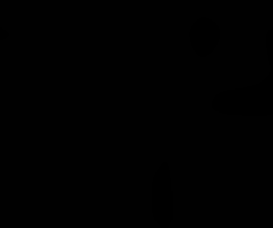
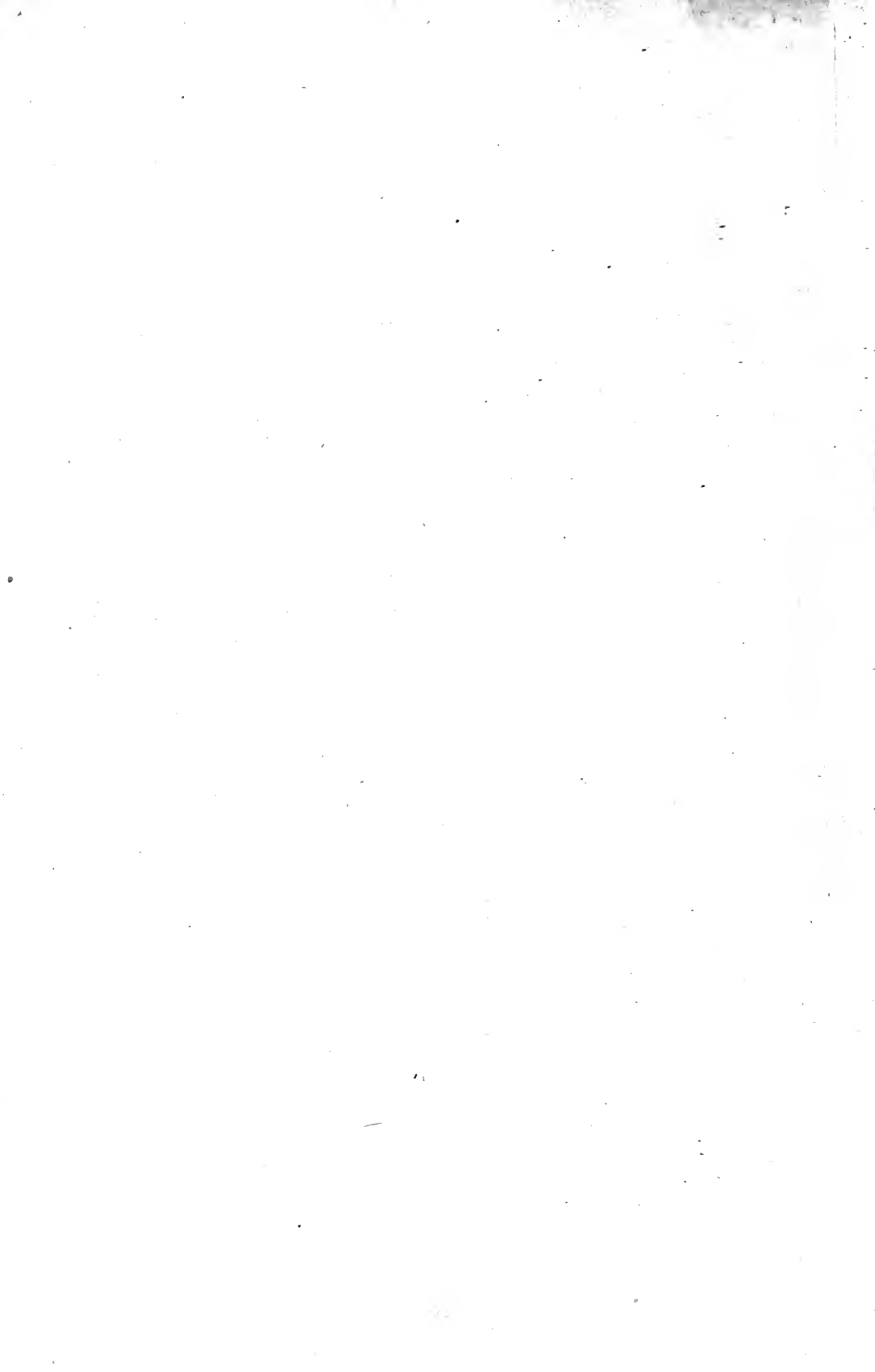


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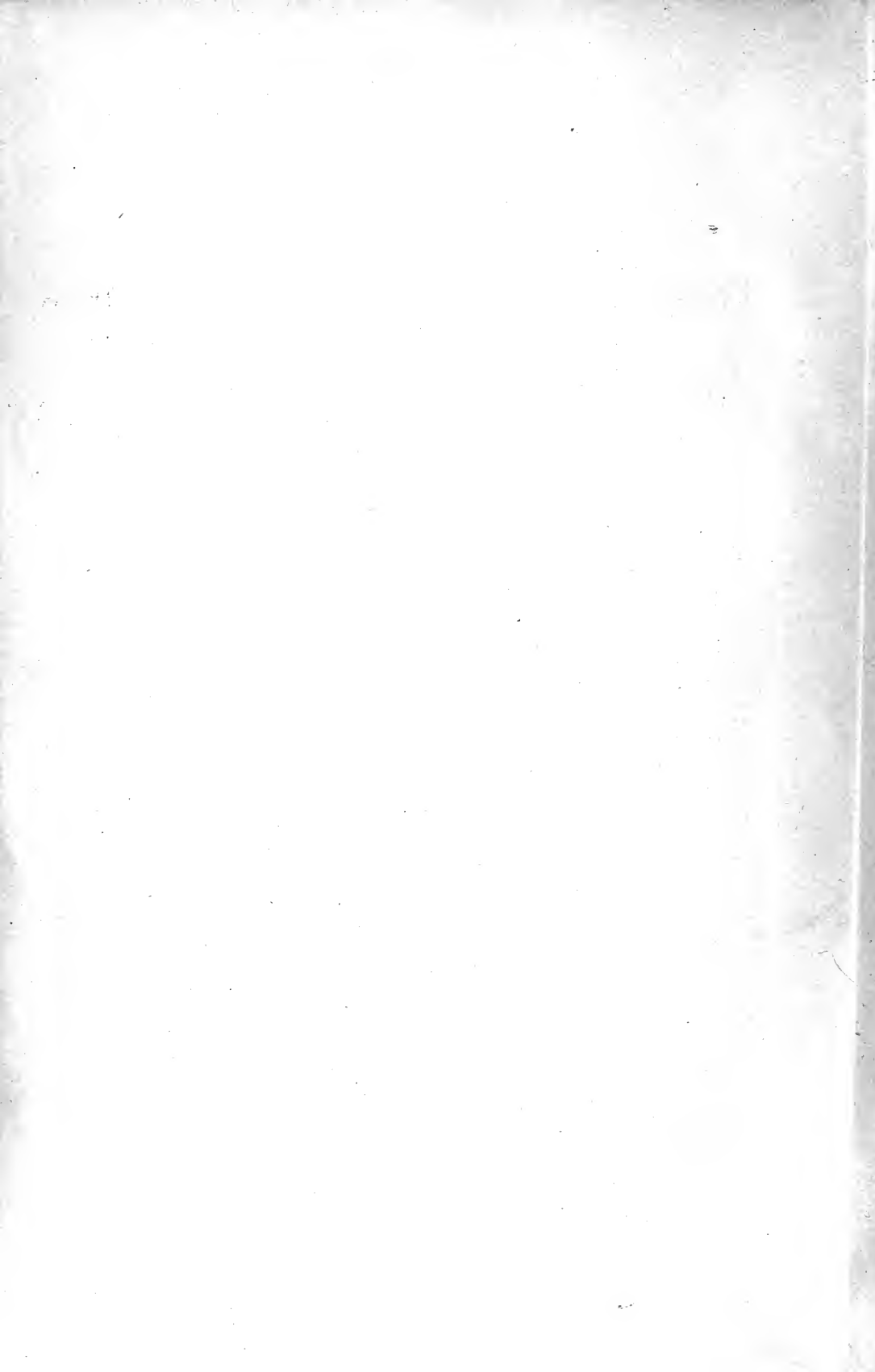
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VOLUME 9

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ENGLISH > GERMAN LITERARY
INFLUENCES

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SURVEY

PART I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

BY

LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE

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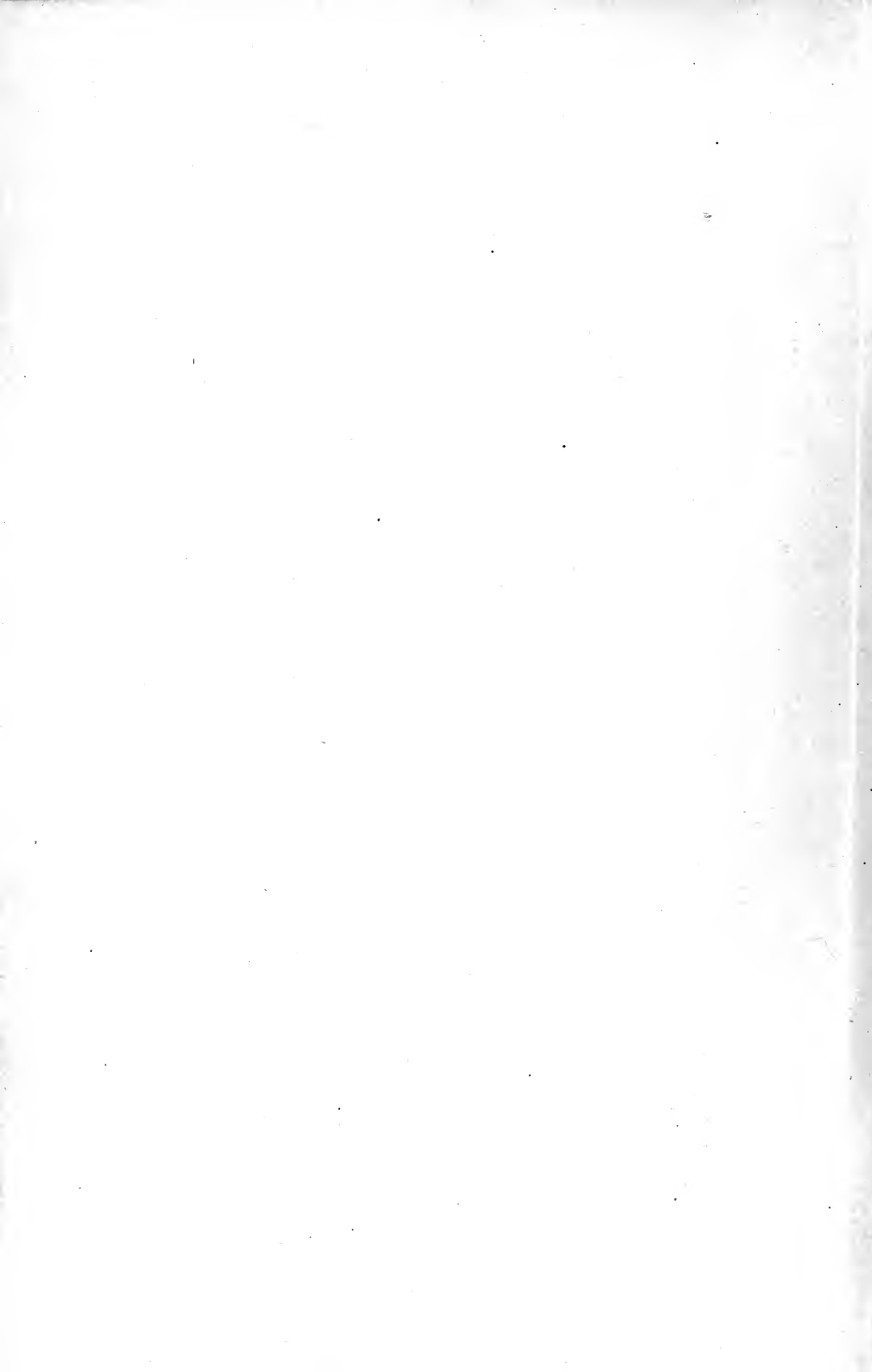
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PART I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

CONTENTS

	PAGES
Introduction	3
Abbreviations	6
The comparative study of literature; theoretical works	9
	SERIAL NOS.
General bibliographical works and general surveys	1ff.
I. The eighteenth century and before (Shakespeare excluded)	
a. The sixteenth century	13ff.
b. The seventeenth century	17ff.
The seventeenth century in general	17
Influence of English literature on specific German authors	18ff.
Influence of specific English authors on German literature	21ff.
The English comedians in Germany	26ff.
Their wanderings	26ff.
Their influence	49ff.
Their repertoire	57ff.
c. The eighteenth century	72ff.
The eighteenth century in general	72ff.
The American revolution in German literature	92ff.
The influence of English literature on specific German authors	101ff.
The influence of specific English authors on German literature	148ff.
II. Shakespeare in Germany	
a. General works	400ff.
b. The seventeenth century and before	436ff.
c. The eighteenth century	466ff.
The eighteenth century in general	466ff.
Individual German authors in their relations to Shakespeare	488ff.
d. The nineteenth century	624ff.
The nineteenth century in general	624ff.
Individual German authors in their relations to Shakespeare	663ff.
III. The nineteenth century (Shakespeare excluded)	
a. General American influences	800ff.
b. General English influences	829ff.
c. Specific English and American influences	855ff.
Index of investigators	Page 104



INTRODUCTION

This bibliography is supplemented by a survey (see serial number [9a]) in which certain of the works here listed, namely those preceded by a dagger, are reviewed.¹ The reviews taken together constitute a general sketch of English>German literary influences, which has hitherto been lacking. In the introduction to the survey it is explained that the term "English>German literary influences" serves to indicate the influence of English literature upon German literature and is not used in a reciprocal sense. It is further explained that the designation English literature is applied to all literature in the English language and the term German literature is employed with a like inclusiveness. For the nearer definition of the term "influence" the introduction to the survey should be consulted.

The list of works enumerated in the bibliography reveals an abundance of monographic industry, but shows that there has been a certain lack of organization. Aside from the usual works of reference, Goedeke, the "Jahresberichte," etc., workers in the field of English>German literary relations have had only Betz [1] as a bibliographical counsellor.

The first edition of Betz's bibliography appeared in 1900. It contained 123 pages in single columns. The second edition appeared four years later with 410 pages in closely printed double columns. The number of entries pertaining to the mutual relations of the English and German literatures, for example, was about quadrupled, yet there was a certain feeling of disappointment when the second edition appeared, because of some deficiencies in technique, some inaccuracies and omissions. These defects have been over-emphasized by the critics. Had Betz devoted more time to detail or set more nearly to approximate completeness we should not possess his invaluable work today. As it was, he died while the second edition was being printed and Baldensperger read the proofs, doubtless making valuable additions. It was recognized at the time that further progress could be made only by organization and subdivision and apparently some steps were taken in that direction,² but the fourteen years that have elapsed since then justify an independent worker in marking out a field for more intensive cultivation, for there is an immediate need of an improved list of secondary literature. Such progress has been made since 1904 that we may no longer look in Betz for the authoritative work dealing with the influence of Pope, Milton, Shakespeare, or Sterne in Germany. Betz appears to have included most articles in Goedeke and the "Jahresberichte" whose titles indicated that they dealt with English>German literary influences. An extensive work like his could not be expected to look beyond the titles, yet some of the most

¹ For the page references consult the "Index of reviews and comments" at the close of the "Survey."

² See SVL VI (1906) 368.

valuable contributions are often secreted behind unpromising names.³ These treasures are unearthed only by an intensive delving. No one person has a complete collection, but some one must contribute the nucleus. The collection can then be amplified by specialists in many fields. The publication of constructive criticism of this trial bibliography is therefore solicited.

The ideal bibliography is not a complete one, listing all the works ever published on a given topic, but rather a selective one frequently revised and improved and always approximating the present state of knowledge regarding the topic. In such a bibliography should be included also more comprehensive works that have a historic value, in that they represent stages in the advance toward our present knowledge; but old and scattered magazine articles, difficult of access and yielding only obsolete or common information when found, should be rigidly excluded, for they serve only to retard investigation. Because of their low degree of accessibility and comparative unimportance several articles on English-German literary relations appearing in popular American magazines previous to the year 1880 and indicated in the bibliographies of Goodnight and Haertel, [4] and [5], have been omitted.⁴

The bibliography on Shakespeare's influence on Germany, moreover, has been most rigorously pruned; for in the case of most other topics the difficulty of the investigator is in finding, in the case of Shakespeare the difficulty is in choosing. The Shakespeare bibliography comprising Part II of this work is, like Betz's, based chiefly on the "Shakespeare-Jahrbuch." Of approximately 250 titles in Betz, nos. [1848]-[2101], only about 100 are here duplicated. Excluded are several articles in old files of not very accessible magazines of a semi-popular character, several less comprehensive articles on Shakespeare in Germany in the seventeenth century, the content of which was later included in the works of Creizenach and Herz, [39] and [45], and a large number of school programs, several bearing titles similar to one another and most of them inaccessible. School programs were, however, included when reviews of them could be discovered in well known magazines or when their titles suggested some interesting relation.

This bibliography strives to be complete up to the year 1913, the "Jahresbericht" of that year, volume XXIV, being the latest one available. The bibliography contains, however, several additional titles found in

³ For example nos. [49], [72], [104], [190], and [217].

⁴ The omitted articles are as follows:

General relations and miscellaneous. Goodnight [448], [609], [688], [702], [1356], [1553], [1641].

Shakespeare in Germany. Goodnight [745], [1308]. Haertel [156], [1019], [1260], [1301].

Wolfe and German literature. Goodnight [1167].

Burns in German translations. Goodnight [883], [1329]. Haertel [952].

Carlyle in German literature. Goodnight [1335], [1356].

Scott and German literature. Goodnight [848].

the "Shakespeare-Jahrbuch" of 1914 and in the leading English and American journals up to June, 1918. Addenda included in the survey will bring the bibliography approximately up to the end of the year 1918. It is the intention of the compiler to issue a supplement to this bibliography as soon as it is possible to make the bibliography complete up to the year 1920. It is hoped the bibliography may eventually pass into a second and much improved edition. Meanwhile the author will welcome criticism of the arrangement of the work and suggestions not only of inclusion but of exclusion.

The user of this bibliography will do well to consult first the table of contents in order to familiarize himself with the general arrangement. In connexion therewith it should be observed that influences are grouped according to the century in which they take place. The influence of Sterne on Heine, for example, is treated as a nineteenth century influence. It may further be noted that within homogeneous groups of influences the alphabetical order has been maintained as far as possible, for example, in nos. [147] to [372] beginning with Addison's influence and ending with Young's influence on German literature. The general influence of Addison is placed at the head of its group with particular influences following again in an alphabetical order: Addison > Bodmer, > Goethe, > Gottsched, etc. Within any given minor group, e.g., English literature > Goethe, works are listed so far as possible according to the chronological order of their appearance. The cross references, e.g., under Milton: "See also [102], [103], and [150]," do not pretend to be complete. Whoever desires more complete information will consult the "Index of influences" at the close of the survey. The bibliography is provided only with an "Index of investigators."

Books once consulted are generally used again. The possessor of this bibliography will doubtless save time by entering in the broad margin at the left of the title the catalog number of the work in his university library. This practice will often save trips from stacks to card catalog and a search thru the latter.

The writer of an essay within the field of English > German literary relations will find Goedeke and the "Jahresberichte" indispensable as before, but if the bibliography shortens the preliminary phases of investigation, enables the worker to enter into his subject matter before his first zeal has cooled, suggests yet unexplored fields of search, prevents duplication of effort, or in any other way stimulates production, it will have fulfilled its purpose.

The bibliography is the result of a coöperative endeavor of wide compass. It is a pleasure to record the assistance that has been extended from every quarter. Professor Baldensperger contributed a score of numbers from his collection. Had time permitted he would have acted against his own interests and made available to us the entire store of English > German items that are awaiting the next edition of Betz's bibliography, which we hope will appear soon. Professor Kind of the

University of Wisconsin contributed the theoretical introduction, nos. [a]-[s], and about thirty additional numbers. Professor Evans of Ohio State University contributed several numbers on the English drama in Germany in the seventeenth century. Items were also received from Professor Hohlfeld of the University of Wisconsin, Professor von Noé of the University of Chicago, Professor Barba of the University of Indiana, and Professors Northup and Adams of Cornell University. All these authorities assisted in pointing out errors in the galley proofs. The proofs received the most searching examination, however, at the hands of Professor Schilling of the University of California, who also gave valuable technical advice during the time that the bibliography was being prepared for the press. I am furthermore able to recognize that the original impulse that led to this work was given several years ago at the University of Wisconsin by Professor Hohlfeld. To no one, however, am I more indebted than to my wife, who typewrote the whole manuscript, not once but several times, with an ever watchful eye for inconsistencies of form; without such help this bibliography would never have been completed.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anglia Beiblatt
ADA	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum
AF	Anglistische Forschungen
AG	Americana Germanica Philadelphia 1897ff.
AL	Archiv für Literaturgeschichte
AM	Atlantic monthly
ASNS	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
BBGRPh	Berliner Beiträge zur germanischen und romanischen Philologie (Germanische Abteilung) Berlin 1893ff.
BBL	Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte Leipzig 1684ff. Breslau 1910ff. Stuttgart 1912ff.
BDL	Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft Marburg 1907ff.
BFDH	Berichte des freien deutschen Hochstifts zu Frankfurt
BLU	Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung
BMAZ	Beilage zur Münchener allgemeinen Zeitung
CUGS	Columbia University Germanic studies New York 1900ff.
DLD	Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
DNL	Kürschners Deutsche Nationalliteratur
DR	Deutsche Rundschau
ES	Englische Studien
Euph	Euphorion
FFDL	Freie Forschungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte Strasburg 1913ff.

- FNL Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte
München 1896ff.
- GAA German-American annals (old series)
- GGA Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen
- GJ Goethe-Jahrbuch
- GpJ Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft
- GRM Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift
- JbL Jahresberichte für die neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte
- JEGPh Journal of English and Germanic philology
- JFDH Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts zu Frankfurt
- Lb1GRPh Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie
- LCbl Literarisches Centralblatt
- LE Literarisches Echo
- LF Literarhistorische Forschungen
Weimar 1897ff.
- MLN Modern language notes
- MLQ Modern language quarterly
- MLR Modern language review
- MPh Modern philology
- NAR North American review
- NJKA Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und
deutsche Literatur, etc.
- Pal Palaestra: Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen
und englischen Philologie
Berlin 1898ff.
- PDS Prager deutsche Studien
Prag 1905ff.
- PEGS Publications of the English Goethe society
- Pf Probefahrten: Erstlingsarbeiten aus dem deutschen Seminar
in Leipzig
Leipzig 1904ff.
- PMLA Publications of the modern language association of America
(old series)
- PrJ Preussische Jahrbücher
- QF Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der
germanischen Völker
- RC Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature
- RDM Revue des Deux Mondes
- RG Revue germanique
- ShJ Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft
- SVL Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte
- SVZ Sonntagsbeilage zur Vossischen Zeitung
- ThF Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen
Hamburg and Leipzig 1891ff.
- TMGS Transactions of the Manchester Goethe society
- TRSL Transactions of the royal society of literature
- UCPMPH University of California publications in modern philology
Berkeley (California) 1909ff.

UNSL	Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte (Neue Folge) Leipzig 1909ff.
VL	Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte
VVDPH	Verhandlungen der Versammlungen deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner
ZB	Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde
ZDA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum
ZDPH	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
ZDU	Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht
ZöG	Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien
ZVL	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte (Neue Folge)

Betz	refers to Betz's "La littérature comparée," etc., entry [1] in the "Bibliography."
Survey	refers to Price's "English > German literary influences. Survey," etc., entry [9a] in the "Bibliography."
MLA []	means meeting of the Modern language association of America enclose the serial number of a bibliographical entry. When not otherwise indicated the entry is in the present bibliog- raphy. Betz's entries are according to the 2nd edition, 1904.
†	means that the article following is quoted or described in the "Survey" [9a]. For the page reference consult "Index of reviews and comments" at the close of the "Survey."
>	indicates a trend of influence. Thus Addison > Goethe means Addison's influence on Goethe.

