapsind*, *vildsind*, followed by Brand's emphatic pronunciamento:

Til kamp på tvers, til kamp på langs
mod denne trippelallians!

Brand certainly harangues against the *letsind* of Einar and Agnes, and the *slapsind* of the peasantry. But Gerd drops out of the trilogy—which is never again alluded to, and she is not later denounced by Brand. This last passage of the first act has always seemed to me a weak spot in the drama, and might well have been eliminated. It has, however, a sort of rhetorical dash and vigor that apparently caused Ibsen to withhold his pruning-hook.

In the second act, while Brand and Agnes are crossing the stormy fjord, Gerd appears on an adjacent mountain-side, uttering a wild shriek that pierces the din of the storm, then laughs and hoots at Brand. A spectator on the shore observes that

Hun blæser i et bukkehorn
og kaster sten som koglekorn.

I have thought that Gerd's appearance in this act was intended merely to give the scene a wild, uncanny touch, and thus intensify its dramatic effectiveness. If it has any profounder significance, I have not fathomed it.

This point, however, occurs to me: Possibly it might not be ridiculous to suggest that Gerd, having no sympathy for the church in the valley, has, wild creature of instinct that she is, no sympathy with Brand's mission of mercy—namely, to shrive the man who has slain his own child to prevent it from starving to death. Even Brand, as appears in the monologue that immediately succeeds his visit, doubts the justice of his efforts.

In the first two acts, therefore, we see that Gerd is not materially different from the Gerd of the narrative poem. But

in the third act she assumes a different rôle. She no longer represents the *heartlessness of the author's native land*. She becomes mysteriously allied with Brand's fate. She appears in all five acts only in conjunction with Brand. She is intellectually suggestive, yet strangely enigmatical. Herford speaks of her as "*clearly a spiritual sister of that spectral second self of the poet, in Pà vidderne*."

But we must not lose sight of the practical question of the significance of Gerd, the Hawk, and the Ice Church for the student of *Brand*. Even in the first two acts the student will easily perceive that she is a creature who "dwells alone, tameless and loveless, scorning human ties and human impulses." But as she appears in the third act, where Brand has determined to leave the valley,—in other words, the place where he has solemnly vowed to remain to atone for his mother's guilt, one is mystified by her words. The lines of the poem are certainly vague and misty. It is not, in my opinion, possible to give a literal interpretation of them. But they convey a general impression; they intensify dramatically Brand's decision to leave his post of duty,—to forsake his social mission. In the wild flight of her imagination she sees the minister deserting the church in the valley, and in the defeat of this church, she sees glory for her Ice Church. She tempts and entices Brand:

Vil du være med, så kom;
bygdens kirke står jo tom.

There is something fascinating to Brand in her description. But she inadvertently impresses upon Brand that the child has become an idol, and the result is that Brand decides to remain at the post of duty. And yet the reader feels that *in spirit* Brand has forsaken his post, that he has rebelled against the spirit of love—human charity—as exemplified by the character of Agnes.

Although, as I have said, Gerd's words are enigmatical, at this point the reader revolts at Brand's decision, and feels the kinship between Brand and Gerd, and that Gerd is the symbolical foreshadowing of what Brand will be, and where he will

end, if he banishes human affection from his heart, and persists in his motto, *intet eller alt*. For this motto slays the love life, severs all human ties, and leads to the Ice Church, where there are no human beings—only Gerd, who has in a literal sense, by virtue of race, environment, and natural endowment renounced all natural human association.

It needs but a suggestion to the student to lead him to the conclusion that Brand's parentage and early environment are not unlike Gerd's; both are the children of loveless marriages. And it is but a step further to a realization of the fact that there is a revolutionary element in Brand that is akin to a similar spirit in Gerd. And so when Brand decides to remain in the valley, and, by so doing, sacrifices his child, the student easily comprehends that Brand has taken a long step toward the Ice Church, the haunt of Gerd.

When in Act IV, Brand refuses to respect Agnes's memories and mementoes of her dead child, and thus in a false sense of duty roots out her mother-love, stifles her emotional life—which means death—then, too a Gypsy woman appears who suggests Gerd, and who drives Brand, as in Act III, to take another long stride toward the Ice Church.

In this scene the author evidently did not dare, for dramatic reasons, to let Gerd appear under a roof. Or perhaps it was for the purely artistic reason that Gerd would not have sufficed in making the great tragic scene that he did make,—surely the most poignant one of the drama,—and for which he needed another mother,—just such a mother as is here depicted. The student is likely to inquire who this entirely new character in this great scene is. The only possible answer must be extracted from Brand's words to himself when he sees her:

Denne røst og disse træk
isner mig med anings-skræk!

They surely indicate that he sees kinship between her and Gerd. Is it that of mother and daughter? Her fiery fulminations against parson and magistrate do not lead one to think that she was the mistress of the man who had courted Brand's

mother in her youth—the man who “was as learned as four parsons,” and whom the drama plainly pronounces the father of Gerd. One is therefore compelled to answer that in the frenzy of creation the author was more interested in making a great scene than in genealogical clearness. Ibsen was first and foremost a dramatist.

At this point the student should be told that it is not strange that Ibsen introduced Gypsies in his drama, for there are many of them in Norway. Act IV reveals the fact that they were persecuted by the country officials, which will make it seem not unnatural that Gerd has her haunt in the mountains—on the outskirts of society. This will pave the way for an understanding of the Hawk, which is the symbol of organized society—of the law—which, in fact, persecutes the Gypsies, and, *in essence*, is a barrier to such a pronounced individualist as Brand.

This leads to another parallelism between Brand and Gerd, and suggests a problem that Ibsen solved for himself in the writing of *Brand*. It can be stated briefly: Living in her mountain isolation, Gerd represents *the quintessence of individualism*. Organized society demands concessions and compromises of the individual. But Gerd looks upon the Hawk of the law as an enemy, and is at war with it. In a parallel way Brand wages war against all institutions, conventions, and compromises of the social order. When, forsaken and stoned by his parishioners, Brand staggers up the mountain side, he meets Gerd, armed with a rifle, in search of the Hawk, which Brand now acknowledges he, too, has seen. And when he learns from Gerd that he is in the Ice Church, he is startled, and longs to be a thousand miles away, “*in the summer realms of life*.” He does not wish to be where his theories of life and human relations—his law of *intet eller alt*—have logically led him. He has no desire to sever his relations with normal human beings. Brand sees,—and Ibsen sees,—that there *are limits to individualism*. Now he can speak the name of Christ, and the priest of *intet eller alt* melts away, and a voice proclaims to him that God is “*the God of Love*.”

By the aid of the symbolism of Gerd and the Ice Church, Brand's transformation seems entirely human; and the average student feels that it is natural and satisfying to his ethical instincts. And yet more than one great literary critic has belittled this phase of the drama.

There is one other point that I must touch on. I have found it an obstacle to many students.

On the last page of the drama, Gerd is represented as firing a rifle at the Hawk. The concussion starts an avalanche, which buries Brand and Gerd herself. Brand exclaims, as the avalanche approaches:

Ja, hver slægtens søn tildøde
dømmes må for slægtens brøde!

That indicates that Brand dies on account of his mother's guilt—on account of *heredity*. This conflicts with the idea that Brand's life came to a disastrous end in the Ice Church on account of the icy formula *intet eller alt*. Which view is the natural one to take?

It is a fact that heredity is a prominent feature in the early part of the drama, but as is the case with Gerd's *vildsind*, the author loses sight of it. Suddenly, on the last page, two lines are devoted to it, as if the author had said to himself: I mustn't forget to say a word or two about heredity before I bring this drama to a close.

Now my view is this: Brand shows that the author was getting interested in the question of heredity. In the early part of the drama he delivers an oration on the subject. His argument is not logical, but it is significant. It has no bearing on the ultimate fate of Brand in the drama; the motto *intet eller alt* determines that fate. *But the author's fluttering around the question of heredity foreshadows that it will appear in a future drama. It came in Gengangere.*

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OEHLENSCHLÄGER AND TEGNÉR'S "FRITHIOFSSAGA"

In his *Anmärkningar såsom inledning till Frithiofs Saga* (1839) Tegnér remarks¹ that it was Oehlenschläger's *Helge* that gave him the first idea regarding his *Frithiof*. Tegnér's originality was so marked that any influence of Oehlenschläger upon the thought or language in the *Frithiofssaga* must be confined to very unimportant details. Indeed, a comparison of the two authors reveals their striking dissimilarity rather than any similarity of poetic methods. Tegnér's statement was, therefore, simply an admission that Oehlenschläger's *Helge* had furnished him with a model for his *Frithiofssaga* and in no way implies that he was indebted to Oehlenschläger for any specific detail. Following the precedent which Oehlenschläger had established, Tegnér presented a modernized version of the Old Norse saga, dividing his work into cantos and adopting now the verse form of the folk ballad or of the Old Norse alliterative poetry and now the various classical metres of Greek verse. Like Oehlenschläger, Tegnér also modelled the dramatic structure of his poem after the fashion of the Greek Fate Drama and blended with the Germanic many classical conceptions of mythology. As in Oehlenschläger's works, so in the *Frithiofssaga* classical similes and Homeric epithets were utilized. Aside from these more or less technical considerations both poets concurred in the sentimental tone and idyllic atmosphere characteristic of the Romantic school. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to determine in all cases where a marked similarity occurs between Tegnér and Oehlenschläger whether this is due to such literary ideals as both poets held in common or to the fact that Oehlenschläger's thought (or language) gave rise to a corresponding expression in Tegnér's work. *Similarity* of this nature does not prove *influence*, yet this is apparently the attitude of Miss Eva Thomé, who in her article "Några iakttagelser rörande inflytanden från

¹ "Jag bör erkänna, att det var hans Helge, som gaf mig första idéen till Frithiof."

Oehlenschläger i Tegnér's dikter" (*Finsk Tidskrift*, V-VI, 1918, pp. 272-288) has offered many interesting suggestions upon this subject. Similarity may consist,² roughly speaking, in a) parallel conceptions and ideals, b) parallel situations and motifs and c) parallel phraseology and metaphors. The last type of similarity naturally occurs the most often and is, on the whole, the most difficult to identify with influence, yet here the authoress has little compunction in construing similarity with imitation (either conscious or unconscious). She seems to view Tegnér in the light of Oehlenschläger's pupil, who, in spite of his efforts to be original, shows in his work traces of the model which he followed. According to Miss Thomé, Oehlenschläger's ideals and phraseology can very frequently be detected here and there in Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga*; they have "surreptitiously crept in" (*smugit sig in*) in spite of Tegnér's original genius. In other words, the *Frithiofssaga* was written with Oehlenschläger's *Helge* constantly in mind and constantly breaking thru Tegnér's efforts at originality. Miss Thomé's investigations lead her, therefore, to conclude that Oehlenschläger's *Helge* not only furnished Tegnér with "the first idea" regarding *Frithiof* but also determined much of the composition of *Frithiof*. It is the purpose of the following discussion to clarify this question as far as possible, i.e., to determine, if possible, in just what respects it is plausible to assume that Tegnér in his *Frithiofssaga* was indebted to Oehlenschläger, aside from those specific technical considerations which are implied in Tegnér's own statement (quoted in footnote 1). But, in order to do this, the question must be viewed from a more comprehensive and a far less mechanical standpoint than that which Miss Thomé has assumed, and much material must be added to that which has escaped her attention. Miss Thomé omits those parallels which have already been pointed out by other critics and cites only those which she believes are new

² Miss Thomé has not classified her quotations into categories, but I have done so for the sake of convenience in discussing her arguments. My classification is purely formal and cannot in the nature of things present any hard and fast lines, for parallel passages may be similar in more than one respect; therefore the categories which I have laid down, may often converge with one another.

or at least warrant new inspection. But several of these passages have long ago been noted and discussed.³ In justice to Miss Thomé, however, it should also be stated that she appreciates⁴ (p. 4) the fragmentary character of her work; nevertheless, it cannot be denied that from such incomplete evidence she draws rather sweeping conclusions. I shall in the following confine myself to the analysis of Miss Thomé's discussion regarding the relation of Oehlenschläger's works to Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga*.

I

DISCUSSION OF MISS THOMÉ'S ARTICLE

a) *Parallel Conceptions and Ideals*

On page 277 ff.⁵ Miss Thomé discusses Oehlenschläger's *heroic ideal* and notes that this ideal coincides with Tegnér's as expressed in the character of Frithiof, viz., a union of Thor and Balder, a compromise between strength (*kraft*) and goodness (*fromhet*). This coincidence of ideals has already been noted by G. Ljunggren⁶ who likewise suggests that the anti-

³ Cf. notably G. Ljunggren, "Tegnér och Oehlenschläger," *Smärre Skrifter*, Lund, 1868. In spite of his undue reverence for Tegnér, whom he seems to regard as beyond all criticism, Ljunggren, nevertheless, shows fine literary taste and a full appreciation of Tegnér's poetic genius.

⁴ "Att beröringspunkter förefinnas mellan Oehlenschläger och Tegnér är allmänt bekant. Såsom redan af titeln framgår, afser nedanstående uppsats ej att behandla frågan om gemensamma drag hos de två skalderna i dess hela vidd, utan endast att meddela några iakttagelser, som möjligen kunna vara af intresse."

⁵ "Thor och Balder, kraftens och fromhetens gud, utgöra motsatserna i Oehlenschlägers människoskildring. Han sträfvade dock efter att samman-smälta dem. En kompromiss mellan de båda naturerna har ingåtts t. ex. i *Palnatoke* och i *Starkodder*" (p. 279).

⁶ Cf. G. Ljunggren, "Tegnér's Frithiofssaga," *Smärre Skrifter*, 1877-78, p. 102 f.: "Till uppställandet af denna motsats kan Tegnér möjligen hafva hemtat anledningen från Oehlenschlägers *Palnatoke*, 2:a aktens 1:a scen, der hjelten talar om kraft och fromhet såsom de tvenne ljus, hvilka böra bestråla lifvet," etc. Ljunggren further maintains (*ibid.*) that the application of this ideal to Balder and the Aser was original with Tegnér, but M. Lamm has shown ("Försoningen i Tegnér's Frithiofssaga," *Samlaren*, 1916, p. 16, 1) that Oehlenschläger in his *Baldur hiin gode* had in mind the same ideal as applied to Balder and the Aser.

thesis between physical strength and spirituality, which Tegnér here combines in the character of Frithiof, may be due to the influence of Oehlenschläger's *Palnatoke*.

Despite this interesting parallel, I can see no necessary reason for assuming that Tegnér was indebted to Oehlenschläger for the conception of this ideal, inasmuch as such an antithesis was the *conventional method* of the Romantic writers for contrasting the heathen religion with Christianity (i.e., strength, force, etc. versus love, humility, forgiveness, etc.). Frithiof unites the heathen with the Christian virtues, while Palnatoke, tho himself a heathen, represents the best in the two religions.

Furthermore, we must not in this connection overlook the fact that this ideal was consonant with Tegnér's mode of thought and expression. For example, even before the time of the completion of the *Frithiofssaga* (1825) he maintained in his *Epilog* of 1820 (*Vid magisterpromotionen i Lund*) that the two mutually indispensable qualities of the poet are "strength and clarity" (*kraft och klarhet*). Either one of these qualities divorced from the other renders the poet deficient in his sphere of activity and only thru the union of the two is he able to attain to the ideal. Even so must the ideal character (i.e., Frithiof) combine both "strength and goodness" in order to make either quality valid. When, for instance, in the *Frithiofs-saga* Tegnér says (*Försoningen*):

En barnlek blott är fromhet, ej förent med kraft,

he has apparently translated into spiritual terms an ideal which in his *Epilog* he had already applied to poetry. Strength is necessary both for the soul and for the intellect; it is an element indispensable to goodness, truth and beauty, for without it these eternal verities lose an essential characteristic. Such a method of antithesis and synthesis (as applied to Frithiof's character) was characteristic⁷ of Tegnér who in

⁷ Cf. G. Ljunggren, "Esaias Tegnér's bildspråk," *Smärre Skrifter*, Lund, 1879; and the most recent excellent exposition by Francis Bull, "Tegnér og Wergeland," *Til Gerhard Gran*, pp. 128 ff., Kristiania, 1916. Of Tegnér Professor Bull says (p. 128): "Hans fantasi svinger fra den ene modsætning til den anden, og det er ikke uten ret man har søkt at definere hans tækning som bestemt ved *kontrastassociationer*."

the *Frithiofssaga* gave a deep spiritual expression to that which Oehlenschläger treated in a mere conventional and perfunctory fashion characteristic of the Danish Romantic writers.

On pages 280–281⁸ Miss Thomé suggests that Oehlenschläger's Hroar served Tegnér as a model for the character of King Ring. It is much more likely, however, that the character of King Ring had its prototype in the mythical King *Froði* (*Frode fredegod*), that universally recognized ideal of royal justice and peace, whom Snorre describes in his *Edda* (*Skáldskaparmál*, chap. XLIII). Snorre's description⁹ of the Utopia under the benign and just King Froði corresponds, in fact, very closely to Tegnér's description of King Ring's land.

Miss Thomé further extends her parallel by assuming that King Ring's words on his death-bed:

Dödssång är sjungen
re'n i mitt öra.
Hvad är det mer? den som föds, han skall dö.

harken back to similar sentiments on Hroar's part when death confronts him. This assumption seems rather strained in view of the fact that an ideal king must regard death in the same light as any brave warrior. The Old Norse conception of Fate is here simply applied to a peaceful king; King Ring shares in that stoical philosophy which appealed to Tegnér's conception of moral heroism. Indeed, in his *Efter talets slut vid*

⁸ "Troligt är, att Hroar varit förebild till kung Ring, den fredsälle, vänsälle, rättvise konungen, hvars rike liksom Hroars blomstrade i fredens skygd, men som dock i likhet med denne dog en ärofull död" (p. 280).

⁹ Cf., for instance, Snorre's account: "Engi maðr grandaði þá qðrum, þótt hann hitti fyrir sér fqðurbana eða broðurbana lausan eða bundinn; þá var ok engi þjófr eða ransmaðr, svá att gullhringr lá þrjá vetr við þjóðveg á Jalangrshéidi," with Tegnér's (*Kung Ring*):

Hans land var som lunden, der gudar bo,
och vapen komma
ej inom dess gröna, dess skuggiga ro,
och gräsen gro
fridlysta derstädes, och rosorna blomma.

Rättvisan satt ensam, båd' sträng och huld,
på domarstolen, etc.

Vexiö gymnasii jubelfest (1843) Tegnér expressed exactly the same sentiment as he previously in the *Frithiofssaga* had made King Ring express, using the same axiomatic phraseology:

Hvad ej kan ändras bär med tåligt sinne,
och hvarför klaga! Vindarna förströ
all fegsint klagan. *Den, som föds, skall dö.*

Miss Thomé suggests¹⁰ (p. 281) that the sharp contrast, which Tegnér draws between the characters of the two brothers, Helge and Halfdan, may be due to the fact that Oehlenschläger's Helge and Hroar are represented as opposite types of character. Oehlenschläger's influence here is all the more likely, she thinks, because in the original saga Helge and Halfdan represented similar types of character, i.e., both were equally evil and both hated Frithiof. Miss Thomé makes no reference to Ljunggren's¹¹ discussion of this point (whose conclusions here seem to me perfectly sound). Ljunggren maintains that this contrast, which Tegnér has drawn between the character of the two brothers, arose from the inner necessity for the motivation of his theme, viz., reconciliation. Frithiof could not, after Helge's death, have become so easily reconciled with Halfdan, if Halfdan had been a wicked character like his brother, as depicted in the original saga. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that this variation was original on Tegnér's part, inasmuch as Tegnér's theme required such a variation.

In the original saga the only real difference between the two brothers was that Helge was a devoted *blotman* (i.e., a sacrificial priest) and this fact may possibly have suggested to Tegnér a line of cleavage between the two characters; this cruel and barbarous office would in itself have furnished Tegnér ample grounds for emphasizing the wicked qualities in Helge's character. In connection with this question it is rather surprising that Miss Thomé has overlooked a parallel in Oehlenschläger's *Helge*, which, however, has no necessary connection

¹⁰ "Kanske kan man i Tegnér's starka betonande af motsatsen mellan bröderna förmoda inflytande från Oehlenschlägers kontrasterande hjeltekaraktärer."

¹¹ Cf. G. Ljunggren, *Tegnér's Frithiofssaga*, p. 60-62.

with Tegnér's conception of Helge's character. In the *Hroars-saga* (chap. 12) Oehlenschläger gives a most vivid picture of the selfish, treacherous and blood-thirsty character of the heathen sacrificial priest, who under the guise of his religion perpetrated the most dastardly crimes. Tegnér's Helge was just exactly this type of character, a cowardly hypocrite and cruel tyrant; but this proves nothing more than that his office exactly suited his character.

Miss Thomé sees¹² (p. 281-282) in Tegnér's description of Ingeborg as queen of the chase (in *Frithiofs frestelse*) traces of Oehlenschläger's influence (cf. in *Helge* the description of Queen Oluf as prepared for the chase). In view of the close similarity of details Miss Thomé's suggestion seems to me perfectly plausible, especially since in the original *Frithiofssaga* (chap. 13) there is no description whatsoever of the queen (Ingeborg) as prepared for the chase. Oehlenschläger here offers indeed a most excellent pattern for the description of a royal hunt in Old Norse times. Exception must be taken, however, to Miss Thomé's implication¹³ that Tegnér's representation of Ingeborg here, as resembling a Valkyrie, is due to Oehlenschläger's similar description of Queen Oluf, who by nature was demonic. To be sure, Ingeborg is elsewhere represented as gentle and retiring, but she is here engaged in a war-like occupation and therefore her naturally gentle *appearance* is blended with that of a Valkyrie (*hälften Freja, hälften Rota*), as she sits astride her fiery charger, as if for battle. The Valkyries were traditionally thus depicted, and the question at stake involves only the poetic representation¹⁴ (i.e., Ingeborg's appearance) and in

¹² "Möjligen är dock den scen, hvori Ingeborg framföres som jägarinna, inspirerad af en liknande i Helge" (p. 281).

¹³ "Tegnér har i Frithiofs frestelse gjort Ingeborg, som eljes aldrig visar något prof på djärighet eller fysiskt mod, till jaktens drottning" (p. 282). Cf. also footnote 12 above.

¹⁴ Cf. Tegnér's description of the hero Axel Hvide in *Gerda (Första Söngen)*:
han plär målas utaf skulder,
hälften Thor och hälften Balder.

This metaphor is exactly parallel to that applied to Ingeborg:

hälften Freja, hälften Rota.

Cf. Francis Bull's discussion of this phrase (*till hälften*) in his article *Tegnér og Wergeland*, p. 128 f., see above, footnote 7.

no wise affects her character. Were Oehlenschläger's influence here entirely out of the question, Tegnér's metaphor would have been logical and consistent; the gentle Ingeborg is not *transformed* into a Valkyrie; she simply *resembles* one.

Miss Thomé believes¹⁵ (p. 283) it probable that *Ingeborgs klagan* was suggested by Oehlenschläger's example in Oluf's lament (*Oluf paa Strandbredden*). She advances no argument in support of her contention except that "both cantos are lyrical and express the sorrow which the heroine feels after the hero has left and sailed away over the sea."¹⁶ But this similarity constitutes no evidence whatsoever against the assumption that Tegnér was entirely independent of Oehlenschläger in giving voice to Ingeborg's sorrow thru this type of soliloquy. The identity of situation does not militate against this assumption, since the situations in either poem, tho analogous, have no necessary connection with each other.

Miss Thomé suggests (p. 284) that Björn's contemptuous words regarding women:

Jorden, tyvärr, är af kvinnor full,
miste du en, stå dig tusen åter.

were suggested by Helge's soliloquy in *En Fugl siunger for Køngen*:

Hvi sukker du for en Mø, som svandt,
Naar nok i blandt
Der er at vælge for Kloge?

This attitude towards woman was typical of the Viking era and therefore there is no reason to conclude that Tegnér had this passage from *Helge* in mind when he made Björn express the same idea as does Helge. Furthermore, it is not difficult to see in this dialog between Frithiof and Björn something personal on Tegnér's part, as expressive of his own affairs

¹⁵ "Ingeborgs klagan har troligen uppstått som en pendant till Oluf paa Strandbredden."

¹⁶ "Båda sångerna äro lyriska och ge uttryck åt den sorg, som hjältinnan känner, då hjälten lämnat henne och seglat bort öfver hafvet."

d'amour and cynical sentiments regarding woman (cf., e.g., his break with Martina von Schwerin and his letters to her, published by E. Wrangel, Stockholm, 1912).

Such parallel ideals or conceptions, as Miss Thomé here notes, prove for the most part only a coincidence which might be found in any two poets with Romantic ideals. Take, for instance, the question of classical influence (which Miss Thomé has not discussed); it may be assumed a priori that Tegnér, who had been Professor of Greek at the University of Lund and whose knowledge and appreciation of the classics could hardly be surpassed, was not indebted to Oehlenschläger for any specific classical conception in his *Frithiofssaga*, even tho he followed Oehlenschläger's precedent in utilizing classical material. For instance, both Tegnér (in *Frithiof tager arf efter sin fader*) and Oehlenschläger (in *Helge-Julegildet* and in *Nordens Guder*, Canto I) represent Aegir after the pattern of the corresponding classical divinity, Poseidon-Neptune. Yet no one can assume that Tegnér's conception of Aegir was in any measure due to the corresponding conception which Oehlenschläger held. On the other hand, this identity of conception can be due to no other fact than that Tegnér resorted to classical material for his description of this sea-divinity, just as did Oehlenschläger, especially since Aegir's person is nowhere described in any of the Old Norse sources.¹⁷ Similarly, both poets' conception of the goddess Freja corresponds more closely to the classical conception of the nature-goddess Aphrodite-Venus than to the Old Norse divinity. Both Freja and Gerda in the *Frithiofssaga* are a sort of "Venus in thin disguise," and the same is true of Oehlenschläger's conception of these divinities. Not only Hellenic ideals, with which both poets were imbued, but also the sentimental tone which both poets adopted, naturally led both Tegnér and Oehlenschläger independently of each other to blend with the more or less warlike figure of the Old Norse female divinity that sensual type of beauty which Aphrodite-Venus represents.

¹⁷ Cf. *Snorre Edda*, *Bragaræður*, chap. LV, *Skáldskaparmál*, chap. XXXIII; *Elder Edda*, prose introduction to the *Lokasenna*.

b) *Parallel Situations and Motifs*

Miss Thomé calls attention (p. 283) to the parallel situation¹⁸ in the canto *Frithiof går i landsflykt* and *Frodes Död in Helge*. In *Helge* Frode flees, while Helge cries out for revenge; Frode's temple burns down. In the *Frithiofssaga*, Frithiof speaks about the temple that has burned down; he leaves his country, while Helge's attempt at vengeance fails. This parallel, however, cannot be anything more than a fortuitous coincidence, inasmuch as Tegnér has here faithfully followed the events of the original saga, save in one detail,¹⁹ which does not, however, affect the parallel in question.

Miss Thomé further calls attention (p. 283-284) to the parallel situation²⁰ in the canto *Frithiof och Björn and Helges og Hroars Afsked*. Both cantos consist in a dialog between the hero and another person, in the one case a brother and in the other a friend. Helge reproaches Hroar for his desire to remain at home in peace and quiet, Björn upbraids Frithiof for his wish to return home. This motif, however, is typically Romantic, viz., the ideal of the warrior as opposed to inactivity and sentimentality. What reason is there to assume that the situation cited in *Helge* influenced in the slightest degree Tegnér's application of this ideal in connection with Frithiof and Björn? Miss Thomé states none.

In this connection Miss Thomé further emphasizes the fact that at the end of the dialog both Helge and Frithiof resume their naturally heroic attitude.²¹ But what does such a parallel

¹⁸ "I den senare flyr Frode, medan Helge ropar på hämnd; Frodes tempel brinner ned. I den förra talar Frithiof om det nedbrunna templet; han lämnar sitt land, medan Helges försök att taga hämnd misslyckas."

¹⁹ In the original saga Frithiof commands his men to destroy all the ships in the vicinity, while in Tegnér's poem Björn on his own initiative has caused King Helge's ships to spring a leak.

²⁰ "Sången Frithiof och Björn utgöres liksom Helges og Hroars Afsked af en dialog mellan hjälten och en annan person, i det ena fallet en bror, i det andra en vän. Helge förebrår Hroar, att han sitter hemma i fred och ro, Björn klandrar Frithiof för hans önskan att resa hem till Norden" (p. 283).

²¹ "Frithiofs sista replik visar, att han återfunnit sitt bekymmerslösa hjältelynne, och ger uttryck åt samma stämning som Helges sista ord i Helges og Hroars Afsked" (p. 284).

show so far as Oehlenschläger's influence is concerned? Absolutely nothing! This blending of sentimentality and heroism is consonant with Frithiof's character and may be traced throughout the poem; and the same is true of Ingeborg's character. Frithiof's assurance to Björn (quoted by Miss Thomé) to the effect that there will be no necessity for avenging his (Frithiof's) death:

Onöddigt, Björn! den galande hane
hör han ej längre än jag. Farväll!

is entirely in keeping with his character and does not, therefore, show any necessary connection with Oehlenschläger's Helge.

Miss Thomé infers²² (p. 286) that Oehlenschläger's account of King Helge's death (*Yrsa*) suggested to Tegnér certain features in *Kung Rings drapa*. This suggestion is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that Tegnér himself declared that he wrote this canto simply as a literary experiment for curiosity's sake.²³ Such similarities as Miss Thomé here points out—for instance, King Helge rides clad in full armor into the burial mound; King Ring sits clad in full armor upon his steed in the burial mound, etc.—; are due simply to the commonly accepted notions concerning Old Norse burial rites, the ascent of the hero's soul into Valhalla, etc. Otherwise, we might just as readily conclude, for instance, that Tegnér's *Kung Rings drapa* was written in imitation of Oehlenschläger's *Helges Gravøl*.

The same is true with regard to Tegnér's utilization of the ethical proverbs contained in the Old Norse *Hávamál*. To be sure, Oehlenschläger applies these proverbs (*Hroarssaga*, chap. 14), like Tegnér, as advice given by old age to youth. But is this fact sufficient to warrant Miss Thomé's assumption²⁴

²² "Uppslaget till Rings drapa har Tegnér kanske äfven fått från Helge."

²³ Cf. his letter to J. Adlerbeth, Nov. 28, 1821: "Rings drapa, som är skrifven i allitterationer, det mången torde anse för en barnslighet, är endast ett försök, gjordt *par curiosité*, emedan det för mig är roligt att försöka mig i allehanda former."

²⁴ "Uppslaget därtill har Tegnér troligen fått från Hroars saga, där Oehlenschläger på samma sätt betjänat sig af den nämnda eddasången."

(p. 282f.) that such an application of these proverbs was suggested to Tegnér thru Oehlenschläger's example? The ethical saws of the old *Hávamál* became for the Romantic poets the common source of axiomatic expression. The tone of the *Frithiofssaga* is ethical and it was, therefore, quite natural for Tegnér to resort to the greatest ethical poem in Old Norse literature for the expression of wisdom peculiar to that era. Both poets had a wealth of Old Norse material to draw from and why should they not independently of each other have utilized the same source?

Similarly, Tegnér identifies Balder with Christ and makes use of the conventional "conversion" thesis, just as does Oehlenschläger (a parallel which Miss Thomé does not discuss). But these features were characteristic in general of Romantic poetry and can by no means be considered as a direct inheritance of Tegnér from Oehlenschläger. Indeed, Tegnér's originality is here at its best, for his treatment of the "conversion" thesis (i.e., Frithiof's conversion to the doctrines of Balder-Christ) gives expression to those ideals of religion and life for which Tegnér himself stood.

c) *Parallel Phraseology and Metaphors*

Wherever Miss Thomé has noted a resemblance in metaphor or phraseology between Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga* and Oehlenschläger's *Helge*, she immediately labels such passages as "reminiscences from Oehlenschläger." These passages show, she says, how Oehlenschläger's influence crept into Tegnér's verse.²⁵ From the foregoing discussion it is clear that Miss Thomé's conclusions are far too sweeping and categorical; for her thesis can be only to a very limited degree tenable. She

²⁵ "Af de uppräknade (spår af inflytande) framgår dock redan, huru Helge alltjämt föresväfvat Tegnér som ett eftersträfvansvärdt mönster och huru dess uttryck smugit sig in i hans verser" (p. 287).

"These traces of Oehlenschläger's influence" consist in all those passages which Miss Thomé has cited in her article. At the beginning of her article she anticipates such parallel passages only as "interesting observations" (*iakttagelser*), which is for the most part all they really are (cf. foot note 4 of my discussion).

has started out with the obvious intention of proving this thesis solely on the ground of similarity and has thereby failed to clarify the question. I shall in the following confine myself to those cases where Miss Thomé's thesis seems to me the least clear, so far as the influence of Oehlenschläger's language or diction is discernible in Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*.

Under the category of "reminiscences from Oehlenschläger's *Helge*" Miss Thomé classifies (p. 285) the last two verses in the canto *Frithiof kommer till Kung Ring*:

gick sedan bort att sofva förutan harm och sorg:
men konung Ring den gamle sof hos skön Ingeborg.

These verses, she says²⁶ (p. 285), remind us of the last strophes in the canto *Sævar Jarl og Fru Signelil*:

De Pilte ginge til Faaresti;
Der sov de uden Harm.
Jarl Sævar gaaer til Silkeseng,
Han laae i Signes Arm.

The situation in these two passages is, to be sure, parallel, in that both poets contrast the unique privilege of the host with the modest lot of his guests, and in that these verses conclude the canto in both poems. Added to the parallel situation is the fact that both poets use the same phrase for describing the guests' sleep (i.e., *sofva förutan harm* = *sov de uden harm*). But the naïve and idyllic tone of these two passages is evidently a reflection from the folk ballad (whose form Oehlenschläger here adopts²⁷) and therefore it is equally plausible that the similarity both of thought and expression in the two passages is due to a common effort to reproduce the spirit of the medieval Romance.

²⁶ "I slutet af sången förefinnes en reminiscens också från en annan romans i Helge, nämligen den, hvori omtalas, huru Hroar och Helge, klädda i skinn och hättor, komma till Sæver (sic) Jarl och fru Signelil."

²⁷ As to the metaphors in question and the form of Oehlenschläger's verse, compare the following strophe from the Danish folk song *Marsh Stig*:

Jeg har ædet med Kongebørn
og sovet i deres Arm;
skal jeg sove hos Tærnen i Nat,
da dør jeg af den Harm.

Miss Thomé calls attention (p. 286) to the similarity between Tegnér's *Isfarten* and the account of Sævar Jarl's Christmas sleigh-ride with his wife in *Julereisen*. The canto *Julereisen* begins thus:

Kong Frode sidder ved Juletid,
Af Sne var Skoven saa glimrehvid.

These opening verses remind us, she says, of the opening verses in *Isfarten*:

Kung Ring med sin drottning till gästabud far,
på sjön står isen så spegelklar.

The motif of the sleigh-ride in *Isfarten* is taken directly from the original saga, and as for the similarity between Tegnér's and Oehlenschläger's description of the wintry aspects of nature at Christmas time, it is indeed puerile to assume any direct relation between the two, for why should not such a similarity exist? If all resemblances of this type be construed as "reminiscences from Oehlenschläger," we assume a premise which not even common sense can justify. In fact, I have noted almost double the number of such passages as these two under discussion, most of which, however, are absolutely worthless so far as evidence of Oehlenschläger's influence upon Tegnér is concerned, either with reference to conception or to phraseology. Take, for instance, Oehlenschläger's description of the Christmas festivities in this same canto, *Julereisen*:

Paa Gulvet sættes med Øl en Tønde;
nu monne den Ruus vel snart begynde.

Why does Miss Thomé not conclude that these verses suggested to Tegnér the opening verses in *Frithiof kommer till Kung Ring*?

Kung Ring han satt i hög bänk om julen och drack mjöd.

King Ring drinks mead at Yule-tide because Sævar Jarl does so, not because this was a national custom.

II

PARALLEL PASSAGES NOT DISCUSSED BY MISS THOMÉ

a) *From Oehlenschläger's "Helge"*

In conclusion, I should like to point out a number of passages in the *Frithiofssaga* which have not been mentioned by Miss Thomé, nor, so far as I know, been discussed by any other literary critics, but which, nevertheless, bear a more or less close resemblance to certain passages in Oehlenschläger's *Helge*. This resemblance, however, just as in most of the parallels cited by Miss Thomé, may be explained as due to those Romantic ideals which the two poets held in common rather than to a direct influence of Oehlenschläger upon Tegnér.

For instance, Tegnér applies the metaphor of *Fall* and *Spring* to *Old Age* and *Youth*, as represented by old King Ring and his youthful bride Ingeborg (*Frithiof kommer till kung Ring*):

Som *vår* och *höst* dem båda man såg bredvid hvarann,
hon var den friska *våren*, den kulna *höst* var han.

In the tragedy *Yrsa*, Oehlenschläger uses the same metaphor with reference to Helge and the maiden Yrsa, when Helge sues for her hand:

Somrens Blomst
Forsmaaer ei at forloves med *den brune Høst*,²⁸
Og Maanen smiler Elskov i dens Aftenstund.

The parallel situation and metaphor point towards Oehlenschläger's influence, but such a conception is entirely in keeping with Tegnér's poetic diction who, like all the Romantic poets, was prone to base his metaphors on natural phenomena.

Similarly, in the tragedy *Yrsa* the heroine expresses her grief in much the same figures of speech as does Ingeborg in

²⁸ Cf. Tegnér (*Kung Ring*):

och vill hon ta sig de späda an,
så bjuder *Hösten* sin tron åt *Våren*.

Afskedet. Both maidens see in nature only a melancholy spokesman of their sorrow. Yrsa says:

Meer Naturen har
Ei Lyst for mig. Saae jeg den muntre Fisk i Vand,
I Skoven Hiorten, Fuglen under Himlens Blaa—
De mindte mig kun smerteligt om mine Baand.

And Ingeborg says:

För mig är intet, som förströr min saknad;
i allt, som omger mig, har hon en målsman.

Ingeborg's relations to Frithiof, however, cause her to associate these phenomena of nature with her lover:

Ser jag åt sjön, der sam din köl och skar
i skum sin väg till längterskan på stranden.
Ser jag åt lunden, der står mången stam
med Ingborgs runor, ritade i barken.

Yrsa then likens herself (in her innocence and helplessness) to the white blossom upon the bramble-bush, exposed to nature's cruel blast:

Saa lad mig visne bleg da, som den hvide Knop
Paa Tornebusken! Snart vil en veldædig Blæst
Afrive Bladet, skienke mig i Dødens Nat
En evig Frihed.

just as Ingeborg compares woman (i.e., herself), in her helplessness, to the pale water-lily exposed to the sailor's cruel keel:

Den bleka vattenliljan liknar hon:
med vågen stiger hon, med vågen faller,
och seglarns köl går öfver henne fram
och märker icke, att han skär dess stängel.

But what does the resemblance of phraseology and of conception in these parallels indicate? Surely nothing more than the fact that the conceptions involved and their expression are characteristically Romantic and, therefore, it is absolutely futile to try to read into these verses of Tegnér any direct

connection with Oehlenschläger's. When, for instance, Ingeborg says that all nature is only a "spokesman" (*målsman*) of her sorrow, we have a metaphor which Tegnér expanded in *Frithiofslycka* where Frithiof hears nature speaking with his own voice:

Hvem lärde dig, du bäck, som talar
med blommorna, *min känslas röst*?
Hvem gaf er, Nordens näktergalar,
den klagan, *stulen ur mitt bröst*?

Similarly, in *Afskedet* Ingeborg speaks of "melting the ice about Frithiof's heart":

att *smälta* hatets *is* kring Frithiofs hjerta,

and in *Försoningen*, when Frithiof accepts the doctrine of Christian love, Tegnér expands the metaphor to "the melting of the snow upon the mountain's breast when the spring sun shines":

och mensklig hämnd och menskligt hat *smält* sakta hän,
som isens pansar smälter ifrån fjällets bröst
när vårsol skiner.

Oehlenschläger uses this very same metaphor in the *Hroarssaga* (*Hrolf fødtes*, chap. 16), when Yrsa's heart is softened at the sight of her lost child. Oehlenschläger says: "Saaledes forvandler den skarpe, skærende Iisskorpe sig til rislende Bølge vid Foraarsstraalen, som Yrsas vilde Fortvivelse til sød Vemodighed, da hun saae sit Barn igjen."

But this metaphor is characteristically Scandinavian, a nature-symbol as conditioned by the rigorous climate of the North, and may be found in the writings of most any Scandinavian poet. Take, for instance, Henrik Ibsen's *Brand* (Act V): here the melting ice upon the mountain side symbolizes the change of heart in Brand, just as in Frithiof:

Gerd
(bleg)
Hvad er det? Du græder, du,
.....
varmt, så isen i mit minde

løses op i gråd herinde,—
varmt, så messekåben glider
nedad jøkel-prestens sider—!

No one can assume any influence of the *Frithiofssaga* upon Ibsen's *Brand*, and with reference to this particular metaphor an equal independence may be assumed between the *Frithiofssaga* and Oehlenschläger's *Helge*.

Similarly, it may be assumed that Tegnér's metaphors regarding spring (whose manifestations he likens to the physical charms of the goddess Freja) are independent of the same metaphors in Oehlenschläger's *Helge*. For instance, Tegnér says:

Glödande som *Frejas* kinder tittar *rosen* ur sin knopp,
och i menskans hjerta vakna lefnadslust och mod och hopp.

And Oehlenschläger says (*En Fugl siunger for Kongen*):

Nu Somren er atter tilbagevendt;
I Skoven tændt
Har *Freia* de knoppede *Roser*.

Again, in the closing lines of the *Frithiofssaga* when Ingeborg, followed by her maid-servants, enters into Frithiof's presence, she is compared to "the moon followed by the stars upon the vault of heaven:"

Och som den löstes, insteg plötsligt Ingeborg,
brudsmyskad, hermlinsmantlad, utaf tärnor följd,
som månen följs af *stjernorna* på himlens hvalf.

A similar metaphor occurs in Oehlenschläger's *Helge* (*Helge reiser til Dronning Oluf*), when Queen Oluf, surrounded by her maid-servants, enters into Helge's presence:

Da svared Reigin Kæmpe: "Der giettede du sandt,
Som *Maanen* mellem *Stierner* hun straal'er iblandt
De gyldenlokkede Piger; thi Dronningen du seer."

The antithesis between the moon and the stars, as symbolical of the queen's (Ingeborg-Oluf) radiant beauty in contrast to her fair maids, is a typically Romantic nature-metaphor, and in

spite of the parallel situation there is no good reason for assuming that this metaphor suggested itself to Tegnér on account of its occurrence in Oehlenschläger's *Helge*.

b) *From Oehlenschläger's Works Other than "Helge"*

Miss Thomé discusses only one passage²⁹ in the *Frithiofssaga* which seems to be a reminiscence from Oehlenschläger's works other than *Helge*. I should like in the following to point out other passages of this nature which have heretofore not been discussed, but which to me seem to suggest the influence of Oehlenschläger.

For instance, in the canto *Försoningen* the priest likens Balder to "the band that holds together the diadem of Valhalla":

Ty han var bandet uti Valhalls gudakrans.

Similarly, Oehlenschläger³⁰ has Freja say of Balder (*Baldur hiin gode*, Act I):

Du est det Baand, som sammenbinder Valhals Krands.

To be sure, this metaphor is entirely in keeping with the thesis which the priest is expounding to Frithiof, i. e., the healing power of love, "reconciliation," and one would a priori assume that in using this metaphor Tegnér simply demonstrated his great originality of poetic diction. It is, however, not at all

²⁹ The description of Jarl Angantyr's daughter (*Frithiof hos Angantyr*) in which Tegnér uses almost the same language as does Oehlenschläger in his description of Freja (*Nordens Guder*).

³⁰ This parallel has been noted by Gottfried von Leinburg in his edition of the *Frithiofssaga* (Frankfurt a.M., 1873), p. 126-127.

It is also significant that in his poem *Vid förrättandet af en prestvigning* (1837), Tegnér again makes use of this metaphor, when he compares life to "the band in creation's diadem":

ty lifvet är högst, det är blomman af tingen,
fästet för andarnas sol, bandet i skapelsens krans.

Again, in his poem *Vid svenska akademien femtiåra minneshögtid* (1836) he speaks of Rosenstein as "the band in the diadem of song":

Och Rosenstein, så hög som han till sinnes,
så klassisk, bandet uti sångens krans.

unlikely that during the composition of the canto *Försoningen* in which Balder is the main theme, Tegnér familiarized himself with Oehlenschläger's version of the Balder legend and appropriated in his own work this peculiarly fitting metaphor³¹ epitomizing Balder's character.