By concession of the editorial board of the University of California certain simplified forms of spelling have been employed in this bibliography.

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- TITTMANN, JULIUS. Einleitung zu "Die Schauspiele d. englischen Komödianten" in "Deutsche Dichter d. 16. Jh." Bd. III, 2. Leipzig 1868; v-xxviii, and Bd. XIII. Leipzig 1880; i-lxii. [31]
- MEISZNER, J. Die englischen Komödianten zur Zeit Shakespeares in Oesterreich. Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutschen Lit. u. d. geistigen Lebens in Oesterreich IV. Wien 1884; 198 pp. [32]
- MEISZNER, J. Die englischen Komödianten in Oesterreich. ShJ XIX (1884) 113-154. [33]
- COHN, ALBERT. Englische Komödianten in Köln 1592-1656. ShJ XXI (1886) 245-277. [34]
- TRAUTMANN, KARL. (Englische Komödianten in Deutschland). [35]
 Sundry contributions to AL XI-XV (1882-1887) as follows:
 E. K. in Nördlingen (1604)—AL XI (1882) 625-626.
 E. K. in München (1597, 1600, 1607)—AL XII (1884) 319-320.
 E. K. in Schwaben (16 Jh.)—AL XIII (1885) 33-71.
 E. K. in Ulm (1594-1657)—AL XIII (1885) 314-324.
 E. K. in Frankfurt (1615)—AL XIII (1885) 417-418.
 E. K. in Nürnberg (1593-1648)—AL XIV (1886) 113-142.
- CRÜGER, J. Englische Komödianten in Strazburg im Elsass. AL XV (1887) 113-125. [36]
- KÖNNECKE, G. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte d. englischen Komödianten. ZVL I (1887) 85-88. [37]
 "Bestallungsbriebe für d. Engländer Brown u. Kingsman als Komödianten d. Landgrafen Moritz von Hessen." Kassel (ca. 1598).
- BOLTE, J. Englische Komödianten in Dänemark u. Schweden. ShJ XXIII (1888) 99-109. [38]
- †CREIZENACH, W. Einleitung zu "Schauspiele d. englischen Komödianten." DNL XXIII (1889) i-cxviii. [39]
 1. Wanderzüge d. Engländer. 2. Bühnenverhältnisse. 3. Repertoire d. Engländer in Deutschland. 4. Kunststil d. E. K. 5. Die lustige Person. 6. Der Liebeskampf. 7. Die E. K. u. d. deutsche Literatur.
 This work summarizes all investigations to its date and is still indispensable despite Herz [45].
 KOCH, M. ZVL III (1890) 146-147.

- BOLTE, JOHANNES. Die Singspiele d. englischen Komödianten u. ihrer Nachfolger in Deutschland, Holland u. Skandinavien. ThF VII (1893) 194 pp. [40]
 VON WEILEN, A. DLZ XV (1894) 460.
 C(REIZENACH, W.) LCbl XLIX (1896) 26.
 HÖNIG, B. ADA XXII (1896) 296-319.
 FRÄNKEL, L. ES XXIII (1897) 127-130.
- TRAUTMANN, KARL. Englische Komödianten in Rothenburg ob d. Tauber (1604, 1614, u. 1654). ZVL VII (1894) 60-67. [41]
- BOLTE, J. Das Danziger Theater im 16. u. 17. Jh. ThF XII (1895) xxiii + 296 pp. [42]
 BOLTE, J. ShJ XXXII (1896) 312-314.
 HÖNIG, B. ADA XXIV (1898) 377-382.
- BOLTE, J. Englische Komödianten in Münster u. Ulm. ShJ XXXVI (1900) 273-276. [43]
- MEYER, C. F. Englische Komödianten am Hofe d. Herzogs Philipp Julius von Pommern-Wolgast. ShJ XXXVIII (1902) 196-212. [44]
- †HERZ, E. Englische Schauspieler u. englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland. ThF XVIII (1903) 143 pp. [45]
 HAUFFEN, A. ShJ XL (1904) 281-283.
 VON WEILEN, A. DLZ XXV (1904) 221-222.
 WITKOWSKI, G. ZDPh XXXVI (1904) 562-564.
- HARRIS, CHARLES. English actors in Germany in the 16th and 17th centuries. Western Reserve Univ. bulletin X (1907) 136-163. [45a]
- †WITKOWSKI, G. Englische Komödianten in Leipzig. Euph XV (1908) 441-444. [46]
 Eng. com. in Leipzig 1585 and 1603-1613 often. Based in part on Wustmann in "Leipziger Tageblatt," Dec. 22, 1907.
- †WORP, J. A. Die englischen Komödianten G. Jellifus u. W. Rowe. ShJ XLVI (1910) 128-129. [47]
- NIEDECKEN-GEBHART, HANNES. Neues Aktenmaterial über d. englischen Komödianten in Deutschland. Euph XXI (1914) 72-85. [48]
 Sackville troupe in Braunschweig, 1595ff.
- English comedians in Germany; their influence in general*
- †KAULFUSZ-DIESCH, CARL H. Die Inszenierung d. deutschen Dramas an d. Wende d. 16. u. 17. Jh. Pf VII (1905) 236 pp. [49]
 Influence of the Eng. com. on the German stage thru Herzog Julius von Braunschweig and Jacob Ayrer.
 BOLTE, J. ShJ XLII (1906) 276-277.
 KOCH, M. LCbl LVII (1906) 435-436.
 MINOR, J. Euph XIV (1907) 794-804.
 HELM, K. LblGRPh XXVIII (1907) 96.
 KILLIAN, E. SVL VII (1907) 139-147.
 MEIER, K. AB XX (1909) 241-242.
 EVANS, M. B. MLR IV (1909) 531-537.

EVANS, M. BLAKEMORE. An early type of stage. MPh IX (1912) [49a]
421-426.

HARRIS, CHAS. The English comedians in Germany before the
thirty years' war; the financial side. PMLA XXII (1907) [50]
446-465.

English comedians and Ayrrer

See also [49], [67], [69], and [458].

ROBERTSON, J. G. Zur Kritik Jakob Ayrrers mit bes. Rücksicht [51]
auf sein Verhältnis zu Hans Sachs u. d. englischen Komö-
dianten. Diss. Leipzig 1892; 70 pp.

Based on a chronology not regarded by Wodick [52] as tenable.

CREIZENACH, W. JbL IV (1893) II, 4, 34.

Cf. Hauffen, A. ShJ XXIX (1903) 302.

†WODICK, W. Jakob Ayrrers Dramen in ihrem Verhältnis z. einhei- [52]
mischen Literatur u. z. Schauspiel d. englischen Komödianten.
Halle 1912; xii + 112 pp.

Contains a bibliography of 241 titles.

FÖRSTER, M. ShJ XLIX (1913) 233-234.

F. P. RG IX (1913) 248.

English comedians and Gryphius

See [456], [460], and [464].

English comedians and Herzog Julius von Braunschweig

See also [39], [45], and [49].

HOLLAND, W. L. Die Schauspiele d. Herzogs Heinrich Julius [53]
von Braunschweig. Bibliothek d. Stuttgt. lit. Vereins
XXXVI. Stuttgt. 1855; 906 pp. Anm. pp. 796-906.

GRIMM, HERMANN. Das Theater d. Herzogs Julius von Braun- [54]
schweig. In "Fünfzehn Essays." N.F. Hannover 1859;
142ff.

TITTMANN, JULIUS. Die Schauspiele des Herzogs Heinrich [55]
Julius von Braunschweig. In "Deutsche Dichter d. 16 Jh."
XIV. Leipzig 1880.

English comedians and Landgraf Moritz von Hessen

DUNCKER, ALBERT. Landgraf Moritz von Hessen u. d. eng- [56]
lischen Komödianten. DR XLVIII (1886) 260-275.

English comedians in Germany—Repertoire

See footnote*.

* The next following items are arranged alphabetically according to the English dramatists concerned. The repertoire of the E. C. included plays of nearly all the noteworthy English dramatists. For the influence see "Survey" chapter two. Creizenach [39] and after him Herz [45] have summarized what is known in regard to the subject. The above list is therefore limited to a few of the more significant monographs appearing before 1903 and a list as complete as possible of articles appearing since. The texts of the plays of the English comedians can nearly all be found in Cohn [28], Tittmann [31], and Creizenach [39]. Bolte has edited others; see [40], [42], and [59].

Anonymous dramas in repertoire of English comedians

- SCHWARTZ, RUDOLF. *Esther im deutschen u. neulateinischen Drama d. Reformationszeitalters.* Oldenburg and Leipzig 1894; 277 pp. [57]

Schwartz does not regard the German version of the "Esther" as based on English versions. Tittman [31], Creizenach [39], and Herz [45] are of a different opinion.

HOLSTEIN, H. ZVL VIII (1895) 427-429.

- SCHWARTZ, RUDOLF. *Das Esther-Drama d. Chrysostomus Schulze* (1636). ZVL IV (1896) 334-351. [58]

Continuation of theme of foregoing monograph. Influence of drama of the English comedians admitted.

- BISCHOFF, FERDINAND. "Niemand und Jemand" in Graz im Jahre 1608. *Mittheilungen d. hist. Vereins für Steiermark* XLVII (1899) 127-138. [58a]

- BOLTE, J. *Eine Hamburger Aufführung von "Nobody and Somebody."* ShJ XLI (1905) 188-193. [59]

See also Bolte's edition of Tieck's translation of the drama in ShJ XXIX (1894) 4-92.

- SPENGLER, FRANZ. *Der verlorene Sohn im Drama d. 16. Jh.* Innsbruck 1888; vii + 174 pp. [60]

Spengler denies that "d. verlorene Sohn" of the E. C. has an English version as its predecessor. Herz [45] 108-109 is of a different opinion.

Chettle's dramas in repertoire of English comedians

- VON WESTENHOLZ, FRIEDRICH. *Die Griseldis-Sage in d. Lit.-gesch.* Heidelberg 1888; 177 pp. [61]

Dekker's dramas in repertoire of English comedians

- CREIZENACH, W. *Der älteste Faust-Prolog.* Krakau 1887. [62]

Dekker's "If this be not good, the devil is in it," is the source of many phrases in the German popular Faust play of the 17th century.

- HARMS, P. *Die deutschen Fortunatus-Dramen u. ein Kasseler Dichter d. 17. Jh.* ThF V (1892) vii + 95 pp. Pp. 1-54 = Marburg Diss. 1891. [63]

The Kassel poet is an anonymous author. He was a contemporary of Landgraf Moritz.

Glaphorne in repertoire of English comedians

- BOLTE, JOHANNES. *Eine englische Wallensteintragödie in Deutschland.* ZDPh XIX (1887) 93-97. [64]

Glaphorne's "Tragedy of Albertus Wallenstein" (1639).

- VETTER, TH. *Wallenstein in d. dramatischen Dichtung d. Jahrhunderts seines Todes.* Frauenfeld 1894; 42 pp. [65]

KOCH, M. ES XXIII (1897) 133-134.

CREIZENACH, W. Comment. ShJ XLI (1905) 201-203.

Heywood in repertoire of English comedians

CREIZENACH, W. Ein Repertoirstück d. englischen Komödianten. [66]
ShJ XLI (1905) 201.

Thomas Heywood's "The silver age" (1613) and "Komödie von Jupiter u. Amphitryo," played in Dresden Feb. 27, 1678.

Kyd in repertoire of English comedians

See also [436]-[448].

SCHOENWERTH, RUDOLF. Die niederländischen u. deutschen [67]
Bearbeitungen von Thomas Kyds "Spanish Tragedy." LF
XXVI (1903) cxxvi + 227 pp.

J. Ayrer's "Pelimperi" and C. Stieler's "Bellimperi" 1680.

KELLER, W. ShJ XXXIX (1903) 319-320.

CREIZENACH, W. Versuch einer Geschichte des Volksschauspiels [67a]
von Doctor Faust. Halle 1878.

Marlowe in repertoire of English comedians

BRUNIER, J. W. Das Volksschauspiel von Faust. ZDPH [68]
XXIX (1897) 180-195, 345-372. XXX (1898) 325-359.
XXXI (1899) 60-89, 194-231.

A German popular play of Faust is older than Marlowe's and was, with the "Volksbuch," one of his sources. After Marlowe had brot the theme to a higher level, his version found entrance into Germany thru the English comedians and began to influence the old German version.

CASTLE, E. Das erste Zeugnis für d. Bekanntschaft mit Mar- [69]
lowes "Dr. Faustus" in Deutschland. ADA XXXV (1911)
300-302.

A passage in Ayrer's "Historischer Processus Juris," Fkft. 1597.
In 1596 two companies of comedians in Nürnberg that may
have played "Faust."

GRABAU, C. ShJ XLIX (1913) 199.

Peele in repertoire of English comedians

ÖFTERING, MICHAEL. Die Geschichte d. schönen Irene in d. [70]
modernen Literaturen. München Diss. Würzburg 1897.

Nine English versions, among them those of Wm. Painter (1566-
1575) and Geo. Peele (1594). Two German versions: 1.
Ayrer's tragedy, dependent on Bardello and on Peele's version.
2. Hamburg opera of H. Hinsch (1696), based on Painter's
version. Cf. öftering. ZVL XIII (1899) 164.

HIPPE, M. ES XXVI (1899) 403-404.

Shakespeare in repertoire of English comedians

See [436]ff.

Shirley in repertoire of English comedians

CREIZENACH, W. Eine Tragödie Shirleys auf d. deutschen [71]
Bühne. ShJ XLVII (1911) 201-202.

Shirleys "The maid's revenge (1626) and the "Tragico-Comoedia
von Conte Montenegro" (1700ca.).

c. The eighteenth century

The 18th century in general

- BIEDERMANN, KARL. Deutschland im 18. Jh. Bd. I, 1854; Bd. II, 1858ff. 2. Aufl. 1880. [72]
 Bd. II, "Deutschlands geistige u. gesellige Zustände im 18. Jh.," lays stress upon English influences.
- ANON. The influence of English literature on German literature. NAR LXXXIV (1857) 311-333. [73]
 Deals with 18th century almost exclusively. Attributed to James Burrell Angell by Haertel [5] 733.
- ELZE, KARL. Die englische Sprache u. Literatur in Deutschland. Eine Festrede zum CCC. Geburtstag Shakespeares. Dresden 1864; 92 pp. [74]
- JORET, CH. La littérature allemande au XVIII^e siècle dans ses rapports avec la littérature française et avec la littérature anglaise. Paris 1876. [74a]
- HETTNER, HERMANN. Geschichte d. deutschen Literatur im 18. Jh. (= Lit.-gesch. d. 18 Jh. Teil III). Braunschweig 1879. 5. verb. Aufl. Braunschweig 1909. 3 Bde. in 4. [75]
- †KOCH, MAX. Über d. Beziehungen d. englischen Literatur z. d. deutschen im 18. Jh. Leipzig 1883; 40 pp. [76]
- †SEIDENSTICKER, OSWALD. The relation of English to German literature in the 18th century. Poet Lore II (1890) 57-70 and 169-185. [77]
- MEYER, R. M. Der Engländer in d. deutschen Literatur. Nation (Berlin) 1896; 418-420, 433-435. [78]
- †FLINDT, E. Über d. Einfluss d. englischen Literatur auf d. deutsche d. 18. Jh. Prog. Charlottenburg 1897; 20 pp. [79]
- WALZ, J. A. English influence on the German vocabulary of the 18th century. Paper read by title before the MLA. Haverford Pa. Dec. 1905. [80]
 The great influence of English writers upon German literature during a large part of the century has left distinct traces in the German vocabulary. The attempt will be made to collect such words, figures and phrases as show English influence and to give their history as far as possible. See PMLA XXI (1906) appendix xxv.
- VAUGHAN, C. E. The influence of English poetry upon the romantic revival on the continent. Warton lecture on English poetry IV. Oct. 29, 1913. London, Oxford Univ. press; 18 pp. [81]
 Superficial and inaccurate; chiefly 18th century.

English esthetics in Germany

See also [91], [101], [129], [129a], [165], [166], [210], [211], [308]ff., and [556].

SERVAES, FRANZ. Die Poetik Gottscheds u. d. Schweizer literar- [81a]
historisch untersucht. QF LX (1887) 178 pp.

SEUFFERT, B. GGA 1890; 22-24.

BRAITMAIER, FR. Geschichte d. poetischen Theorie u. Kritik [81b]
von d. "Diskursen d. Maler" bis auf Lessing. Frauenfeld
1888; xi + 313 pp.

SEUFFERT, B. GGA 1890; 22-24.

Translation in general

PRUTZ, ROBERT. Zur Geschichte d. deutschen Übersetzungs- [82]
litteratur. Hallische Jahrbücher 1840.

GRUPPE, OTTO. Deutsche Übersetzungskunst. Hannover 1866. [83]

FRÄNZEL, W. F. A. Geschichte d. Übersetzens im 18. Jh. In [84]
"Beitr. z. Kultur-u. Universalgesch." XXV. Leipzig 1914;
viii + 233 pp.

Appeared in part as Leipzig diss. 1913.

MOMMSEN, TYCHO. Die Kunst des Übersetzens fremdsprach- [84a]
licher Dichtungen ins Deutsche. Prog. Oldenburg 1857-1858.
Zweite vermehrte Aufl. Frankft 1886; 138 pp.

KOCH, M. ES XI (1888) 306-308.

Translation from the English

GOEDEKE, KARL. Verdeutschungen aus d. lyrischen, epischen u. [85]
dramatischen Literatur Englands 1790-1815. In Goedeke's
"Grundrisz z. Gesch. d. deutschen Dichtung" VIII (2. Aufl.
1890) 696-728.

The list is far from complete.

English dramas in German translation

BEAM, JACOB M. Die ersten deutschen Übersetzungen eng- [86]
lischer Lustspiele im 18. Jh. (1748ff.). ThF XX (1906)
96 pp. and Diss. Jena 1904.

CROSLAND, J. MLR II (1907) 278-280.

BALDENSPERGER, F. RG III (1907) 615-616.

WIHAN, J. Euph XV (1908) 341-342.

English drama in Germany

BELOUIN, G. De Gottsched à Lessing (1724-1760). Études sur [86a]
le commencement du théâtre moderne en Allemagne (1724-
1760). Paris, Hachette, 1909; xii + 343 pp.

BALDENSPERGER, F. RG V (1909) 71-72.

KOCH, M. LChl LXI (1910) 659-660.

English novels in German translation

†WIHAN, JOSEF. J. J. C. Bode (1730-1793) als Vermittler eng- [87]
lischer Geisteswerke in Deutschland. PDS III (1906) vii +
221 pp.

English philosophy in Germany

ZART, G. Der Einfluss d. englischen Philosophie seit Bacon auf [87a]
d. deutsche Philosophie d. 18. Jh. Berlin 1881; 237 pp.

==[307].

- WOLFSTEIG, A. Der englische u. französische Deismus u. d. [87b]
deutsche Aufklärung. Monatshefte d. Comenius-Gesell-
schaft XVII (1908) 137-147.

English influence on German middle-class dramas in general

See also [104].

- †ELOESSER, ARTHUR. Das bürgerliche Drama: Seine Geschichte [88]
im 18. u. 19. Jh. Berlin 1898; 218 pp.

Lillo, Moore, Richardson > Lessing, Brawe, Weisze, and others.

VON WEILEN, A. JbL IX (1898) IV, 4, 427 (2 + pp.).

HÖNIG, B. ADA XXVII (1901) 179-183.

SCHLÖSSER, R. Euph IX (1902) 427-440.

English influence on German novels in general

- †HEINE, CARL. Der Roman in Deutschland von 1774-1778. Halle [89]
1892; 134 pp.

Influence of Richardson and Fielding in the period between
"Werther" and the beginnings of "Wilhelm Meister."

English influence on German "Novellen" in general

- FÜRST, RUDOLF. Die Vorläufer d. modernen Novelle im 18. [90]
Jh. Ein Beitr. z. vgl. Lit.-gesch. Halle 1897; 240 pp.

Among the "Vorläufer" of Goethe's "Novelle," and so of the
modern short story, were Chaucer, Addison with his char-
acters, Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, Sterne.

LINDNER, F. ES XXV (1898) 443-445.

English landscape gardening in Germany

- GOTHEIN, MARIE. Der englische Landschaftsgarten in d. [91]
Literatur. Verhandlungen d. XI. Philologentages, Köln,
1904. Pp. 100-112.

The change of taste, the turning away from the formal Italian
garden, obvious in Pope's and Thomson's poetry, affected Ger-
many. The new taste was exemplified in the Weimar park
after the burning of the ducal residence.

English moral weeklies in Germany

See [148]ff.

The American revolution in German literature

See also [196] and [197].

- BIEDERMANN, K. Die nordamerikanische u. französische Revo- [92]
lution in ihren Rückwirkungen auf Deutschland. Zts. für
deutsche Kulturgesch. 1858; 43ff.

- †GOEBEL, JULIUS. Amerika in d. deutschen Dichtung bis 1832. [93]
Forsch. z. deutschen Philol. Festgabe für Rudolf Hilde-
brand. Leipzig 1894; 102-127.

Attitude of Klopstock and Herder toward America. America in
the "Sturm u. Drang" literature. The attitude of Lenau com-
pared with that of the aged Goethe.

MINOR, J. Supplement to above. GGA 1896; 662ff.

- †HATFIELD-HOCHBAUM. The influence of the American revolution [94]
upon German literature. AG III (1899-1900) 338-385.

References to the American revolution in works of Goethe, Gleim,
Klinger, Klopstock, Schiller, Schubart, Stolberg, Wieland,
Vosz.

- GALLINGER, H. P. Die Haltung d. deutschen Publizistik z. d. amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskriege. 1775-1783. Leipzig Diss. Leipzig 1900; 77 pp. [95]
- †WALZ, JOHN A. The American revolution and German literature. MLN XVI (1901) 336-351, 411-418, 449-462. [96]
- †WALZ, JOHN A. Three Swabian journalists and the American revolution. AG IV (1901-1902) 91-129, 267-291 and GAA I (1903) 209-224, 257-274, 347-356, 406-419, 593-600. [97]
Fr. Schiller, Ludwig Wekherlin, Chr. F. D. Schubart.
- ANON. Der Freiheitskampf d. Union in d. deutschen Literatur. Literar. Rundschau. Jan. 18. 1902. [98]
- KOHN, MAXIMILIAN. Amerika im Spiegel deutscher Dichtung. Zeitgeist (1905) No. 32. [99]
L. . . . D, P. LE VII (1905) 1696.
- The American revolution and Schiller*
- CARRUTH, W. H. Schiller and America. GAA VII (1906) 131-146. [100]
A collection of quotations showing Schiller's feeling in regard to the deportation of German mercenaries to take part in the American revolution and his interest in the ideal Indian.
- FLOORER, W. W. Schiller's conception of liberty and the spirit of '76. GAA VIII (1906) 99-115. [100a]
A comparative study. Little influence shown.
- English literature and Baumgartner**
- BOJANOWSKI, M. Literarische Einflüsse bei d. Entstehung von Baumgartners Aesthetik. Breslau Diss. 1910; 60 pp. [101]
- English literature and Bode*
See [87].
- English literature and Bodmer*
See also Addison, Dryden, Milton, Shakespeare > Bodmer.
- †VETTER, TH. Zürich als Vermittlerin englischer Literatur im 18. Jh. Prog. Zürich 1891; 26 pp. [102]
FRÄNKEL, L. ES XVI (1892) 412-413.
- VETTER, TH. Anmerkungen z. "Die Discourse d. Mahlern" (1721-1722). In "Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke d. deutschen Schweiz." Ser. II, Heft 2. Frauenfeld 1891. [102a]
- †VETTER, TH. Bodmer u. d. englische Literatur. Pp. 313-386 in "J. J. Bodmer-Denkschrift." Zürich 1900; 418 pp. [103]
- English literature and Brawe*
See also [88] and [365].
- †SAUER, AUGUST. Joachim Wilhelm von Brawe, d. Schüler Lesings. QF XXX (1878) 145 pp. [104]
MINOR, J. ADA V (1879) 380-395.