Again, in the canto *Frithiof på sin faders hög*, Frithiof exonerates himself of all guilt, accusing the dragon Nidhögg as the real author of his (Frithiof's) crime. Frithiof refers to Nidhögg as "the Tempter" and in other respects identifies him with *Satan* or the *Devil* of Christian mythology:

Det går en frestare igenom lifvet,
den grymme Nidhögg ifrån mörkrets verd.
.....
Hvart nidingsdåd, i vredens stund bedrifvet,
det är hans verk, är mörka maktens gärd;
och när det lyckas, när han templet tänder,
då klappas han uti kolsvarta händer.

Similarly, in Oehlenschläger's *Palnatoke*³² (Act V, 2), Palnatoke represents his misfortunes as the work of the evil god of war, Vagnhoft,³³ whom he describes as "the Tempter" and whom in other respects he identifies with the *Devil*:

Der gaaer en grusom Frister giennem Livet,
Den stygge Vagnhoft med det krumme Sværd,
Han lokker os, Een meer, en Anden mindre;
Han har sin Fryd af at forvikle Hiertet
I sine Garn.

Certainly it seems likely that the first two verses in the passage quoted from Tegnér:

Det går en frestare igenom lifvet,
den grymme Nidhögg ifrån mörkrets verd.

³¹ G. Ljunggren (*Tegnér's Frithiofssaga*, p. 104) points out the fact that Wisén in his *Oden och Loke* makes use of a similar metaphor regarding Balder:—"Balder är den länk, som sammanhåller kedjan."

³² This parallel has also been noted by Gottfried von Leinburg (*ibid.*) p. 116-117.

³³ Vagnhoft was a Danish war-god. In the *Hroarssaga* (chap. 17) Oehlenschläger describes Vagnhoft as a frightful giant (cf. Nidhögg) with a curved sword, just as in *Palnatoke*: "Den vilde skelende, drukne Jotun, der gaaer harjende giennem Verden med sit krumme Sværd."

were suggested by Oehlenschläger's

Der gaaer en grusom Frister giennem Livet,
Den stygge Vagnhoft med det krumme Sværd.

Therefore, it is also not unlikely that the identification of Nidhogg with Satan may likewise have been suggested by Oehlenschläger's identification of Vagnhoft with Satan, especially if we grant the validity of Lamm's implication²⁴ that Oehlenschläger's ideal of Palnatoke's character may have influenced Tegnér's delineation of Frithiof's character, i. e., insofar as the question of guilt is concerned.

Several other passages may be noted in the *Frithiofssaga* which bear a close resemblance to passages in Oehlenschläger's works but which I have discarded as worthless, so far as evidence of the latter's influence on Tegnér is concerned. The following parallel may suffice as an interesting example.

²⁴ Cf. M. Lamm, "Försoningstanken i Frithiofssaga," *Samlaren*, 1916, p. 30, 1: "Då Frithiof på faderns grafhög bönfaller denne: "Tag fläcken bort ifrån hans sköld, den blanka," kan man omöjligt undgå att erinra sig, att Palnatoke ständigt talar om fläcken på sin sköld, som det är hans plikt att tvätta bort."

On page 29 (*ibid.*) Lamm points out the similarity of thought and phraseology between that passage in *Yrsa*, where King Helge in despair resolves to take refuge upon the sea and there meet his death in battle, with the last two strophes in *Frithiofs frestelse*, where Frithiof in his despair resolves to do the same. "Hela tanken," he says, (*ibid.*, foot note 1), "att på detta sätt låta hjältens förtviflan utlösa sig i vild kamplust har ju Tegnér fått från Oehlenschläger." Lamm's assertion, however, that Tegnér borrowed from Oehlenschläger the idea of having Frithiof thus seek satisfaction for his misfortunes by resuming his Viking life upon the sea, seems to me far too sweeping and categorical. To be sure, Oehlenschläger's example *may* have influenced Tegnér in the expression of this motif, but we must remember that such a resolve on Frithiof's part was entirely in keeping with his temperamental character and natural enough for any hero of the Viking Age. Furthermore, Lamm is wrong in thinking that he is the first to point out this parallel between Oehlenschläger's *Yrsa* and the *Frithiofssaga*. In a German edition of the *Frithiofssaga* (edited by Gottfried von Leinburg, Frankfurt a.M., 1873, cf. above foot notes 30, 32) the editor in a foot note on this passage in question says (p. 106): "Mit einer ähnlichen Apostrophe an das Meer und das schmerz-und grambeschwichtigende Wikingerleben besteigt auch der *Oehlenschlägersche* Helge zuletzt wieder sein Schiff." Then follows in German translation the quotation of that passage in *Yrsa* to which Lamm refers.

In *Frithiof kommer till kung Ring*, Tegnér compares the hero's "fair locks" to "a wave of gold," as they flow down over his shoulders:

Ifrån den höga pannan kring skuldran bred och full
de ljusa lockar flöto liksom ett svall af gull.

Similarly, in *Hrolf Krake* (Canto V) Oehlenschläger likens the Danish king's "golden locks" to "a flaming wave":

Disimellem Vøggur for Danekongen stod,
Hvis gyldne Haar fra Issen flød i en flammel Flod.

This conception of an Old Norse hero with flowing golden locks is typically Romantic; in Oehlenschläger's *Helge*, for instance, all the heroes (Helge, Hroar, Vidrik Vaulundursøn, etc.), like Frithiof, have luxuriant golden locks. While such a conception is in nowise at variance with our ancient Scandinavian sources, it may (both in the case of Oehlenschläger and Tegnér) also be a reflection of the corresponding Hellenic ideal³⁵ of masculine beauty.

³⁵ Cf. Homer's *κάρη κομώωντες Ἀχαιοί, ξανθοὺς Μελέαγρος* "the fair-haired Meleager," *Iliad* II, 642, etc.

III

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing comparison of Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga* with Oehlenschläger's works it is clear that for the composition of his work Tegnér owed very little to Oehlenschläger aside from the arrangement of his poem into cantos with their varied types of verse form. In Oehlenschläger's *Helge* Tegnér simply apprehended the most fitting form of literary expression which he could adopt for his new version of the *Frithiofssaga*. When the *Frithiofssaga* first appeared there was naturally a strong impression, especially in Denmark,³⁶ that Tegnér's work was written more or less in imitation³⁷ of Oehlenschläger and that it was deficient in originality and poetic thought. Oehlenschläger, it must be remembered, was the idol of the Romanticists and his romances constituted the model for all the Romantic poets in their treatment of Old Norse themes. Apparently, Tegnér had in his *Frithiofssaga* at one blow severed his connection with the Swedish poets of the Gustavian School and joined the host of satellites that revolved about the brilliant genius of Oehlenschläger. But Tegnér's originality could not long be hidden under the cloak of Oehlenschläger's popularity. It was not difficult for the Swedish people to detect in Tegnér's *Frithiofssaga* a reflection of their own national genius and ideals. The spontaneous and almost universal approval of the *Frithiofssaga* in Sweden threatened to overshadow the fame of Denmark's greatest poet and this fact, no doubt, accentuated the efforts on the part of the Danish critics to guard Oehlenschläger's waning reputation. Underneath the apparent attempt to view Tegnér's work with scientific impartiality the Danish critics revealed a national jealousy and prejudice which in many cases amounted to nothing more than a defense of

³⁶ Cf. e.g., Chr. Molbech's criticisms in *Nordisk Tidsskrift*, 1827 and J. L. Heiberg's in *Flyvende Posten*, 1827.

³⁷ Cf. G. Ljunggren (*Tegnér och Oehlenschläger*, p. 18): "Tegnér fick ofta höra, att han var en blott efterhärmare af den danske skalden, och af dennes landsmän betraktades han allmänt som sådan."

Oehlenschläger at Tegnér's expense. But the *Frithiofssaga* was not perfect and there was after all much in these criticisms that was sound and, therefore, warranted recognition; the weak points in Tegnér's composition were detected and this Tegnér with certain reservations himself admitted. But not even Brandes,³⁸ who most severely criticised Tegnér's motivation and style, took exception to his originality. That Tegnér in certain rare instances (such as have been suggested above) may have been indebted to Oehlenschläger for his metaphors or for certain specific conceptions, is a possibility that should not be overlooked. But a comparative study of the two authors reveals (to my mind at least) not an extended knowledge as to Tegnér's indebtedness to Oehlenschläger but rather the wonderful originality of Tegnér's genius as contrasted with the less profound but extremely versatile genius of the Danish poet.

Tegnér's attention was first directed to Oehlenschläger in 1805 by the Swedish poet Ling. In 1807 the first edition of Oehlenschläger's *Nordiske Digte* appeared and from this time on Tegnér seems to have shown an increasing familiarity with Old Norse themes. The influence of Oehlenschläger upon Tegnér was in the main confined simply to this refreshing of Old Norse themes in Tegnér's mind and to an increased desire to give them expression. Oehlenschläger was, therefore, a very important factor in Tegnér's literary development, just as he was in the case of most all the Romantic poets of the North (cf., e. g., Henrik Ibsen), in that Oehlenschläger gave to Tegnér's new Romantic ideals a fresh impulse and afforded them an approved literary form of expression. Tegnér's development as a Romanticist and his break with the classical ideals of the Gustavian School were, therefore, hastened by Oehlenschläger, but aside from this there are very few clear traces of Oehlenschläger's influence on Tegnér. Those literary critics who have, like Miss Thomé, found in the *Frithiofssaga* a large number of traces (*spår*) or "reminiscences" from Oehlenschläger, have either misconstrued Tegnér's own statement regarding Oehlenschläger's *Helge* or

³⁸ Cf. Georg Brandes, *Esaias Tegnér, en literatur-psykologisk studie*, Stockholm, 1878.

they have, like the early Danish critics, viewed Tegnér (one of the most original of all Swedish poets) in the light of Oehlenschläger. One feels after reading Miss Thomé's article much as David Munck of Rosenschöld must have felt when he wrote:

Virgil har lånt utaf Homér,
Tegnér af Oehlenschläger;
Men Rosenschöld har gjort än mer,
Han lånt allt hvad han äger.

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THE "GOTHS" IN THE KENSINGTON INSCRIPTION

Twenty-four years ago a farmer was clearing land in an obscure and timbered wilderness of Minnesota. While engaged in grubbing stumps, he found enfolded in the close grasp of an old tree a large stone, almost three feet long, covered on two sides with mystic characters. The stone was sent to two universities, and photographs were sent to many scholars in both Europe and America. This publicity brought out the fact that the inscription contained runic characters—the style of script commonly used in inscriptions on stone and wood by all Northern European peoples hundreds of years ago. Among the large number of scholars who received photographs of the stone, none were found, strange to say, who were able to read the entire inscription. This illustrates how little the subject of runic script is understood, and what uncommon knowledge the writer of the inscription must have possessed, if it be a forgery. Finally the stone was returned to its finder, condemned as a hoax, due chiefly to the misconceptions arrived at through the fragmentary and faulty translations of the inscription.

Ten years later the stone by accident came again to the notice of the public, and the entire inscription was translated. It was found to contain the following dramatic message:

8 göter ok 22 norrmen po opþagelsefarþ fro vinlanþ of vest vi haþe læger
veþ 2 skjar en þags rise norr fro þeno sten vi var ok fiske en þagh æptir vi
kom hem fan 10 man röþe af bloþ og þeþ A V M frælse af illy har 10 mans ve
havet at se æptir vore skip 14 þagh rise from þeno 8h ahr 1362.

Rendered into English the inscription reads as follows:

Eight Goths and twenty-two Norsemen on (an) exploration-journey from Vinland through the western regions. We had camp by two skerries one day's journey north from this stone. We were (out) and fished one day. When we came home (we) found ten men, red with blood and dead. Ave Maria! Save us from evil!

(We) have ten of our party by the sea to look for our vessel, fourteen days-journeys from this island. Year 1362.

Since then this inscription has been the subject of lively discussion in many distinguished circles.

When the inscription was first completely translated in 1908 it was subjected to very severe criticism by almost all scholars supposedly familiar with the subject, both here and abroad. Objection was made to almost every character, word, and grammatical construction, as being at variance with proper fourteenth century usage. Particularly were the words *mans*, *illy*, *from*, *þeþ* and *of vest*, generally and scathingly criticized as showing the influence of English upon the inscription. But these words were later shown by Swedish philologists to be archaic forms, all found in Swedish manuscripts of the fourteenth century; showing, if the inscription is a forgery, an amazing philological learning on the part of its writer.¹ The use of the decimal system was pointed to as an anachronism, too early by two hundred years. Later it was found that the decimal system was generally used by the well-known scholar and public man of affairs, Hauk Erlandson, who died thirty years before the date of the inscription.² The strange form of the numerals on the stone was a common objection. These numerals were unknown to all critics, and were consequently designated as an ingenious invention of their author; but Professor Sophus Bugge has shown that these numerals with a few minor differences were in general use in the fourteenth century on the *primstave*,³ or household calendars of that time.

These are just a few illustrations of how the inscription has been successively vindicated in the attacks by learned opponents. I do not now know of a single word or character which can be pointed to as being at variance with fourteenth century usage. It is not too much to say that if the inscription

¹ For a full discussion of these and other criticized words see my article entitled, "Are there English words on the Kensington Rune-Stone?" in *Records Of The Past*, IX, 240-245; "The Kensington Rune-Stone Abroad," *ibid.*, X, 260-271. See also Professor Fossum's able analysis in the *Norwegian-American*, Feb. 24, 1911.

² See Hauk Erlandson's *Algorismus* in *Hauksbok*, a page of which is shown in photostatic copy in Reeves' *Wineland The Good*, opp. p. 104.

³ See Ole Worm's *Fasti Danici*, (Copenhagen, 1643), p. 69, with comments by Sophus Bugge, in *Norges Indskrifter med de Ældre Runer*, II, 499. See also reproduction and discussion of these *primstaves* in my article "The Kensington Rune-Stone" in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, December, 1919; pp. 178-180.

is a forgery its author must have possessed a learning equal to, if not superior to the combined learning of all his critics in this field. While these victories do not absolutely prove the inscription to be genuine, they show that the assumed forger must have been a man of most unique erudition and scholarship. Where can we find a scholar of such eminent learning who would stoop to such a laborious and purposeless forgery?

Among the many attacks upon the Kensington stone perhaps the ablest was written by Dr. Helge Gjessing of the University of Christiania.⁴ Unfortunately his otherwise able article suffers from a fundamental weakness. He does not approach the subject with an unbiased mind seeking for the truth, but looks only for evidence *against* the inscription. In order that no false impression be conveyed I will quote his own words from the beginning of his article. After having quoted the inscription he says: "Before such a fabulous account as this, one is naturally in advance suspicious, and one is inclined to stamp it as a forgery. But such a judgment demands evidence, and *it is this that we will now seek.*"⁵

Dr. Gjessing devotes most of his space to a discussion of the historical improbabilities of the alleged Kensington expedition. He outlines the Vinland voyages, and calls attention to the Greenland vessel which in 1347 had been to Markland (Labrador), and which on its return was driven out of its course and finally arrived in Iceland. He then continues with a quotation from Professor Gustav Storm as follows:

"When they, the Greenlanders, came to Norway (Bergen) in 1348, they found that the royal merchant vessel had returned to Norway in 1346 and was not expected to depart again soon. This did not take place until 1355. We have a copy of a royal letter of October, 1354, which indicates extraordinary preparations. At the head of the expedition is placed Paul Knutson of Onerheim, and extraordinary power is given him for selecting the personnel of the expedition. The object of

⁴ Printed in *Symra*, Decorah, Iowa; 1909, No. 3, pp. 116-119.

⁵ "Ovenfor en saa eventyrlig beretning som denne er man naturligvis allerede paa forhaand mistaensksom og en er nærmest tilbøielig til uten videre at stemple, det hele som et falsum. Men en saadan dom vil kræve beviser og det er disse som vi vil søge." *ibid.*, 117.

the expedition is stated to be to maintain Christianity in Greenland. . . . This expedition left Bergen in 1355 and did not return until after a number of years, probably not until 1363 or 1364."⁶

Here Dr. Gjessing finds not only a probability, but almost a certainty, that there was an expedition in American waters between the years 1355 and 1364—the very time during which the Kensington expedition is said to have taken place. One would therefore expect that such a remarkable historical coincidence would put him in an acceptable frame of mind. But not so. The presence of the "eight Goths" stands in his way. He says: "We therefore find that historically there is a possibility that about 1360 there has departed an expedition to American waters. But this would necessarily have been identical with the expedition of Paul Knutson, or upon his initiative fitted out from Greenland. . . . Neither of these alternatives, however, is possible, as the eight Goths would not in any case fit in."⁷

The presence of these Goths has been offensive to many other commentators besides Dr. Gjessing. From the first critic to the very last this strange mixing of two nationalities in the inscription has been pointed to as something most suspicious. Yet, no word in the inscription is more pertinent. In order, therefore, to remove this misapprehension it is necessary to review briefly some historical developments of the fourteenth century.

In the year 1341 the Bishop of Bergen fitted out an expedition to Greenland. Far away in that land of glaciers lived his old friend, the Bishop of Greenland, from whom he had heard nothing for many years. With the devotion of one friend for another he therefore expended a large part of his wealth in seeking news of his old comrade. He put in command of the expedition a trusty priest of his own diocese, Ivar Bardsen by name.⁸ Bardsen reached Greenland in safety, and was per-

⁶ *Ibid.*; also Gustav Storm, *Vinlandsreiserne*, 1888, p. 365.

⁷ Gjessing, *op. cit.* p. 118.

⁸ A copy of the Bishop's letter is printed in *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerker*, III, 886-889.

suaded by its bishop to remain there for some time as steward of the properties of the bishopric. It is from Ivar Bardsen's account that we have most of our information about Greenland.

In 1342 Ivar Bardsen and a body of men were sent by the bishop to the Western Settlement of Greenland to bring relief to the settlers there. This western settlement was a small colony of Norsemen, three small parishes, detached from the main settlement by hundreds of miles of glaciers and ice-laden seas. Shortly before this, reports had reached the main settlement that the Eskimos had begun to harass the smaller colony. Bardsen and his party safely reached the Western Settlement, but to their amazement they find no human beings there. The cattle are found grazing on the edge of the fjords, the churches and homes stand undisturbed; no signs of bloodshed or violence is apparent, but not a single human being, whether white man or Eskimo, is seen. Where had the inhabitants gone to? Bardsen could not tell. He loaded his vessel with as many cattle and sheep as it could hold and thereupon returned to the Bishop.

The question has puzzled many commentators as to what could have happened to these settlers of the Western Settlement. Bardsen says nothing about any evidence of bloodshed or warfare, therefore the idea that the colony had been exterminated by the Eskimos may be rejected. "Besides," as Frithiof Nansen comments, "can anyone who knows the Eskimos imagine that they slaughtered the men but not the cattle? These represented food to them, and that is what they would first have turned their attention to."⁹ Nor is it possible that the colony arose in a body and joined the Eskimos. These two people were racially different and had little in common. Moreover, they were enemies. Finally they had nothing to gain and much to lose by joining the Eskimos. The food of the Norsemen consisted largely of milk products and fresh beef. By leaving their cattle behind they would be deprived of this food. They would also leave their comfortable homes and favorite fishing grounds along the fjords. To offset these conveniences the nomadic life of the

⁹ Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, II, 109.

Eskimos had nothing to offer but the accidental spoils of hunting which the white settlers already possessed.

If they did not join the Eskimos and if they were not exterminated by these Arctic people, the only alternative that will account for the disappearance of the colonists of the Western Settlement is that they emigrated in a body to America. They knew from tradition and possibly from traders that America, or Vinland and Markland, as they called it, was a rich land with a good climate, abounding in big timber, which was the greatest need of the Greenlanders. Left to themselves in that exceedingly bleak and barren part of Greenland, and exposed to the increasingly threatening attacks of the Eskimos, it is not strange if they finally decided to emigrate in a body to a better land where their greatest needs would be supplied.¹⁰ Such mass emigrations are not uncommon in history, and we have several like instances from the same northern regions. When Thorfin Karlsevne in the year 1007 set out for America, he was accompanied by 140 men and women, all of whom decided to cast their lot in the new land. When Erik the Red emigrated to Greenland he was accompanied by no less than twenty-five vessel loads of emigrants, who, persuaded by his exaggerated descriptions of the glories of Greenland, went thither to make their homes. The fact that Bardsen found the cattle of the settlers left behind may be due to the fact that the emigrants could not take all their possessions in one voyage and planned to return for a second load.

This emigration to America is fully corroborated by another annalistic account from the same year which we have in a later copy. Bishop Gisle Oddson, living in the beginning of the seventeenth century, has given us a later copy of earlier annals, and writes under the date of 1342: "The people of Greenland, i.e., the Western Settlement, in 1342 voluntarily gave up the Christian faith and all good morals, and cast their lot with

¹⁰ There is an old account of the thirteenth century, describing life in Greenland, which mentions the fact that the timber on which the Greenlanders depended "came out of the bays of Markland;" quoted in *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerker*, III, 243.

the people of America (*ad Americae populos se converterunt*). Some say that Greenland lies very near to the Western lands of the world."¹¹ The eminent historian, P. A. Munch, comments on this, as follows: "The attacks of the Eskimos were presumably the cause of that which is stated in an account of 1342, viz., that the inhabitants of Greenland fell voluntarily from Christianity and emigrated to other parts of America. . . . This account has all evidence of truth" (*har aldeles troværdighedens præg*).¹²

Finally, ethnological evidence is not lacking to show that such an emigration of white people has actually taken place into the northern parts of North America. The earliest whalers refer to it. Cesar de Rochefort¹³ gives an account of the voyage of a ship from Flushing, commanded by Nicholas Tunes, who, in 1656, visited the shores of Baffin Bay. Tunes describes two distinct types of natives. Of these one kind was very tall of stature, well built, and of blond complexion. The other was the common Eskimo. From the same region Dr. Franz Boas¹⁴ has recorded a number of striking traditions of a people called the "Tornit," which clearly show that at some remote time a people of large physique, other than the Eskimos, lived there. The existence of the "Blond Eskimos" of the Hudson Bay region, seen by many arctic explorers¹⁵ and described particularly by Dr. V. Stefansson,¹⁶ also proves that

¹¹ "1342. Groenlandia incolæ a vera fide et religione christiana sponte sua defecerunt, et repudiatis omnibus honestis moribus et veris virtutibus ad Americae populos se converterunt; existimant enim quidam Groenlandium adeo vicinam esse occidentalibus orbis regionibus." The document was translated out of the original records by Finn Magnussen, the eminent editor-in-chief of *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerker*, and is printed there for the first time in Vol. III, 459.

¹² P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, Unionsperioden, I, 313, 314. The same interpretation (*udvandring til Amerika*) is also given by Professor Gustav Storm in *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*, VI, 356.

¹³ *Histoire des Isles Antilles de l'Amérique*, Book I, ch. xviii.

¹⁴ *The Central Eskimo in the Sixth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1888, p. 634.