* The next following entries are arranged alphabetically according to the name of the German author concerned.

English literature and Brockes

See also Thomson > Brockes.

- BRANDL, A. B. H. Brockes. Ein Beitrag z. Lit.-gesch. d. 18. Jh. [104a]
Innsbruck 1878; 175 pp.

English literature and Goethe

See also Addison, Fielding, Goldsmith, Lillo, Milton, Ossian, Pope, Richardson, Shaftesbury, Sterne, Young > Goethe; Shakespeare > Goethe [503]ff.; 19th century: [847], [848], and Byron, Carlyle, Emerson, Maturin, Scott > Goethe.

- SANBORN, F. B. Goethe's relation to English literature. Pp. [105]
157-188 in "Life and genius of Goethe." Boston 1886;
xxv + 454 pp. and in Dudley's "Poetry and philosophy of
Goethe." Chicago 1887; 59-98.
Of little value; presents few facts and no definite picture.
- CARR, MARY G. Goethe in his connexion with English litera- [106]
ture. PEGS IV (1888) 50-57.
Shakespeare, Richardson, Goldsmith.
- WALDBERG, MAX. Goethe u. d. Empfandsamkeit. BFDH XV [107]
(1899) 1-21.
Addison (Inkle and Yarico—"Spectator" 11), Goldsmith, Richard-
son, and especially Sterne.
- SACHS, K. Goethes Bekanntschaft mit d. englischen Sprache u. [108]
Literatur. Neuphilol. Zentralblatt XIX (1905) 1-3, 35-38,
etc.
SACHS, K. Abstract. Verhandlungen d. XI. deutschen Philo-
logentages, Köln 1904; 132.
- BROWN, HUME. Goethe on English literature. TRSL 2nd series, [109]
vol. XXX, part 2 (1911) 59-86.
The essential facts are doubtless also included in Hume Brown's
"The youth of Goethe." London 1913; 295 pp., which gives
especial heed to English influences. See index of volume.
- BODE, WILHELM. Die Franzosen u. Engländer in Goethes Leben [110]
u. Urteile. Stunden mit Goethe. XXXVIII u. XXXIX
(1915) 179 pp.
Chapter VI, pp. 109-136: "Goethes englische Beziehungen."
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Edw. Young and Richardson. Leipzig: Lillo, Moore, Addi-
son, Steele, Johnson, Pope, Dodd's "Beauties of Shakespeare."
Frankfurt: Wieland's "Shakespeare." Straszburg: Shake-
speare, Goldsmith, Sterne, Ossian. Englishmen in Weimar
and on the Italian journey. Shakespeare on the Weimar
stage under Goethe's management. "Shakespeare u. kein
Ende" (1813ff.), Byron, Scott.
- GOEBEL, JULIUS. Probable source of Goethe's "Goldschmieds- [111]
gesell." MLN II (1887) 206-211.
Henry Carey's "Sally in our alley," is the probable source.

- †JAHN, KURT. "Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung" u. d. humoristische Roman d. Engländer. GRM V (1913) 225-233. [112]

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- ALFORD, R. G. Englishmen at Weimar. PEGS V (1890) 189-192 and VI (1891) 132-134. [113]

- RULAND, C. English books in Goethe's library. A letter in [113]. [114]

- HEINE, CARL. Das englische Drama im Spielplan d. Weimarschen Theaters unter Goethes Leitung. ZVL IV (1891) 319-321. [115]

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- WANIEK, GUSTAV. Gottsched u. d. deutsche Literatur seiner Zeit. Leipzig 1897; xii + 698 pp. [116]

Many references to English literature. Indext.

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- SCHLENTHER, PAUL. Frau Gottsched u. d. bürgerliche Komödie. Ein Kulturbild aus d. Zopfzeit. Berlin 1886; 257 + 10 pp. [117]

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English literature and Hagedorn

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- †COFFMAN, BERTHA R. The influence of English literature on Friedrich Hagedorn. MPh XII (1914) 313-324, XII (1915) 503-520 and XIII (1915) 75-97. Reprinted as Chicago diss. 1914-15. [118]

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- WUKADINOVIC, SP. Hagedorns "Aurelius u. Beelzebub." VL V (1892) 607-612. [119]

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- WYPLEL, L. Englands Einfluss auf die Lehrdichtung Hallers. Prog. Wien 1888. [120]

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- JORET, CH. Herder et la renaissance littéraire en Allemagne au XVIII^e siècle. Paris 1875. [120a]

- BRUL, KARL. Herder and England. In "In memory of Johann Gottfried Herder." Centenary address, Dec. 22, 1903. *MLQ* VII (1904) 6-8. [121]

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- RHOADES, LEWIS A. Hölty's Verhältnis z. d. englischen Literatur. Göttingen Diss. Göttingen 1892; 48 pp. [122]
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SAUER, A. *JbL* IV (1893) IV 2a, 34.

English literature and Lenz

See also Shakespeare > Lenz [535]ff.

- ANWAND, O. Beiträge zum Studium d. Gedichte von J. M. R. Lenz. München 1897; 118 pp. [123]
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CLARK, K. H. Lenz' Übersetzungen aus d. Englischen. *ZVL* X (1897) 117-150 and 385-418. = [538]. [124]
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English literature and Lessing

See also Burke, Crisp, Dryden, Farquhar, Fielding, Pope, Richardson, Shaftesbury, Shakespeare, and Swift > Lessing.

- ALBRECHT, PAUL. Lessings Plagiate. Hamburg 1888-1891. [125]
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†KETTNER, GUSTAV. Lessings Dramen in Lichte ihrer u. unserer Zeit. Berlin 1904; 511 pp. [128]
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HOWARD, W. G. "Reiz ist Schönheit in Bewegung." *PMLA* XXIV (1909) 286-293. [129]
Concerns a phrase in Lessing's "Laokoon." Spence > Webb > Home > Lessing.
HOWARD, W. G. Introduction to "Laokoon." New York, [129a]
Henry Holt and Co., 1910; vii-cl.

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See also Hogarth and Swift > Lichtenberg.

- LEITZMANN, A. Notizen über die englische Bühne aus Lichtenbergs Tagebüchern. *ShJ* XLII (1906) 158-178. [130]
†KLEINEIBST, RICHARD. G. Ch. Lichtenberg in seiner Stellung z. deutschen Literatur. *FFDL* IV (1915) 172 pp. [131]
STAMMLER, W. *DLZ* XXXVI (1916) 663-664.

English literature and Moritz

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- ZUR LINDE, OTTO. Einleitung zu "Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre 1782" von Carl Philipp Moritz. DLD CXXVI (1903) v-xxxiii. [132]

English literature and Mylius

- HITZIG, —. Über die zahlreichen Übersetzungen französischer u. englischer Romane von Mylius. Gelehrtes Berlin (1825) 185ff. [133]

English literature and Nicolai.

- †SCHWINGER, RICHARD. Friedrich Nicolais Roman "Sebaldu Nothanker" (1776) ein Beitrag z. Gesch. d. Aufklärung. LF II (1897) 265 pp. [133a]
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- HAGER, H. Review of "H. C. Postels u. Jacob von Melles Reise durch d. nordwestliche Deutschland nach d. Niederlanden u. nach England." ES XVII (1892) 182-184. [134]

English literature and Schiller

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KOCH, MAX. Schillers Beziehungen zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte. SVL V, Ergänzungsheft (1905) 1-39. [135a]

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†HAUFFEN, A. Friedrich Ludwig Schroeder. DNL CXXXIX: 1 (1890 ca.) 87-106. [136]
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English literature and "Sturm und Drang"

- See also Fielding and Shakespeare>"Sturm und Drang," [194] and [597]ff.
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MINOR, J. Einleitung zu "Christian Felix Weisze." In "Les- [141]
sings Jugendfreunde." DNL LXXII (No date) v-xxv.English middle-class tragedy > "Miss Sara Sampson" > Weisze.
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bury, Shakespeare, Sterne > Wieland.LENZ, L. Wielands Verhältnis zu E. Spenser, Pope und Swift. I. [142]
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37 pp.MARX, EMILIE. Wieland u. d. Drama. FFDL III (1914) 136 pp. [144]
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Poretta." Addison and "Rosamonde." "Schlussbetrachtung.
Wieland im Verhältnis zu Shakespeare."*English literature and Zachariä*MUNCKER, FRANZ. Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä. Einleitung [145]
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KIRCHGEORG, OTTO H. Die dichterische Entwicklung J. F. W. [146]
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weeklies)*MILBERG, ERNEST. Die deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften [148]
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Tadlerinnen."* The English authors follow in alphabetical order. For further provisions
regarding arrangement see the Introduction, page 5.

- †KAWCZYNSKI, MAXIM. Studien zur Lit.-gesch. d. 18. Jh. I [149]
Moralische Zeitschriften. Leipzig 1880; 170 pp.
BRANDL, A. ADA VIII (1882) 26-52.
- CRÜGER, JOHANNES. Gottsched und die Schweizer. DNL XLII [150]
(1882) i-ci.
- JACOBY, K. Die ersten moralischen Wochenschriften Hamburgs [151]
am Anfange d. 18. Jh. Prog. Hambg. 1888; 48 pp.
"Der Vernünfftler" (1713), "Die lustige Fama aus der nährischen
Welt" (1718), "Neuangelegte Nouvelles—Correspondence aus
dem Reiche derer Lebendigen in das Reich derer Todten"
(1721), "Der Patriot" (1724-1726).
WOHLWILL, A. ZVL II (1889) 384-387.
- GEIGER, L. Die ältesten Berliner Wochenschriften. Gegenwart [152]
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- KRAEGER, H. The German "Spy" (1738). ES XXIX (1901) [154]
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in the Hamburg "Patriot" (1724ff.). Hence much interest-
ing material concerning the "Patriot" is included.
- LACHMANSKI, H. Die deutschen Frauenschriften d. 18. Jh. [154a]
Bern Diss. 1900; 76 pp.
- ECKART, J. H. Die moralischen Wochenschriften. Grenzboten [154b]
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- †UMBACH, E. Die deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften u. d. [155]
"Spectator" von Addison u. Steele. Ihre Beziehungen z. ein-
ander u. z. deutschen Literatur d. 18. Jh. Straszbg. Diss.
Straszbg. 1911; 89 pp.
Chap. V: Influence of moral weeklies on Haller, Hagedorn,
Rabener, Gellert.
- HARTUNG, WILHELM. "Der Hamburger Vernünfftler," die erste [156]
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zug aus den Engländischen Moral. Schrifften des "Tatler" u.
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See also [102], and [103].

- †VETTER, TH. Der "Spectator" als Quelle d. "Discourse d. [157]
Mahlern." Frauenfeld 1887; 34 pp.
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- NEDDEN, RUDOLF. Quellenstudien zu Gellerts "Fabeln u. Erzählungen." Leipzig Diss. Leipzig 1899; 81 pp. [158]

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- CORNISH, F. F. Goethe and Addison. TMGS 1894; 175-176. [159]

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- TÜRCKHEIM, L. Addisons "Cato" u. Gottscheds "Sterbender Cato." ASNS XLVI (1881) 17-49, 126-165. [160]

- †CRÜGER, JOHANNES. Gottscheds "Sterbender Cato." Einleitung DNL XLII (1882) 531-540. [161]

- HEGNAUER, A. G. Der Einfluss von Addisons "Cato" auf d. dramatische Literatur Englands u. d. Kontinents in d. Hälfte d. 18. Jh. Diss. Zürich 1912; 157 pp. [162]

Addison and Rabener

- HARTUNG, WILHELM. Die deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften als Vorbild G. W. Rabeners. Hermaea Bd. IX. Halle 1911; viii + 156 pp. and Halle Diss. Halle 1911; 70 pp.

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Beaumont in Germany

See [195].

Brydone and Schiller

- KETTNER GUSTAV. Eine Quelle z. Schillers "Braut von Messina." ZDPH XX (1888) 49-54. [164]

Brydone's "Travels in Sicily and Malta" (1770), from which Wieland had published excerpts in the "Teutscher Merkur" 1773. A translation of the entire work appeared in 1774.

Burke and Kant

- CANDREA, G. Der Begriff d. Erhabenen bei Burke u. Kant. Straszbg. Diss. Straszbg. 1894; 80 pp. [165]

Burke and Lessing

- HOWARD, WILLIAM GUILD. Burke among the forerunners of Lessing. PMLA XXII (1907) 609-632. [166]

Butler and German literature

- †THAYER, HARVEY W. "Hudibras" in Germany. PMLA XXIV (1909) 547-585. [167]

Butler > Bodmer and Gottsched. Lessing's attitude toward Butler.

Butler and Waser

See also [139] and [140].

- HIRZEL, L. J. H. Waser. VL V (1892) 301-312. [168]

Cibber and Weisse

See [606].

Crisp and Lessing

- ROETHE, GUSTAV. Zu Lessings dramatischen Fragmenten. I. [169]
 "Virginia" u. "Emilia Galotti." VL II (1889) 516-529.
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 "Emilia Galotti."

Defoe in Germany

- HETTNER, HERMANN. Robinson u. Robinsonaden. Berlin 1854. [170]
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- †KIPPENBERG, AUGUST. Robinson in Deutschland bis zur "Insel
 Felsenburg." (1731-1743). Ein Beitr. z. Lit.-gesch. d. 18.
 Jh. Hannover 1892; 122 pp.+ xix pp. bibliography. [171]
 ULLRICH, H. ZVL VI (1893) 259-266.
- BILTZ, KARL. Magister Ludwig Frd. Vischer, d. erste deutsche [172]
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- KLEEMANN, S. Zur Geschichte d. Robinsonaden. Euph I (1894) [173]
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- RÖTTEKEN, HUBERT. Weltflucht u. Idyllen in Deutschland von [174]
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- †ULLRICH, HERMANN. Robinson u. Robinsonaden. Bibliographie, [175]
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 HIPPE, M. ES XXVI (1899) 405-411.
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- ULLRICH, H. Nachträge u. Ergänzungen zu meiner Robinson- [176]
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- MILDEBRATH, B. Die deutschen "Avanturiers" d. 18. Jh. [176a]
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- ULLRICH, H. Unbekannte Übersetzer von Schriften Daniel [177]
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- SCHOTT, E. Der erste deutsche Übersetzer d. "Robinson" [177a]
 (Ludwig Fr. Vischer). Blätter d. Württemb. Schwarz-
 waldes IX (1902).
- ULLRICH, H. Neudruck d. ersten Robinsonübersetzung (Ham- [178]
 burg 1731). Mit einem Nachwort von H. Ullrich: Gesch.
 d. Robinsonmotivs. Leipzig 1909.
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 VON BLOEDAU, C. A. JbL XXI (1910) 436-437.
- WAGNER, H. F. Robinson u. d. Robinsonaden in unserer Jugend- [179]
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- ULLRICH, H. Die Berechtigung einer neuen Robinson-Über- [179a]
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See also [174].

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See also [482].

†BAUMGARTNER, MILTON D. On Dryden's relation to Germany in [182] the 18th century. Diss. Univ. of Chicago 1914; 84 pp. and Univ. of Nebraska studies XIV, 4 (1914) 289-375.

MUTSCHMANN, H. AB XXVI (1915) 374.

Dryden and Bodmer

IBERSHOFF, C. H. Dryden's "Tempest" as a source of Bod- [183] mer's "Noah." MPh XV (1917) 247-253.

Numerous parallel passages.

Dryden and Lessing

†PRICE, L. M. Lessing and Dryden. Paper read before the [184] American philol. assn. Pacific coast division. San Francisco, Dec. 1917.

Dryden and Wernicke

†EICHLER, ALBERT. Christian Wernickes "Hans Sachs" (1701) [185] u. sein Drydensches Vorbild "MacFlecknoe" (1682). Zur Gesch. deutscher Kritik. ZVL XVII (1908) 208-224.

According to P. L. Babington MLR XIII (1918) 25-34 not Dryden but John Oldham (1653-1683) was the author of "MacFlecknoe," but cf. G. Thorn-Drury, MLR XIII (1918) 276ff. and H. M. Belden, MLN XXXIII (1918) 449ff.

Farquhar and Lessing

See also [126] and [127].

†ROBERTSON, J. G. Lessing and Farquhar. MLR II (1906) [186] 56-59.

Fielding and German literature

†WOOD, AUGUSTUS. Der Einfluss Fieldings auf d. deutsche Litera- [187] tur. Heidelberg Diss. Yokohama 1895; 53 pp.

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†KURRELMEYER, W. A German version of "Joseph Andrews." [188a]
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KRIEG, HANS. J. J. C. Bode (1730-1793) als Übersetzer des [189]
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Fielding and Goethe

See also [112].

†MINOR, JACOB. Die Anfänge d. "Wilhelm Meister." GJ IX [190]
 (1888) 163-187.

Fielding and Lessing

†CLARK, C. H. Einflusz Fieldingscher Romane auf Lessings [191]
 "Minna von Barnhelm" u. Lessings "Miss Sara Sampson." Anhang B & C in Clark [194] 97-100.

Fielding and Müller von Itzehoe

†BRAND, ALBERT. Müller v. Itzehoe (1743-1828), sein Leben u. [192]
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 18. Jh. LF XVII (1901) 100 pp.
 Pp. 45-49: Fielding>Müller.

Fielding and Schiller

†CLARK, C. H. Einflusz Fieldingscher Romane auf Schillers [193]
 "Räuber." Anhang A in Clark [194].

Fielding and "Sturm und Drang"

†CLARK, C. H. Fielding u. d. deutsche Sturm u. Drang. Frei- [194]
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Fielding and Wieland

†BLANKENBURG, CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH. Versuch über den Roman. [194a]
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Fletcher and Schiller

ANON. Schillers "Braut von Messina" u. Beaumont u. Fletchers [195]
 "Rollo Herzog d. Normandie." Zeitung für die elegante
 Welt 1843; 365ff.

Franklin and German literature

VICTORY, BEATRICE M. Benjamin Franklin and Germany. AG [196]
 XXI (1915) 180 pp.

Franklin's visit to Germany. Reputation in Germany. F. in
 German poetry. F. as known to Goethe, Schiller, Moser,
 Herder. F. in the novel of Sealsfield, Auerbach, and others.

Franklin and Herder

- SUPHAN, BERNHARD. Benjamin Franklin's "Rules for a club established in Philadelphia." Übertragen u. ausgelegt als Statut für eine Gesellschaft von Freunden der Humanität von J. G. Herder 1792. Aus d. Nachlasz veröffentlicht u. Eduard Simson zum 22. Mai 1883 zugeeignet. Berlin 1883; 36 pp. [197]
 Cf. "Briefe zur Beförderung d. Humanität," in "Herder's Werke," hrsg. Suphan, XVII and XVIII. Berlin 1881 and 1883.
 JACOBY, D. AL XIII (1885) 273-277.

Glover and Klopstock

- BRIGGS, F. Some traces in Klopstock's poetry of Richard Glover's allusion to the marble form in his "Leonidas." Paper read by title before the MLA (Central division) Iowa City, Iowa. Dec. 1909. [198]
 For further description see PMLA XXV (1910) xlii.

Glover and Wieland

See [144].

Goldsmith and German literature

See also [935] and [936].

- †ZIEGERT, TH. Goldsmiths "Landprediger" in Deutschland. BFDH X (1894) 509-525. [199]
 †SOLLAS, HERTHA. Goldsmiths Einfluss in Deutschland im 18. Jh. Heidelberg Diss. Hdlbg. 1903; 44 pp. [200]

Goldsmith and Goethe

See also [110] and [112].

- †LEVY, SIEGMUND. Goethe u. Oliver Goldsmith. GJ VI (1885) 281-298. [201]
 †BRANDEIS, A. Goethe u. Goldsmith. Chronik d. Weimarer Goethevereins XII (1898) 9-15. [202]
 Goldsmith's "Edwin and Angelina" > Goethe's "Erwin u. Elmire."
 FERGUSON, I. Goethe and the notions "Grille" and "Wanderer" in "Werthers Leiden." MLN XVII (1902) 346-356 and 411-418. [203]
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 †SOFFÉ, EMIL. Die erlebten u. literarischen Grundlagen von Goethes "Erwin und Elmire." In "Vermischte Schriften." Brünn 1909; 154-188. Prog. Brünn 1890-1891. [204]
 Compare Brandeis [202].
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Goldsmith and Hölty

- SPRENGER, R. Zu Hölty's "Das Feuer im Walde." ZDU IV (1890) 379-380. [205]
 Influence of Goldsmith's "Deserted village."

Goldsmith and Zschokke

- †AMES, P. W. The supposed source of the "Vicar of Wakefield" and its treatment by Zschokke and Goldsmith. TRSL XIX (1898) 93-105. [206]

Gray and German literature

See also [122].

- UEBEL, OTTO. Grays Einfluss auf d. deutsche Lyrik im 18. Jh. Heidelberg Diss. Hdllbg. 1914; 43 pp. [207]
- NORTHUP, CLARK S. A bibliography of Thomas Gray, in "Cornell studies in English." New Haven 1917; 296 pp. Pp. 106-109: List of German translations of Gray's poems.
- TOYNBEE, P. MLR XIII (1918) 343-345.

Hogarth and Lichtenberg

See also [131].

- ANON. Lichtenberg and Hogarth. Foreign quarterly review XVI (1836) 279-303. [208a]

Hogarth and Herder

- RIETHMÜLLER, RICHARD. Herder und Hogarth. GAA II (1904) 185-191. [209]

Home and German esthetics

- WOHLGEMUTH, J. Henry Homes Aesthetik u. ihr Einfluss auf d. deutschen Aesthetiker. Rostock Diss. Berlin 1893; 77 pp. [210]
- NEUMANN, W. Die Bedeutung Homes für d. Aesthetik u. sein Einfluss auf d. deutschen Aesthetiker. Halle Diss. Halle 1894; 168 pp. [211]
- Lessing, Schiller, Kant.

Hooper and Bullinger

- VETTER, TH. Johannes Hooper, Bischof von Gloucester u. Worcester, u. seine Beziehungen z. Bullinger u. Zürich. Turicensia, Zürich 1891. [212]
- Cf. FRÄNKEL, L. ES XVI (1892) 412.

Hume and German thot

See also [307].

- RUTHE, B. D. Humes Bedeutung für d. deutsche Geistesleben. Deutsche Schule XV (1911-1912) 201-209. [213]

Johnson and Sturz

- RICHARDS, ALFRED E. Dr. Johnson and H. P. Sturz. MLN XXVI (1911) 176-177. [213a]

Jonson and Tieck

- WÜSTLING, FRITZ. Tiecks "William Lovell." = [301a]. [213b]
- Pp. 120-122: Ben Jonson's "The new inn">Tieck's "William Lovell" (1795).

Kirkpatrick and Wieland

- IBERSHOFF, C. H. A new English source of Wieland. JEGPh [214]
XIV (1915) 56-60.
J. Kirkpatrick "The sea piece" (London 1750) and Wieland's
"Briefe von Verstorbenen."

Lillo and German literature

- †KUNZE, A. Lillos Einfluss auf d. englische u. deutsche Litera- [215]
tur. Prog. Magdebg. 1911; 18 pp.
Little not already set forth in Sauer [104] and Eloesser [88].
GLÖDE, O. ES XLV (1912) 114-115.
- †FATH, J. Die Schicksalsidee in d. Tragödie. Leipzig Diss. [216]
München 1895; 35 pp.
- †MINOR, JACOB. Zur Geschichte d. deutschen Schicksalstragödie [217]
u. z. Grillparzers "Ahnfrau." GpJ IX (1899) 1-85.
Minor maintains that the German fate tragedy rose and developd
quite independently of English influences.
- VON WEILEN, A. "Der Kaufmann von London" auf deutschen [218]
u. französischen Bühnen. Pp. 98-104 and 220-234 in Beitr.
z. neueren Philol. Wien 1902; 501 pp.

Lillo and Goethe

- †WALZ, JOHN A. Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen" and Lillo's [219]
"History of George Barnwell." MPh III (1906) 493-505.

Locke and German thot

See [307].

Mallett and Kanzner

- SPRENGER, R. Zu einem deutschen Volksliede. ES XX (1896) [220]
148.
Mallet's "William and Margaret" and Kanzner's "Brautnacht"
(1779 ca.).

Marlowe and Goethe

- HELLER, OTTO. Goethe and Marlowe. Paper read before the [221]
MLA (Central division) Chicago. Dec. 1917.
A comparison of "Faust" and "The tragical history of Dr. Faustus."
A number of hitherto unnoticed similarities between the versions
were adduced and the critical question of direct influence of
Marlowe's tragedy upon Goethe was reopened. In the light of
the new evidence the hypothesis was advanced that, contrary
to existing scholarly opinion, Goethe was familiar with the first
dramatic version of the theme. For older literature see
Goedeke³ IV, 3; 786-788.

Marlowe and Lenz

- BLEIBTREU, K. Marlowe, Grabbe u. Lenz. Wiener Rundschau [222]
IV (1900) 24.
No influences; a comparative study of genius.

Mason and Klopstock

- WALZ, JOHN A. An English parallel to Klopstock's "Her- [223]
mannsschlacht." MLN XXI (1906) 51-54.
Mason's "Caractacus" (1759). No external evidence of influence.

Milton and German literature

See also [102] and [103].

- BRANDL, ALOIS. Zur ersten Verdeutschung von Miltons "Ver- [224]
lorenem Paradies." Anglia I (1878) 460-463.
Th. Haake (1678).
- BOLTE, JOHANNES. Die beiden ältesten Verdeutschungen von [225]
Miltons "Verlorenem Paradies." ZVL I (1888) 426-442.
Haake (1678) and Berge (1682).
- JENNY, GUSTAV K. Miltons "Verlorenes Paradies" in d. deut- [226]
schen Literatur d. 18. Jh. Leipzig Diss. St. Gallen 1890;
99 pp.
KOCH, M. ZVL IV (1891) 120-122.
KÖSTER, A. ADA XVII (1891) 259-260.
- ROBERTSON, J. G. Milton's fame on the continent. Proceed- [227]
ings of the British Acad. Vol III. London 1908; 22 pp.
Also published separately.
More about influence on France and Italy than on Germany.
BALDENSPERGER, F. RG VI (1910) 73-74.
- BYSE, FANNY. Milton on the continent. MLQ III (1900) 16-19. [228]
Treats of the effect of continental travel on Milton.
- †PIZZO, ENRICO. Miltons "Verlorenes Paradies" im deutschen [229]
Urteile d. 18. Jh. LF LIV (1914) 144 pp.
Opinions of Bodmer, Brockes, Denis, Gerstenberg, Goethe, Gott-
sched, Hagedorn, Haller, Herder, Hölty, Jacobi, Kleist,
Klinger, Klopstock, Lessing, Lichtenberg, Nicolai, Novalis,
Pyra, Schiller, Schlegel, Tieck, Wieland, Vosz, Zachariä, and
others and extent of Milton's influence.

Milton and Bodmer

See also [102], [103], and [150].

- BODMER, HANS. Die Anfänge d. zürcherischen Miltons. Stud. [230]
z. Lit. Michael Bernays gewidmet von Schülern u. Freunden.
Hambg. u. Leipzig 1893; 179-199.
- VILES, GEORGE B. Comparison of Bodmer's translation of Mil- [231]
ton's "Paradise Lost" with the original. Cornell Diss.
Leipzig 1903; 127 pp.
- SCHMITTER, J. J. J. Bodmer's Übersetzungen von Miltons [232]
"Verlorenem Paradies" 1732, 1742, 1754, 1759, 1769 sprach-
lich verglichen. Zürich Diss. Zürich 1913; 283 pp.

Milton and Goethe

- SPRENGER, R. Anklänge an Milton in Goethes "Faust." ES [233]
XVIII (1893) 304-306.

Milton and Klopstock

- BENKOWITZ, K. F. Klopstocks "Messias" ästhetisch beurtheilt [233a]
u. verglichen mit d. "Iliade," d. "Aeneide" u. d. "ver-
lohrnen Paradiese." Breslau 1797.
- MUNCKER, FRANZ. Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock. Geschichte [234]
seines Lebens u. seiner Schriften. Stuttgt. 1888; 566 pp.
2 Aufl., Stuttgt. 1893.
Pp. 117-128: Milton > Klopstock.
- HÜBLER, F. Milton u. Klopstock. Prog. Reichenberg 1893-95. [235]
NADER, E. ZÖG XLVI (1895) 665-666.
KOCH, M. ES XXVII (1900) 142-144.
- †IBERSHOFF, C. H. A neglected Klopstock-Milton parallel. [236]
MLN XXVI (1911) 264.
- †IBERSHOFF, C. H. A second note on Klopstock's indebtedness [237]
to Milton. MLN XXXII (1917) 186-187.

Milton and Lange and Pyra

- SAUER, AUGUST. Einleitung z. "Freundschaftliche Lieder von [238]
J. J. Pyra u. S. G. Lange." DLD XXII (1885) iii-xlvii.
Pp. xxxiii-xxxv: Milton's influence on the poems.

Milton and Schiller

- KRAEGER, HEINRICH. Der Byronsche Heldentypus. FDL VI [238a]
(1898) 139 pp.
Pp. 9-19: "Paradise lost" and Schiller's "Räuber." This con-
nexion is disparaged by Pizzo [229] 99.

Moore and German literature

See also [88].

- †FRITZ, GOTTLIEB. Der Spieler im deutschen Drama d. 18. Jh. [239]
Berlin Diss. Berlin 1896; 43 pp.
Maler Müller, Iffland, Kotzebue.
ROSENBAUM, R. Euph IV (1897) 607.

Moore and Schiller

- †WIHAN, JOSEF. Zu Schillers "Räubern." Beziehungen zum [240]
bürgerlichen Drama. PDS IX (1908) 91-103.
91-103.
Moore's "Gamester" > Schiller's "Räuber."

Oldham and Wernicke

See [185].

*Ossian and German literature**

See also [956].

- WAAG, E. Ossian und d. Fingal-Sage. Prog. Mannheim 1863. [241]
"Anhang," pp. 61-70: Denis, Goethe, Herder, Schlegel, Ahlwardt.
Ausgaben u. Übersetzungen.

* Anders, H. R. D. Ossian. PrJ CXXXI (1908) 1-28, is a good discussion
of the genuineness of the poems of Ossian.

Stern, L. C. Die ossianischen Heldenlieder. ZVL VIII (1895) 51-86 and
143-174 should be consulted.

- EHRMANN, E. Die bardische Lyrik im 18. Jh. Heidelberg [242]
Diss. Halle 1892; 108 pp.
SEUFFERT, B. GGA (1895) I 69-80.
K(och, M.) LClb XLIV (1893) 796-797.
LEITZMANN, A. LbIGRPh XVI (1895) 223-224.
- †TOMBO, RUDOLF. Ossian in Germany. Bibliography. General [243]
survey. Ossian's influence upon Klopstock and the bards.
CUGS vol. I, no. 2 (1901) 175 pp.
Ossian > Klopstock, Gerstenberg, Denis, Kretschmann, and others.
Bibliography of entire subject. The promised continuation of
the text: Ossian > Herder, Goethe, Schiller, storm and stress,
Göttinger Hain failed to appear. Tombo died in 1914.
GOLTHER, W. ZDPh XXXV (1903) 285-286.
- LEO, --. Ossian in Deutschland. Versuch einer Erklärung [244]
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- Ossian and Denis*
- VON HOFMANN-WELLENHOFF, P. Michael Denis; ein Beitr. z. [245]
deutsch-österreichischen Lit.-gesch. d. 18. Jh. Innsbruck 1881.
- Ossian and Gerstenberg*
- PFAU, W. Das Altnordische bei Gerstenberg. VL II (1889) [246]
161-194.
- Ossian and Goethe*
- See also [110].
- ULRICH, O. Eine bisher unbekannte Radierung Goethes. ZB [246a]
XI (1906) 283-286.
Zum "Ossian" (1773-1777).
- †HEUER, O. Eine unbekannte Ossianübersetzung Goethes. JFDH [247]
(1908) 261-273.
- RICHTER, HELENA. Was hat Goethe an Ossian gefesselt? [248]
Chronik d. Wiener Goethevereins XXV (1911-1912) 18-22.
- Ossian and Klopstock*
- See [234], and [243].
- Ossian and Kretschmann*
- KNOTHE, H. Karl Friedrich Kretschmann. Zittau 1858. [249]
HAMEL, RICHARD. Karl Friedrich Kretschmann (d. Barde [250]
Ringulf). DNL XLVII (1883) 305-311.
- Ossian and Schiller*
- †FIELITZ, WILHELM. "Hectors Abschied" u. Ossian. AL [251]
VIII (1879) 534-543.
- Ossian and Tieck*
- HEMMER, H. Die Anfänge L. Tiecks u. seiner dämonisch- [251a]
schauerlichen Dichtung. Acta Germanica VI, 3. Berlin 1910;
452 pp.

Otway and German literature

See also [851] and [957].

- FALKE, JOHANNES. Die deutschen Bearbeitungen d. "geretteten Venedig" von Otway (1682). Rostock Diss. Westerland-Sylt 1906; 62 pp. [252]

Otway and Schiller

- LOEWENBERG, J. Über Otways u. Schillers "Don Carlos." [253]
Heidelberg Diss. Lippstadt 1886; 126 pp.
- MUELLER, E. Otways, Schillers u. St. Reals "Don Carlos" [254]
Markgröningen 1898.
- SULGER-GEHING, E. Schiller u. "Das gerettete Venedig." SVL [255]
V (1905) Ergänzungsheft 358-363.
Contains also a list of German "Übersetzungen u. Bearbeitungen"
of Otway's "Venice preserved."

Percy and German literature

See also [835]ff.

- SCHMIDT, F. W. VALENTIN. Balladen u. Romanzen d. deutschen [256]
Dichter Bürger, Stolberg u. Schiller. Berlin 1827.
- †WAGENER, H. F. Das Eindringen von Percys "Reliques" in [257]
Deutschland. Heidelberg Diss. Hdlbg. 1897; 61 pp.
- †LOHRE, HEINRICH. Von Percy z. Wunderhorn. Beitr. z. Gesch. [258]
d. Volkssliedforschung in Deutschland. Pal XXII (1902)
136 pp.
"Die Aufnahme d. Reliques in Deutschland." "Die Wiedergeburt
d. deutschen Volksliedes."
- †BOYD, E. I. M. The influence of Percy's "Reliques of ancient [259]
English poetry" on German literature. MLQ VII (1904)
80-99.
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- JENNEY, F. G. Die ideelle u. formale Bedeutung d. Volkslieds [260]
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57 pp.
- NEZLER, KARL. Geschichte d. Ballade "Chevy Chase." Pal [261]
CXII (1911) 190 pp.
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Gleim.

Percy and Bürger

- GRÄTER, D. F. Über Bürgers Quellen u. ihre Benützung. Wie- [262]
land's Neuer Teutscher Merkur 1797, III, 143.
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is now discredited. See Lohre [258] 102, and E. Schmidt
[268].
- SCHLEGEL, A. WILHELM. Bürger (1800). In Schlegel's "Sämt- [263]
liche Werke" XIII Bde. Leipzig 1846. Bd. VIII 64-139.
Influence of Percy's "Reliques" on Bürger.

- GOETZINGER. Über die Quellen der Bürgerschen Gedichte. [263a]
Zürich 1831.
- HOLZHAUSEN, P. Die Ballade u. Romanze von ihrem ersten Auftreten in d. deutschen Kunstichtung bis zu ihrer Ausbildung durch Bürger. ZDPh XIV (1883) 128-193, 297-344. [264]
- BONET-MAURY, G. Bürger et les origines anglaises de la ballade littéraire en Allemagne. Paris 1889. [265]
- †BEYER, VALENTIN. Die Begründung d. ersten Ballade durch G. A. Bürger. QF XCVII (1905) 114 pp. [266]
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- EBSTEIN, E. Euph XV (1908) 410-412.
- †VON WLISLOCKI, H. Zu Bürgers "Kaiser und Abt." ZVL IV (1891) 106-112. [267]
- †SCHMIDT, ERICH. Bürgers "Lenore." In "Charakteristiken" I. Berlin 1886; 199-249. [268]
- SPRENGER, R. Zu Bürgers "Lenore." ZDU XIX (1905) 59-60. [269]
- Percy and Goethe*
- WAEZOLDT, STEPHEN. Goethes "Ballade vom vertriebenen u. zurückkehrenden Grafen" u. ihre Quelle. ZDU III (1889) 502-515. [270]
- Percy and Herder*
- WAAG, ALBERT. Über Herders Übertragung englischer Gedichte. Habilitationsschrift. Heidelberg 1892; 51 pp. [271]
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- KARSTEN, GUSTAV E. Folklore and patriotism. JEGPh VII (1907) 61-79. [272]
Phi beta kappa address at Northwestern Univ. June 1906. An extension of "Herder u. d. Volkslied." Bulletin of Wash. Univ. assn. III 101ff.
- Pope and German literature*
- See also [966].
- DEETZ, ALBRECHT. Alexander Pope. Leipzig 1876; 180 pp. [273]
BOBERTAG, F. ES I (1877) 526-530.
- BOBERTAG, F. "The rape of the lock" in Germany. ES II (1879) 217-219. [273a]
- BOBERTAG, F. "The essay on man" in Germany. ES III (1880) 77-83. [273b]
- HEINZELMANN, J. H. A bibliography of German translations of Pope in the 18th century. Bulletin of the bibliographical soc. of America IV. Chicago 1912; 3-11. [274]

- †HEINZELMANN, J. H. Pope in Germany in the 18th century. [275]
MPH X (1913) 317-364.

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- †PETZET, ERICH. Deutsche Nachahmungen d. Popeschen "Lokkenraubes." ZVL IV (1891) 409-433. [276]

- †MAACK, R. Über Popes Einfluss auf d. Idylle u. d. Lehrgedicht in Deutschland. Ein Beitr. z. vgl. Lit.-gesch. Prog. Hambg. 1895; 16 pp. [277]

Brockes, Kleist, Dusch, Hagedorn, Zernitz, Uz, Lessing, Wieland, Schiller.

- GRANER, KARL. Die Übersetzungen von Popes "Essay on Criticism" u. ihr Verhältnis zum Original. Aschaffenburg 1910. [278]

- BLEI, F. Rokoko. In "Vermischte Schriften." München 1911. [279]
Bd. III; 315 pp.

Thesis: Many faces of this period have two different aspects, a serious and a mocking one, a sympathetic and a cynical one (= Rokoko). Portraits of Bodmer, Wieland, Heinse, Pope, Sterne, Lenz, and others. Seeks to prove no literary relationships but is suggestive.

Pope and Goethe

- LEVY, SIEGMUND. Einige Parallelen zu Goethe aus Pope. GJ V (1884) 344-346. [280]

Pope and Hagedorn

See also [118].

- FRICK, A. Über Popes Einfluss auf Hagedorn. Prog. Wien 1900. [281]

Pope's influence on Hagedorn's poem "Glückseligkeit."

Pope and Haller

See [120].

Pope and Lessing

- MEYER, R. M. Quellennachweise zu Lessing. ZDA XXXI (1887) 104. [282]

Lessing's poem "Das Muster der Ehen" and Pope's "On a certain lady at court." A highly doubtful parallel.

Pope and Schiller

- SPRENGER, R. Eine Reminiscenz aus Pope bei Schiller. ES XIX (1894) 464. [283]

"Don Carlos," II, 155, and Pope's "Temple of fame."

Pope and Wieland

KOCH, MAX. Das Quellenverhältnis von Wielands "Oberon." [284]
Marburg 1880; 57 pp.=[622].

Chaucer's "The Merchant's tale" and Shakespeare's "Midsummer night's dream."

LENZ, L. Wielands Verhältnis, etc. = [142]. [285]

Prior and German literature

†WUKADINOVIC, SPIRIDION. Prior in Deutschland. Grazer Studien z. deutschen Philol. IV (1895) 71 pp. [286]

WYPLEL, L. Euph IV (1897) 338-342.

WALZEL, O. ZÖG XLVIII (1897) 895-896.

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Prior and Hagedorn

See [118].

Prior and Wieland

MINOR, J. Quellenstudien zur Literaturgeschichte d. 18. Jh. [287]
ZDPH XIX (1887) 219-240.

Prior and Wieland's "Nadine," pp. 228-229. Prior and Wieland's "Musarion" 230-232.

ASMUS, J. R. Die Quellen von Wielands "Musarion." Euph V (1898) 267-290. [288]

Chiefly Prior (pp. 267-277) and Lucian.

Richardson and German literature

See also [968].

TEN BRINK, BERNHARD. Die Roman in Brieven 1740-1840. Amsterdam 1889. [289]

†ROBERTSON, J. G. The beginning of the German novel. Westminster rev. CXLII (1894) 183-195. [290]

Richardson, Gellert, Musäus, Wieland.

FÜRST, RUDOLF. Die Vorläufer d. modernen Novelle im 18. Jh. Halle 1897; 240 pp. = [90]. [291]

LANDAU, M. Der Ahnherr d. modernen Romans. BMAZ 1903; 90-95 and 101-103. [292]

BOAS, F. S. Richardson's novels and their influence. Pp. 36-70 in "Essays and sketches by members of the English assn." Oxford (Clarendon press) 1911. [293]

Deals almost exclusively with influence on English authors.

SCHWARTZ, F. H. AB XXIII (1912) 277.

Richardson and Gellert

KRETSCHMER, ELIZ. Gellert als Romanschriftsteller. Heidelberg Diss. Breslau 1902; 53 pp. [294]

Gellert's "Leben d. schwedischen Gräfin von G." (1747) in its relation to the English, French, and contemporary German novel.

Richardson and Goethe

See also [89], [106], [107], and [110].

- †SCHMIDT, ERICH. Richardson, Rousseau u. Goethe. Ein Beitr. [295]
z. Gesch. d. Romans im 18. Jh. Jena 1875; 331 pp.
SCHMIDT, J. PrJ XXXV (1875) 482-508.
PERRY, T. S. AM XXXIX (1877) 248-249.

Richardson and Hermes

- PRUTZ, ROBERT. "Sopiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen." [296]
Prutz' Literarhist. Taschenbuch VI (1848) 353-439.
†BUCHHOLZ, JOH. J. T. Hermes' Beziehungen z. englischen [297]
Literatur. Marburg Diss. Göttingen 1911; viii + 59 pp.
Richardson chiefly; also Young, Fielding, Sterne.
†MUSKALLA, KONSTANTIN. Die Romane von Joh. Timotheus [298]
Hermes. Ein Beitr. z. Kultur- u. Lit.-gesch. d. 18. Jh.
BBL XXV (1912) 87 pp.
Chapter VI, "Stände," appeared as Breslau Diss. 1910; 33 pp.

Richardson and La Roche

See also [295].

- †RIDDERHOFF, K. Sophie von La Roche, Schülerin Richardsons [299]
u. Rousseaus. Göttingen Diss. Einbeck 1895; 109 pp.
HASSENKAMP, R. Euph IV (1897) 577-579.

Richardson and Lessing

See also [126] and [128].

- †KETTNER, G. Lessings "Emilia Galotti" u. Richardsons [300]
"Clarissa." ZDU XI (1897) 442-461.
†BLOCK, JOHN. Lessing u. d. bürgerliche Trauerspiel. ZDU [301]
XVIII (1904) 224-246 and 321-330.

Richardson and the romantic school

See [968].

Richardson and Tieck

See also [968].

- WÜSTLING, FRITZ. Tiecks "William Lovell." Ein Beitrag z. [301a]
Geistesgesch. d. 18. Jh. Bausteine z. Gesch. d. neueren
deutschen Lit. VII. Halle 1912; 192 pp.
Pp. 115-120: Richardson's "Clarissa" > Tieck's "William Lovell"
(1795).

Richardson and Wieland

See also [144].

- ETTLINGER, JOSEF. Wielands Clementina von Poretta u. ihr [302]
Vorbild. ZVL IV (1891) 434-440.
Clementina von Poretta in Richardson's "Grandison."
†LOW, CONSTANCE BRUCE. Wieland and Richardson. MLQ VII [303]
(1904) 142-148.

Rowe (Elizabeth) and German literature

- †WOLF, LOUISE. Elisabeth Rowe in Deutschland. Ein Beitr. [304]
z. Lit.-gesch. d. 18. Jh. Heidelberg Diss. Hdbg. 1910;
88 pp.
Rowe>Klopstock, Herder, Wieland.
SIEVERS, J. F. JEGPh XI (1912) 451-465.

Rowe (Nicholas) and German literature

See [144] and [969].

Shadwell and Weisze

- †RICHARDS, ALFRED E. A literary link between Shadwell and [305]
Christian Felix Weisze. PMLA XXI (1906) 808-830.
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244-245.

Shakespeare and German literature

See [400]-[735].

Shaftesbury and German literature

- ZART, G. Der Einfluss der englischen Philosophie seit Bacon [307]
auf d. deutsche Philosophie d. 18. Jh. Berlin 1881; 237 pp.
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FREUDENTHAL, J. ES VI (1883) 112-114.
WALZEL, O. F. GRM I (1909) 423-424.
POMENZY, F. Grazie u. Grazien in d. deutschen Literatur [308]
d. 18. Jh. Hambg. u. Leipzig 1900; 247 pp.
Shaftesbury>Wieland, Geszner, J. G. Jacobi.
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Introduction to all Shaftesbury literature to its date. For litera-
ture since 1909 see Weiser [313].
WALZEL, O. F. Das Prometheussymbol von Shaftesbury zu [310]
Goethe. NJKA XXV (1910) 40-75 and 133-165. Also Leip-
zig and Berlin 1910; 70 pp.
BACHERACH, A. Shaftesbury u. sein Einfluss auf d. deutsche [311]
Geistesleben. Frankfr. Ztg. Feb. 15, 1913.
GRUDZINSKI, HERBERT. Shaftesburys Einfluss, etc. = [328]. [312]
WEISER, CHRISTIAN F. Shaftesbury u. d. deutsche Geistesleben. [313]
Leipzig and Berlin 1916; 564 pp.
Pp. 554-564: Comprehensive bibliography.

Shaftesbury and Goethe

- DILTHEY, WILHELM. Aus d. Zeit d. Spinoza-Studien Goethes. [314]
Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philosophie VII (1894) 317-341.
Shaftesbury>Goethe and Herder.
WALZEL, O. F. Einleitung zu. Bd. XXXVI, Goethes Werke, [315]
Jubiläumsausgabe (1902-1907).
Pp. xxiv-lxxv deal with Shaftesbury's influence on Goethe.

BOUCKE, E. A. Goethes Weltanschauung auf historischer Grundlage. Stuttgt. 1907; 230 pp.
Bruno > Shaftesbury > Goethe > Herder.

SCHNEIDER, HERMANN. Goethes Prosahymne "Die Natur." [316a]
ASNS CXX (1907) 157-281.

WAGSCHAL, FRIEDRICH. Goethes u. Byrons Prometheusdichtungen. GRM IV (1912) 17-29.
Goethe owed to Shaftesbury only the first suggestion. Byron, contrary to contemporary opinion, owed to Goethe nothing.