¹⁵ See General Greeley's article in *National Geographical Magazine*, December, 1912.

¹⁶ *My Life in the Arctics*, 1913, 191-202.

at some time there must have been a large infusion of blood of a blond race to leave its mark so prominently. In Hovgaard's *Early Voyages of the Northmen*¹⁷ are two remarkable photographs taken by Dr. Stefansson which show fifteen of these reversions to the original type found in a tribe of two hundred Eskimos. Dr. Stefansson says (ibid.): "It is not only the blondness of the Victoria Islander that suggest the European, but also the form of their heads, as shown by measurements of adult males." Commenting on this, Professor Hovgaard says: "The widespread nature of the European characteristics among these tribes seems to show that the mixture took place at a very remote period, and their persistence indicates that European women as well as European men must have been partners in the admixture. Since no intercourse between Eskimos and Europeans appears to have occurred in post-Columbian times, which could account for such a thorough mixing of the races, the only, or at least the most plausible, explanation of the facts recorded by Stefansson seems to be that the Blond Eskimos, as suggested above, are related to the Norse Greenlanders."¹⁸ As the Norse colonies in Greenland came to an end shortly after 1400, this brings us back to the exodus mentioned by Ivar Bardsen and Bishop Gisle Oddson.

The news of this emigration may have reached Norway by several different messengers. In 1346 the royal merchant vessel returned from Greenland, and its crew may have brought the news. In 1348 there arrived in Bergen that company of eighteen Greenlanders who had been to Markland, and who on their return were driven to Iceland. It is possible that these men may have been in personal contact with their emigrated countrymen in Markland.¹⁹ They were accompanied from Iceland to Norway by the prominent politician, Jon Guttormson, who, being temporarily in public and royal disfavor, was now on his way to plead his cause before the king. It is probable that the news was laid before the king by the latter,

¹⁷ Opposite pages 46 and 48.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁹ This contact is suggested by Munch, *op. cit.*, 314.

for, as bearer of such important news, his journey to the king would gain greatly in dignity. We know that he actually reached the king and was immediately restored to royal favor.

We may assume that the pious monarch, Magnus Erikson, must have been prompted to take immediate steps to go to the rescue of the tottering colonies and their churches in Greenland. However, the same year, 1348, there came to Norway and Sweden that terrible plague, the Black Death, which laid low one-half of the population of his kingdoms. The king was also at the same time engaged in a disastrous crusade or holy war with Russia. The royal treasury was completely depleted, and ruin stared the king in the face.

In spite of these desperate internal conditions we find the king soon turning his attention to the needs of Greenland. We have a copy of a letter issued by him, in which it is stated that he fitted out an extraordinary expedition to Greenland. There is no suggestion of commerce or warfare in the stated object of the expedition—its aim is solely to see that Christianity does not perish in Greenland. At its head is placed Paul Knutson, the law-speaker of Gulathing, and one of the most eminent noblemen of Norway. The following is a translation of the letter:

Magnus, by the grace of God, King of Norway, Sweden and Skaane, sends to all men who see or hear this letter good health and happiness.

We desire to make known to you that you are to take all the men who shall go in the Knorr (the royal vessel), whether they be named or not named, from my retinue or from among the retainers of other men whom you may wish to take on the voyage, and that Paul Knutson, who shall be the chief upon the Knorr, shall have full authority to select the men who he thinks are best suited to accompany him, whether as officers or men. We ask that you accept this our command with a right good will for the cause, inasmuch as we do it for the honor of God and for the sake of our soul and for the sake of our predecessors who in Greenland established Christianity and have maintained in to this time, and *we will not now let it perish in our days*. Know this for truth, that whoever defies this our command shall meet with our serious displeasure and thereupon receive full punishment.

Executed in Bergen, Monday after Simon and Judah's day (October 28), in the six and XXX year of our rule (1354). By Orm Ostenson, Lord High Constable of Norway, sealed.²⁰

²⁰ An ancient Danish translation of this document is printed in *Grønlands Historiske Mindesmerker*, III, 120-122. Cf. also Storm's *Studier over Vinlands-reiserne*, p. 365.

According to Professor Storm and others, this expedition sailed from Norway in 1355 and did not return until 1363 or 1364. If we assume that Greenland was its only objective, it becomes very difficult to explain its long absence from home. The commander, Paul Knutson, was a most important man of those times, being one of the king's *Lendermænd* and a large landowner. Part of his crew is said to be from the king's retinue, i.e., all noblemen of the best families.²¹ It is inconceivable that such men of affairs and social prominence would linger year after year in the dreary little colony of Greenland.

But if in the king's words that he "would not now let Christianity perish" in Greenland, we see a reference to the apostasy of the Greenlanders who emigrated to America in 1342, then we find abundant reason for the long absence of the expedition. The only place where Christianity was threatened in Greenland was the Western Settlement. There it was not only threatened, but had completely succumbed to adverse conditions, as was witnessed by the empty churches and deserted homesteads described by Ivar Bardsen. If Paul Knutson was to restore Christian worship to these deserted temples—as was his mission according to the king's mandate—it would be necessary for him to seek these apostates among the people of America whither they had gone, and then either compel them to return or accept the Faith in their new homes.

As pious Catholics, Paul Knutson and his men would be horrified at the thought of these people's renouncing Christianity, and thus, according to the belief of the times, selling themselves to the Devil. As devout sons of the Medieval Church, the king and his messengers would feel it their duty to follow these apostates to the ends of the earth and make every effort to save them from damnation.²² This unquestion-

²¹ P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, Unionsperioden, I, 414, 415.

²² We have as proof of the king's great missionary zeal, e.g., his two wars with Russia (A. D. 1348 and 1351) which were waged by him, with the documentary and financial assistance of the Pope, for the sole purpose of converting the heathen. See Munch, *op. cit.*, 530-536; also Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People*, II, 15. Participation in such enterprises was eagerly sought by the soldiers of the times, since this meant complete absolution from all sins. It is probably for this reason that the king suggested to Paul Knutson that he give members of his retinue a place in the expedition.

ing devotion to a religious ideal explains fully the long absence from home of the expedition.

We, therefore, see the probability, as Dr. Gjessing admits, that there actually was a Norse expedition in American waters about 1360. This view is supported by Professor Storm.²³ Even Professor Frithiof Nansen, who is extremely skeptical about all names and dates connected with the Vinland voyages, thinks it probable that Paul Knutson's mission also required him "to explore the fertile countries further west," i.e., America.²⁴ Let us now see what points of agreement or disagreement there are between the Kensington expedition and that of Paul Knutson.

I. The date on the Kensington stone is 1362; the date of the Knutson journey is 1355-1364. There is, therefore, perfect agreement in point of time.

II. Both expeditions had by 1362 been gone a long time from their home countries. This is shown on the Kensington stone by the statement that the thirty explorers had come "from Vinland," indicating a lengthy stay in America. If they had but recently arrived, they would have said "from Norway," etc. By 1362 the Knutson expedition had been gone seven years.

III. The time of return to Norway seems to coincide for both expeditions. We learn in the Kensington inscription that the thirty explorers who penetrated into what is now Minnesota were not all of the expedition. Some of its members were "down by the sea" (Hudson Bay) with their vessel. These men by the vessel would necessarily wait in Hudson Bay until the ice broke up in the summer of 1363. Then, despairing of the return of their friends, they would presumably seek their safety by returning via Vinland and Greenland to Norway, which they would be able to reach late in the autumn of 1363, or more likely, in 1364. According to Storm and Gjessing, the Knutson expedition returned in 1363 or 1364.

IV. There is reason to believe that both expeditions had a fortified base of operations on the Atlantic coast. This is

²³ G. Storm, *Studier over Vinlandsreiserne*, 1888, p. 365.

²⁴ F. Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, II, p. 38.

clearly indicated on the Kensington stone where we are told that the explorers came, not from Norway, but from Vinland, which can only refer to a well established centre of operations on the Atlantic coast. The building of such a base of operations would also be the first logical step for Paul Knutson to take after landing in America. His mission was to search for a colony of apostatized fellow subjects who were somewhere to be found within the vast reaches of an unknown country. Prudence would dictate the building of a fortified base of operations where his supplies could be stored and to which the explorers could retreat with safety if threatened by the enemy.

V. Probability points to the fact that both expeditions followed the same general route. All scholars who believe in the authenticity of the Kensington inscription are agreed that the Kensington explorers must have come by way of Hudson Bay. It is reasonable to suppose that the Greenlanders, who emigrated to America in 1342, continued westward on the same climatic parallel to which they were accustomed in Greenland; which would bring them to northern Labrador or Baffin Land. Here is just where Dr. Boaz collected his traditions of the *Tornit*, a large and strange people who were said to have sojourned among the Eskimos. From here, too, westward into the region of Hudson Bay have been found those Blond Eskimos who clearly show a considerable intermarriage with white men.

Paul Knutson and his party, coming from a mild climate, would at first naturally seek for the Greenlanders in Vinland, which also had a mild climate and which was known by tradition to the Norsemen. Here he would build his fortified base of operations. Later, not finding them in this vicinity, Knutson would come to the conclusion that they had gone to a country whose climatic conditions correspond to their own in Greenland. Accordingly, he would go further north. Searching for them here, their trail would lead him into Hudson Bay.

VI. Both expeditions seem to have numbered among their members one or more priests. This is indicated on the Kensington stone by the pious character of the inscription, by the

knowledge of Latin words and characters as shown in the letters *A V M* (*Ave Maria*) and by the fact that the explorers were able to leave an inscription in writing, an accomplishment almost unknown to all but the clergy. In the Knutson expedition, which professedly was an enterprise for the maintenance of Christianity, there surely was a priest.

VII. Finally, the general personnel of the two expeditions was the same. King Magnus Erikson, by whose command the Knutson expedition was fitted out, was the first king of Norway who was not a descendant of Harold the Fairhaired line on his father's side. Magnus was a descendant of the famous *Folkunga* family of Götaland,²⁵ and he was throughout his life a Goth of provincial interests. The act of agreement entered into between Sweden and Norway, when Magnus was chosen king of both, required him to spend his time equally in both countries. This promise was ignored by Magnus, who very rarely visited Norway, spending most of his time in Götaland. For this reason the Norwegian people compelled him in 1343 to abdicate the throne of Norway in favor of his son Hakon, to take effect when Hakon reached his age of majority in 1355.²⁶ In the meantime he was permitted to hold the royal power in trust only. Nor was he popular in Sweden. This was chiefly because the Swedish noblemen became dissatisfied with the favoritism which the king always showed to the nobles and clergy of his paternal province, Götaland. He established his royal residence at Ljodhus in Götaland and here he spent all of his leisure time. When in 1347 he made his will, he bequeathed almost his entire fortune to the Vadstena Nunnery in Götaland.²⁷ Ignoring local expectations, he placed the government of the various parts of his kingdom in the hands of his favorites, the nobles and clergy of Götaland. For instance, Orm Eysteinson, a Goth, was made Lord High Constable of Norway.²⁸ Johan Karlsson and Nicolas Markusson, the king's two successive chancellors, were both Goths.²⁹

²⁵ The Swedish spelling of this province is used to distinguish it from the island of Gothland.

²⁶ P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, Unionsperioden, I, 289-295.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 478.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 521, 667, note 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 544, 646.

So too, Israel Byrgeson, whom the king appointed as vicegerent, or general supervisor (*Officialis Generalis*) to act during the years of his wars with Russia, was a Goth.³⁰ Benedikt Algotsson, another Goth, was made Duke of Halland and Finland and Governor of Skane.³¹ This last act of favoritism finally offended the aristocracy of Sweden so greatly that they prevailed upon his son Erik to raise the standard of revolt and Magnus was compelled to yield the throne to him.³² The king thus lost both his crowns, but he was permitted to hold for his personal support the government of Vestgötaland, the Western islands, and certain other provinces. In view of his ancestry and place of residence, his favoritism to the Goths, and the dislike in which he was held by the nobility of other parts of Sweden, it is certain that his personal retinue consisted almost exclusively of Goths.

In the letter which King Magnus in 1354, while still holding in trust the crown of Norway for his son Hakon, writes to Paul Knutson, he commands him to select the men for the expedition from two sources: (1) "from my retinue" (*fra mine haandgangne mænd*) and (2) from the retainers of other men. If Paul Knutson did not wish to offend the king and his retinue, he would follow his instructions. He would chose some of his followers from among the nobles that made up the king's retinue, who were Goths. He would also avail himself of the opportunity offered in the second clause, and select some Norwegians of his own acquaintance around Bergen. The expedition would therefore be composed partly of Goths and partly of Norwegians. On the Kensington stone we read of eight Goths and twenty-two Norwegians. The greater dignity of the Goths, as noblemen of the king's bodyguard, is implied in the fact that they are mentioned first.

Therefore, instead of these Goths being a historical misfit, serving as an insurmountable objection to the identification of

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 488.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 589-594.

³² When Erik shortly afterward died and a German, Albrecht Albrechtson, was chosen King of Sweden, only the people of Vestgötaland remained loyal to King Magnus and took up arms in his defense. *Ibid.*, 765; Styffe's *Bidrag till Skandinaviens Historia*, No. 36 (pp. 62-118).

the Kensington expedition with the Knutson expedition, we see how indispensable these Goths are when viewed in the light of the peculiar political conditions of the times. Their little understood presence in the inscription is the best possible internal evidence of its truth. It is one of those little hall-marks of genuineness which an imitator fails to appreciate but which so naturally marks the true producer.

The perfect chronological and characteristic agreement between these two expeditions is so apparent and so conclusive that a vital connection is evident. The Kensington inscription is either a true account of 1362 or its author must in recent years have heard of the Knutson expedition, understood its scope and personnel, and shaped his account to agree with this. For this reason, Professor Halvdan Koht, Professor of History at the University of Christiania, said to me in 1911: "If you can prove that the inscription was made before 1888 you have won your case." Why 1888? Because in that year for the first time the suggestion was made, by Professor Gustav Storm, that the practically unknown Knutson Expedition may have visited America.³³

Now there is no difficulty in proving that the inscription was made before 1888. We have an affidavit from Nils Flaten, a worthy farmer living near Kensington, stating that the stone was found immediately in front of and in plain view of his house, not more than five hundred feet away across an open marsh. The affidavit further brings out the fact that he had lived continuously at the same spot since 1884 and that the house had never been untenanted during that time. It was therefore impossible secretly to cut the inscription or bury the stone while Mr. Flaten and his large family had the spot under constant observation.³⁴

Furthermore, the Museum Committee of the Minnesota Historical Society have very thoroughly investigated the circumstances connected with the discovery of the stone. They

³³ Gustav Storm, *Studier over Vinlandsreiserne*, Copenhagen, 1888, also printed in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1888, p. 365.

³⁴ The affidavit was obtained by Dr. Knut Hoegh, and is on file in his office in the Masonic temple, Minneapolis, Minn.

state that the stone must have been in its finding place at least as long as the tree which clasped it in its roots grew there. This tree they find (by counting the rings of four other trees of the same species growing in the same place) was approximately fifty years old.³⁵ This brings us back to 1847, several years before there was a single farmer in the entire state of Minnesota, to a time when the Indians and the wild beasts ruled undisturbed over all that country.

Finally, the weathering of the inscription has been studied by three professional geologists. Professor W. O. Hotchkiss stated that the inscription was "at least fifty to a hundred years old"; Dr. Warren Upham stated that it was "several hundred years old," and Professor N. H. Winchell after a lengthy discussion concludes that it is "probably five hundred years old."³⁶ The possibility that the Paul Knutson expedition was suggested to the runemaster by Professor Storm is, therefore, completely excluded.

This remarkable rune-stone, which was rejected by the builders of our knowledge, has withstood every surge of criticism for a quarter of a century, and now promises to become one of the corner-stones of our history. It is the only runic inscription ever found in America, but it is the most remarkable of all such monuments, for it adds a new chapter to America's history—a chapter thrilling with dramatic interest. At the same time this rune-stone adds another great achievement to Norway's heroic age, just at the time when it terminates in its dull sleep of four hundred years. Moreover, when fully understood, the Kensington inscription is a record of exploration to kindle the admiration of any reader. For these men did not, like the later Spaniards, come across the vast seas inflamed by thoughts of conquest and plunder; they gave up their homes, their pleasures, and their lives, impelled only by the high purpose of bringing some half barbaric fellow-subjects back to the saving grace of the church. As to the final outcome of this first missionary expedition to America, we know

³⁵ *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, XV, 223, 224, also plates IV and V.

³⁶ These three statements are printed in full in *Wis. Mag. of His.*, Dec., 1919, pp. 175, 176.

nothing for the archives were lost. Perhaps they were never written, since it is probable that none of these thirty explorers—the first martyrs of the West—returned to their comrades to tell the tale. They chiselled a few words about their great adventure upon a stone in the wilderness and then disappeared.

Yet it is not impossible that we shall eventually learn more of them, for from time to time the soil has yielded up new remarkable testimonials of their presence. These unexpected corroborations consist of a number of implements which have been unearthed in northwestern Minnesota. Taken in connection with the rune-stone they mutually support and explain each other, for these finds are all of the fourteenth century in origin and Scandinavian in type. They are, moreover, just such implements as these explorers would be likely to have carried with them, and they are found just where these explorers are said to have been. These finds consist of a bronze-handled sword, an antique broadaxe, a fire-steel, a bill-hook, a small axe and a brass ornament containing a measure scale which passed out of use about 1400.³⁷ Affidavits have been obtained from the various finders and their neighbors, setting forth the circumstances of their discovery, and showing that they could not have been brought in by any of the early settlers.

HJALMAR R. HOLAND

Ephraim, Wisconsin

³⁷ All of these finds were exhibited by Mr. Holand to the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study at its eleventh annual meeting held at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn., May 6, 1921. Mr. Holand's paper was received by the Society on that occasion with great interest (cf. p. 184 of this number).—*Editor*.

IBSEN'S *FRUEN FRA HAVET* AND MOLBECH'S *KLINTEKONGENS BRUD*

Woerner in his book on Ibsen¹ sums up what is generally known of the influences upon this author finding expression in *Fruen fra havet* (1888). All that is here brought together seems abundantly substantiated and in turn contributes materially to the understanding of this difficult drama. One influence seems to me to be omitted, one which in a sense comprehends the others and within which they first find vital function. This is the romantic lyrical drama *Klintekongens Brud* by Chr. K. F. Molbech (1845), which must have made its impression upon Ibsen in his younger romantic period, an impression perhaps unconsciously reproductive in the symbolistic content of his much later work.² The personal relations of the two poets, as gathered from Ibsen's letters were as follows: They first met in Rome in 1865,³ where they developed relations of cordial friendship,⁴ in letters addressing each other with "du." The friendship was put to a severe test in 1877⁵ by the question of precedence in theatrical presentation of Ibsen's *Samsfundets støtter* over Molbech's *Ambrosius*, but the test was happily met by Molbech's dedication of his new work to Ibsen.⁶ In expressing his appreciation of this evidence of Molbech's generosity Ibsen speaks of his poetry in general as if he were perfectly familiar with it, as an earlier letter⁷ in fact bears witness to his acquaintance with Molbech's translation of Dante's *Divina commedia*, published 1851-63. There is then no reason to doubt that Ibsen was well acquainted with *Klintekongens Brud*. Later on Ibsen's *Gengangere* appears to have been the rock upon which the friendship finally broke.⁸

¹ *Henrik Ibsen*, II, 204ff. 1910; ed. 2, 206ff. 1912.

² J. Collin (*Henrik Ibsen*, 518. 1910) has seen that Ibsen's drama presupposes a romantic prototype.

³ *Breve fra Henrik Ibsen*, I, 101.

⁴ I, 152. 1867; II, 34. 1875.

⁵ II, 53ff., 227f.

⁶ II, 60, 229.

⁷ I, 244. 1872.

⁸ II, 98, 236f. 1882.

The similarity of the two works lies in the strange attachment of the heroine in either case for the spirit of the sea. In Molbech's poem this spirit finds incorporation in the romantic "Klintekongen," who frequents the chalk-cliff (*Klint*) on the Danish island of Møen. A suggested motivation for the attachment of Anna for this being is given in the fact that she had been found as a child in a chest washed ashore from a stranded ship at the foot of the cliff, her parentage being unknown. Popular belief had it that in time of storm Klintekongen drove with his four black horses over the sea and brought destruction to every ship met on his way. Long ago a nobleman's daughter, named Anna, who lived near the cliff and who was of a restless disposition, had gone out one evening to drink from the spring, where Klintekongen appeared to her in the form of a huntsman and seduced her. At the birth of her daughter she was herself found dead. In following generations each third daughter similarly became the victim of Klintekongen, until finally the noble family moved to foreign parts over the sea, but the belief was held that nowhere could it be safe from Klintekongen. The Anna of the poem has the name and other characteristics of the unfortunate Annas who have gone before, and she also meets an unknown huntsman in the evening at the spring. All points inevitably to the conclusion that Anna is a doomed third daughter of the noble family, and she herself interprets the restless longing of her soul as the impossibility of finding peace on earth, which was characteristic of the descendants of Klintekongen. So difficult is in fact the transition to strictly human relations that she repels the huntsman when he reveals himself as a fugitive knight, and insists that her troth is plighted with no other than Klintekongen. The difficulty is, however, but temporary and the heroine finds her indefinable longing happily resolved into love for the human knight, and is even willing, if need be, to leave the sea, the woods and the chalk-cliff in order to follow him. A happy arrangement makes this renunciation unnecessary.

In Ibsen's drama it is also the heroine, Fru Ellida Wangel, who has the inexplicable longing for the sea. As a child she

had lived in a light-house on the coast and the open sea had so become a part of her nature that even life in the inner recesses of the fjord was well nigh intolerable. The spirit of the sea is again incorporated in a quasi-human being, a man who appeared originally under the symbolical name of Friman, who took on later among others the alias Alfred Johnston, who had been associated with Finland, Finmarken, America, etc., a sailor with whom Ellida (her father had given her a ship's name) had once betrothed herself and to whom she feels herself irresistibly drawn without being able to account for the fact. Her marriage to Doctor Wangel, a widower with two daughters, had not brought an end to her attachment for the sea and its human symbol, for in the Ibsen sense it was no marriage. She had simply sold herself, as she declares. When her husband is able to leave her absolutely free choice to follow the mysterious stranger, if it be her will, she is able to forsake him, her marriage becomes a real marriage, and what had seemed abnormal longing is resolved into normal human affection. There are further accessory details of similarity, perhaps partly inherent in the subject-matter—the mermaid with its longing as kin to the heroine, the suggestion of the sea in the eyes of the spirit symbolizing it, those of Klintekongen blue as the sea, those of Johnston, alias Friman, having an uncanny sea-like look, changing color as the sea does in varying weather.