Shaftesbury and Haller

†BONDI, GEORG. Das Verhältnis von Hallers philosophischen Gedichten zur Philosophie seiner Zeit. Leipzig Diss. Dresden 1891; 40 pp.

Shaftesbury's influence in "Gedanken über Vernunft," "Aberglauben u. Unglauben," "Die Falschheit menschlicher Tugenden," "Über den Ursprung d. Übels."

†JENNY, H. E. Haller als Philosoph. Bern Diss. Basel 1902; 107 pp.

Inquiries to what extent Haller thru the influence of Shaftesbury came into opposition to Leibniz. A better safeguarded discussion than Bondi's [318].

Shaftesbury and Herder

HATCH, I. C. Der Einfluss Shaftesburys auf Herder. SVL I (1901) 68-119.

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SUPHAN, BERNHARD. Aus Herders Ideenwerkstatt. DR CXXXVIII (1909) 366-379.

Schlusswort zur Ausgabe d. "Ideen zur Philosophie d. Gesch. d. Menschheit." Herders "Sämtliche Werke" Bd. XIII and XIV.

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SPRANGER, E. W. von Humboldt u. d. Humanitätsidee. Berlin 1909; 506 pp.

Shaftesbury and Lessing

REHORN, F. Über das Verhältnis Shaftesburys zu Lessings "Laokoon." BFDH III (1886-1887) 145-148.

Shaftesbury and Moritz

DESSOIR, M. Karl Philipp Moritz als Aesthetiker. Berlin Diss. Naumburg 1889; 57 pp.

Shaftesbury and Schiller

WALZEL, O. F. Einleitung z. Bd. XI (1905) d. Säkularausgabe Schillers. Pp. ix ff. and xliii ff.

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Shaftesbury and Wieland

ERMATINGER, E. Die Weltanschauung d. jungen Wieland. [326]
Frauenfeld 1907; 175 pp.

Chapter V, pp. 101-121, "Sokrates und Shaftesbury."

†ELSON, CHARLES. Wieland and Shaftesbury. CUGS 1913; [327]
143 pp.

ROBERTSON, J. G. MLR IX (1914) 424.

SCHÖNEMANN, FR. MLN XXX (1915) 261-265.

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STAMMLER, W. LChl LXV (1913) 266-267.

†GRUDZINSKI, HERBERT. Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Wieland, mit [328]
einer Einleitung über d. Einfluss Shaftesburys auf d.
deutsche Literatur bis 1760. BBL XXXIV (1913) 104 pp.

Reviews identical with those of Elson [327].

Sheridan and German literature

VINCKE, GHSBERT. Sheridans "Lästerschule" seit hundert [329]
Jahren. Neue Zeit 1879 no. 25 & ThF VI (1893) 141-148.

History of the play in Germany.

STEUER, F. Sheridans "Rivals." Entstehungsgesch. u. [330]
Beitr. z. einer deutschen Theatergesch. des Stückes. Mar-
burg Diss. Leipzig 1913; 97 pp.

Smith and Kant

ONCKEN, AUGUST. Adam Smith u. Immanuel Kant. Der Ein- [331]
klang u. d. Wechselverhältnis ihrer Lehren über Sitte, Staat
u. Wirtschaft. 1. Abt. Ethik u. Politik. Leipzig 1877;
xii + 276 pp.

A parallel; no influence shown.

Smollett and Engel

See [993].

Smollett and Goethe

See also [112].

MOSELEY, B. D. Goethe and Smollett. Notes and queries, [332]
series 8, vol. II (1892) 466.

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LEITZMANN, A. Zu Goethes Briefen. VL VI (1893) 320. [333]

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Dec. 15, 1772.

Spenser and Wieland

LENZ, L. Wielands Verhältnis, etc. = [142]. [334]

Sterne and German literature

See also [995]ff.

BAKER, THOMAS S. The influence of Laurence Sterne on Ger- [335]
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†THAYER, HARVEY W. Laurence Sterne in Germany. CUGS [336]
vol. II, no. 1 (1906) 200 pp.

BALDENSPERGER, F. RC LXI (1906) 36.

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BAKER, T. S. MLN XXII (1907) 89-94.

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Sterne and Brentano

See [345].

Sterne and Goethe

See also [107], [110], and [112].

APPELL, JOH. WILHELM. *Werther u. seine Zeit*. Leipzig 1855. [337]
4. Aufl. Oldenburg 1896; 367 pp.

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†HÉDOUIN, ALFRED. *Goethe plagiaire de Sterne*. In “*Le Monde maçonique*,” July 1863, and in his “*Goethe, sa vie et ses oeuvres*.” Paris 1866; 291–298. [338]

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VON LOEPER, G. BLU 1869; 222–223.

†SPRINGER, ROBT. *Ist Goethe ein Plagiarius Lorenz Sterne's?* In [339]
“*Essays z. Kritik u. z. Goethe-Literatur*.” *Minden i. W.*
1885; 330–336.

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(1880) 438–439.

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CZERNY, JOH. *Goethe u. Sterne*. *Euph XVI* (1909) 512. [341]
Parallel passages: *Faust I*, 72 and a passage in Sterne's “*Koran*.”

†WUNDT, M. *Gehören die “Betrachtungen im Sinne d. Wanderer” u. “Aus Makariens Archiv” z. d. “Wanderjahre?”* [342]
“*Anhang*” (pp. 493–507) in Wundt's “*Goethes Wilhelm Meister*.” Berlin u. Leipzig 1913; 509 pp.

WUNDT, M. *Addenda to above*. GRM VII (1915) 177–184.

†PINGER, W. R. R. *Laurence Sterne and Goethe*. A forthcoming [342a]
essay in UCPMPH (Semi-centennial publications)
1919(?) ca. 50 pp.

Sterne and Hippel

See [346].

Sterne and Jacobi

LONGO, J. *Laurence Sterne u. Joh. Georg Jacobi*. *Prog.* [343]
Krems. Wien 1898.

†RANSOHOFF, GEORG. *Joh. Jacobis Jugendwerke*. Berlin Diss. [344]
Berlin 1892; 52 pp.

Sterne and Jean Paul (Richter) and Brentano

†KERR, ALFRED. “*Godwi*” (1800). Ein Kapitel deutscher [345]
Romantik. Berlin 1898; 136 pp.

Pp. 72–79: *Sterne > Brentano*.

WALZEL, O. ADA XXV (1899) 305–318.

Sterne and Hippel and Jean Paul Richter

- †CZERNY, JOH. Sterne, Hippel u. Jean Paul. Ein Beitr. z. [346]
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XXVII (1904) vii + 86 pp.
WERNER, R. M. DLZ XXV (1904) 2868-2869.
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FIRMERY, J. RG IV (1908) 58-59.

Sterne and Schummel

- †KAWERAU, WALDEMAR. Johann Gottlieb Schummel in "Cultur- [347]
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burgs Vergangenheit) Halle 1886; 141-177.
Pp. 148-163: Sterne in Germany.

Sterne and Thümmel

- †KYRIELEIS, RICHARD. Moritz August v. Thümmels Roman [348]
"Reise in d. mittäglichen Provinzen von Frankreich."
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†THAYER, HARVEY W. Thümmels "Reise" (1798-1805) and [349]
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Sterne and Wieland

- †BEHMER, K. A. Laurence Sterne u. Chr. M. Wieland. FNL [350]
IX (1899) and Diss. München 1899; 62 pp.
BOBERTAG, F. ZVL XIV (1901) 387-388.
†BAUER, FRIEDRICH. Über d. Einflusz Laurence Sternes auf Chr. [351]
M. Wieland. Prog. Karlsbad 1898-1899; 32 pp.
MAGER, A. Wielands "Nachlasz d. Diogenes von Sinope" u. [352]
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"Das englische Vorbild" is Yorick in "Tristram Shandy."

Swift and German literature

- †PHILIPPOVIC, VERA. Swift in Deutschland. Zürich Diss. [353]
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Swift and Goethe

- METZ, A. Goethes "Stella." PrJ CXXVI (1906) 52-61. [353a]

Swift and Lessing

- †CARO, JAKOB. Lessing u. Swift. Studie über "Nathan d. [354]
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wider d. Unkritik" (1896). No. 4 in "Kleine Schriften" Erste
Reihe, Heidelberg 1896; 291-304.

Swift and Lichtenberg

- †MEYER, RICHARD M. Jonathan Swift and G. Ch. Lichtenberg. [355]
Zwei Satiriker d. 18. Jh. Berlin 1886; 84 pp.
Two parallel essays; passing references only to influence.

Swift and Rabener

AIGNER, K. G. W. Rabeners Verhältnis zu Swift. Prog. Pola [356]
1905; 20 pp.

Swift and Wieland

LENZ, L. Wielands Verhältnis, etc. = [142]. [357]

Thomson and German literature

†GJERSET, KNUT. Der Einfluss von James Thomsons "Jahreszeiten" (1726-1730) auf d. deutsche Literatur d. 18. Jh. Heidelberg Diss. Hdlbg. 1898; 76 pp. [358]

IBERSHOFF, C. H. A German translation of passages in Thomson's "Seasons." MLN XXVI (1911) 106-109. [359]

Thomson and Broekes

†STEWART, M. C. B. H. Broekes' rendering of Thomson's "Seasons" and later German translations. JEGPh X (1911) 20-41, 197-213, 378-414. [360]

Thomson and Geszner

RITTER, OTTO. Geszner u. Thomson. ASNS CXI (1903) 170. [361]

Thomson and Hagedorn

See [118].

Thomson and Ew. Chr. von Kleist

SAUER, A. Einleitung z. "Kleists Werke" (III Bde.). Berlin 1881-1883. Bd. I, pp. xi-cvi. [361a]

Thomson and Klopstock

†STEWART, M. C. Traces of Thomson's "Seasons" in Klopstock's earlier works. JEGPh VI (1907) 395-411. [362]

Similarity of themes: God, patriotism, religion, friendship, love. Parallel passages.

Thomson and Schiller

†WALZ, JOHN A. Schiller's "Spaziergang" and Thomson's "Seasons." MLN XXI (1906) 117-120. [363]

Internal and external evidence of influence.

Wolcot and Germany

RITTER, O. Dr. Wolcot (Peter Pindar) in Deutschland. ASNS [363a]
CVII (1901) 378-399.

Wolcot and Bürger

RITTER, O. Dr. Wolcot und G. A. Bürger. ASNS XVII (1901) [363b]
397-398.

Wycherley and Weisze

HARTMANN, H. William Wycherley u. Chr. Felix Weisze. [364]
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Wien (1894) 406-420.

Young and German literature

See also [123], [145], [597], and [598].

THOMAS, W. Le poète Edward Young. Paris 1901; 663 pp. [364a]

- †KIND, JOHN L. Edward Young in Germany. Historical surveys, influence upon German literature, bibliography. [365]
CUGS vol. II no. 3 (1906) 186 pp.
RÜHL, E. DLZ XXVIII (1907) 1250-1252.
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See also HULME in MLN XXXII (1917) 96-109.
- †STEINKE, M. V. Edward Young's "Conjectures on original composition" in England and Germany. A study in literary relations. Univ. of Illinois diss. and N. Y. 1917; 127 pp. [366]
KAUFMAN, J. P. JEGPh XVII (1918) 298-304.
B(RIGHT), J. W. MLN XXXIII (1918) 444-447.
- EBERT, JOH. A. Dr. Eduard Youngs "Klagen oder Nachtgedanken über Leben, Tod, und Unsterblichkeit." V Bde. Braunschweig 1760-1771. [367]
This edition contains in the notes parallel passages from German poets later than Young.
- BARNSTORFF, JOH. Youngs "Nachtgedanken" u. ihr Einfluss auf d. deutsche Literatur. Bamg. 1895; 87 pp. [368]
WUKADINOVIC, S. Euph V (1898) 137-144.
- Young and Brawe*
See also [88], [104], and [365].
MINOR, JAKOB. Joachim Wilhelm von Brawe. Einleitung z. Brawes "Brutus." DNL LXXII (no date) 203-209. [368a]
- Young and Creuz*
HARTMANN, CARL. Friedrich Carl Casimir, Freiherr von Creuz u. seine Dichtungen. Leipzig Diss. Heidlbg. 1890; 88 pp. [369]
Pp. 31-32 and 56-71: Young>Creuz.
BION, UDO. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Lebens u. d. Schriften d. Dichters Fr. C. Casimir von Creuz. München Diss. Meiningen 1894; 48 pp. [370]
Pp. 14-21: Young>Creuz.
SCHLÖSSER, R. Euph III (1896) 514-518.
- Young and Goethe*
See also [110].
WERNER, RICHARD M. Ein apokryphes Gedicht Goethes. AL XIV (1886) 185-188. [371]
"Influence of Young on "Das Alter," a poem incorrectly attributed to Goethe.
- Young and Tschärner*
TOBLER, GUSTAV. Vincenz Bernhard Tschärner (1728-1778). Neujahrsblatt d. literar. Gesellschaft. Berne 1896. [372]
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PART II

SHAKESPEARE IN GERMANY

a. General works

Bibliographical works

- DIE DEUTSCHE SHAKESPEARE-GESELLSCHAFT. Shakespeare-Bibliographien. ShJ I-LI (1865-1915). [400]
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- UNFLAD, L. Die Shakespeare-Literatur in Deutschland. 1762-1879. München 1880. [401]
 "Ein recht verunglückter Versuch." ShJ XVI (1881) 394.
- KÖHLER, R. Gesamtkatalog d. Bibliothek d. deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. In ShJ (Ergänzungsheft) XVII (1882) 55-82. [402]
- KOCH, MAX. Shakespeare in Deutschland. Bibliographische Anm. pp. 303-306 in "Shakespeare." Stuttg. 1885. [403]
- JAGGARD, WILLIAM. Shakespeare bibliography. A dictionary of every known issue of the writings of our national poet and of recorded opinions thereon in the English language, etc. Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare press, 1911; xxiv + 729 pp. New and cheaper edition. Stratford-on-Avon 1914; 754 pp. [404]
 NORTHUP, C. JEGPh XI (1911) 218-228.
 For list of other reviews see p. 218 of Northup's review.
- GRABBE, CHRISTIAN DIETRICH. Über die Shakespearomanie. (1827). In "Sämtliche Werke," (ed. Grisebach), Berlin 1902; I, 437-468. [404a]

Shakespeare in Germany—general works

(i.e., works covering more than one century.)

- †HEINE, H. Einleitung zu "Shakespeares Mädchen u. Frauen" (1839) in "Heines sämtliche Werke" hrsg. O. Walzel. Leipzig 1910-1914; VIII 170-180. [405]
- VISCHER, FR. TH. Shakespeare in seinem Verhältnis z. deutschen Poesie, insbesondere z. politischen. Prutz' Literarhist. Taschenbuch II (1844) 73-131. [406]
- THOMS, W. J. Shakespeare in Germany. In "Three notelets on Shakespeare," London 1865. Reprinted from "The Athenaeum," August 25, 1849, pp. 862-863. [406a]
- RÜMELIN, G. Shakespeare-Studien. Stuttg. 1862. 2. Aufl. Stuttg. 1874; xiv + 315 pp. [407]
 Pp. 225-315: "Der deutsche Shakespeare-Kultus."
- LEMCKE, L. B. Vortrag über Shakespeare in seinem Verhältnis z. deutschen Poesie. Leipzig 1864. [408]

- HUMBERT, C. Molière, Shakespeare u. d. deutsche Kritik. [409]
Leipzig 1869; 510 pp.
Discussion of the question why Shakespeare, unjustly to the author's mind, has been deemed by the German critics a greater creator of comedies than Molière.
- HENSE, C. C. Deutsche Dichter in ihrem Verhältnis z. Shake- [410]
speare. ShJ V (1870) 107-147 and VI (1871) 83-128.
Lenz, Klinger, Schiller, Lessing, Goethe, Kleist, Wieland, Tieck, Eichendorff. Cf. M. KOCH in ES IX (1886) 78-84.
- STERN, ALFRED. Über Shakespeare in Deutschland. GGA 1872; [411]
650ff.
Review of Genée [427] with new data.
- BENEDIX, RODERICH. Die Shakespearomanie. Zur Abwehr. [412]
Stuttgt. 1873; iv + 446 pp.
- HAUFFEN, ADOLF. Shakespeare in Deutschland. Prag 1893; [413]
26 pp.
P(ROESCHOLDT, L.) ShJ XXIX-XXX (1894) 309-310.
- VISCHER, FR. TH. Shakespeare-Vorträge. Stuttgt. 1899; 6 [414]
Bde.
Vol. I, pp. 190-210 treats of Shakespeare in Germany.
- WOLFF, EUGEN. Von Shakespeare z. Zola. Zur Entwicklungs- [415]
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vii + 196 pp.
Treats especially of Shakespeare's influence on the classic dramatists and on Kleist.
- †GUNDOLF, FRIEDRICH. Shakespeare u. d. deutsche Geist. Ber- [416]
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BIEBER, H. JbL XXII (1911) 790-792.
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WALZEL, O. ShJ XLVIII (1912) 259-274.
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- BRANDL, ALOIS. Shakespeare and Germany. 3rd annual Shake- [417]
speare lecture of the British Acad. Oxford press, N. Y. and
London 1913; 15 pp.
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- HAUPTMANN, GERHART. Deutschland u. Shakespeare. ShJ LI [418]
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- SACHS, —. Shakespeares Gedichte. ShJ XXV (1890) 132-184. [419]
Lists also the translations.
- LEO, F. A. Geflügelte Worte u. volkstümlich gewordene [419a]
Aussprüche aus Shakespeares dramatischen Werken. ShJ
XXVII (1892) 4-107 and 311-314.
Some of these passages are long, others are lacking in general applicability. It is difficult to believe they have become genuinely "volkstümlich."

- VINCKE, GIBBERT. Zur Geschichte d. deutschen Shakespeare-Bearbeitung. ShJ XVII (1882) 82-99 and ThF VI (1893) 87-106. [420]
- VINCKE, GIBBERT. Zur Geschichte d. deutschen Shakespeare-Übersetzung. ShJ XVI (1881) 254-271 and ThF VI (1893) 64-87. [421]
 Wieland, Eschenburg, Schlegel, Tieck, Vosz, etc.
- VINCKE, GIBBERT. Gesammelte Aufsätze z. Bühnengeschichte. ThF VI (1893) viii + 254 pp. [422]
 Includes his essays in the ShJ and a few others.
- HERFORD, C. H. The German contribution to Shakespeare criticism. In "The book of homage to Shakespeare" (ed. I Gollancz) Oxford, University press, 1916; 231-235. [422a]

Shakespeare and German music

- SCHAEFER, ALBERT. Historisches u. systematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke z. d. Dramen Schillers, Goethes, Shakespeares, Kleists u. Körners usw. Leipzig 1886; viii + 192 pp. [423]
 KOCH, M. ZVL I (1887) 109-111.
- FRIEDLÄNDER, MAX. Shakespeares Werke in d. Musik. Versuch einer Zusammenstellung. ShJ XXXVII (1901) 85-123. [424]

Shakespeare and Switzerland

- VETTER, TH. Shakespeare u. d. deutsche Schweiz. ShJ XLVIII (1912) 21-36. [425]
 Bodmer, Haller, Bräker, Keller, Meyer.

Shakespeare's dramas in Germany—general works

- (i.e., works covering more than one century.)
 See also [436]ff., [483]ff., and [651]ff.
- ULRICI, HERMANN. Shakespeares dramatische Kunst. Halle 1839. 3 Aufl. Halle 1876. [426]
 In the third volume the author discusses "Die Geschichte d. Shakespeareschen Dramas in Deutschland."
- ULRICI, H. Shakespeare's dramatic art. Translated from the 3rd ed. of the German by L. Dora Schmitz. London, Bell, (Bohn's classical library) 1906-08, 2 vols. [426a]
- GENÉE, RUDOLF. Geschichte d. Shakespeareschen Dramen in Deutschland. Leipzig 1870; 504 pp. [427]
 Gives a list of "Übersetzungen und Übertragungen" up to 1867. From 1865 on such works are listed in the ShJ.
- STERNE, A. GGA 1872; 650ff.
- LUDWIG, A. ShJ LI (1915) 209-211. (An estimate of its present day worth.)
- JACOBI, J. Das deutsche Nationaldrama im Hinblick auf d. englische Nationaldrama z. Shakespeares Zeit. ASNS LVIII (1877). [428]
 = Betz [1946]. The citation is erroneous but I have not been able to rectify it.

“*Hamlet*” on the German stage

For the stage history of other plays see [449]ff., [485]ff., and [651]ff. For “*Hamlet*” see also [436]ff., [483]ff., and [652]ff.

- VON WEILEN, A. “*Hamlet*” auf d. deutschen Bühne bis z. Gegenwart. Schriften d. deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft III. Berlin 1908; ix + 200 pp. [429]
 KILIAN, E. ShJ XLV (1909) 347-350.
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- WINDS, ADOLF. “*Hamlet*” auf d. deutschen Bühne bis z. Gegenwart. Schriften d. Gesellschaft für Theatergesch. Bd. XII. Berlin 1909; 234 pp. [430]
 KILIAN, E. ShJ XLVI (1910) 292-295.
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- DAFFIS, HANS. “*Hamlet*” auf d. deutschen Bühne bis z. Gegenwart. LF L (1912) x + 154 pp. [431]
 BRANDL, A. ASNS CXXVIII (1912) 454.
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- FRENZEL, K. Die Darsteller d. *Hamlet*. ShJ XVI (1881) 324-349. [432]
- BOLTE, J. “*Hamlet*” als deutsches Puppenspiel. ShJ XXXVIII (1893) 157-176 and 362. [433]
 A version of 1855 that has its origin in the Wieland translation.

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b. The seventeenth century and before

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See also [67].

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- CREIZENACH, W. (The same essentially) in DNL XXIII (1889) 127-145. [437]
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- CREIZENACH, W. Hamletfragen. ShJ XLII (1906) 76-86. [446a]

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- BOLTE, JOH. Jacob Rosenfelds "Moschus," eine Parallele zum "Kaufmann von Venedig." ShJ XXI (1886) 187-211 and XXII (1887) 265-266. [451]
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- BURG, F. Über d. Entwicklung d. "Peter Squenz"-Stoffes bis Gryphius. ZDA XXV (1881) 130-170. [454]
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Cohn [28] 310ff. with Shakespeare’s. Meiszner [32] and [33]
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1604 was a version of Shakespeare’s. Wolff thinks it was the
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- BERNAYS, M. Ein kleiner Nachtrag z. Bürgers Werken. AL I [493]
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- EBSTEIN, ERICH. Die Hexenszenen aus Bürgers Macbeth-Über- [495]
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- †CHUBB, E. W. The influence of Shakespeare on Goethe. *Poet Lore XVI* (1905) 65-76. [513]
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- Goethe and Shakespeare's historical dramas*
- ALFORD, R. G. Shakespeare in two versions of "Götz von Berlichingen." *PEGS V* (1890) 98-109. [516]
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- KILIAN, EUGEN. Eine neue Bühnenbearbeitung von "König Heinrich VI." München 1894. ShJ XXXII (1896) 212-234. [657]
- VON GLEICHEN-RUSZWURM, —. Shakespeares Königsdramen u. [658]
d. moderne Bühne. Bühne u. Welt VI (1904) 25-31.
- V(INCKE), G(ISBERT). Eine ältere deutsche Bearbeitung von [659]
Shakespeares "König Johann." ShJ XIII (1878) 315-317.
"Arthur Prinz von England" in "Neue Schauspiele aufgeführt auf
d. National-Theater," Altona 1801.

"King Lear"

- BOLIN, W. Zur Bühnenbearbeitung d. König Lear. ShJ XX [660]
(1885) 131-148.
Oechelhäuser 1871. Prossart 1875. Devrient 1875. Köchy 1879.

"Macbeth"

- GENÉE, RUDOLF. Antiquarisches u. etwas Shakespeare. SVZ [661]
1907; 367-368.
Treats of some Shakespeare translations and adaptations, especially
of "Macbeth."

"Merchant of Venice"

See [722].

"Merry wives of Windsor"

- HAGEN, A. Shakespeare in Königsberg. ShJ XV (1880) 325- [661a]
338. = [464a].

"Midsummer night's dream"

See [619] and [731].

"Othello"

See [722].

"Romeo and Juliet"

See [719].

"Taming of the shrew"

See also [462], [465], [586], [675a], and [676].

- WINDS, ADOLF. Shakespeares "Bezähmte Widerspenstige" [662]
u. ihre deutschen Bearbeitungen. Bühne u. Welt V (1903)
755-764. = [435a].

German authors and Shakespeare

The German authors follow in alphabetical order; the entries there-
under in chronological order.

Anzengruber and Shakespeare

- WOLFING, J. E. Anzengruber u. Shakespeare. ZDU XVIII [663]
(1904) 65.
"Der Meineidbauer," II, 3 and "Hamlet," II, 2.

Baudissin and Shakespeare

- FREYTAG, GUSTAV. Baudissins Shakespeare-Übersetzung u. d. [664]
Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. Im neuen Reich 1880 no. 24 and
Freytags gesammelte Werke XVI, Leipzig 1887; 364-370.

Bismarck and Shakespeare

- BÖHTLINGK, ARTHUR. Bismarck u. Shakespeare. Stuttgt. and [665]
Berlin 1908; viii + 148 pp.
FÖRSTER, M. ShJ XLV (1909) 408.
LÖSCHHORN, K. ZDU XXIII (1909) 805.
FRÄNKEL, L. LE XII (1909) 413-414.
LÖSCHHORN, KARL. Bismarcks Zitatenschatz aus Shakespeare. [666]
ZDU XXIII (1909) 526-527.
GRABAU, C. ShJ XLVI (1910) 246-247.

Bitzium and Shakespeare

- LUDWIG, OTTO. Jeremias Gotthelf u. Shakespeare. In "Otto [667]
Ludwigs gesammelte Schriften" (ed. A. Stern). Leipzig
1891; Bd. VI 207-208.

Börne and Shakespeare

- LEO, F. A. Shakespeare u. Börne. ShJ XXXIII (1897) 253-257. [668]

Bulthaupt and Shakespeare

- CONRAD, H. Shakespeares u. Bulthaupts "Timon." ShJ XXIX [669]
(1894) 110-147.

Dingelstedt and Shakespeare

- ROENNEKE, RUDOLF. Franz Dingelstedts Wirksamkeit am [670]
Weimarer Hoftheater. Ein Beitr. z. Theatergesch. d. 19.
Jh. Greifswald Diss. Greifswald 1912; 233 pp.
STAHL, E. L. LCB I LXIII (1912) 1388-1389.
STAHL, E. L. ShJ L (1914) 124-125.

Eichendorff and Shakespeare

See [410].

Fontane and Shakespeare

- CONRAD, H. Fontane u. Shakespeare. LE II (1899) 15-18. [671]

Gotthelf and Shakespeare

See Bitzium and Shakespeare [667].

Grabbe and Shakespeare

- BARTMANN, HERMANN. Grabbes Verhältnis zu Shakespeare. [672]
Diss. München 1908; 50 pp.
See ShJ XXXVI (1900) 416.

- †HOCH, H. L. Shakespeare's influence on Grabbe. Diss. Univ. [673]
of Pennsylvania 1911. Philadelphia? 1911? 75 pp.

Grillparzer and Shakespeare

- BOLIN, W. Grillparzers Shakespeare-Studien. ShJ XVIII [674]
(1883) 104-127.

- †GROSZ, EDGAR. Grillparzers Verhältnis zu Shakespeare. ShJ [674a]
LI (1915) 1-34.

ZUCKER, A. E. MLN XXXI (1916) 396-398.

Hauptmann and Shakespeare

- BRAUN, H. Grillparzers Verhältnis zu Shakespeare. München [675]
Diss. Nürnberg 1913.
- TARDEL, HERMANN. Gerhart Hauptmanns "Schluck und Jau" [675a]
und Verwandtes. SVL II (1902) 184-202.
Shakespeare chiefly; also Holberg and (pp. 199-201) "Ein
Analogon" (Mark Twain's "The Prince and the pauper").
- BECKMANN, J. H. Hauptmann u. Shakespeare. Poet Lore [676]
XXIII (1912) 56-63.
"Schluck u. Jau" and "Taming of the shrew."

Hebbel and Shakespeare

See also [682].

- †ALBERTS, W. Hebbels Stellung z. Shakespeare. FNL XXXII [677]
(1908) 78 pp.
PETSCH, R. ShJ XLV (1909) 356-357.
WERNER, R. M. DLZ XXIX (1908) 2565.
ECKELMANN, E. O. JEGPh VII (1908) 171.
BRANDL, A. ASNS CXXI (1908) 471.
ZEISS, K. LE XII (1909) 99-101.
BÖHME, R. ZDU XXIV (1910) 271-272.
- KELLER, W. Eine Bearbeitung d. "Julius Cäsar" von Fr. [678]
Hebbel. ShJ XXXIX (1903) 247-249.
- WERNER, R. M. Hebbels Theaterbearbeitung von Shakespeares [679]
"Julius Cäsar." Nach ungedrucktem Material. ZÖG
LVIII (1907) 385-399.

Heine and Shakespeare

- †SCHALLES, E. A. Heines Verhältnis z. Shakespeare, mit einem [680]
Anhang über Byron. Diss. Berlin 1904; 69 pp.
PETSCH, R. ShJ XLI (1905) 260-262.
- STRECKER, K. Heine und Shakespeare. Tägliche Rundschau [680a]
1906, Unterh.-Beilage no. 40.
- VON RÜDIGER, GERTRUDE. Die Zitate in "Shakespeares Mädchen [681]
u. Frauen" von Heine. Euph XIX (1912) 290-297.

Hofmannsthal and Shakespeare

- ANWAND, O. Dichtung d. Hasses. Die Post, Berlin 1904, [682]
Sonntagsbeilage 6.
Shakespeare's "Hamlet," Hebbel's "Nibelungen" and Hofmanns-
thal's "Elektra."

Holtei and Shakespeare

- WEHL, F. Shakespeares "Komödie d. Irrungen" in Holteis [683]
Bearbeitung. Europa 1849, no. 49.

Hegel and Shakespeare

- LUDWIG, OTTO. Hegel gegen Shakespeare. In O. Ludwig's [683a]
"Gesammelte Schriften" (ed. Stern) 1891; Bd. V 181-188.

Herwegh and Shakespeare

- KILIAN, WERNER. Herwegh als Übersetzer. BBL XLIII [684]
(1914) 112 pp.
Part III, pp. 81-108: "Die Übersetzung Shakespearescher
Dramen."

Immermann and Shakespeare

- VINCKE, GISEBERT. Immermanns Einrichtung d. "Hamlet." [685]
ShJ XXI (1886) 175-187
- VINCKE, GISEBERT. Karl Immermanns Shakespeare-Einrich- [686]
tungen II. ShJ XXII (1887) 172-188.
"König Johann," "König Heinrich IV. Teil 2," "Coriolan,"
"Julius Cäsar."
- FELLNER, RICHARD. Karl Immermann als Dramaturg. Hamburg [687]
and Leipzig 1896.
Pp. 151-203: Shakespeare and Immermann.
- WITTSACK, RICHARD. Karl Leberecht Immermann d. Dra- [688]
maturg. Ein Beitr. z. Theatergesch. d. 19. Jh. Greifswald
Diss. Berlin 1914; xiv + 130 pp.
STAHL, E. L. ShJ LI (1915) 274-277.

Kleist and Shakespeare

- See also [410].
- WOLFF, EUG. Shakespeares Einflusz auf Heinrich von Kleist. [689]
Frankfr. Ztg. 27. u. 28. Sept. 1901.
DIBELIUS, W. ShJ XXXVIII (1902) 331.
- FRIES, A. Stilistische u. vergleichende Forschungen z. Hein- [690]
rich von Kleist mit Proben angewandter Aesthetik. BBGRPh
XVII (1906) 108 pp.
Pp. 2 and 3: Numerous parallel passages, Shakespeare and Kleist.
Cf. Fries in SVL IV (1904) 236.
- FISCHER, OTTOKAR. Mimische Studien zu Heinrich von Kleist. [691]
1. Heinrich von Kleist u. Shakespeares "Macbeth." Euph
XV (1908) 488-503.

Keller and Shakespeare

- See also [425].
- LUDWIG, OTTO. Gottfried Kellers "Romeo u. Julia auf d. [692]
Dorfe." In "Otto Ludwigs gesammelte Schriften" (ed. A.
Stern) Leipzig 1891; Bd. VI 49-51.

Kruse and Shakespeare

- PALM, H. Shakespeares "Julius Caesar" u. Kruses "Brutus." [693]
ASNS LVIII (1877) 23-42.
"Brutus," Trauerspiel von Heinrich Kruse, Leipzig 1874.

Laube and Shakespeare

- VON WEILEN, A. Laube und Shakespeare. ShJ XLIII (1907) [693a]
98-138.

Liliencron and Shakespeare

WETZ, W. Rochus von Liliencron über Hamlet. BMAZ 1904; [694]
196-197.

A review of Liliencron's Novelle "die siebente Todsünde," Leipzig
1903, which treats of Shakespeare and "Hamlet."

Ludwig and Shakespeare

†SCHERER, W. Otto Ludwigs "Shakespeare-Studien." In [695]
"Vorträge u. Aufsätze zur Geschichte d. geistigen Lebens
in Deutschland u. Oesterreich." Berlin 1874; 389-397.

†MEYER, R. M. Otto Ludwigs Shakespearestudium. ShJ XXXVII [696]
(1901) 59-85.

†ADAMS, KURT. Otto Ludwigs Theorie d. Dramas. Mit einem [697]
Anhang: Versuch einer kritischen Würdigung. Greifswald
Diss. Greifswald 1912; 106 pp.

In the "Versuch" the author takes issue with Meyer's interpreta-
tion of Ludwig's attitude toward Shakespeare. Cf. [696].

Meiningen (Duke of) and Shakespeare

KLAAR, ALFRED. Herzog Georg von Meiningen. ShJ LI (1915) [698]
193-204.

Meyer, C. F. and Shakespeare

KRAEGER, H. Shakespeare-Verse auf d. Wanderung in Conrad [699]
Ferd. Meyers Gedichten. ES XXVIII (1900) 153-159.

Nicolai and Shakespeare

KRUSE, G. R. Shakespeare u. Otto Nicolai. ShJ XLVI (1910) [700]
84-91.

Composer of "Merry wives of Windsor," an operetta (1894).

Nietzsche and Shakespeare

WITTE, E. Der Übermensch Nietzsches u. d. tragischen Helden [701]
Shakespeares. Neuphilol. Blätter XII (?) 404-409.

ECKERTZ, ERICH. "Hamlet" u. Nietzsches "Zarathustra." [702]
Münchener neueste Nachrichten 1909, no. 327.

Platen and Shakespeare

LEITZMANN, A. Shakespeare in Platens Tagebüchern. ShJ [703]
XXXVII (1901) 216-230.

KALLENBACH, HELENE. Platens Beziehungen z. Shakespeare. [704]
SVL VIII (1908) 449-469.

KALLENBACH, H. AND SCHLÖSSER, R. Shakespearsche Spuren [705]
in Platens Sonetten. SVL IX (1909) 360-362.

Reinhardt and Shakespeare

KAHANE, ARTHUR. Max Reinhardts Shakespeare-Zyklus im [706]
Deutschen Theater z. Berlin. ShJ L (1914) 106-120.

Schlegel, A. W., and Shakespeare

See also [421] and [479].

- GOETHE, J. W. Shakespeare u. kein Ende. 1813ff. Weimar [707]
Ausg. I 41, 1; 52-71.
The second part of this essay "Shakespeare verglichen mit d. Alten u. d. Neuesten," is directed against the romanticists, tho none of the latter are mentioned by name.
- BERNAYS, M. Der Schlegel-Tiecksche Shakespeare. ShJ I [708]
(1865) 396-405.
- BERNAYS, M. Zur Entstehungsgesch. d. Schlegelschen Shakespeare. [709]
Leipzig 1872; 52 pp.
H. W. ShJ VIII (1873) 348-353.
- GENÉE, R. Studien z. Schlegels Shakespeare-Übersetzung nach [710]
d. Handschriften A. W. Schlegels. AL X (1880) 236-262.
- BERNAYS, M. Vor- u. Nachwort z. neuen Abdruck d. Schlegel- [711]
Tieckschen Shakespeare. PrJ LXVIII (1891) 524-569.
- SCHÜDDEKOPF, KARL, AND WALZEL, OSKAR (editors). Goethe u. [712]
d. Romantik. Briefe mit Erläuterungen. I Teil. Schriften
d. Goethe-Gesellschaft Bd. XIII. Weimar 1898; xcv+382 pp.
Goethe's letters showing his interest in the Schlegel-Tieck trans-
lation. Petsch's review contains the important passages.
PETSCH, R. ShJ XXXVI (1900) 316-320.
- WETZ, W. Zur Beurteilung d. sogenannten Schlegel-Tieckschen [713]
Shakespeare-Übersetzung. ES XXVIII (1900) 321-365.
- WETZ, W. Schlegel-Tieck. Die Zukunft 1902; 222-238. [713a]
- BRANDL, A. Ludwig Fulda, P. Heyse u. Ad. Wilbrandt über d. [714]
Schlegel-Tiecksche Shakespeare-Übersetzung. ShJ XXXVII
(1901) xxvii-lv.
- DIBELIUS, W. Schlegel-Tieck. ShJ XXXVIII (1902) 331-332. [715]
Review of criticisms of the Shakespeare-Gesellschaft for under-
taking a revision of the Schlegel-Tieck translation.
- GENÉE, RUDOLF. A. W. Schlegel u. Shakespeare; ein Beitrag [716]
z. Würdigung d. Schlegelschen Übersetzungen. Berlin 1903;
43 pp.
KELLER, W. ShJ XL (1904) 283-284.
WALZEL, O. Euph XV (1908) 267-268.
- VON WURZBACH, W. Zur Revision des deutschen Shakespeare- [716a]
Textes. Oesterr. Rundschau VII (1906) 91-107.
- WETZ, W. Schlegel-Tieck. Die Zukunft LVI (1906) 207-216. [716b]
- †CONRAD, H. Unehthheiten in d. ersten Ausgabe d. Schlegel- [717]
schen Shakespeare-Übersetzung (1797-1801) nachgewiesen
aus seinen Manuskripten. Berlin 1912; 93 pp. Abdruck
aus d. Zs. für franz. u. engl. Unterricht 1916, Heft 4-6.
Anhang: Karolinens Textentstellungen im 4. u. 5. Akt. d.
"Kaufmanns von Venedig." Abdruck aus d. "Deutschen
Revue" XXXVIII (1911) 241-252.
- GRABAU, C. ShJ XLVIII (1912) 258 and ShJ XLIX (1913) 201.
WOLFF, M. ES XLVII (1914) 264-265.

- ASZMANN, BRUNO. Studien z. A. W. Schlegelschen Shakespeare-Übersetzung. Die Wortspiele. Prog. Neustadt. Dresden 1906. [718]
- HOLTERMANN, K. Vergleichung d. Schlegelschen u. Voszschen Übersetzung von Shakespeares "Romeo u. Juliet." Prog. Münster 1892; 30 pp. [719]
 LANGE, P. AB III (1893) 305.
 KOCH, M. ES XVIII (1893) 244-246.
- HORN, ELLA. Zur Geschichte d. ersten Aufführung von Schlegels Hamlet-Übersetzung auf d. königlichen Nationaltheater z. Berlin (15. Okt. 1799). ShJ LI (1915) 34-52. [720]
- Schopenhauer and Shakespeare*
 GEBHARD, RICHARD. Shakespeare u. Schopenhauer. ShJ XLVII (1911) 170-188. [721]
- Schreyvogel and Shakespeare*
 KILIAN, E. Schreyvogels Shakespeare-Bearbeitungen. [722]
 Contributions to ShJ, 1903-1907, as follows:
 "König Lear" and "König Heinrich IV." ShJ XXXIX (1903) 87-120.
 "Romeo u. Julia." ShJ XLI (1905) 135-163.
 "Kaufmann von Venedig," "Othello," "Hamlet." ShJ XLIII (1907) 53-98.
- Strausz and Shakespeare*
 SIEGFRIED, E. Macbeth. Tondichtung nach Shakespeares Drama von Richard Strausz. Studie. Straszbg. and Leipzig 1912. [723]
- Tieck and Shakespeare*
 See also [251a], [410], and [421].
- KAISER, O. Der Dualismus Tiecks als Dramatiker u. Dramaturg. Leipzig 1885. [724]
 Pp. 49-58: Tieck u. Shakespeare.
- KOCH, MAX. Ludwig Tiecks Stellung z. Shakespeare. ShJ XXXII (1896) 330-347. [725]
- BISCHOFF, HEINRICH. Ludwig Tieck als Dramaturg. Bibl. de la faculté de phil. et lettres de l'université de Liège. Bruxelles 1897; 125 pp. [726]
 Pp. 23-36: Tieck's relation to Shakespeare.
- CONRAD, H. F. Vischer u. Dorothea Tieck als Macbeth-Übersetzer. ASNS CVI (1901) 71-88. [727]
- ZELAK, D. Tieck u. Shakespeare. Ein Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Shakespearomanie in Deutschland. Prog. Tarnopol 1900. Leipzig 1902; 72 pp. [728]
 PETSCH, R. ShJ XXXIX (1903) 288-289.
- KERBER, E. Neues über L. Tiecks Shakespeare-Studien. Bühne u. Welt XV (1913) 62-67. [729]

- FREKING, JOHANN. Zwei Shakespeare-Parodien in Tiecks [730]
 "Verkehrte Welt." Euph XVII (1910) 355-356.
 "Schriften" Bd. VI, 315ff. King Lear in the storm.
 "Schriften" Bd. V, 405ff. Julius Caesar, the conspiracy of the
 Romans in Brutus' garden.

- HENSE, C. C. Geschichte d. "Sommernachtstraums." ASNS [731]
 XII (1853) 281-289. = [522].

Vosz and Shakespeare

See [421].

Wagner (Richard) and Shakespeare

- BENNETT, J. Richard Wagner. The musical times 1890; 564. [732]
 References to his relation to Shakespeare.

- CHATER, A. G. Shakespeare and Wagner. Temple Bar CXIII [733]
 (1898) 287-293.

- SPECK, HERMANN G. B. Wagners Verhältnis z. Shakespeare. [734]
 Richard Wagner-Jahrbuch I (1906) 209-226.

GOLTHER, W. DLZ XXVII (1906) 2721-2722.

- GERHARDS, K. A. Sophokles, Shakespeare, Wagner. Neue [735]
 Musik-Zeitung (Stuttgt.) XXXIV (1913) 465-468.

PART III

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(Shakespeare excluded)

a. General American influences

American literature in Germany. Bibliographical works

FLÜGEL, EWALD. Die nordamerikanische Literatur; Bibliographie. Pp. 557-561 in the 2nd edition of Wülker's "Geschichte d. englischen Literatur." Bd. II. Leipzig 1907. [800]
The most important German translations of the American works are here indicated.

SMITH, C. ALPHONSO. Die amerikanische Literatur. Vorlesungen Berlin Univ. 1910-1911. Berlin 1912. [801]
The bibliography, pp. 369-380, supplements Flügel [800].

ROEHM, ALFRED I. Bibliographie u. Kritik d. deutschen Übersetzungen aus d. amerikanischen Dichtung. Diss. Univ. of Chicago. Leipzig 1910; 62 pp. [802]
Bryant, Longfellow, Poe, Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, Emerson, Whitman, Taylor, Joaquin Miller, Bret Harte, Aldrich, Stoddard, and others. Anthologies. Statistics.

COLBRON, GRACE I. The American novel in Germany. Bookman XXXIX (1914) 45-49. [802a]

PECKHAM, H. HOUSTON. Is American literature read and respected in Europe? South Atlantic quarterly XIII (1914) 382-388. [803]

Gives an affirmative answer supported by a bibliography of German and French translations of Bryant, Clemens, Cooper, Emerson, Franklin, Harte, Hawthorne, Irving, Longfellow, Lowell, Motley, Parkman, Poe, Prescott, Whitman, and Whittier.

†VOLLMER, CLEMENT. The American novel in Germany. GAA [803a] XIX (1917) 113-144 and 165-219.

The bibliography contains a list of 997 volumes by 87 American novelists that were translated into German during the period 1871-1913, or of which reprints appeared in Germany.

America and German literature

See also [92]-[101].

KAPP, FR. Deutsch-amerikanische Wechselbeziehungen. DR [804] XXV (1880) 88-123.

Material drawn largely from Gustav Körner's "Das deutsche Element in d. vereinigten Staaten von Amerika (1818-1848)." Cincinnati 1880. 2nd ed. 1884. Lenau, Sealsfield, Schurz, among others, mentioned.

KOHN, MAXIMILIAN. America im Spiegel deutscher Dichtung. [805] Zeitgeist XXXII (1905). = [99].

L. . . . D, P. LE VII (1905) 1696.

WANAMAKER, W. H. Some German criticisms of America. [806]
 South Atlantic quarterly V (1906) 150-160.

A review of Goldberger's "Das Land d. unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten" and Polenz's "Das Land d. Zukunft."

VON KLENZE, CAMILLO. The United States in European literature. [807]
 Paper read before 16th meeting of MLA. Princeton Dec. 1908.

The romantic view of America and America as the land of pure democracy: Rousseau, Schiller, Kant, Goethe, Chateaubriand. Waning romanticism: Lenau, Dickens, Kürnberger. Influence of civil war, of writings of Emerson and others, of the rise of industrialism, of the Spanish war on European literature. At the close of the 19th century critical studies of the U.S. by Bryce, Polenz, Münsterberg, Lamprecht, and others. See PMLA XXIV (1909) Appendix xiii-xiv.

†BAKER, T. S. America as the political Utopia of Young Germany. AG I, 2 (1897) 62-97. [808]

LEARNED, MARION D. Guide to the manuscript material relating [809]
 to American history in the German state archives. Pub. of Carnegie Inst. of Washington. Washington D.C. 1912; 352 pp.

FAUST, ALBERT B. Guide to the materials for American history [810]
 in Swiss and Austrian archives. Pub. of Carnegie Inst. of Washington. Washington D.C. 1916; 300 pp.

This work, like that of Learned [809], points to valuable sources of information regarding the influence upon German thought of the extensive emigration to America.

America in German fiction

See also [828] and [915]ff.

†VON KROCKOW, LIDA. American characters in German novels. [811]
 AM LXVIII (1891) 824-838.

Influence of Hawthorne's, Cooper's, Bret Harte's romantic characters and of Howells's, James's, Mark Twain's realistic characters on German pictures of American life.

†BARBA, PRESTON A. The American Indian in German fiction. [812]
 GAA XV (1913) 143-175.

†BARBA, PRESTON A. Emigration to America reflected in German [813]
 fiction. GAA XVI (1914) 193-228.

America and German poetry

See also [92]ff.

KEPPLER, E. A. C. America in the popular and student poetry [815]
 of Germany. Paper read by title before the MLA, Baltimore Md. Dec. 1903.

Full outline in PMLA XVIII (1903) appendix xxvii-xxviii.

America and Freiligrath

LEARNED, M. D. Freiligrath in America. AG I (1897) 54-73. [816]

Freiligrath's acquaintance with Longfellow, and other American connexions.