Against the hypothesis of a close relation of the two dramas various considerations may be raised. It may be said that there is after all little similarity between them, which is in most particulars decidedly true. The folklore appeal may be made. That the essential basis of Molbech's poem is folkloristic is undubitable. The same is hardly in equal measure the case with Ibsen's play. Even if the possibility of independent use of the same or related folkloristic material were to be considered, the similarity lies rather in the way in which it is treated, the poetic idea that the woman not fully conscious of the as yet impersonal yearning of love within her heart associates it with the sea (including the landscape immediately connected therewith), transferring it then to a being who for

her impersonates the sea, but who is calculated to bring to her only further stress or final disaster. Through the eventual transition to the voluntary bestowal of her affection upon a human object she reaches true happiness and harmony of mind. Her vague yearning has been resolved into real love.

The points of difference are of the sort characteristic of Ibsen and reveal how he has employed the idea in a somewhat didactic way. The affection of the woman has to be transferred to her own husband, and this can be done only as she is allowed by him absolute liberty of self-disposal. She feels that she had not had such liberty in the first instance, or if she had had it, at any rate had not properly used it. Lacking it, she could have no real love for her husband, and the conviction that such was the case had come overwhelmingly upon her when a child was born which appeared to her to have the eyes of shifting sea-color characteristic of Friman-Johnston. With full recognition on the part of both husband and wife of the fundamental importance of liberty with concomitant responsibility their union is raised from the level of a mere contract to that of a real marriage.

A. LEROY ANDREWS

Cornell University

THE DANISH FOLK LORE SOCIETY

"Danmarks Folkeminder" (Danish Folk Lore) is a society founded March 20th, 1908 in Denmark by Professor Axel Olrik, who was its president and leader until his death in 1917. Its object, according to a pamphlet issued by the Society, is "to gather those recollections of old Danish peasant life which still live on the lips of the people, and in a simple, clear way to throw light upon the life, the beliefs and the song and legend of the Danish peasantry past and present." The Society's president is Dr. Henrik Ussing (Molbechshus, Sorø, Denmark). Mr. P. K. Toksvig of New York City is the Society's American representative.

"While sources to a knowledge of the past are rich and full concerning such men as rank high in political and social life," continues the pamphlet, "it is quite another matter when it comes to the plain citizen in olden days, his views of life, his songs and stories, his week days and feast days."

"We have a fairly good and complete picture of the material side of peasant culture through visible and physical objects from the past, and through pictures and historical description. But that side of the life of the people, which unfolds itself in the spoken word, in manners and customs, in thoughts and beliefs, in expressions of joy or sorrow or reflections over the ways of life, has almost down to our time been suppressed, held in contempt or overlooked by those whose task it was to recall the past by means of the pen."

"To remedy this lack of knowledge and understanding, "Danmarks Folkeminder" is continuing the work of similar efforts of the last century: Sven Grundtvig's, H. F. Feilberg's and Evald Tang Kristensen's Collections of Folk Lore. It seeks in close co-operation with the Danish Folk Lore department of the Royal Library to cover as many sides of old time peasant life as possible, and seeks to paint as many-sided and as richly nuanced a description thereof as can be done in our time. This will help us to understand many phases of the modern, everyday citizen's life which has an intimate connection with

the life of the past. We shall, thereby, gain an insight into the truest spirit of the Danish nation, and appreciate those changing conditions of culture to which each particular age owes its stamp, as well as the innermost nature and character of our people. We seek, too, to perpetuate and save such song and legend as is formed or created by unknown men of the people. Sung or written, perhaps, in long times past but which by their charm or humor or by their noble structure will be as pearls for all time among the intellectual treasures of our people."

"The Society seeks to realize its object in the following manner:

"1. That its members write down or narrate whatever lies within the range of their popular heritage; such as songs and fairy tales, myth and superstition, proverbs and games, every day life and feast days, etc. Material collected in this way, will be kept as a part of the collection of Danish folk lore in the Royal Library, as the property of the Danish people."

"2. By publishing selections of the collected material in pamphlet form together with simple scientific accounts explaining Danish folk lore and Danish folk customs and manners."

"3. By calling attention to our folk lore through newspapers and periodicals, and by suggesting the best method for collecting such material."

"However, in order to realize this object as fully as possible, it is necessary that membership in the Society and support of its work be as extensive and strong as possible. We, therefore, venture to urge you to become a member of "Danmarks Folkeminder." The membership fee is \$1.50 a year, including free copies of all publications issued by the Society during the course of the year."

Until recently, efforts to collect material in the field of Danish folk lore have been confined almost entirely to Denmark. But have not Danes in America something to contribute? I think they have. Perhaps, even the most interesting part. Many older men and women in this country who have lived their childhood and youth (or at least a part of it) in Denmark

have, as a rule, cherished memories of these years with a faithfulness and accuracy which in every way equals, if not surpasses, the recollections of people who have never been outside of Denmark.

To write down these memoirs, will be an attractive task for many older Danes in America. Those who have gone through the hard school of the pioneer days will have something to talk about, which will be read in the homeland as something interesting and full of glamour. A 76 year-old Danish man in Minnesota has sent me many fascinating accounts of his life as a Danish dragoon in the war with Germany in 1864. I am, furthermore, expecting from him a description of his adventures as a pioneer farmer in the great American Northwest. These collected memoirs will make attractive reading for every Danish man or woman who has a heart for the progress of the Danish people either at home or abroad.

But not only older folks can co-operate in bringing about such a collection of folk lore. Young people can likewise help by writing down stories told them by older persons who prefer to narrate instead of writing themselves. Very often men who possess remarkable descriptive powers, so far as oral description is concerned, lose their inspiration when they try to pen the tale on paper. Here is where the youthful folk lore enthusiast can step in and render valuable service. In this way fables, myths, old ballads, fairy tales, puzzles, proverbs, etc., can be collected and submitted.

At present, there are only six members of the Society in the United States and Canada. This membership could grow to 600 in a surprisingly short time, if every person who has a heart and interest in this cause, would join the Society after reading this article. Applications for membership may be sent to the president, Dr. Ussing, in Denmark or until further notice, to my daughter, Gudrun Toksvig, Girls' Community Club, 86 Macdougall St., New York City. After May 25th, I shall be glad to answer any personal communication or query in regard to the work or scope of the Society at my home, Svanemosegaardsvej 11², Copenhagen V., Denmark.

P. K. TOKSVIG

April, 1921

REVIEWS

FINNUR JÓNSSON: *ISLANDSKE LÆSESTYKKER MED FORKLARINGER OG ORDSAMLING*. I. Udgivne af Dansk-Islandsk Samfund. Copenhagen, 1918. pp. 59.

FINNUR JÓNSSON: *DET ISLANDSKE SPROGS HISTORIE. I KORT OMRIDS*. I. Copenhagen, 1918, pp. 24.

There are undoubtedly many who will welcome just such brief elementary handbooks for the study of modern Icelandic as the two pamphlets listed above. Professor Jónsson published an introductory grammar in 1905, with which the present *Læsestykker* may serve very well as a reader. It has been prepared especially with a view to students in Denmark (with some translations from H. C. Andersen), but may of course be used for self-study by anyone. Among the selections there is one from Thóroddson's description of Iceland (*Lýsing Islands*), one from Benedict Gröndal (from the magazine, *Gefn*) and one from Jónas Hallgrímsson (*Grasferðin*). There are foot notes and a vocabulary. A second number is to follow.

The *Historie* presents in concise form the fundamentals in the development of the Icelandic language from the period of settlement down to the present. It is interesting to observe how in Iceland they have been able to preserve the language pure even during the last thirty years in the face of the influx of so many new things, and with them so many new ideas and activities. Such early adoptions elsewhere as *sekretar* and *bibliotek* are in Iceland of course *ritari* and *bokasafn*. They could, to be sure, not keep out such words as *te*, *kaffi*, *sykur* and *tóbak*, but I think that well-nigh exhausts the loans. "Theatre" is not *teater*, but *leikhus*, and "comedy" is *gamanleikur*, as "tragedy" is *sorgarleikur*. The word "sport" is not used (I am glad to see that it is never used) but always the good word *íþrótt*. And *cykel* is not heard; one says *reiðhjól*, and the corresponding verb is *hjóla*.

GEORGE T. FLOM

Urbana, June 1.

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study met at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn., on Friday and Saturday, May 6 and 7, 1921.

First Session, Friday, May 6, 2 P. M.

As the President of the Society, Dr. Lee M. Hollander, was absent, the meeting was called to order by the Vice-President, Dr. Henning Larsen, who asked Professor A. A. Stomberg to take the chair. Professor P. M. Glasoe, Vice-President of St. Olaf College, then delivered an address of welcome to the Society in the place of President Boe, who was unable to be present.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. The "Goths" in the Kensington Inscription. By Dr. Hjalmar R. Holand, Ephraim, Wisconsin. (30 minutes.) This paper was discussed by Professors A. M. Sturtevant, O. E. Rölvaag, and Julius E. Olson. The article appears in this issue of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES.

2. Oehlschlager and Tegnér. By Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas. (20 minutes.) The paper was discussed by Professor Julius E. Olson and Dr. Hjalmar R. Holand. The article appeared in Vol. VI, No. 5, of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES.

3. Letter read by Professor Julius E. Olson from Professor George T. Flom, who was unable to be present.

Adjournment for recess, during which refreshments were served at the Cafeteria.

4. Some Aspects of the Slesvig Problem. By Miss Karen Larsen, St. Olaf College. (20 minutes.) Discussion by Dr. Hjalmar R. Holand and Professor Julius E. Olson.

5. The Oedipus Motif in Germanic Legend. By Professor Henning Larsen, University of Iowa. (15 minutes.) Discussed by Professors Julius E. Olson, A. M. Sturtevant, O. E. Rölvaag, and Dr. Hjalmar R. Holand. The article will appear in a future number of SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES AND NOTES.

The following committees were appointed:

Nominating Committee, Professor A. M. Sturtevant (chairman), Miss Maren Michelet, Dr. Hjalmar R. Holand.

Auditing Committee, Professor A. A. Stomberg (chairman), Miss Ebba Norman.

Committee on Resolutions, Professor Julius E. Olson.

There were forty present at this session.

At six-thirty dinner was served for the Society at the Cafeteria. Professor O. E. Rölvaag acted as toast-master, and short toasts were called for from the following: Professor P. M. Glasoe, Miss Maren Michelet, Professors

A. A. Stomberg, A. M. Sturtevant, and Julius E. Olson. The dinner was attended by sixty persons.

At eight o'clock the Society went to the gymnasium and witnessed a most delightful and talented performance of Björnson's "En Fallit," rendered by members of the *Idun* and *Edda* Norse literary societies of St. Olaf College.

Second Session, Saturday, May 7, 9:30 A. M.

The business meeting was called to order at nine-thirty by the chairman, Professor Henning Larsen.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was read and accepted. A letter was read by Professor A. M. Sturtevant from the Secretary-Treasurer, outlining the progress of the Society for the past year and suggesting plans for the future.

The report of the Editor was presented and accepted.

The Secretary-Treasurer was authorized to gather an Endowment Fund for the Society in collaboration with the Executive Board.

The Society voted to thank the Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis, for his faithful and efficient work in behalf of the Society.

Adjournment for Chapel Exercises, at which Professor Julius E. Olson addressed the student body of St. Olaf College on Henrik Ibsen's *Rosmersholm* and its relation to modern life and thought.

The business meeting was then resumed.

It was voted to appoint a committee for the purpose of publishing a survey of Scandinavian studies in the high schools of this country. Mr. N. N. Ronnig of the *Minneapolis North Star* offered to raise \$25.00 for this purpose in behalf of the Association for the Advancement of Scandinavian Studies of Minneapolis. The chair then appointed Miss Maren Michelet as a committee of one with authority to appoint additional members, if she so desires.

It was voted to appoint Professors A. M. Sturtevant and Henning Larsen as a committee of two for the purpose of approaching The American-Scandinavian Foundation in behalf of Dr. Hjalmar R. Holand. The purpose of the committee is to obtain, if possible, financial aid for Dr. Holand, that he may be enabled to establish the truth or the falsity of his theories regarding the Kensington Stone.

Resolved, That the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study desires to express its sincere grief at the death of Professor William Henry Schofield. Professor Schofield was one of the few native born Americans who have dedicated their lives to the cause of Scandinavian culture in America. His fine scholarship, his enthusiastic devotion to his ideals, his noble efforts to bring about a more sympathetic relation between America and the Scandinavian countries have been an inspiration to us all. Professor Schofield's life, though short, will live long in the memory of all those who have had the privilege of knowing him. In him America has lost one of her most distinguished scholars, and we have lost a most powerful spokesman of our cause and a most sympathetic friend in our difficult work.

Be it further resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to Mrs. Schofield.

The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study desires to convey to the President and the Faculty of St. Olaf College an expression of most sincere appreciation for the cordial welcome extended at the eleventh annual meeting. The Society further wishes in particular to thank the *Idun* and *Edda* literary societies for their delightful presentation of Björnson's "En Fallit" and the local committee on arrangements for its care and thoughtfulness in providing for the visiting members.

The officers elected were:

President, Professor Henning Larsen of the University of Iowa.

Vice-President, Dr. Martin B. Ruud of the University of Minnesota.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska.

Educational Secretary, Miss Maren Michelet of South High School, Minneapolis.

Editor of Scandinavian Studies and Notes, Professor A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas.

Members of the Advisory Committee for three years: Dr. Lee M. Hollander of the University of Wisconsin and Professor K. A. Kilander of Gustavus Adolphus College.

Reading and discussion of papers resumed:

6. Fredrika Bremer's visit to Minnesota in 1850. By Professor A. A. Stomberg, University of Minnesota. (15 minutes.) Discussed by Dr. Hjalmar R. Holand.

7. Longfellow's Translations from the Scandinavian. By Professor D. K. Dodge, University of Illinois. (20 minutes.) The paper was read by Professor Henning Larsen, University of Iowa.

8. Second Intentions in Ibsen's *Rosmersholm*. By Professor Julius E. Olson, University of Wisconsin. As this paper had already been read at chapel exercises, it was omitted at this time.

There were twenty-five members present at this session.

Adjournment.

Dinner was given to the members of the Society at the Cafeteria.

A. M. STURTEVANT, *Secretary pro tem.*

LONGFELLOW'S SCANDINAVIAN TRANSLATIONS

The tendency on the part of many of our literary critics to regard Longfellow merely as the poet of the commonplace amounts to an obsession. By dwelling upon certain of his admittedly inferior poems and by emphasizing his title of the children's poet these professional detractors try to give the impression that Longfellow is quite unworthy of the consideration of serious thinkers. Fortunately, not all students of our national literature join in this chorus of depreciation and, by using a saner method of criticism, serious writers like Mr. Paul Elmer More and others, separating the wheat from the chaff, point to many poems and classes of poems in which Longfellow won real distinction among the major poets. In at least four directions Longfellow cannot fail to arouse the admiration and approval of the truly discriminating reader. In several of his longer poems, notably 'Evangeline,' 'Hiawatha' and 'Tales of a Wayside Inn,' we find a skill in narration not equalled by any other American poet and surpassed by very few English poets. In all his poetical writings, from the earliest to the latest, there is a mastery of verse form and a fine verbal felicity that show the master technician. In his later years Longfellow developed a technique and expressed a depth of feeling in the difficult form of the Petrarchan sonnet that wring enthusiastic praise from the editor of this body of his poems, Mr. Ferris Greenslet. Finally, as a translator and an imitator of foreign poetical forms Longfellow is easily first among American writers and it is doubtful whether he has been equalled in this field by any of the English poets.

Although in the mere matter of volume Longfellow's German translations probably occupy first place, it is perhaps not unreasonable to attach greater importance as to quality to the renderings from the Scandinavian, especially from the Swedish. In this connection one name stands out in special prominence, that of Tegnér, who seems to have made a more powerful appeal to Longfellow than did any other foreign poet, and to whom he seems to give a higher place than to his great Danish

contemporary Oehlenschläger. The larger space devoted to the latter in *Poets and Poetry of Europe*, to which the reviewer of the book in the *North American Review* takes exception, is undoubtedly due to the large number of English translations that were available, as well as to the immense bulk of the Danish writer's work. In the introduction to his valuable little book, *Poems by Tegnér*, published in 1914 by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, Mr. Paul Lieder quotes the following interesting suggestion from Edmund Gosse's essay on Runeberg in *Northern Studies*: "Between Tegnér and Runeberg the natural link is wanting. This link properly consists, it appears to me, in Longfellow, who is an anomaly in American literature, but who has the full character of a Swedish poet, and who, had he been born in Sweden, would have completed exactly enough the chain of style that ought to unite the idealism of Tegnér to the realism of Runeberg. The poem of *Evangeline* has really no place in Anglo-Saxon poetry; in Swedish it would accurately enough express a stage in the progress of literature which is now unfilled."

But before considering the translations from the Scandinavian a word may be said about the poems conceived in the Scandinavian spirit, for which no originals exist, and the paraphrases from the *Heimskringla* in the *Musician's First Tale*. Ever since the time of Gray Scandinavian themes have appealed to many English poets. Gray and his contemporaries, however, had no knowledge of the Scandinavian languages, their sources being English and Latin translations. Longfellow enjoyed the advantage of a thorough knowledge of Swedish, both in the spoken and the written form, and a less accurate grasp of Danish and Old Norse. He had spent a whole summer too in Sweden and Denmark and his article in the *North American Review* on Tegnér showed that he had absorbed much of the spirit of rural Swedish life. With this unusual linguistic and cultural equipment, combined with his remarkable capacity to assimilate and express alien feelings in finished poetical form it is not strange that Longfellow on several occasions produced masterpieces, compared to which Gray's imitations seem like very faint echoes from the North. For an account of Longfellow's studies in Scandinavia reference may be made to

chapter XV of Samuel Longfellow's *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*.

Although judged simply as a poem *The Skeleton in Armor* is probably the finest of Longfellow's poems of this class, it can be regarded as Scandinavian only in theme. In the following appreciation W. H. Prescott probably has in mind the general medieval coloring of both poems rather than any specific Northern suggestion in the first one: "In two or three ballads, especially the 'Skeleton in Armor' and the 'Hesperus,' you have seized the true coloring of the antique. Nothing better have I seen in this way since the 'Ancient Mariner.'"¹ There is a marked absence of specifically Northern local color, either of form or reference. The hero is not a convincing Viking and throughout a mere change of names would suggest quite a different setting. Far otherwise is it with two poems so true to type that they read like superlatively fine translations of Old Norse poems. The first of these is the *Prelude to the First Musician's Tale, The Challenge of Thor*. Wisely avoiding the regular scheme of alliteration and assonance of Old Norse skaldic poetry, as alien to the modern reader, and with equal wisdom omitting end rime, which would destroy the archaic effect of the imitation, Longfellow has succeeded in producing a poem full, both in form and content, of the spirit of the pagan past. As this poem is probably not as familiar as it deserves to be, the first stanza may properly be quoted:

I am the God Thor,
I am the War God,
I am the Thunderer!
Here in my Northland,
My fastness and fortress,
Reign I forever!

As a sort of pendant to this, but written twenty-eight years later, is *Tegnér's Drapa*, originally bearing the less distinctive title *Tegnér's Death*. In Longfellow's diary for October 14th, 1847 occurs the following reference to this poem: "Went to town, after finishing a poem on Tegnér's death, in the spirit of the Old Norse poetry."² Although Tegnér died November 2nd,

¹ *Life*, I:412.

² *Life*, II: 96.

1846 Longfellow apparently did not learn of it until some months later, for in the diary occurs the following under April 5th, 1847: "Death of Tegnér. Poem by Böttiger." The author of the poem was C. W. Böttiger, a son-in-law of the poet and editor of his *Collected Works*. Although the same six verse unrimed stanza is used in the *Drapa* as in *The Challenge of Thor* it is with a difference, the quieter theme of the later poem being expressed in three stress iambs, while the vigorous action of the pagan poem is suggested by the quicker two stress dactyls and trochees. As in the earlier poem we hear the defiance of the older and fiercer divine order, in the *Drapa* is expressed the triumph of the new dispensation. Especially fine is the ninth stanza, in which the poet passes from the account of the death of Balder the Beautiful to the real theme of the poem:

So perish the old Gods!
But out of the sea of Time
Rises a new land of song,
Fairer than the old.
Over its meadows green
Walk the young bards and sing.

Tegnér's latest American editor is quite justified in saying of this extract: "This might serve as the text of a discourse on comparative literature; it indicates the significance of such international relationships as that of Longfellow and Tegnér."

A detailed consideration of the *Musician's First Tale*, *The Saga of King Olaf*, is quite beyond the limits of this paper. It stands midway between the three original poems on Scandinavian themes and the translations proper. It is, with the exception of the Prelude and the last canto, a free rendering in varied verse form, with some additions by the author, of portions of the *Heimskringla*. The concluding canto, the twenty-second, *The Nun of Nidaros*, is wholly original with Longfellow, and like the *Prelude*, it is in unrimed six verse stanza form. The rhythm is two stress iambic, anapestic, most of the verses being hypercatalectic. Occasionally the measure changes to the trochaic dactylic, as in the sixth stanza:

'Cross against corslet,
Love against hatred,
Peace cry for war-cry!

Patience is powerful;
 He that o'ercometh
 Hath power o'er the nations.'

In stanza nine the two measures alternate throughout the stanza, as:

'Stronger than steel
 Is the sword of the spirit;
 Swifter than arrows
 The light of the truth is,
 Greater than anger
 Is love and subdueth!'

Varnhagen³ has identified the chapters of Snorre that serve as Longfellow's source and he has also pointed out the interesting fact that the verse form of most of the cantos may be referred to different Danish and Swedish ballads. Both the five stress iambic and the six stress dactylic blank verse are also used and one canto is in the skeltonic verse. He has shown, too, by undoubted internal evidence, that Longfellow used Laing's translation of the *Heimskringla*. More important, however, than the internal evidence, though it is not noted by the German scholar, is the following entry in Longfellow's diary for February 25th, 1859. "The thought struck me this morning, that a very good poem might be written on the Saga of King Olaf, who converted the North to Christianity. Read the old Saga in the *Heimskringla*, Laing's translation. It is very curious. 'The Challenge of Thor' will serve as a prelude."⁴ In spite of this double evidence of Longfellow's indebtedness to Laing's version, it is possible, perhaps probable, that the poet made some use of the Old Norse version, as it is known that while in Copenhagen he studied the language with C. C. Rafn.