America and Goethe

- †MACKALL, LEONARD. Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe u. Amerikanern. GJ XXV (1904) 1-37. [817]

Edw. Everett, Th. Lyman, J. G. Cogswell, John Kirkland, Geo. Bancroft, G. H. Calvert.

America and Heine

- BELDEN, H. M. Heine's "Sonnenuntergang" and an American moon myth. MLN XX (1905) 205-206. [818]

A legend of the Wyandots as a parallel to the moon myth in Heine's "Sonnenuntergang." ("Die Nordsee, Erster Cyclus," 3.) No influence suggested.

America, Kürnberger and Lenau

- †CASTLE, EDUARD. Amerikamüde. Lenau u. Kürnberger. GpJ XII (1902) 15-42. [819]

- †MULFINGER, GEORGE A. Ferdinand Kürnbergers Roman "Der Amerikamüde," dessen Quellen u. Verhältnis z. Lenaus Amerikareise. GAA V (1903) 315-346, 385-405. [820]

America and Lenau

See also [819] and [820].

- EBNER, E. "Deutsche Dichter auf Reisen." Nürnberg. 1913; [821]
vii + 252 pp.

Pp. 143-176: Lenau in America.

America and Sealsfield

- FAUST, ALBERT B. Charles Sealsfield, der Dichter beider Hemisphären. Weimar 1897; 295 pp. [822]

FÜRST, R. JbL VIII (1897) IV, 3, 149.

GOEBEL, J. AG I, 3 (1897) 97-103.

HELLER, O. Comments on above in JEGPh VII (1908) 130-133.

- †HELLER, OTTO. Some sources of Sealsfield. MPh VII (1910) 587-592. [823]

Tales in popular American periodicals as sources for some of Sealsfield's best known work. Cf. Heller in MLR III (1908) 360-365.

- †HELLER, OTTO. The source of Chapter I of Sealsfield's "Lebensbilder aus d. westlichen Hemisphäre." MLN XXIII (1908) 172-173. [824]

A sketch from life in "New York mirror and ladies' literary gazette," Nov. 7, 1829, and Chap. I of "George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt." The plots are identical.

- †BORDIER, PAUL. Sealsfield, ses idées, ses sources d'après le "Kajütenbuch." RG V (1909) 273-300 and 369-421. [825]

Accounts of explorations, works of Chateaubriand, Irving's "Astoria."

- THOMPSON, GARRETT W. An inquiry into the sources of Charles Sealsfield's novel "Morton oder d. grosze Tour." Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia 1909 or 1910; 56 pp. Personal observation, Cooper, Irving, Scott. [826]

- HELLER, OTTO. Sealsfield-Funde. GAA XIII (1911) 3-31. [827]
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INDEX OF INVESTIGATORS

The names of the investigators are followed by the serial number of their works according to the assignment of the bibliography. Reviewers are not included in the index.

- Abramezyk, R., 533.
 Ackermann, R., 869, 874 .
 Adams, K., 697.
 Aigner, K., 356.
 Alafberg, F., 499.
 Alberts, W., 677.
 Albrecht, P., 125.
 Albrecht, R., 856.
 Alford, R. G., 113, 516.
 Althaus, F., 890.
 Ames, P. W., 206.
 Andrae, A., 965.
 Anonymous, 73, 208a, 907.
 Anwand, O., 123, 682.
 Appell, J. W., 337.
 Arnold, R. F., 879.
 Asmus, J. R., 288.
 Aszmann, B., 718.
 Auerbach, B., 876.

 Bab, J., 989.
 Bacherach, A., 311.
 Badt, B., 834, 951.
 Baker, T. S., 335, 808.
 Barba, P. A., 812, 813, 828, 915,
 917, 919, 938.
 Barnstorff, J., 368.
 Bartels, A., 647.
 Barth, T., 970.
 Bartmann, H., 672.
 Bauer, F., 351, 997.
 Baumgartner, M. P., 182.
 Beam, J., 86.
 Beckhaus, H., 578.
 Becker, G., 462a.
 Beckmann, J. H., 676.
 Behmer, K. A., 350.
 Belden, H. M., 818.
 Belouin, G., 86a.
 Benedix, R., 412.
 Benkowitz, K. F., 233a.
 Bennett, J., 732.
 Benzmann, H., 836.
 Berg, L., 566. [954, 977.
 Bernays, M., 493, 708, 709, 711,
 Betz, L. P., d, k, l, 958.
 Beyer, P., 903.
 Beyer, V., 266.
 Biederman, K., 72, 92, 473.
 Biltz, K., 172.

 Bion, U., 370.
 Bischoff, F., 58a.
 Bischoff, H., 726.
 Bitterling, R., 586.
 Blankenburg, C. F., 194a.
 Blaze de Bury, H., 653, 865.
 Blei, F., 279.
 Bleibtreu, K., 222.
 Block, J., 301.
 Boas, F. S., 293.
 Bobertag, F., 273a, 273b.
 Bode, W., 110.
 Bodmer, H., 230.
 Bodmer, J. J., 139.
 Bohm, W., 20.
 Böhme, T., 1009.
 Böhntlingk, A., 514, 549, 565, 665.
 Bojanowski, M., 101.
 Bolin, W., 651, 660, 674.
 Bolle, W., 16.
 Bolte, J., 19, 38, 40, 42, 43, 59, 64,
 225, 433, 451, 452, 457, 462.
 Bondi, G., 318.
 Bonet-Maury, G., 265.
 Borchardt, H. H., 204a.
 Bordier, P., 825.
 Bormann, W., 562, 645a.
 Bouecke, E. A., 316.
 Bowen, A., 894.
 Boyd, E. I. M., 259.
 Brace, C. L., 920.
 Braitmaier, Fr., 81b.
 Brand, A., 192.
 Brandeis, A., 202.
 Brandl, A., 104a, 224, 417, 518,
 714, 887, 892.
 Brandl, L., 993.
 Braun, H., 675.
 Brauns, C. W. E., 591.
 Brenner, C. D., 916a.
 Breul, K., 121.
 Brie, F., 25.
 Briggs, F., 198.
 Brodmann, C., 943.
 Broicher, C., 914a.
 Brown, H., 109.
 Brüggemann, F., 180.
 Bruinier, J. W., 68.
 Brunhuber, K., 24.
 Buchholz, J., 297.

- Buchwald, O., 991.
 Burg, F., 454.
 Burkhardt, C. A. H., 515.
 Busse, E., 854.
 Byse, F., 228.
- Campbell, T. M., 948.
 Candrea, G., 165.
 Caro, J., 127.
 Caro, Jakob, 354.
 Carr, M. G., 106.
 Carruth, W. H., 100, 981.
 Castle, E., 69, 819.
 Cawley, —, 528.
 Chater, A. G., 733.
 Chubb, E. W., 513.
 Chuquet, A., 517a.
 Clark, C. H., 124, 191, 193, 194, 538.
 Cobb, P., 963.
 Coffman, B. R., 118.
 Cohn, A., 23, 34, 450.
 Colbron, G. I., 802a.
 Collignon, A., 21.
 Conrad, H., 492, 669, 671, 717, 727.
 Corbin, J., 443.
 Cornish, F. F., 159.
 Creizenach, W., 39, 62, 66, 67a, 71, 436, 437, 445, 446a, 483.
 Cross, E., 675.
 Crosland, J., 147.
 Crüger, J., 36, 150, 161.
 Czerny, J., 342, 346.
- Daffis, H., 431, 520.
 Daffner, H., 529.
 Deetz, A., 273.
 Dessoir, M., 324.
 Devrient, E., 594.
 Devrient, O., 641.
 Dibden, R., 994.
 Dibelius, W., 715.
 Dick, E., 855.
 Dietz, C., 1014.
 Dilthey, W., 314.
 Dobosal, G., 875.
 Donner, J. O. E., 968.
 Döring, P., 500a.
 Dorneth, J., 1004.
 Drescher, M., 983.
 Dühring, E., 904.
 Duncker, A., 56.
 Düntzer, H., 340, 510.
 Duproix, J. J., 913a.
 Duschinsky, W., 573.
- Eastburn, I. K., 1011.
 Eastmann, C. W., 980.
- Ebert, J. A., 367.
 Ebner, E. L. A., 821.
 Ebstein, E., 495.
 Eckart, J. H., 154b.
 Eckertz, E., 702, 996a.
 Edward, G., 959.
 Egan, M. F., m.
 Ehrmann, E., 242.
 Eichler, A., 185.
 Eimer, M., 896.
 Eloesser, A., 88.
 Elson, C., 327.
 Elster, E., j.
 Elze, K., 8a, 74, 488.
 Engel, E., 634.
 Engel, J., 561.
 Erbach, W., 842.
 Ermatinger, E., 326.
 Ernst, P., 637.
 Eschenburg, J. J., 466.
 Ettlinger, J., 302.
 Evans, M. B., 49a, 444, 446, 447.
- Falke, J., 252.
 Fath, J., 216.
 Faust, A. B., 810, 822.
 Fellner, R., 687.
 Ferguson, I., 203.
 Fielitz, W., 251.
 Fietkau, H., 581.
 Fischer, K., 477.
 Fischer, O., 691.
 Fischer, R., 648.
 Flaischlen, C., 7, 863.
 Flindt, E., 79.
 Florer, W. W., 100a.
 Flügel, E., 14, 800, 904b.
 Fränkel, L., 624, 625, 628.
 Fränzel, W. F. A., 84.
 Frenzel, K., 432.
 Frerking, J., 730.
 Fresenius, A., 534, 551.
 Freymond, R., 926.
 Freytag, G., 664, 922.
 Frick, A., 281.
 Friedländer, M., 424.
 Friedrich, P., 636.
 Friedrich, T., 541.
 Fries, A., 690.
 Fritz, G., 239.
 Fulda, L., 465.
 Fürst, R., 90, 291, 924.
- Gallinger, H. P., 95.
 Gayley, C. M., 1.
 Gebhard, R., 721.
 Geiger, L., 152.
 Geissendoerfer, J. T., 923.

- Geist, H., 930.
 Genée, R., 427, 617, 661, 710, 716.
 Gerhards, K. A., 735.
 Gericke, R., 642, 643.
 Giessing, C. P., 141a.
 Gjerset, K., 358.
 Glöde, O., 937.
 Gnäd, E., 877.
 Goebel, J., 93, 111.
 Goedeke, K., 16a, 85.
 Goethe, J. W., 707.
 Goetzinger, E., 263a, 491.
 Goldsmith, K. W., 634a.
 Goldstein, L., 556.
 Goodnight, S. H., 4.
 Gothein, M., 91.
 Gottschall, R., 864.
 Grabau, C., 632.
 Grabbe, C. D., 404a.
 Graner, K., 278.
 Gräter, D. F., 262.
 Green, B. E., 512.
 Grimm, H., 54.
 Groeper, R., 615.
 Grosz, E., 674a.
 Gruber, J., 604.
 Grudzinski, H., 312, 328.
 Gruppe, O., 83.
 Gudde, E., 843.
 Gundelfinger, F., 481, 486.
 Gundolf, F., 416.
- Hackenbergh, F., 849.
 Haertel, M. H., 5.
 Hagen, A., 464a, 661a.
 Hager, H., 134.
 Hallam, G., 476a.
 Halm, H., 179b.
 Hamel, R., 250, 501a.
 Harms, P., 63.
 Harnack, O., 511.
 Harris, C., 45a, 50.
 Hartmann, C., 369.
 Hartmann, H., 364.
 Hartung, W., 156, 163.
 Hatch, I. C., 320.
 Hatfield-Hochbaum, 94.
 Hauffen, A., 136, 413, 592.
 Hauptmann, G., 418.
 Hauschild, G. R., 526.
 Hecht, H., 635.
 Hédouin, A., 338.
 Hegnauer, A. G., 162.
 Heine, C., 89, 115.
 Heine, H., 405.
 Heinemann, H., 552.
 Heinzelmänn, J. H., 274, 275.
 Heinzmann, H., 1004a.
- Heller, O., 221, 823, 824, 827, 859.
 Hemmer, H., 251a.
 Henderson, A., 914a.
 Hengesbach, T., 626.
 Henkel, H., 475.
 Hense, C. C., 410, 522, 619, 731.
 Herford, C. H., 13, 422a.
 Hermes, K. H., 434.
 Herz, E., 45.
 Hettner, H., 75, 170.
 Heuer, O., 247.
 Heues, —, 571.
 Hippe, F., 961.
 Hirzel, L., 168, 607.
 Hitzig, —, 133.
 Hoch, H. L., 673.
 Hochbaum, 94.
 Hock, S., 882.
 Hocks, M. D., 1001a.
 Hofer, E., 987.
 Hohlfeld, A. R., ka, 8, 848.
 Holland, W. L., 53.
 Holls, F. W., 934.
 Holtermann, K., 719.
 Holzhausen, P., 264, 871.
 Horn, E., 720.
 Horner, E., 482.
 Howard, W. G., 129, 129a, 166.
 Hübler, F., 235.
 Humbert, C., 409, 585.
 Huther, A., 517.
 Hüttemann, W., 605.
- Ibershoff, C. H., 183, 214, 236, 237,
 359.
 Ischer, R., 143, 611.
- Jacks, W., 858.
 Jacobi, J., 428.
 Jacobowski, L., 535.
 Jacobs, M., 502.
 Jacoby, D., 521, 550, 554.
 Jacoby, K., 151.
 Jaggard, W., 404.
 Jahn, K., 112.
 Jellinek, A. L., 3.
 Jenney, F. G., 260.
 Jenney, G. K., 226.
 Jenny, H. E., 319.
 Joachimi-Dege, M., 479.
 Johnson, A., 949.
 Joret, C., 74a, 120a.
- Kabel, P., 940a.
 Kahane, A., 706.
 Kaiser, O., 724.
 Kallenbach, H., 704.

- Kallenbach, H and Schlösser, R., 705.
 Kapp, F., 804.
 Karsten, G. E., 272.
 Kauenhowen, K., 496.
 Kaulfusz-Diesch, C. H., 49, 458.
 Kawczynski, M., 149.
 Kawerau, W., 347.
 Keckeis, G., 600.
 Keller, L., 153.
 Keller, W., 678.
 Kellner, L., 910, 911.
 Keppler, E. A. C., 815.
 Kerber, E., 729.
 Kerr, A., 345.
 Kettner, G., 128, 164, 300, 548.
 Kilian, E., 497, 498, 645, 652, 656, 657, 722.
 Kilian, W., 684.
 Kind, J. L., 365.
 Kinth, H., 939.
 Kipka, K., 11.
 Kippenberg, A., 171.
 Kirchgorg, O. H., 146.
 Klaar, A., 698.
 Kleemann, S., 173.
 Kleineibst, R., 131.
 Knaak, G., 935.
 Knortz, K., 1008.
 Knothe, H., 249.
 Koberstein, A., 469, 471.
 Koch, M., b, 76, 135a, 138, 284, 403, 485, 500, 579, 622, 725, 851.
 Köhler, R., 29, 402.
 Kohn, M., 99, 805.
 Kollwijn, R. A., 453.
 Köllmann, A., 620.
 König, J., 988.
 Könnecke, G., 37.
 Kontz, A., 559a.
 Korff, H. A., 979.
 Koschmieder, A., 532.
 Köster, A., 580, 618.
 Kraeger, H., 154, 699.
 Krause, F., 881.
 Krausz, R., 596, 646.
 Kretschmer, E., 294.
 Krieg, H., 189.
 Kruse, G. R., 700.
 Kühnemann, E., i.
 Kullmer, C. J., 523.
 Kunze, A., 215.
 Kurrelmeyer, W., 188a.
 Kyrieleis, R., 348.
 Lachmanski, H., 154a.
 Lambel, H., 531.
 Landau, M., 292, 602.
 Landsberg, H., 601.
 Learned, M. D., 809, 816.
 Leitzmann, A., 130, 333, 555, 703.
 Lemcke, L. B., 408.
 Lenz, L., 142, 285, 334, 357.
 Leo, —, 244.
 Leo, F. A., 419a, 508, 631, 668.
 Lessing, O. E., 1006.
 Levy, S., 201, 280, 955, 966.
 Liebau, G., 10.
 Litzmann, B., 136a, 439, 442, 593.
 Loenig, R., 435.
 Loewenberg, J., 253.
 Lohre, H., 258, 928, 986.
 Loliée, Fr., n, o.
 Longo, J., 343.
 Löschnhorn, K., 666.
 Low, C. B., 303.
 Lowell, J. R., 505.
 Lüder, F., 929.
 Ludwig, A., 564, 627, 630.
 Ludwig, E., 903a.
 Ludwig, O., 557, 667, 683a, 692, 922a.
 Luther, B., 567.
 Maack, R., 277.
 Mackall, L., 817.
 Maclean, G. E., 999.
 Mager, A., 352.
 Maigron, L., 973.
 Mahn, M. F., 904a.
 Marsh, A. R., e.
 Marx, E., 144.
 Marx, P., 638.
 Mather, F. J., s.
 Mazzini, G., 886.
 Meisnest, F. W., 547, 606, 616.
 Meiszner, J., 32, 33, 639.
 Melchior, F., 900.
 Mendheim, M., 652c.
 Merschberger, —, 484, 590.
 Metz, A., 353a.
 Meyer, C. F., 44.
 Meyer, F. L. W., 588.
 Meyer, R. M., 78, 282, 355, 654, 696.
 Meyer, W., 1001.
 Meyerfeld, M., 944, 1012, 1013.
 Mielke, H., 831a.
 Milberg, E., 148.
 Mildebrath, B., 176a.
 Miller, A. E., 487, 1015.
 Minor, J., 141, 190, 217, 287, 368a, 494, 524, 559, 584, 603.
 Minor, J. and Sauer, A., 507.
 Mitchell, R. MacB., 964.
 Mommsen, T., 84a.
 Moryson, F., 26.

- Moseley, B. D., 332.
 Mueller, E., 254.
 Mulfinger, G. A., 820.
 Müller, M., 905.
 Müller, —, 909.
 Müller-Ems, R., 927.
 Müller-Freienfels, R., 829.
 Müllner, L., 868.
 Muncker, F., 145, 234.
 Muskalla, K., 298.
- Nedden, R., 158.
 Neszler, K., 261.
 Neumann, W., 211.
 Niedecken-Gebhart, H., 48.
 Noack, K., 922*b*.
 Northup, C. S., 2, 208.
 Norton, C. E., 906, 908.
- Ochsenbein, W., 873, 902.
 Öftering, M., 70.
 Oncken, A., 331.
- Pachaly, R., 967.
 Paetow, W., 490.
 Palm, H., 455, 693.
 Peckham, H. H., 803.
 Petherick, E. A., 22.
 Petsch, R., 563.
 Petzet, E., 276.
 Pfau, W., 246.
 Phelps, W. L., 855*a*.
 Philippovic, V., 353.
 Phillipson, P. H., 833.
 Pinger, W. R. R., 342*a*.
 Pinloche, A., 441.
 Pizzo, E., 229.
 Plath, O., 940.
 Pomenzy, F., 308.
 Porschke, K. L., 492*a*.
 Porterfield, A. W., 12, 985.
 Posnett, H. M., a, h.
 Prager, H., 962.
 Price, L. M., 9*a*, 184, 845, 857, 859*a*.
 Proelsz, J., 880.
 Prölsz, R., 640, 880.
 Prutz, R., 82, 296.
 Puls, A., 581*a*.
- Ramsey, A., 467.
 Ransmeier, J. C., 996.
 Ransohoff, G., 344.
 Rauch, H., 537.
 Rehorn, F., 323.
 Reichelt, K., 852, 853.
 Renard, G., g.
 Rhoades, L. A., 122.
 Rhyn, H., 837.
- Richards, A. E., 213*a*, 305, 306.
 Richter, H., 248.
 Richter, K., 480, 841.
 Ridderhoff, K., 299.
 Riedel, —, 472.
 Riethmüller, R., 209, 1005.
 Ritter, O., 361, 363*a*, 363*b*, 861, 945.
 Robertson, J. G., 51, 186, 227, 290, 478.
 Roehm, A. L., 802.
 Roenneke, R., 670.
 Roesel, L. K., 978.
 Roethe, G., 169.
 Rosanoy, M. N., 539.
 Rötteken, H., 174.
 Routh, H. V., s.
 Rovenhagen, L., 542.
 Rub, O., 649.
 Ruland, C., 114.
 Rümelin, G., 407.
 Ruthe, B., 213.
- Sachs, —, 419.
 Sachs, K., 108, 135.
 Sanborn, F. B., 105.
 Sand, G., 884.
 Sandmann, B., 576.
 Sarrazin, G., 847.
 Sauer, A., 104, 238, 361*a*, 597, 918, 918*a*.
 Sauer, A. and Minor, J., 507.
 Schacht, R., 549*a*.
 Schaefer, A., 423.
 Schaffer, A., 20*a*.
 Schalles, E. A., 680, 901.
 Schatzmann, G., 577.
 Scherer, W., 695.
 Schladebach, K., 1002.
 Schlaf, J., 1010.
 Schlegel, A. W., 263, 503.
 Schlegel, J. E., 464.
 Schlenther, P., 117.
 Schlösser, R. and Kallenbach, H., 705.
 Schmid, K., 21*a*.
 Schmidt, E., 126, 268, 295, 536, 612.
 Schmidt, F. W. V., 256.
 Schmidt, J., 474, 831, 856*a*, 866, 921.
 Schmitt, K., 1000.
 Schmitter, J., 232.
 Schneeberger, H., 569.
 Schneider, H., 316*a*.
 Schoenemann, F., 838.
 Schoenwerth, R., 67.
 Schott, E., 177*a*.

- Schrader, H., 614.
 Schreiber, C. F., 655.
 Schröer, M. A., 463.
 Schüdekopf, K and Walzel, O.,
 712.
 Schuster, M., 982.
 Schwartz, R., 57, 58.
 Schwarz, F. H., 969.
 Schwering, J., 840.
 Schwinger, R., 133*a*.
 Seidensticker, O., 77.
 Sendel, K., 543.
 Servaes, F., 81*a*.
 Seuffert, B., 608.
 Siegfried, E., 723.
 Simpson, M., 609.
 Sinzheimer, S., 891.
 Skinner, M. M., 931.
 Smith, C. A., 801.
 Smith, G. G., p.
 Soffé, E., 204.
 Sollas, H., 200.
 Speck, H. G. B., 734.
 Spengler, F., 60.
 Spirigatis, M., 6.
 Spranger, E., 322.
 Sprenger, R., 205, 220, 233, 269,
 283, 534*a*, 572, 574, 623, 883, 852,
 952.
 Springer, R., 339, 888.
 Stadler, E., 613.
 Stahr, A., 468.
 Stammler, W., 540.
 Stanger, H., 941.
 Steig, R., 950.
 Steinke, M. V., 366.
 Stern, A., 411.
 Steuber, F., 330.
 Stewart, M. C., 360, 362.
 Storoschenko, N. J., 870.
 Strecker, H., 680*a*.
 Sturtevant, A. M., 570.
 Sulger-Gebing, E., 255.
 Suphan, B., 197, 321, 476, 530, 953.

 Tanger, G., 438.
 Tardel, H., 675*a*, 992.
 ten Brink, B., 289.
 Texte, J., f.
 Thayer, H. W., 167, 336, 349.
 Thomas, W., 364*a*.
 Thoms, W. J., 406*a*.
 Thompson, G. W., 826, 984.
 Thorstenberg, E., 1007.
 Tieck, L., 27.
 Tittmann, J., 31, 55.
 Tobler, G., 372, 489.
 Tombo, R., 243.

 Tomlinson, C., 519.
 Trautmann, K., 35, 41, 449, 459.
 Trumbauer, W. H. R., 934*a*.
 Türkheim, L., 160.