The *Musician's Second Tale, The Ballad of Camilhan*, is curiously reminiscent of *The Ancient Mariner*, although it is not in the ballad measure. The resemblance is especially striking in the following stanza:

The southwest wind blew fresh and fair,
 As fair as wind could be;
 Bound for Odessa, o'er the bar,
 With all sail set, the Valdemar
 Went proudly out to sea.

³ Hermann Varnhagen: *Longfellow's Tales of a Wayside Inn und ihre Quellen*, Berlin, 1884.

⁴ *Life*, 11, 378.

This ballad belongs in the class of themes most familiarly represented by the various treatments in prose and verse of the story of the Flying Dutchman, but Longfellow's immediate source has not been identified. The Musician refers to the tale indefinitely in the Interlude as follows:

To-day I give you but a song,
An old tradition of the North.

The *Musician's Third Tale*, *The Mother's Ghost*, in its faithful rendering of the original Danish ballad, *Moderen under Mulde*, reminds one of Scott, the only early nineteenth century English poet who was able to enter fully into the spirit of the medieval ballad. This tale differs from the other two in being a very close rendering of an original Danish ballad. It is significant that Longfellow gives the correct translation of the unusual form *modige been*, 'sorrowful bones.' It is almost certain, too, that the rendering of *De hunde de tudde saa højt i sky*, "The watch-dogs howled aloud to the sky," is correct, though of course *i sky* might mean "in terror." This latter meaning, however, is modern and we should not therefore look for it in an early ballad.

In his introduction to *Poems by Tegnér*, Mr. Lieder refers to an article by Longfellow in *The North American Review* for July, 1837 as follows: "Longfellow's review of *Frithiof* is of importance in itself because, so far as I have been able to find out, it is the first public notice in the United States, not only of Tegnér, but of Scandinavian literature."⁵ An examination of the *Review*, however, reveals three earlier articles in this subject, two of them by the leading authority on international law at that time in this country, if not in the world, Mr. Henry Wheaton. In view of his position as the apparent pioneer in Scandinavian studies in this country and especially of his having possibly first attracted Longfellow's attention to the subject, the author deserves at least passing notice here. Wheaton's interest in the Scandinavian languages and literatures was evidently the direct result of his appointment as chargé d'affaires at Copenhagen, where he served with distinguished success from 1827 until 1835. In the latter year he was transferred to Berlin,

⁵ Paul Robert Lieder, *Poems by Tegnér*, XVII.

where he later became minister, being recalled in 1846 to make room for a political appointment. This failure on the part of the administration to retain a tried and valued public servant aroused the indignation of good citizens very much as the removal of Motley from the English mission did almost quarter of a century later. Wheaton studied not only Danish but Swedish and Old Norse as well and, as was natural in a student of jurisprudence, he studied and wrote upon both the Danish and Old Norse legal codes. Among his later reviews is a short notice of Rask's *Dansk Grammatik*. In several of his articles he expresses his admiration of the great Danish scholar, whom he must have known personally. In 1831 he published a *History of the Northmen* (London and Philadelphia) which enjoyed the distinction of being favorably reviewed by Washington Irving in *The North American Review* for October, 1832. This review is probably the only evidence that Irving was especially interested in the history of the North and we have his own words to the effect that he attached very little importance to the story of the early discovery of America by the Northmen. But then his *Columbus* was written several years before Rafn published the sources. Wheaton's work is of special interest to us in connection with Longfellow, as it includes some criticism of the early Scandinavian literature, together with translations of some of the poetry and prose, including the last strophe of the *Death Song of Ragnar Lodbrok*. Unfortunately I have not had access to the book and have had to depend upon Irving's rather full review.

The title of Wheaton's first review does not suggest its real scope, as it is headed *Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature*, and it was suggested by two books, Rask's *Grammar of the Anglo Saxon Tongue*, Translated by B. Thorpe, London, 1830, and J. J. Coneybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, London, 1826. Its only appeal to the student of Longfellow consists in its very careful comparison of Old English and Old Norse poetry, which indicates a surprising familiarity with the latter subject. It appeared in *The North American Review* for October, 1831. I was led to examine it by a blunder. Knowing that Longfellow had published an article in *The North American Review* with this title and assuming that this was the article, I was immediately fired with enthusiasm at being in a

position to prove that Longfellow's acquaintance with the Scandinavian anticipated his visit to the North by several years. My enthusiasm mounted to fever point on reading in a foot note to the review a reference to an earlier article by the same author, dealing with the *Eddas* and Swedish history. I have not yet quite recovered from the reaction when I found by a reference to a letter printed in the *Life* that Longfellow's article was not published until 1838 and an examination of the index to the *Review* revealed the authorship of both articles. If all students would be honest I imagine that many of them would have to acknowledge that some of their best results have been reached by similar blunders. I can only bless my lucky star that I was spared from furnishing a Roman holiday to my fellow students of Scandinavian literature.

Wheaton's first treatment of Scandinavian literature is found in a review of *Edda Saemundar hins froða . . . Pars 111*. Magnussen (Finnur), 1828 and E. G. Geijer's *Svea-Rikes Håfder*, 1, 1825. It appeared in *The North American Review* for January, 1829. It is of special interest as containing a number of extracts from the *Older Edda*, translated by the reviewer. The second part of the article is really a survey of the leading early Scandinavian historians, beginning with Saxo Grammaticus. Geijer's work, which suggested this part of the review, is dismissed with a few concluding words of praise.

The third Scandinavian article appeared April, 1836 and is entitled *Popular Poetry of the Teutonic Nations*. The portion which concerns us is based upon the following books: *Danske Viser fra Middelalderen . . .* collected by Nierup, Rahbeck, and Abrahamson, 3 vols., Copenhagen, 1813, and *Svenska Folkvisor*, by Geijer and Afzelius, 5 vols., Stockholm, 1814-1816. The article contains a number of translations, to which the author refers as follows: "Fidelity is the only merit to which we can lay claim." The author of this interesting but not especially original article is Mrs. Edward Robinson, whose books and some of whose articles were published under the pen name Talvj, formed from the initials of her maiden name, Therese Albertine Louise von Jakob. For an account of this German-American writer reference may be made to Irma Elizabeth Voigt's *The Life and Works of Mrs. Therese Robinson (Taltj)*, Urbana, 1913.

A number of references to and translations from the Scandinavian from as early as 1819 were found, but a discussion of these would carry us too far afield and it must be left for later separate treatment. Mention should also be made of George P. Marsh, author of the first Old Norse grammar written by an American.

Longfellow made no translations from the Old Norse, the nearest approach to this being his paraphrase of the *Heimskringla*, or from modern Norwegian writers and, except for the ballads, his translations from the Danish are limited to two poems, Evald's *King Christian* and Baggesen's *Childhood*. The ballads are *The Elected Knight* and *The Mother's Ghost*, the latter already discussed in connection with *Tales of a Wayside Inn*. The rendering of the second ballad is in no way inferior to that of the first. Evald's poem is also admirably rendered and I find no justification for the unfavorable criticism quoted by one of Longfellow's biographers: "He quite failed to interpret the lyric rush of Johannes Ewald's 'King Christian,' the high national hymn of Denmark."⁶ On the contrary, Longfellow's rendering seems to me to preserve to a remarkable degree the force and beauty of the original. Concerning the second effort, I see no reason to change my opinion, expressed fourteen years ago: "It is just the kind of poem that Longfellow might have written himself in his best mood. Had his knowledge of Danish equalled that of the sister tongue he might have added another perfect translation to his collection. As it is, I am inclined to regard it as a comparative failure. . . . The failure must be attributed in part to the difficulty of the subject. . . . If we can use the adjective in connection with Longfellow, the translation is wooden; all the charm is lost."⁷ To poems of this class we may apply the epigram of Georg Brandes, "Lyrical poetry is untranslatable, but it is often translated." On first reading it I was inclined to believe that the rendering in the second stanza, "And rode a 'horse-back on best father's knee,'" was an incorrect translation of *Bedstefader*, but a reference to the original shows that Baggesen wrote *bedste Fader* and the content indicates a contrast between the parents. A

⁶ W. S. Kennedy, *Henry W. Longfellow*, 270.

⁷ *The Pathfinder*, 1: 8, 55.

less literal rendering, like 'dear father,' however, would have been somewhat more idiomatic. Less literal are the following:

- 1:4 Og derfor taenker jeg den mangel Gang,
 And therefore I recalled it with delight,
 4:1 Da saae jeg Maanen ned bag Hera glide,
 I saw the moon behind the island fade.

In his article in *The North American Review*, already mentioned, Longfellow translated portions of the third and the nineteenth canto of the *Frithiof's Saga* and so fine is the rendering that readers of today share Tegnér's regret that Longfellow did not translate the whole, thus assuring us of at least one perfect translation. It is the same sort of regret that must be felt towards H. H. Boyesen's translations of Ibsen's *Brand*, which were confined to the songs. In the translation of the nineteenth canto Longfellow omits stanzas 4, 6-11 inclusive and the last eleven stanzas. Canto three is also considerably condensed. A comparison of the rendering of both cantos in the article and in its later form, published in *Poets and Poetry of Europe* shows a number of alterations, which, I believe, have not been noted before. Those in canto three are as follows, the verses occurring in the article being given first:

- Birchwoods crowned the top of the hills, but over the sloping hill-side
 Sprang up the golden corn . . .
 Birchwoods crowned the summits, but over the down-sloping hill-sides
 Flourished the golden corn . . . 3
 Their manes all knotted with red, their hoofs all white with steel shoes
 Knotted with red their manes, and their hoofs all whitened with steel shoes. 16
 Through the hall
 Thorough the hall. 20
 Oden
 Odin! 23
 Thorston
 Thorstein 26
 night clouds
 the night cloud 27
 Braga
 Bragé 31
 burned the fire-flames for ever
 burned for ever the fire-flames. 35
 in the hall did glisten
 in the banquet-hall glistened. 41

Ever cast she her eyes down and blushed; in the shield too her image
 Blushed likewise ever as she; this gladdened the drinking champions.
 Ever she cast down her eyes and blushed; in the shield her reflection
 Blushed too, even as she; and thus gladdened the hall-drinking champions. 44

The variations in canto nineteen are as follows:

. . . after them Valkyrian comes.
 . . . after them Valkyria comes. 16
 . . . there sings a coal-black bird upon the bough.
 . . . there sings a coal-black bird upon a bough. 21
 Coward, wilt thou murder sleep! and a defenceless old man slay?
 Coward, wilt thou murder slumber? a defenceless old man slay! 27
 Whate'er thou winn'st, thou cann'st not win a hero's fame this way.
 Whatso'er thou winn'st, thou canst not win a hero's fame this way. 28

The standard text is eclectic, sometimes following the original article, sometimes the form of *Poets and Poetry of Europe*, occasionally introducing a third reading. Like Wordsworth, Longfellow frequently filed his poems after publication and this tendency is as marked in the original poems as in the translations.

In *Poets and Poetry of Europe* Longfellow substituted the rendering of Strong, as more nearly realizing his ideal of a translation than the version that was reviewed in the article. In the article the following cantos are wholly omitted: I, II, V, VI, VIII, IX, XI, XII, XIII, XVI, XXII. The extracts from the other cantos vary in length from a few verses found in the introduction, to complete cantos, in the anthology. In *Poets and Poetry of Europe* the following cantos appear: I, III, IV, VI, X, XI, XIX.

The following statement by Mr. Lieder in his introduction to *The Children of the Lord's Supper* is only in part true, as a number of differences in spelling and capitalization were noted between the text of the first edition and that of the anthology of 1845: "The lines are here printed as they were originally written; in later editions the poet changed slightly about forty of the lines." The statement, however, is substantially true, as no verbal changes occur. Such minor alterations are significant of the conscientious care that Longfellow devoted to his work. There are few other poets as self-critical as Longfellow, as there are few that are so filled with a noble humility wholly free from weakness or vacillation.

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THE CASINA OF PLAUTUS AND THE ÞRYMSKVIÐA

There is a striking similarity between the plot of the *Þrymskviða* of the *Edda Sæmundar* and that of Plautus' *Casina*. To readers unfamiliar with the Latin comedy a brief résumé will suffice to make the resemblance clear:

Lysidamus and his son are both in love with a slave girl in the household. In order to possess her, each urges her marriage with his own servant, expecting thus to conceal his passion from the other and from the remainder of the family. The wife of Lysidamus, however, naturally favors her son's suit and determines to do all in her power to thwart and humble her husband's amorous and wrongfully-directed passions. After much quarrelling as to which servant shall take the bride, lots are finally drawn which fall upon Olympio, servant of the master; Chalinus, servant of the son, angry and disgruntled, determines to be revenged, especially since he overhears a conversation which convinces him that it is Lysidamus himself, who really desires the girl, Casina. With the help of Lysidamus' wife, her maid and a neighbor, a trick is invented by which Chalinus disguises himself in the bride's clothing and takes her place in the marriage with Olympio, without being discovered. Only when the "bride" is carried to a neighbor's house is the trick disclosed, and both slave and master retreat from the nuptial couch, bruised and frightened, not knowing where to turn from shame, on account of the severe drubbing which the bride has given them each in turn as they attempt to caress her. The conspirators then taunt Lysidamus and Olympio till they are completely humbled. The girl Casina, who does not appear in the play, proves to be free-born, and marries the son of the house.

With this clear resemblance of plot, it will be advantageous to collect the points of similarity. They may be listed as follows:

1. A man dresses in woman's clothing.
2. He takes the part of a bride.
3. Revenge on the bridegroom is the motive in the end.

4. Other friends dress the supposed bride and form a group of conspirators.

5. The bride is supported in the scene by a companion: In the *Prymskviða* by Loki, disguised as a maid, and in the *Casina* merely by a servant girl, Pardalisca.

6. Prymr and Lysidamus show the same nervous haste over the wedding preparations, and use similar endearments about the bride in commenting upon her uniqueness.

7. The "bride" hardly conceals his desire to spring upon his enemy.

8. The ardent bridegroom asks for a kiss and is much astonished in consequence: In the *Casina* by the touch of a beard, in the *Prymskviða* by the red eyes beneath the bridal veil.

9. The wedding ends in the complete annihilation of the bridegroom and his party: In the *Casina* by the humiliation, mental and physical, of Lysidamus, in the *Prymskviða* by the destruction of the race of giants.

In order to consider the *Casina* as a possible source of the *Prymskviða*, we must examine the early Middle Ages for proofs that Plautus' works were not unknown in that period. It is a mistaken idea that Plautus was forgotten at the close of the Roman empire and in the Merovingian period. Although his plays were no longer acted, there is evidence to show that they were still read by a literary public.¹ Saint Hieronymus² turned to Plautus for solace, saying, "Post noctium crebas vigilias, post lacrimas, quas mihi praeteritorum recordatio peccatorum ex imis visceribus eruebat, Plautus sumebatur in manus." Likewise Eusebius praises him,³ and Appollinaris Sidonius⁴ says:

Et te tempore qui satus senero
Graios, Plaute, sales lepore transis.

We have reason to believe that the comedies survived the barbaric invasions, as Du Méril⁵ dates a Plautus MS. of the

¹ Karl v. Reinhardstoettner: *Plautus, Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele*, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 14-15.

² *Ad Eustochium de virginitate servanda.*

³ Cf. Villalobos, *Bibliot. de autores españoles*, XXXVI, 461.

⁴ *Caii Sollii Apollinaris Sidonii Arvernorum Episcopi opera, Carmen XXIII*, 147, Hanoviae, 1627.

⁵ *Origines latines du théâtre moderne*, publiées et annotées par M. Edélestand Du Méril, Paris, 1849, p. 32.

British Museum as belonging to the tenth century. Manitius, speaking of Radbod of Utrecht's homily on Liafwijn,⁶ quotes a passage referring to Plautus, which shows that he was known in the Netherlands even before Notker. The fact that Vitalis, whose *Amphitryon* goes back to Plautus, wrote at the close of the tenth century⁷ is further evidence that Plautus was known in Western Europe in the early Middle Ages.

At the close of the eighth century, the western continent, England and Ireland were overrun by Norse invaders, 789 being the first recorded date of a fleet appearing off the Dorset coast. The attacks upon Ireland commenced in Dublin Bay in 795, and for twenty years continued on the south, west and north coasts. By 825 the Northmen had penetrated far inland, and in 853 Olaf the White was king over all Ireland. On the continent the invasion spread from three distinct centers. First, the mouth of the Scheldt. The Danes early settled the island of Walcheren, and from this point raided eastward to the Rhine and westward to the Somme. The region of the Seine was occupied in a similar manner, serious attacks by the invaders beginning about 841. Third was the mouth of the Loire and the island of Noirmontier. Upon the continent, the raids were almost entirely of a hostile nature, while in England and especially in Ireland the Danes finally settled down in fairly peaceful relations with the very people whom they had overrun, and were in their turn influenced by the literary culture of the Irish monks.⁸ Even before the Viking period, Scandinavian trade with Ireland had begun, and the influence of Irish art is plainly seen in Norse ornamental work.⁹

Zimmer¹⁰ points out that there was a strong counter influence exercised by the Irish upon their conquerors and that

⁶ Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, p. 604.

⁷ Cf. Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Halle, 1890, I, 73.

⁸ Cf. S. Bugge, *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensagen*, transl. by O. Brenner, München, 1889.

⁹ Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, New York, 1892, p. 219.

¹⁰ *Die Romanischen Literaturen und Sprachen mit Einschluss des Keltischen*, in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1909, p. 64.

the Scandinavian prose saga was probably an Irish genre. The influence of the Scandinavians upon the Irish has frequently been referred to by scholars.¹¹ Since Irish civilization was the more advanced, it is only natural to find Irish culture superseding that of the Danes and drawing the newcomers to it. At the time when the Vikings came to Ireland, Irish monasteries were the centers of classical learning, and classical authors, such as Vergil, were studied assiduously.¹² Through the Irish monks, the Danes undoubtedly came into contact with classical literature, including Plautus, though it must not be supposed that the Latin comedies were acted before them, or that they saw the MSS. It is most probable that Plautus' comedies and Latin poems in general were translated by the monks into Irish prose, and transmitted to Irish and Danish audiences in the form of prose sagas.¹³ Such a theory would not be opposed to that concerning the date generally given for the composition of the *Þrymskviða*, and which Mogk states to be about 900.

The plot of the disguised bride does not occur in Western European literature in any form which does not go back to Plautus¹⁴ or to the *Þrymskviða*,¹⁵ the *Casina* and the Eddic song being the only independent plots of this nature. We can, then, be fairly certain that the *Þrymskviða* is not of old Scandinavian origin, but was introduced and incorporated into the Thor legends during the Viking period by reason of Scandinavian contact with Western Europe, i.e., probably Ireland.

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¹¹ Cf. H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, Berlin, 1893, pp. 212-213.

¹² Cf. Kuno Meyer, *Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century and the Transmission of Letters*, Dublin, 1913.

¹³ Cf. Cloetta, pp. 70 and 118.

¹⁴ Cf. Reinhardstoettner, pp. 365 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Mogk, *Pauls Grundriss*, II, 591 ff. Also Arfert, *Das Motiv der unterschobenen Braut in der internationalen Erzählliteratur*, Diss. Rostock, 1897. Arfert, p. 51, has already suggested the possibility of the *Casina* as the source of the *Þrymskviða*.

WAS GUSTAVUS VASA THE FIRST AMERICAN DRAMA?

A few months ago the following statements appeared in the Swedish-American press: "The first American drama written by an American and performed in this country treated strangely enough of a Swedish theme. The play was given, not by professional actors but by Harvard students in 1690, and bore the title *Gustavas Vasa*." One journalist ventures the opinion that the author was a descendant of an early Swedish immigrant, who had settled in Delaware some fifty years before the alleged presentation of the play, and adds: "It is only natural that the remarkable adventures of Gustavas Vasa should provoke dramatic treatment wherever the story of his life was sufficiently well known."

The immediate source for these assertions and subsequent questions and controversies, as indicated in at least one of the Swedish-American newspapers, was *A History of the Theatre in America* by Arthur Hornblow,¹ a large, illustrated work in two volumes, that had been published in Philadelphia in 1919, and which purported to give an accurate, comprehensive history of the American stage. However pleasantly startling this bit of news might seem to an American reader of Swedish ancestry, there was no valid reason, then, either for discounting the ethnic pride and enthusiasm of the Swedish-born journalists or for doubting the statements of a conscientious, one-hundred per cent American authority. Though anxious to believe the positive, a feeling of deeper interest and curiosity prompted the present writer to verify the source for the mere sake of verification. Sure enough! In volume I, page 10, Mr. Hornblow writes:

"Most of the acting at this early period [in America], even in Virginia and Maryland where there were no laws against plays, was almost entirely undertaken by amateurs and college students. We know, for instance, that it was Harvard students and not professionals who in 1690 appeared in *Gustavus Vasa*,

¹ Editor of the *Theatre Magazine*.

the first play written by an American to be played in this country."

And again, on pages 29-30 of the same volume:

"Exactly when the first dramatic performance was given in America it is, of course, impossible to say. There are records in Virginia of a play being acted in that colony and the players summoned to court in consequence as early as 1665, but this was evidently only an amateur effort. In 1690 Harvard students gave a performance at Cambridge, Mass., of Benjamin Colman's tragedy *Gustavus Vasa*, the first play written by an American acted in America, of which we have any knowledge."

Substantially the same words are repeated on page 51, in connection with a few biographical facts about Benjamin Colman. The latter, born 1673 in Boston, graduated from Harvard in 1692, entered the pulpit the following year, became a highly respected and influential minister of the Gospel, and departed this life in 1747.

In other words, a super-patriotic, hero-worshipping Harvard youngster of seventeen, contaminated, as we might suppose, by the incipient feeling of dissatisfaction with England, chose the Swedish liberator Gustavus Vasa as his model, and made him the hero of a dramatic protest—the first piece written by a native and acted on Colonial soil. And certainly no historical character was a more worthy model for Colonial aspirations! Plausible enough! Though the year 1690 was rather early for open revolution, we might well imagine the play to be written secretly, perhaps, played with a certain secrecy to a selected audience by cautious, equiminded comrades, and the printing of the manuscript postponed until some more propitious date. Or, the youthful life of the Swedish king might easily have furnished the material for a strong heroic romance. There was love, bravery, and adventure enough in the historical prototype!

Whatever the motive, Mr. Hornblow had evidently implicit faith in the facts of the case, a faith so convincingly expressed that it seemed a simple matter to procure a copy of the original, either book or manuscript, and proceed forthwith by giving a detailed description of the same to couple one's name with that of the illustrious Swede and his Harvard admirer and pro-

ject all three into a more glorious immortality. But here is where the trouble began. As the writer proceeded with the verification it soon became apparent that his racial vanity and scholastic honesty would be put to a severe test before the investigation was over. This paper is meant to be a dispassionate record of his findings.

One newspaper announced that the manuscript of Colman's *Gustavus Vasa* was available in the New York Public Library; that the work could hardly be called a masterpiece; and that the author apparently knew little or nothing of Swedish history. This rang true enough, and I wrote with considerable confidence for further particulars, asking incidentally whether it would be possible to have a photostat copy made. The answer was baffling and aroused suspicion: there was no record of any such MS in the Library. Nor did the correspondent believe that it had ever been printed. Two references to books mentioning Colman's play were inserted, one of those being the above compilation by Hornblow. The other, *Early American Plays* by Oscar Wegelin, first edition (New York, 1900—the second edition, 1905, omits the reference to Colman's alleged dramatic attempt) states on page 24 in a note by John Malone that Benjamin Colman's *Gustavus Vasa* was in manuscript, but gives no date and says nothing about the performance of the tragedy.

An inquiry sent to the librarian of Harvard College brought no positive information. Referring to the supposed representation of Colman's work, Mr. Lane writes: "So far as I know, nothing of the kind is mentioned in any of the early College Records. Neither is anything said in Turrell's *Life of Colman*, nor in the diaries of Sewall and Cotton Mather, where one might possibly expect to find something.—I have asked several professors in the College who would be likely to know something of the matter, but have not learned anything."

Through the active courtesy of Professor A. H. Quinn of the University of Pennsylvania, a well-known student of the early American drama, I was enabled to get further data on the subject, though most of it of a negative character. It appears from his private correspondence with the authors and scholars immediately concerned that John Malone was the authority

for Mr. Hornblow's statements and that Mr. Wegelin no longer believes there was such a thing as Colman's *Gustavus Vasa*. Says Mr. Wegelin:

"My opinion is that such a play was never written or played. Mr. Malone is long dead and he was not a bibliographer. As far as I know, he never made the statement that the piece had been played at Harvard or anywhere else. No MS is known to exist. He meant simply to imply that it was not printed. From what I have read about Dr. Colman I hardly think that he would have written a play. I doubt if such a performance would have been permitted at that early day at Harvard, and while I do not believe that such a play was ever written by Colman, it may be that a dialogue of some kind might have been given. I have spent some time trying to trace this doubtful play but can find no record of it and neither can the Harvard Library staff."

Professor Quinn himself, who has been working in the field of the Early American Drama for years, frankly confessed that he had never heard of Colman's play until Mr. Hornblow's book appeared, and did not hesitate to accept Mr. Wegelin's conclusions.

But where did John Malone obtain his information? Evidently from a passage in *The Dramatic Authors of America* by James Rees (playwright and author of the national drama *Washington at Valley Forge*), published in Philadelphia in 1845. Assuming the rôle of a knowing critic, Mr. Rees, commenting on an article in the *American Quarterly Review* dealing with the history of the early American drama, makes this statement:

"There are one or two errors in this article which we beg to correct. The first tragedy written in America (at least known as such) was *Gustavus Vasa*, written by Benjamin Colman, a student of Harvard College" (pp. 76-77).

No date is given of the performance and no authority cited. In 1866, in *Foot-Prints of a Letter-Carrier*, the same author apparently contradicts himself in a manner which makes the value of his assertions extremely dubious. Says Mr. Rees (p. 125):—"it was not until 1720 that the first play was written on the American continent." In the very next paragraph he tells us that "Benjamin Coleman, or, as some wrote it, Colman,

was born in Boston, Oct. 19, 1676. While at Harvard he wrote the tragedy of *Gustavus Vasa*, and this was the first play enacted by a company of amateurs in the colonies." Rees does not mention the date 1690 anywhere, and Benjamin Colman was not a student at Harvard in 1720, having graduated twenty-eight years before, so we get no evidence here of a 1690 performance. There was another Colman, it seems, who graduated from Harvard in 1727, but neither is his name connected with the date 1720, hence a possible confusion of names does not explain the discrepancy.

The late Thomas Goddard Wright, in his dissertation on *Literary Culture in Early New England* (Yale Press, 1920), though making numerous references to Dr. Colman's work, has nothing to say of his supposed experimentation in the dramatic field.

The problem, then, reduced to its lowest terms is: How did James Rees in 1845 connect the name of Benjamin Colman with a tragedy, *Gustavus Vasa*, under the circumstances described? There must have been some definite reason for it, and *Gustavus Vasa* is not a name likely to be manufactured out of nothing. The existence of such a work, we must admit, looks exceedingly doubtful,—though it is always difficult to prove a negative—yet we must also take care lest we dismiss the positive side of the case too early for the lack of tangible evidence. The fact that the Reverend Ebenezer Turrell, son-in-law of the Reverend Dr. Colman, in 1749, the year before the State of Massachusetts passed a law forbidding all "stage-plays and other theatrical entertainments," should fail to mention the alleged tragedy in the biography² of his ministerial father-in-law, or in the list of his works appended at the end, proves nothing about young Colman's undergraduate activities. In fact, would we not have been surprised if he *had* mentioned it? True, the historical model concerned was of a sufficiently noble mind and heroic, not to say religious, temperament and character to stand the test even of a straight-laced Puritan of 1690, but that was not the point. In New England, at that time, stage presentations of *all kinds* were considered an agency of the devil, pure and

² *The Life and Character of the Reverend Benjamin Colman, D. D.*, by Ebenezer Turrell, A. M., 1749.

simple, and we could easily imagine an orthodox Bostonian doing penance the rest of his life—perhaps by entering the ministry—for having dabbled with such hell-fire during his youth. It is safe to say, that if Colman did write such a play, he did not advertise it in 1690 more than was necessary, and later not at all.

Another fact should be remembered. Mr. Turrell himself testifies that he did not mention all of Colman's works in his biography. "I had," writes the son-in-law in a kind of epilog, "(with no small Labor) prepared a large Appendix to the foregoing Narrative, containing many curious and entertaining Pieces in Prose and Verse (which I laid by in my Searches and Researches among the Doctor's Papers) some of which I found would not stand well under either of the Ten Chapters—But these must be buried for want of sufficient Subscriptions and Encouragement"—(p. 237). To be sure, there is no mention made here of suppression of material for moral reasons, but naturally there would not be. It is not at all impossible, therefore, that among the unpublished "curious and entertaining Pieces in Prose and Verse" was a juvenile manuscript of a dramatic attempt, once played and then forgotten or ignored, which in 1749 was temporarily laid aside, with or without special motive, and later resuscitated under more liberal auspices by someone who handed down the fact of its existence to posterity but neglected to take care of the original papers. Of no great consequence perhaps, intrinsically, he failed to recognize their chronological import, and the play or fragment was finally lost entirely.

Some such theory seems at least plausible. Yet we may well ask, incidentally, how thoroughly a Swedish king reigning between 1521 and 1560 was known outside of Scandinavian territory in 1690 and thereafter. Is it likely that he was or could be known by a seventeen-year old student in Cambridge, Mass., at that time? It was during the decade of 1690 that the life and work of Gustavus Vasa began to be studied and made the subject of a literary production in France. Mlle. Caumont de la Force published a novel, *Gustave Vasa. Histoire de Suède*, in Paris, 1696, six years after the alleged play by Colman in America. Alexis Piron wrote a tragedy, *Gustave Wasa*, which

was performed on the Comédie Française, Jan. 7, 1733. A short time later the Englishman Henry Brooke (1703–1783) published a tragedy of the same name—later translated into French—which was scheduled for production at Drury Lane theatre in 1739, but was finally forbidden by the authorities because of its revolutionary tendencies. This historical drama—it can hardly be called a “tragedy”—was played, however, four times on the uncensored Dublin stage during the season 1744–45 in a slightly modified form under the name of *The Patriot*. So the Swedish king was known to the literary world both in the British Isles and on the Continent from 1696 on.

It may be noted here that Brooke's play found considerable favor in America during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and became a kind of battle-play of the American Revolution. An important event of the theatrical season of 1782, in Baltimore, as Mr. Hornblow correctly reports (p. 159, I), “was the first production in America, June 14, of Henry Brooke's tragedy *Gustavus Vasa, or The Deliverer of His Country*.—In view of the political situation, the presentation of the patriotic drama at this time was particularly timely. It received a hearty ovation, and on this occasion and for several years later was inscribed to George Washington as ‘the deliverer of his country.’ ”

Mr. Hornblow warns in a footnote (*ibid.*, p. 159) against confusing this drama with Colman's product of strictly American origin. It would, indeed, seem unreasonable to confound two works so far apart in time of composition, but they have at least the title in common, and somewhere, somehow—strange things happen in literary history—there may have been this extraordinary confusion of dates, circumstances and authorship. Yet the probability of it is remote. Sober judgment, I think, would also reject any theory of wilful deception.

The present status of the controversy, evoked by the unqualified declarations of Mr. Hornblow, may be summarized as follows: Few living students of the early American drama believe that there was such a tragedy as *Gustavus Vasa*, written by Benjamin Colman, or that this was performed by Harvard students in 1690. Harvard seems to know nothing about it. No manuscript is known to exist, and it was never printed. The suggestion that Colman chose a Swedish subject because

of Swedish descent must be rejected, for his parents came from England. We do know that there was a Benjamin Colman in Harvard in 1690, who was then seventeen years old, that he applied himself to "liberal sciences," i.e., to a broad education, while in college, and that some of his work of an "entertaining" nature was never published. He was brought up under austere Puritanic discipline in his home, and became a noted theologian and preacher after leaving college. Beginning with the year 1696 the historical *Gustavus* becomes the subject of literary treatment in France, but this could obviously have had no influence on Colman if the date of his play was 1690. He must, then, have received his impulse either from his own reading, possibly from some course in history, or from contact with students of Swedish descent. I can find no authority whatever for the date 1690. The earliest reference to Colman's alleged authorship, so far as I have been able to trace it, is in James Rees's *Dramatic Authors of America*, published in 1845, which does not seem to rest on very solid sources, and the language itself is vague and contradictory. There may be an inexplicable confusion of titles with the Englishman Brooke's tragedy of the same name, which was acted in America, beginning 1782, and continued to be played during the first part of the nineteenth century. We know, for instance, that the mother of Edgar Allen Poe played the part of Christina in *Gustavus Vasa* during her last season. Because of the uniqueness of the name of the subject it is difficult to conceive of downright fraud, but we are obliged to admit that so far we have no satisfactory evidence for designating the supposed production by Colman as the first American drama.³

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³ It is the wish and hope of the writer that this brief article will help stimulate further investigation in the subject by those interested, and ultimately lead to more illuminating information, either positive or negative.

REVIEWS

AXEL OLRIK, *THE HEROIC LEGENDS OF DENMARK*. Translated from the Danish and Revised in Collaboration with the Author by Lee M. Hollander. Scandinavian Monographs VI published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation. xviii+530 p. New York 1919.

* The following review has been translated in somewhat abbreviated form from the original Danish.—EDITOR.

When the Danish myths and heroic legends were first studied it was but natural that they were viewed through the veil of Icelandic tradition which enveloped the antiquity of all the Northlands. As examples may be mentioned the mythologic studies of *N. F. S. Grundtvig* and of *N. M. Petersen*. This was unavoidable, seeing that Iceland overshadowed all other witnesses with its Eddas and Sagas. Also, the main authority for Denmark's past, Saxo Grammaticus, seemed to confirm the conception that the Danish myths and heroic legends belonged to the Icelandic type.

Very soon, however, efforts were made to view matters from a more national point of view. *Grundtvig* laid the foundations for the scientific study of *Beowulf* and thereby reclaimed a good part of the genuine old Danish legends. *N. M. Petersen* wrote his *Manual of Old Norse Geography*, I, which—even though here, too, the Icelandic material played the leading part—was well suited for initiating a scientific study of native antiquity because it afforded technical helps for an understanding of the tradition. Unfortunately the following volumes of Petersen's work remained unpublished. In general it may be said that his rational mode of attack never won many followers.

Later, the native point of view was upheld by different investigators. Thus by *Svend Grundtvig*, who in his monumental collection 'Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser' produced a work unrivalled except possibly by his American contemporary Child's 'English and Scottish Ballads.' *Feilberg* and *Evald Tang Kristensen* achieved similar magnificent collections of the popular Danish traditions. And *Henry Petersen* in his book *Om Nordboernes Gudsdyrkelse og Gudetro* initiated a determined opposition against the then current conception of Danish mythology as seen through Icelandic glasses.

However, it was *Axel Olrik* who with a broader grasp than any of his predecessors led this conception to victory. Like the older Grundtvig he began by closely studying the mythology of the North. To him, too, *Beowulf* furnishes the basis for an understanding of Danish heroic poetry. As pupil and heir of the younger Grundtvig he continues the edition of the Ballads. He follows *N. M. Petersen's* soberly scientific method of examining the ethnic contents of tradition; and the collections of popular traditions begun by *Feilberg* and *E. T. Kristensen* are scientifically organized by him. Still further, he expressly champions *Henry Petersen's* opposition against the Icelandic conception of

Danish antiquity—more specially so in his book on the Sources of Saxo. In general Olrik is not so unlike the famous German scholar *Müllenhoff* in his many-sidedness, his ethnic interests, his painstaking scrutiny of the foundations of tradition, his acute and sensitive understanding of the soul of legendary poetry. But he also shared the shortcomings of his great contemporary. For instance, just as the *Deutsche Altertumskunde* suffers occasionally from a rhapsodic vagueness and lack of perspicacity in the presentation of the material, Olrik's work also has a tendency to lyrical utterance; though, to be sure, he has in other places, as in his *Laws of the Epic* furnished excellent examples of that exact, methodic formulation which is one of the strong points of Scandinavian scholarship. Altogether, he was a pioneer whose untimely death has torn a great gap in the ranks of Danish scholars.

Olrik's first laurels and his acknowledged rank in science were won by his doctoral dissertation on *Saxo's Sources* (1892-94). Until that time Saxo was considered the last stand for those who held that the *Eddas* and the Scaldic poetry of Iceland were of common Nordic origin and thus also belonged to Denmark. Certain it was that Saxo mentioned Icelanders among his authorities. But who would undertake to separate the Icelandic elements of Saxo's work out from the rest, and on the basis of this separation assert that the Old Danish tradition was of a special type, differing distinctly from Icelandic tradition? It seemed an impossible task. But Olrik faced it and solved the problem. By means of subtle literary and historic analysis, by the evidence of the style, the forms of names, and general characteristics he was able to demonstrate that large portions of Saxo's History, together with the poems interwoven with them, went back to Icelandic or Norwegian tradition. Thus a clear view was at last afforded from the remainder of what really constituted Old Danish tradition, and the way opened for a study of the development of the native material.

The ripe fruit of these basic studies was to be the standard work entitled *Danmark's Heltedigtning* whose first volume appeared in 1903 and which now is available in a new edition as "The Heroic Legends of Denmark," translated by Lee M. Hollander. Volume II (1911) treats of 'Starkath and the Younger Scyldings'; volume III, which was to deal with the Bravalla Battle and Harold Wartooth, was about completed at the author's death.

As a basis for our reflections an abbreviated list of contents of the English edition will be given:

- I. Denmark During the Migration of Nations.....p. 12
 1. Danish Kings in Anglo-Saxon Poems. 2. The Danes about the Year 500. 3. The Naming-Custom of the Migration Period. 4. The Scylding Feud.
- II-III. The *Biarkamal*.....p. 66
 - a. 1. Traces of History in the *Biarkamal*. 2. A Restoration of the *Biarkamal*. 3. Hrolf's Warriors.
 - b. 1. Othin in the *Biarkamal*. 2. The Housecarls' Death and Later Fame. 3. Later History of the *Biarkamal*. 4. The Home of the *Biarkamal*. 5. The Icelandic Text. 6. Name, Structure, and Style of the *Biarkamal*.

IV. Legends of Hrolf's Warriors.....	p. 217
V. Legends of the Race of Halfdan.....	p. 261
VI. The Royal Residence at Leire.....	p. 324
1. The Royal Residence of the Heroic Lays and the Testimony of the Monuments. 2. The Local Tradition. 3. Solution of the Problem by the Evidence of Tradition.	
VII. Hrolf's Berserkers.....	p. 348
VIII. Scyld.....	p. 381
1. Scyld as Progenitor of the Royal Race. 2. Scyld on the Ship. 3. Scyld and Scaef. 4. Northern Scylding Legends of the Death Journey by Ship. 5. The Journey to the Realms of the Dead. 6. The Swan-Knight and Yngvi. 7. Danish Hero Legends of Scyld. 8. Scyld as the Son of Othin. 9. The Origin of the Scyld Legend.	
IX. The Peace of King Frothi.....	p. 446
1. King Frothi and his Gold Mill. 2. Frothi the Dragon Slayer.	
X. The Older Line of the Scyldings.....	p. 477
1. The 'Older' and the 'Younger' Scyldings. 2. The Genesis of the List of Kings.	
Conclusion. The Home of the Hrolf Cycle. 2. A Retrospect.....	p. 508

The perusal of this list of contents will give one a vivid impression of the interaction between the *deductive* and *inductive* methods of procedure. Investigation may follow one of two ways. The one is to start out with the available literary monuments and find out what they have to say about the times and the conditions in question; the other is to start out from the times and the conditions and with them as a basis investigate the literary traditions which have come down to us. Each of these methods must be tried if the general result is to be satisfactory, and it lies in the nature of things that the tracks frequently cross so that one is tempted to follow one leading in another direction.

For Olrik there existed this special difficulty that he was forced to build from the very bottom up, there being practically no preliminary work to base on; for what was supposed to be 'known' about Danish Heroic Poetry was in reality sheer dilettantism. It was therefore necessary to proceed both deductively and inductively, to the detriment, now and then, of entire perspicacity in outline.

It is not too much to say that "The Heroic Legends of Denmark" has matter enough for a whole encyclopedia. Let me try to illustrate this.

1. *Onomatology*: The Naming-Custom of the Migration Period. (I, 3).
2. *Archaeology and Antiquarian Topography*: The Royal Residence at Leire (VI).
3. *Mythology*. Scyld (VIII), Skuld (II, 5 & V, 2). The Legends of Ingvi (VIII, 6). (Add to this the chapter in vol. II about king Dan's grave and about the archaeological background of the description of his burial together with his horse.) The Peace of King Frothi (IX) Othin in the *Biarkamal* (III, 1).
4. *Ethnology, Earliest History*. The Danes about the year 500 (I, 2). The older Line of the Scyldings (X). Danish kings in Anglo-Saxon Poems (I, 1). The Scylding Feud (I, 4).

Now every one of these chapters or, rather, articles is above praise and, indeed, necessary for an understanding of the underlying conditions of Danish heroic poetry; but as many others might have been added with the same justification.

Nevertheless it must be said that a whole introductory chapter is decidedly lacking, viz., an orientation about the *practitioners*, and about the *forms*, of the *poetic art in Denmark of the oldest times*. It is true that our information on these points is excessively meager. All the more necessary, then, to gather up all the fragments left us. The following comprises the most important evidence: 1) The vocational name Þulr on the runestone of Sällöv, Ags. *þyle* 'poet'; 2) Hiarno as the author of the memorial poem for Frothi the Peaceful, Saxo p. 256; Hiarni skald ("Jærnskjold") in the legend about the grave of the prince of singers Hiarrandi, near the Hiarne Stone in the Hjarrandasysla, cf. Pontoppidan's "Dansk Atlas"; 3) fairly large Danish poems, such as the *Biarkamal* and the Starkath song in Saxo, a poem composed by Danish warriors in England (*Knyllin gasaga*); 4) short verse lines on runestones. Negatively 1) the poems on Danish subjects handed down by Saxo are mostly composed by Icelanders or Norwegians; 2) the only real skaldic poem on a runestone (Karlevi) is composed by one of them; 3) the Danish court poets concerning whom we have reliable information are always Icelanders. It is not my purpose here to draw any conclusions from this material, but only to indicate the necessity of such an orientation in a work about Danish heroic poetry.

Let us examine the chapters above referred to, for together they furnish a general background and have but slight connection with the matter of the *Biarkamal* which is the main subject matter of the volume.

The *Naming Custom* is a most important criterion for the study of literary and political history. It is curious that until Steenstrup called attention to the problem in 1896 no one had seriously envisaged it. Earlier historians were completely at a loss to know whether, e.g., Frothi, Ingiald, and Agnar Ingialdsson belonged to the Scyldings. It remained for Olrik to demonstrate conclusively that alliterating family names were the fashion in the Migration Age; and since *H* is the alliterating letter for the Scyldings the personages referred to certainly are not members of the race. Using Olrik's method we feel sure that Snorre erred in mentioning Huggleik as a member of the Ynglings, the alliterating letter of that family being a vowel. Knut Sijerna's observation in his *Essays on Beowulf* to the effect that the Scylding names alliterate with the three most important epic place names of Zealand, Hleiðrar, Heorot, and Hringstaðr is also pertinent. Still further, as I pointed out in my recent book *Hjemligt Hedenskab*, chap. 2, two of the three Heathen priests in Danish runic inscriptions (Hrolf and Hroald), and all the beasts (horses, hounds, hawks, and cocks (haner)) sacrificed at the great ritual feasts in Hleiðrar likewise follow suit. Yet other epically important naming customs might be added; but that would lead us too far here.

The chapter on *The Royal Residence at Leire* contains an examination of the scene of the *Biarkamal*. Olrik rejects identification of the present Söborg with Saxo's *urbs in Iethrica palude* (p. 770), as the topography does not agree.

Neither does he assent to Henry Petersen's view that the Leire of the tradition had borrowed its splendor from Zealand's ancient parliamentary center of Ringsted. Tradition correctly points to the present village of Leire, near Roskilde, as the famed royal seat.

According to the current tradition *Hleiðrarstol*, the 'royal seat of Leire' remained there for centuries. And the German historian *Thietmar* who wrote in the years 1012-1018 mentions the great sacrifices which were celebrated there every ninth year. Olrik maintains, however, that the above testimony is confuted both by archæological and topographical evidence. In the first place, it is not improbable that epic tradition has fixed as permanent the scene where one important event had taken place. And as to Thietmar's 'historic evidence' it is less trustworthy than appears at first blush. He is hardly correct in letting the sacrificial feasts at Leire continue down to his own times, seeing that Christianity was then victorious in Denmark. For that matter, textual criticism has made it clear that his first draught of the year 1012 did not contain the name of Leire, but that it was added in a parenthesis only on the occasion of a revision, about 1016.

Archæologists are agreed that in the neighborhood of the village of Leire are found a kitchen midden and graves from the Stone and Bronze Ages, but none to compare with them from the Iron Age. This does not, to be sure, exclude the possibility of a settlement there in Scylding times, in view of the fact that this period is characterized by inconspicuous barrows; but the decisive factor is that there are no burial mounds dating from Viking Times which can at all compare with the imposing graves near the royal manor of Jelling in Jutland.

Again, Olrik criticizes the theory which, with a remarkable display of logic, maintains that the Gothic word *hlaiþrs* (answering to Old Norse *Hleiðrar*) points to a tentlike tabernacle. According to him *Hleiðrar* means simply 'huts,' indicating a humble settlement to begin with. Even in historic times Leire continued to be a small country town, as is particularly stated by Sven Aggison in the 12th century. It never became even a district or county seat or even the center of a parish. Precisely only under the Scyldings, Hroar and Hrolf did it play an important part which ended abruptly with the fall of the Scyldings.

There is no doubt that Olrik is right in all essentials. Nevertheless, he may be inclined to curtail too much the fame of Leire. The testimony of the grave-mounds shows that it was a place of some importance from the very Stone Age and Bronze Age. And even if the change of burial customs later on does not permit us to follow Leire's fates down to the times of the Scyldings, yet it is perhaps a not unimportant circumstance that local tradition has preserved unusually many names of barrows with a distinct epic flavor, such as Danshøj, Kongstolen, Dronningestolen, and at a little distance, Olshøj which, according to Saxo was named after one king Olaf in the Viking Age.

There is also a better connection than Gothic *hlaiþrs* for the name of the royal seat. According to Edvard Lehmann the word exists today in Modern Danish as '*lejrer*' which means the braces of a hay-wagon; cf. German *leiter-*

wagen 'rack-wagon.' Which makes it evident that Leire did not mean 'huts' but, rather, distinctly points to the 'leirer,' the holy wagon which bore the image of the godhead. And we can form a conception of how it looked from the ancient wagon of Dejberg in Jutland. Thus Leire, according to the testimony of its name, was a sacred spot and consequently can hardly owe its fame to the Scylding king Hroar. In the same direction points the alliteration of Hleiðrar with the epic place names Heorot and Hringstaðr, with the sacrificial animals at the great festival, with the names of the priests Hroald and Hrolf, and with the names of the entire Scylding race. All this reveals Leire as an age-old seat of public worship. We can well conceive that the steep and prominent hill Danshøj directly south of the village was dedicated to the eponymous hero of the Danes as was, in all probability, the famous stone *Danerygh* near Viborg on which homage was done to the newly elected king.

In the chapter on *Scyld* Olrik investigates the legends about the progenitor of the Scyldings. According to Scandinavian tradition he is a warrior king without any particular individuality. But according to *Beowulf* Scyld Scefing (i.e., Scaef's son) is the warlike founder of a royal race who arrives in a warship sent by unknown powers and returns to them again. At the same time there appears also the motif of having him arrive as a poor foundling instead of as the highborn royal hero. The latter motif is found in the chronicler Aethelweard's parallel story of Scaef, and entirely supplants the former one in William of Malmesbury's version. Whereas later investigators have been inclined to favor the foundling motif it must be emphasized that the very oldest traditions are at one in laying stress on his warlike attributes. Scaef in Scani, or Skandza, seems to have been the common progenitor of peoples dwelling along the shores of the Baltic. Originally he was perhaps a fertility god, seeing that according to an English harvest rite a sheaf of grain (*scaef*) was let float down the Thames on a shield (*scyld*). Possibly the connection between *scaef* and *scyld* in this connection may have united the two progenitors in the peoples' minds.

Another investigation is devoted to the *Journey of the Dead*. Olrik arrives at the conclusion that it is not native to the North in this form. In Scandinavia the dead were believed to travel the way to Hel on horseback and if a ship was used on the journey, it was merely on a particularly valuable piece of personal property given along. Grave stones arranged in the form of a ship, which are so frequent of occurrence in Sweden, have a decorative origin. In Denmark no ships have been found in barrows; and the arrangement of stones in the form of a ship, which does occur several times, evidently was not a native custom.

Instances in legends of a journey of the dead, as, e.g., the piece about *Sinfjötli* in the *Edda*, are to be explained as literary loans. The great repository for conceptions of this nature is to be sought in the Celtic lands in which also the story in *Beowulf* about Scyld's last journey originated. Possibly, the Celtic legend came to the North shortly after the beginning of our era. Olrik's conclusions seem entirely trustworthy. Only, one misses a reference to the well-known Langobardian legend of Lamisio, "the man from the fish-pond" (Langobardian *lama*) where we have a similar connection between the two motifs of the predestined savior of the realm and that of the helpless foundling. As the

comparison has been frequently made in German articles it would have been interesting to know what Olrik thought about it.

Here we must also discuss Olrik's chapter on the woman who bore the eponymous name of *Skuld* (corresponding to *Scyld*), chap. II, 5 and V, 2. He rejects connection with the namesake who in the *Edda* appears, now as a *valkyria*, now as a *norn*; giving as his reason the circumstance that, according to the *Leire Chronicle* *Skuld* was the possessor of the Zealand parish of *Skuldelev*, for according to Steenstrup villages with the suffix *-lev* owe their names always to human personages, never to supernatural beings. However, I am not convinced that Steenstrup has proved his point. More important I consider the circumstance that *Skuld*, as a *Scylding* princess, violates the *ancient custom of never naming any one after the eponymous hero of the race*. Cf. my scrutiny of the examples adduced from Schönfeld's "*Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen*" (*Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi* 1916). This affords a much simpler explanation of *Skuld's* nature as the evil genius of the *Scyldings* than Olrik's rather involved one.

Chapter IX deals with *Frothi the Peaceful and His Gold Mill*, with reference to the *Biarkamal's* mention of "Frothi's kinsman who sowed his gold rings on the Fyre Plains." The legends have mingled a number of motifs. In the first place, a distinction must be made between a peaceful Frothi, the ruler in a Golden Age, and a warlike Frothi who enforces peace by conquering half the world. We are told how the Golden Age was terminated by the murder of the king, or how the Wishing Mill which grinds out gold comes into his possession and is lost again. The mythical conception of a Golden Age is very old. In Saxo it is ended by a witch in the form of a 'sea-cow' piercing Frothi the Peaceful. This 'sea-cow' corresponds to Frothi's murderer, the sea-king Mýsing of Snorre, i.e., the mouse-grey sea-bull. (It might be added in this connection that on the sea-coast near Stockholm there is a bay called Mýsingfjård which in all probability has something to do with this legend.) The story about the mill tells how it is turned by the giant maidens Fenia and Menia, and how it first grinds out gold and happiness for king Frothi, but then misfortune and death. Variants of this legend are wide-spread, as also its conclusion, that the mill finally grinds out salt on the bottom of the sea. The salt-grinding giant women Grotti Finnie and Lucky Minnie are known to this day on the shores of the Pentland Firth. Olrik perceives in the Northern version of the legend a poetic conception of the rebelliousness of the elemental powers of nature which may be harnessed by man but not overworked with impunity. Seeing that the Norsemen of the earliest times knew nothing of water-mills it is concluded that the idea was most likely derived from the British Islands where, as observed, the legend is strongly localized to this day.

In reading this discussion one wonders why Olrik is silent concerning king Frothi's origin. *Müllenhoff's* identification of him with the god Frey, the other initiator of the Frothi Peace, was of course known to Olrik who, indeed, assented to this proposition. So why did he neglect to specify this?—Now, if Frothi=Frey, then it follows that the cessation of the Frothi Peace is not only a poetical fancy concerning 'the end of the Golden Age' but also a very real

thing, viz., the end of the sacred peace preceding the performance of the sacrificial act. This sacred peace is most reliably explained in Tacitus' description of the worship of Nerthus which is the prototype of the Frey worship (*Germania*, chap. 40). Still further it is easy to understand how Frothi's death by a sea-cow could be conceived as a ritual 'sacrifice of the god.' Certain remarks in vol. II make it plain that Olrik was by no means hostile to interpretations such as this one culled from *Sir Frazer's* "Golden Bough." But evidently he was not yet ready to go into the matter; so it came that no less than 30 years elapsed before Sir Frazer's theory was presented in detail to the Danish public (in my article "Gudedraebning" in *Sammlaren* 1915, and my book *Hjemligt Hedenskab*, 1919).

The chapter dealing with *Othin in the Biarkamal* is the only one of the preliminary discussions which has a direct bearing on the poem. I will mention only a few of the best authenticated mythical traits: man can behold the god only by peering through the aperture formed by another person's arms set akimbo—a well-known item in popular belief. It is of help also to sign one's eyes with 'runes of victory,' Othin's special runic signs. Still further, Othin is referred to as riding on the 'high horse,' Sleipnir, and as the spouse of Frigg. The animadversion is in place that Olrik fails to point out that this is the only instance where Othin is mentioned in Danish tradition as a god, and absolutely the only time that Frigg is mentioned at all.

In the chapter entitled *The Danes about the Year 500* Olrik shows in a striking manner how the Danes until the very end of Ancient Times were wholly unknown to history and then all at once, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, blazed forth in a burst of warlike splendor so that their fame resounded throughout Europe. The explosive suddenness of this event can be explained only by some epoch-making political event, such as the foundation of the Scylding empire.

In the chapter on *The Older Line of the Scyldings* the traditional genealogy of the Danish rulers is analyzed and the last members of the tree arranged in two parallel branches:

Scyld	Dan
(Peace-Frothi)	Frothi the Peaceful
Halfdan	Frithleif
Helgi and Hroar	Frothi
Hrolf	Ingiald
Hrœrik	

The line starting with Scyld is the older, authenticated as it is in *Béowulf* and the *Quernsong*. The other line is of later origin and was finally joined to the first, thus obviating the awkwardness of having two rival Danish lines.—We miss here a reference to the well-known fact that two historic personages in the second line, Frothi and Ingiald, are not Danes at all but Heathobards who have crept into Danish history on account of the important part they played in the struggle with the Scyldings. Even if generally known to scholars, some reference to the fact would have helped to make matters clearer to others.

The real introduction to his representation of the growth of heroic poetry is furnished by Olrik in the chapters on *Danish Kings in Anglo-Saxon Poems*

and *The Scylding Feud* which discuss the most important Danish references contained in the English poems. Thus, the foundation of the Scylding dominion, Hrothgar's building of the hall Heorot, the Heathobard king Frotha's fall in his struggle with the Scyldings, his son Ingeld's marriage with a Scylding princess, the renewed wars, Ingeld's decisive defeat in Heorot, and finally—as hinted—the ruinous internecine struggle among the Scyldings themselves.

Olrik generalizes as follows on the position of the Danes in song (p. 23): "English tradition thus shows a remarkably detailed picture of the Danish realm and its royal race, as well as of the events that took place in the heroic period, i.e., in the period of the Migration of Nations. The Danes appear as the chief branch of the race to which the poet belongs. No other people occupied a like place in the heroic traditions of the Anglo-Saxons." True words, these! To be sure, *N. F. S. Grundtvig* had said words to the same effect a century ago; but it became the fashion both with Danish and German scholars to fix an abyss between Scandinavians and the imaginary 'Ingvæones' alias 'Anglo-Frisians,' who never formed any clearly defined political or cultural unit. It is fortunate that a breach is now made in these preconceived notions by men like *Chadwick* and *Olrik*.

A section on the historic contents of the *Biarkamal* introduces the detailed discussion of the poem which forms the core of the volume in hand. But we shall here begin with the restoration of the song itself. With all possible circumspection and indefatigable perseverance Olrik turns over and over again Saxo's Latin version of it, until he succeeds in sifting out the few scattered fragments of the original text from the monk's cloud of words and in giving them both coherence, color, and form. He who has not himself tried his hand at this work will with difficulty be able to place a sufficient value on it, and still less dare to criticize. All one can say is that the lay thus restored sounds surprisingly genuine and gets one far closer to the original than does any previous attempt. In re-translating Olrik's Danish version into English it was inevitable that some of the effect would be lost as, in the nature of things, the English vocabulary is still farther from the Icelandic original than is the Danish.

In his restoration Olrik always bases on Saxo's text chiefly, of course, for the main divisions of the original lay. For a comparison and corrective serve the few stanzas of the *Biarkamal* left us in the Icelandic, and likewise the prose rendering in the *Hrolfssaga*. Still other holds are furnished him by occasionally evident alliterations and a few current Icelandic proverbs and epic tags. The Latin text is printed on one page, the critical apparatus opposite, so that the reader can without difficulty form his own opinion. Without wishing in any way to criticize Dr. Hollander's translation, I wish to express my regret that he has not seen fit to render 'Hildar leik' in st. 1 by 'Hild's play'—as is done in st. 16—but by 'Gondul's game of war'; why is not clear.

The *historical contents* of the original *Biarkamal* are enumerated by Olrik himself as follows:

1. The Scylding king Hrolf slays the cowardly and avaricious king Hroerik and distributes his gold among his followers.
2. One of Hrolf's heroes overcomes Agnar, king Ingiald's son, after a desperate struggle.

3. Hrolf makes an expedition to Sweden, in all probability against king Athisl, and in the course of it strews gold on the plain of Fyrisvellir.

4. Hrolf is attacked in Leire during the night by his thane Hiarvarth who is supported by an army from Svealand and Gautland; after making brave resistance, Hrolf and his men fall. During the battle the castle is burned to the ground.

To be sure this is but a meager collection of facts; but its weight is enhanced by the circumstance that all persons here mentioned by name, excepting only Agnar, occur in *Béowulf*. The latter monument also confirms the inference that Hrœrik and Hiarvarth belong to the same race as Hrolf, whereas Ingiald counts among the arch-enemies of the Scyldings, the Heathobards. By and large it is not at all Hrolf's deeds which the poem glorifies—he only stands in the background as the lofty transfigured ideal of a king: by omitting Hrœrik from the list of the Scyldings the blot is removed which had stained Hrolf's splendor. The main object of the poem is to magnify the life and death of the ideal housecarl—his rejoicing in Hrolf's generosity, in warlike deeds and battle, and his self-sacrificing fidelity until he falls at the feet of his slain lord. All this is described in a swiftly advancing dialogue between Hialti who wakes Hrolf's champions from sleep and Biarki who responds drowsily at first but then rouses himself to deeds of valor. The lay closes with a powerfully impressive scene—the Scylding princess Hrut finds her dying husband Biarki among the slain and points out to him how Othin is riding over the battlefield which is now deserted by all but the dead and the dying. The author here brings out a characteristic contrast between the woman who bows down submissively before the majesty of the god and the fierce warrior who, even when wounded unto death, challenges the prince of the gods.

In the poetic style of the *Biarkamal* Olrik detects characteristics which point to the Anglo-Saxon epic rather than to the *Edda*.

Although the *Biarkamal* in Olrik's opinion is not equal to the *Lay of Ingiald* in dramatic concentration it became exceedingly famous throughout the North. Thus it was chanted by the skald Thormoth to cheer the warriors of king Olaf the Saint in the morning before the battle Stiklastad; and according to Snorre, the king on this occasion called it *Húskarlahvot* ('exhortation of the housecarls'). In modern Norwegian peasant dialects 'Biarkemal' designates forceful and frank speech.

The ensuing chapters are devoted to an onomastic and epic explanation of the kinsmen, warriors, berserkers, and foes of king Hrolf who form the background of the poem. As this is of lesser interest to non-Scandinavian readers I wish to refer here only to the examination of the supposed identity of Béowulf and Biarki. As is well-known, Béowulf battles in Hrothgar's and Hrothulf's hall with the ogre Grendel; and later in life he dies in a struggle with a dragon. This led *Müllenhoff*, *ten Brink*, and others to identify him with Biarki who in Hrolf's hall fights a winged monster. This parallel is rejected by Olrik, for according to him the Icelandic legend in which this is told belongs to a fairy-tale genre of much later date.

The chapter on *The Home of Hrolf Cycle* is best characterized by Olrik's own résumé: "These are the different influences which give the legends about

Hrolf their form before they were finally written down in Iceland: a main stock of Scylding legends which cross over from Denmark to England and the Western Isles; and a Biarki story, originating, probably, a little later in the same country, which received its final form in Norway and then met the Scylding legends in the Western Isles.

Corroboration for the theory that the place of origin of the Norn Scylding cycle is to be sought in Western lands is offered in the *Quern Song*, which was composed by some Norwegian-born poet (scarcely later than 950), but also shows traces of Western civilization (the mills), and is associated in all later times with the Western Isles, not with Norway.

The Western colonies of the Scandinavians served evidently, not only as a gate for the importation of new impulses, but also as an intermediary in bringing the Scandinavian peoples into closer contact with one another and thus perfecting their native culture. The older cycle of the Scyldings is the most glorious fruit of this common labor; and the Icelanders gauged this intellectual effort at its true value in calling Hrolf "the most excellent of all the kings of antiquity."

Denmark alone did not share in this later and more splendid flowering of the Scylding legends. There, the simpler but intense hero legends persisted, as the one of Hrolf and his fortitude when sitting still during his fiery ordeal. There, we find a characteristic narrative style, with a vivid feeling for everyday life which the later Norn¹ or rather Pan-Scandinavian, cycle about Hrolf was not able to obscure, a national character all its own which Danish poetry carries over into the Middle Ages."

As to the latter part of the volume it must be said that Olrik's critical analysis of the later growth of the tradition, especially of the Norwegian-Icelandic development, leads one into a veritable labyrinth of motifs which is often bewildering. In the reproduction of the *Biarkamal* one can comfortably follow him, because of the critical apparatus was easily shown. But in the later jungle of Norn legends one is apt to lose one's bearings, and one is inclined to question whether it is really possible to arrange so neatly, and fix the chronology so exactly, as is done by Olrik. One may say that in many cases a more encyclopedic arrangement, such as is attempted above, and a more detailed explanation of elementary presuppositions—especially for non-Scandinavian readers—would have improved matters.

It is most regrettable that Olrik's career was cut short before he had the opportunity to train a greater staff of investigators to exploit the rich treasure of new impulses which he has given us. Let us hope at least that his monumental work *Danmarks Helteedigtning* will not remain a torso like N. M. Petersen's *Gammelnordiske Geografi*. Very likely, the fact that the first volume has now been rendered accessible to the English-reading public will serve as a spur to complete the redaction of the remaining third volume.

In his introduction the translator has written a good sketch of Olrik's activity and influence. The volume closes with a list of Scandinavian sources used and an index which is lacking in the original. As the translation was made

¹ "Norn" is in the translation used for designating the Western Norwegian branch, in Iceland, the Faroes, the Orkneys, etc.

in collaboration with the author, and a considerable amount of new material added, it is of value also for owners of the original. The reproduction of Scandinavian names, both in the original form and in their English equivalents, is above reproach—a praise which cannot be bestowed on all which has been written in Anglo-Saxon countries in this line. Thus, South Jutish place-names are given their Danish, or Danish-English, and not—as is done usually—German forms; e.g., *Slesvic*, not *Schleswig*. I note a misprint in the footnote, p. 252, where for 'Vodder in North Zealand' read 'North Slesvic.' In conclusion I wish to say that the volume redounds to the honor of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, and hope that it will be able to proceed with its splendid work in this direction.

GUDMUND SCHÜTTE

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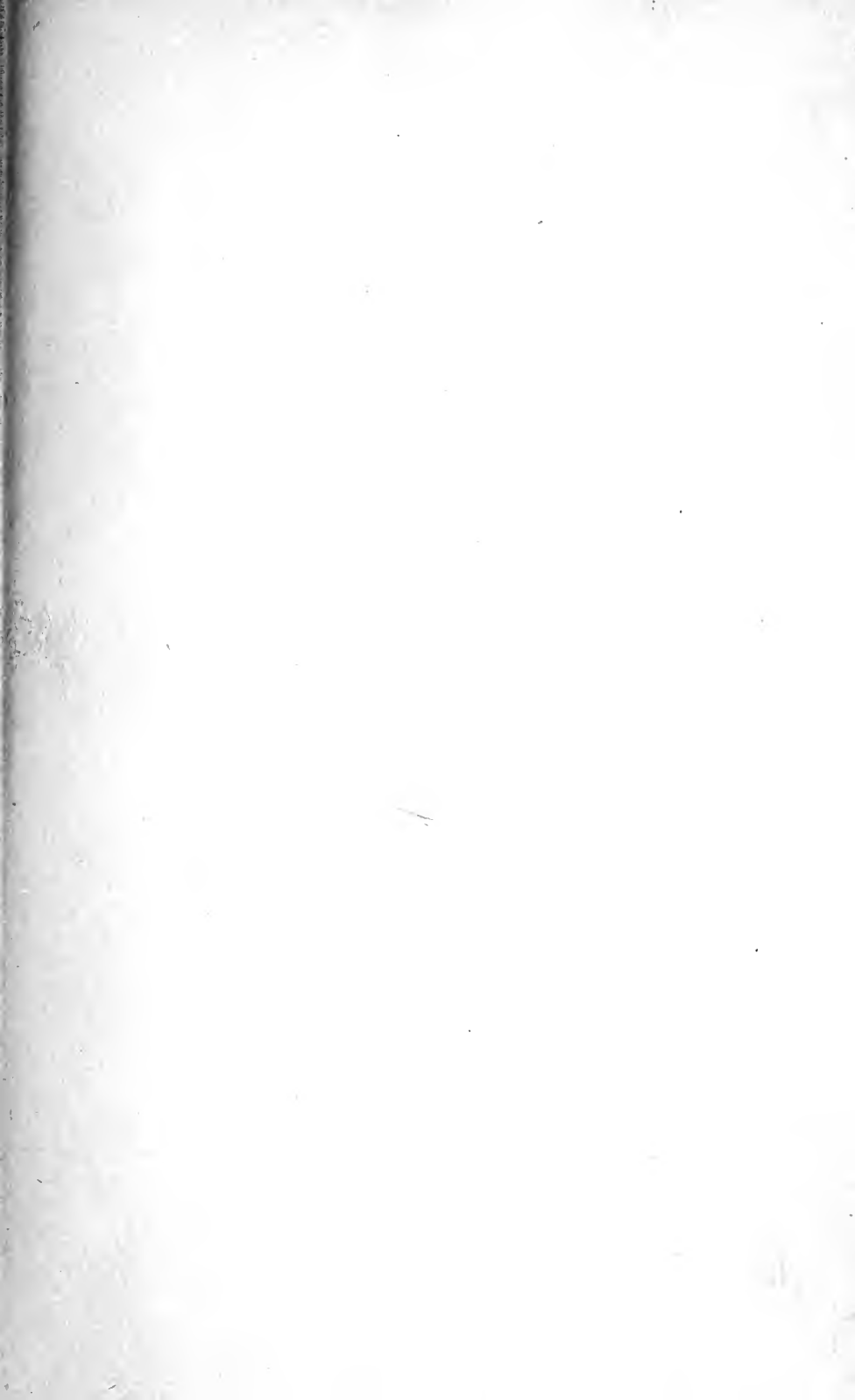
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