 Uebel, O., 207.
 Uhde-Bernays, H., 610.
 Ullrich, P., 175, 176, 177, 178,
 179*a*.
 Ulrich, O., 246*a*.
 Ulrich, P., 976.
 Uriei, H., 426, 426*a*, 504, 504*a*,
 506, 558.
 Umbach, E., 155.
 Unflad, L., 401.
 Urban, E., 23.

 Vacano, S., 995.
 Valentin, V., 893.
 Vaughan, C. E., 81.
 Vetter, T., 13*a*, 15, 65, 102, 102*a*,
 103, 140, 157, 212, 425.
 Victory, B. M., 196.
 Viles, G. B., 231.
 Vincke, G., 329, 420, 421, 422, 582,
 589, 633, 652*a*, 652*b*, 659, 685,
 686.
 Vischer, F. T., 406, 414, 470.
 Vogeler, —, 460.
 Völk, V., 925.
 Volkenborn, H., 846.
 Vollmer, C., 803*a*.
 von Antoniewicz, J., 587.
 von Bülow, F., 954*a*.
 von Ende, A., 932.
 von Gersdorff, —, 448.
 von Gleichen-Ruszwurm, —, 658.
 von Hofmann-Wellenhof, P., 245.
 von Hohenhausen, E., 885.
 von Klenze, C., 807.
 von Krockow, L., 811.
 von Liliencron, R., 440.
 von Rüdiger, G., 681.
 von Sanden, K., 990.
 von Thaler, C., 914.
 von Treitschke, H., 863*a*.
 von Weilen, A., 218, 429, 501, 650,
 693*a*.
 von Westenholz, F., 61, 575.
 von Wiecki, E., 913.
 von Wislocki, H., 267.
 von Wurzbach, W., 716*a*.
 Vos, B. J., 956.
 Vulpius, W., 1003.

 Waag, A., 271.
 Waag, E., 241.
 Wächtler, P., 960.

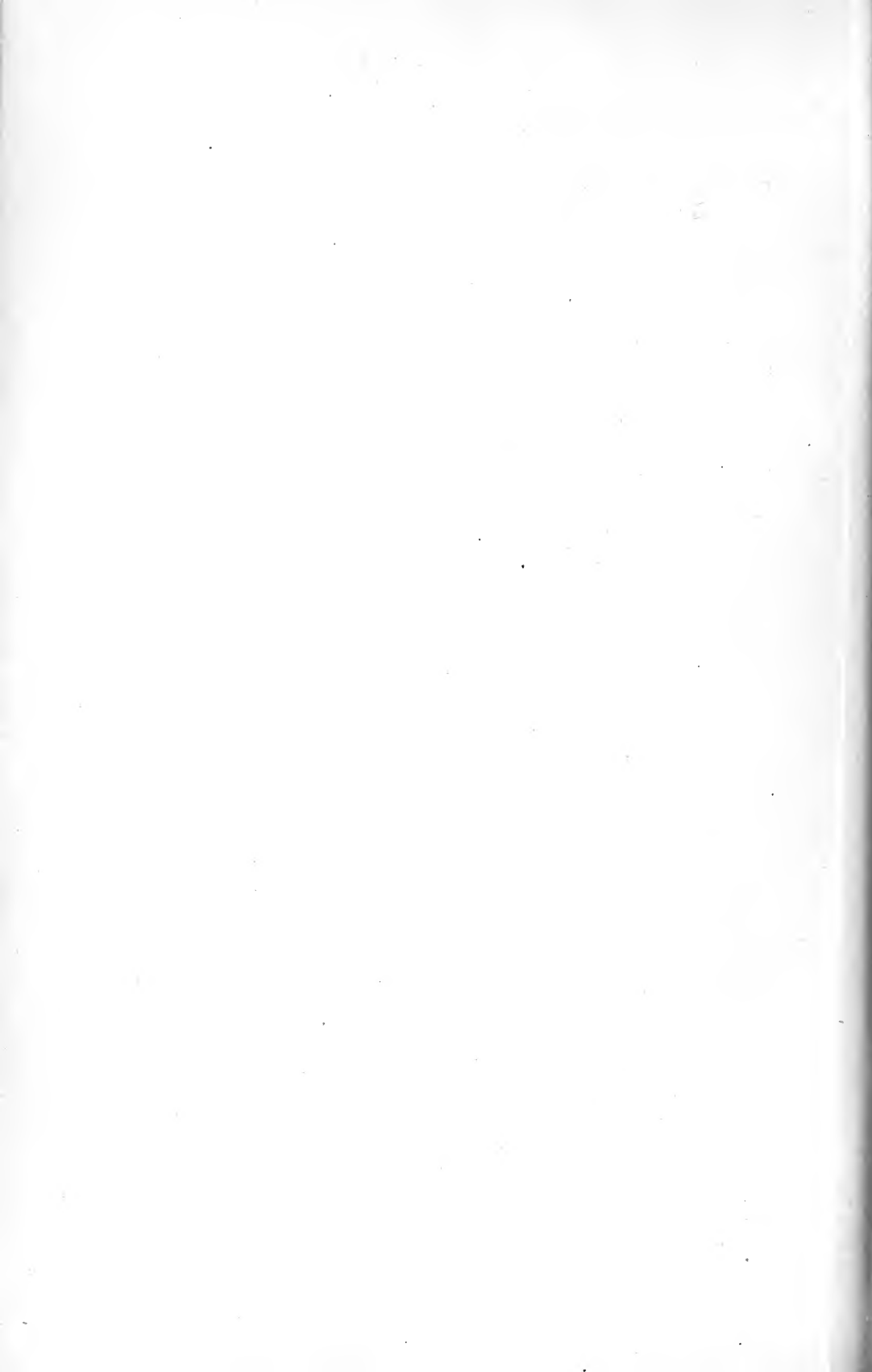
- Waetzoldt, S., 270.
 Wagener, C. B., 509.
 Wagener, H. F., 257.
 Wagner, H. F., 179, 181.
 Wagschal, F., 317.
 Waldberg, M., 107.
 Waldschmidt, K., 188.
 Walter, E., 850.
 Walz, J. A., 80, 96, 97, 219, 223, 363.
 Walzel, O. F., 309, 310, 315, 325.
 Walzel, O. and Schüddekopf, K., 712.
 Wanamaker, W. H., 806.
 Waniek, G., 116.
 Warner, H. F., 181.
 Waterhouse, G., 17.
 Weddigen, O., 839, 867, 872.
 Wegmann, C., 835.
 Wehl, F., 683.
 Weiser, C. F., 313.
 Weiss, J. J., 848a.
 Wendling, E., 527.
 Wenger, K., 974, 975.
 Wenzel, G., 942.
 Werner, J., 889.
 Werner, R. M., 371, 679.
 Wetz, W., c, 694, 713, 713a, 716b, 895.
 Whitman, S., 9.
 Whyte, J., 832.
 Wiehr, J., 897.
 Wihan, J., 87, 240, 862.
 Wilhelmi, J. H., 912.
 Willer, —, 933.
 Winds, A., 430, 435a, 662.
 Winther, F., 957.
 Witkowski, G., 46, 545.
 Witte, E., 701.
 Wittsack, R., 688.
 Wodiek, W., 52.
 Wohlgemuth, J., 210.
 Wolfe, L., 304.
 Wolff, E., 137, 415, 598, 599, 689.
 Wolff, M. J., 461, 525, 629.
 Wolfing, J. E., 663.
 Wolfsteig, A., 87b.
 Wood, A., 187.
 Worden, J. P., 946.
 Worp, J. A., 47.
 Wukadinovic, S., 119, 286, 583, 916.
 Wülker, R. P., 30.
 Wundt, M., 342.
 Wurth, L., 621.
 Wüstling, F., 213b, 301a.
 Wyppl, L., 120, 898, 899.
 Wysocki, L. G., 456.
 Zabel, E., 595.
 Zart, G., 87a, 307.
 Zdziechowski, M., 878.
 Zelack, D., 728.
 Zenker, R., 860.
 Zernial, U., 560.
 Ziegert, T., 199.
 Zschalig, —, 830.
 Zschau, W. W., 18.
 Zupitza, J., 936.
 zur Linde, O., 132.

CORRIGENDA*

(Addenda are to be found on page 584ff)

- [1]. *For XVII read XCII.*
 [85]. *For VIII read VII.*
 [92]. *For 48ff. read 483ff.*
 [124]. *For CLARK read CLARKE.*
 [128]. *For in read im.*
 [140]. *For Winterthür read Winterthur.*
 [161]. *For 531-540 read 31-40.*
 [191] [193] [194]. *For CLARK read CLARKE.*
 [198]. *For Moser read Möser.*
 [202]. *For BRANDEIS, A. . . . Weimar read BRANDL, A. . . . Wiener.*
 [290]. *Add Hermes, La Roche.*
 [358]. *Delete (1726-1780).*
 [361a]. *For I xi-xvi read II 135-170.*
 [496]. *Add Königsberg diss.*
 [596]. *For Ludwig read Ludwig Schubart.*
 [598]. *For 337 read 347.*
 [652c]. *For MENDHEIM read WENDHEIM.*
 [675]. *Place under "Grillparzer and Shakespeare."*
 [677]. *For XXXII read XXXIII.*
 [680]-[684]. *Arrange alphabetically.*
 [692]. *Insert after [688].*
 [856]. *Omit.*
 [914a]. *For [914a] read [914b].*
 [916]. *Delete (1827).*
 [923]. *For GEISSENDOEFER read GEISSENDOERFER.*
 [961]. *Delete Allan.*
 [1006]. *Delete his.*
 Page 104. *For Brandeis, A. read Brandl, A.*
 Page 105. *For Czerny, J. 342 read 342a.*
 Page 106. *For Goldsmith read Goldschmidt.*
 Page 107. *For Mahn read Mann.*
 Page 107. *For Mendheim read Wendheim.*
 Page 109. *For Ullrich, P., read Ullrich, H.*
 Page 110. *For Wolfe, L., read Wolf, L.*

* These corrigenda have reference to the BIBLIOGRAPHY, Part I of this work. In order that they may be effective, it is suggested that the BIBLIOGRAPHY be amended by hand as indicated above.



PART II. SURVEY



ENGLISH>GERMAN LITERARY INFLUENCES BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SURVEY

BY

LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE

PART II. SURVEY

CONTENTS

	PAGES
Introduction	119
Definition of term "English>German literary influence"—the meaning of "influence" as applied to individuals—conflicting theories regarding international influence—influences as accelerating agencies—helpful and harmful literary conjunctures—types of influence—present state of investigation of English>German literary influences—selective nature of this work.	
Abbreviations and method of citation	124
I. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND BEFORE (SHAKESPEARE EXCLUDED)	
Chapter 1. The seventeenth century in general	125
Predominance of foren influence—English influence relatively unimportant—Weckherlin as an intermediary between England and Germany—Sidney's <i>Arcadia</i> —Latin novels—Owen's epigrams—English philosophers and theologians—English history in German literature.	
Chapter 2. The seventeenth century; dramatic influences	134
Sketch of researches regarding the English comedians—English players in Germany 1586ff.—the troupes and their leaders—the repertoires—influence of the English players on German dramatic art—naturalism—transition from the English to the German language—rapid loss of poetic qualities of the plays—conjectures regarding the form of the stage—elaborate scenery and costumes—development of the rôle of the fool—literary influences—Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig—Jakob Ayrer—Gundolf's views regarding the influence of the comedians.	

	PAGES
Chapter 3. The eighteenth century in general	155
<p>General development of German literature in the eighteenth century—prestige of Koch's survey—certain false impressions circulated thereby—Hohlfeld's advantageous division of the subject: three waves of influence—four important literary centers—Lichtenberg as an intermediary between England and Germany—mediums of international interchange—journeys of German men of letters to England—correspondence—literary journals—crucial themes of investigation—brief mention of certain minor influences: Prior, Dryden, Bunyan, Defoe, Swift, English satire—the American revolution as viewed by certain German men of letters.</p>	
Chapter 4. Addison and the moral weeklies	189
<p>Popularity of the new journalism in England and Germany—its rapid decline in England—its long continuance in Germany—dependence of the early German journals on the English ones—moral tendencies of the journals—stylistic tendencies—the democratizing tendency—the beginnings of esthetic criticism—Addison's essay on Milton—the German discussion regarding <i>Paradise lost</i>—influence of the weeklies on certain German authors.</p>	
Chapter 5. Pope	198
<p>Pope once regarded as an important influence in Germany—Shaftesbury now reclaiming his due from Pope—importance of Pope's influence in regard to style—efforts of the German translators to imitate Pope's measure—controversy over the <i>Essay on man</i>—the <i>Essay on criticism</i>—an attempt to adapt the <i>Dunciad</i>—possible influence of Pope on Haller—minor influence on Ew. Ch. von Kleist, Brockes, Hagedorn, Dusch—the stylistic influence alone of consequence.</p>	
Chapter 6. Thomson	211
<p>The changing view of nature in England an evolution rather than a revolution—Thomson's <i>Seasons</i> as signalizing the accomplished evolution—their warm reception in England—their characteristics—untenable assertions regarding Thomson's influence on Haller and Brockes—Brockes as Thomson's sponsor in Germany—Kleist and other less successful imitators of Thomson in Germany—the question of the justification of descriptive poetry—adoption of Thomson's ideals by Hagedorn, Klopstock, and Schiller.</p>	
Chapter 7. Milton's <i>Paradise lost</i>	226
<p>Milton's belated establishment in Germany—Bodmer's translation of <i>Paradise lost</i> (1732)—religious controversy occasioned thereby in Switzerland—literary controversy between Gottsched and the Swiss—the justification of the miraculous—Klopstock's inspiration received thru the Bodmer translation—his <i>Messias</i> (1748ff.)—Milton's <i>Paradise lost</i> at the hands of successive schools of German criticism—incongruities criticized by the rationalists—failure to satisfy the classic ideals of Winckelmann—Milton not rankt as an "Originalgenie" by the "Stürmer und Dränger"—increase range acquired by German poetry thru Milton's aid.</p>	
Chapter 8. Young's <i>Night thoughts</i>	236
<p>Young's popularity in Germany—his literary position—recent new light on his character—the religious element in Young's poetry compared with that in Milton's—reception of the <i>Night thoughts</i> in Germany—Ebert and the lesser exponents of Young—extravagant praise</p>	

of Young in the earlier years—the more critical views of the elder Wieland, of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller—the enthusiasm for Young more than a fad—the transition from Milton's universal pathos to the lyric of individual sentiment—Young's protégée, Elizabeth Singer Rowe—the cult of friendship—pietism—the moral weeklies as heralds of Rowe—Rowe's popularity co-incident with that of Young.

Chapter 9. Macpherson's *Ossian* 249

Sketch of Macpherson's career—the controversy regarding his *Ossian*—characterization thereof—the vogue of *Ossian* in Germany—*Ossian* as an original genius—*Ossian* as a sentimentalist—early extravagant praise—comparisons with Homer—*Ossian* and Klopstock—Klopstock's mythology—bardic poetry—criteria of Ossianic influence: Ossianic machinery and decoration, Ossianic comparisons—Klopstock's inquiries in regard to Ossianic poetry—Herder's espousal of *Ossian*—Gerstenberg's early skepticism—influence of *Ossian* on Gerstenberg—Denis's translations and imitations—Kretschmann—passing interest of Goethe, Schiller, and the "Göttinger Bund"—Goethe's cooling ardor and later ironical comment—the positive result of the Ossianic furor: an impulse to old Germanic studies.

Chapter 10. Percy and the German folk song 266

Definition of Percy problem—Bishop Percy's contributions to literature—his *Reliques*—early interest in folk song in England—in Germany—temporary disrepute of the "Volkslied" in Germany—spontaneous new interest—Gerstenberg's studies—the interest of Hamann and Herder for the "Volkslied"—Herder's inconsistent use of the term—the crux of the question: the Percy > Bürger influence—mistaken basis of asserted influence—the autochthonous origin of *Lenore*—relative unimportance of the "Göttinger Bund" as a herald of the "Volkslied"—the Percy collection as sanction for a similar German work—the early demand for a German Percy—the opposition of the "Aufklärer"—early German translations of Percy's songs: Ursinus (1777), Herder (1779), Bodmer (1781)—later translations: Bothe (1795), scattered translations in "Almanache," etc.—simultaneous interest in the collection of German folk songs—Alsatian folk songs and the Straszburg group (ca. 1771)—Boie's contributions in the *Deutsches Museum*—valuable services of Gräter's *Bragur* (1791ff.)—other predecessors of Arnim and Brentano—the new tone as a criterion of influence—the Percy tone not unlike that of the German folk song—the case of Goethe.

Chapter 11. Richardson and Fielding 283

The literary predecessors of Richardson—his novels the first to exert a quickening influence on German fiction—their limited influence in England—the strength of Richardson as defined by Goethe—the early opposition of Richardson to Fielding in England—the contest reproduced in Germany—the views of the critics—Lessing and Herder eclectic—Lichtenberg, Sturz, and Blankenburg as exponents of Fielding in theory—Gellert and Hermes as followers of Richardson in practice—Musäus's attempt to imitate Fielding—the disparity between prevailing theory and prevailing practice—Resewitz's explanation thereof—Fielding's motifs in the "Sturm und Drang" dramas, a comparison of theories—the juster appreciation of Richardson and Fielding: Wieland and Goethe—Wieland's early enthusiasm for Richardson—*Agathon* and the turning away from Richardson—Sophie La Roche's fidelity to the perfect characters of Richardson—the influence of Richardson on Goethe's *Werther*—the transition to the self-ironizing *Wilhelm Meister*—the share of the English humorous novel in the transition.

	PAGES
Chapter 12. Goldsmith and Sterne	310
<p>The German translations of the <i>Vicar of Wakefield</i>—general trend of German criticism—popularity of the <i>Vicar</i>—numerous imitations—characterization thereof—reasons for the popularity—Herder's praise—Goldsmith motifs in Goethe's life—Sterne's introduction into Germany—cool reception of <i>Tristram Shandy</i>—immediate popularity of the <i>Sentimental journey</i>—consequent interest in <i>Tristram Shandy</i>—constancy of Herder, Wieland, and Lessing to Sterne—congeniality of Wieland and Sterne—extent of Wieland's imitation—other imitators—Jacobi and the snuff-box hobby—Goethe's criticisms of Schummel's <i>Reise</i>—the opposition to Sterne: Richardson, Goldsmith, Garrick, Lichtenberg, Sturz, Moritz—the period of better imitations: Hippe's <i>Lebensläufe</i> (1788), Thümmel's <i>Reise</i> (1785), Jean Paul's literary work (1783-1795)—Goethe's early enthusiasm for Sterne—his cooling ardor—generous praise in his later years—Goethe's so-called plagiarism in <i>Wilhelm Meister</i>—the nature of Sterne's influence on Goethe.</p>	
Chapter 13. The middle-class drama	334
<p>The classic conception of tragedy and comedy as defined by Gottsched—the breakdown of aristocratic distinctions—the democratization of the tragedy in England—the elevation of the comedy in France—Lillo's <i>Merchant of London</i> and its influence in Germany thru Lessing's <i>Miss Sara Sampson</i>—characterization of the imitations—Moore's <i>Gamester</i> as a subsidiary model for Brawe's <i>Freygeist</i>—other imitations of the <i>Gamester</i>—the English milieu of the middle-class dramas in Germany—Schröder's utilization of English dramas—middle-class dramas of a more indigenous type: <i>Minna von Barnhelm</i>, <i>Emilia Galotti</i>, <i>Götz von Berlichingen</i>, <i>die Räuber</i>—English connexions also present here—German fate tragedies of the early nineteenth century—their doubtful connexion with Lillo's <i>Fatal curiosity</i>.</p>	
II. SHAKESPEARE IN GERMANY	
Chapter 14. Dryden, Lessing, and the rationalistic critics	354
<p>The course of Shakespearean study in Europe—the legend of a Shakespeare long neglected in England—frequent dramatic productions of Shakespeare in England in the seventeenth century—"The century of praise"—the tolerant views of Dryden, Rowe, Pope, Addison—the moral weeklies as heralds of Shakespeare in Germany—a controversy arising out of Borek's translation of <i>Caesar</i> (1741)—lapse of interest in Shakespeare thereafter—new stimulus from French critics, chiefly Voltaire—the legend of Lessing's priority as a herald of Shakespeare in Germany—Lessing's early dependence on Voltaire and Dryden—priority of Mendelssohn over Lessing in Shakespearean study—Lessing's silence regarding Shakespeare after the 17. <i>Litteraturbrief</i>—conservative tone of the <i>Hamburgische Dramaturgie</i>—various theories regarding it—Wieland the rationalistic translator—Schröder the rationalistic producer.</p>	
Chapter 15. Young, Herder, and the "Sturm und Drang" critics	386
<p>Increasing recognition of Young's importance as a critic of Shakespeare—his <i>Conjectures</i> not epoch-making in England—reception of the <i>Conjectures</i> in Germany—their stimulating influence on Hamann, Gerstenberg, and Herder—Herder's wavering views regarding Shakespeare—the question of Herder's influence on Goethe's early conception of Shakespeare—Lenz's <i>Anmerkungen über das Theater</i>—their asserted priority to Herder's <i>Shakespeare</i> and Goethe's <i>Götz</i>—Lenz's translations and imitations of Shakespeare—Klinger and Shakespeare.</p>	

Chapter 16. Böttlingk's *Shakespeare und unsere Klassiker*

Certain inadequacies in Böttlingk's method—(1) *Lessing und Shakespeare*—Böttlingk's over-emphasis on Dryden as Lessing's guide—his conception of Lessing's abject reliance on Shakespeare—some of his Lessing-Shakespeare parallels—(2) *Goethe und Shakespeare*—greater difficulty of this theme—"das Erlebte" in Goethe's poetry—Shakespeare regarded as untheatrical by Goethe—a new and better method of investigation forced upon Böttlingk—a comparison of poetic processes—certain Goethe-Shakespeare parallels—*Götz* and Shakespeare's historical plays—*Faust* and *Hamlet*—*Egmont* and Shakespeare's character tragedies—Shakespeare as the theme of the *Theatralische Sendung*—gradual weakening of the Shakespearean impulse after the first Weimar period—new stimulus from Schiller—a second falling away from Shakespeare—*Romeo und Julia* (1812)—*Die natürliche Tochter* (1803)—a re-quickening thru *Faust II*—*Faust* and *The tempest* as allegorical dramas—Goethe's works arbitrarily judged by Böttlingk according to the Shakespearean standard—(3) *Schiller und Shakespeare*—Schiller's first acquaintance with the dramas of Shakespeare—their effects on his earliest works—Schiller's adhesion to Shakespeare as indicated by Böttlingk—reservations regarding the validity of Böttlingk's criticism.

Chapter 17. Gundolf's *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*

Broad plan of Gundolf's work—Lessing contrasted with the earlier rationalists—impossibility of a Shakespeare > Lessing influence—Wieland's partial susceptibility to Shakespeare's style—Shakespearean atmosphere in Wieland's works—Wieland's Shakespeare the actual model of the "Stürmer und Dränger"—Herder's new esthetic system—Shakespeare now first revealed in his totality in Germany—influence of Wieland's Shakespeare on Goethe's *Götz*—*Hamlet* and *Werther*: the struggle with self in the renaissance and in modern middle-class life—*Hamlet* and *Faust*: renaissance and "Bildungszeitalter"—man in conflict with the world: Shakespeare's historical plays and *Götz*, *Egmont*, *Wilhelm Meister*, *Faust*—fundamental differences between Shakespeare's views and Goethe's—the "Stürmer und Dränger:" Wagner, Lenz, Klinger, Maler Müller—Shakespeare and Schiller: the world for its own sake and the world as a dramatization of moral law—Shakespeare and the romanticists: Tieck, "der Phantast;" F. Schlegel, "der Denker;" A. W. Schlegel, "der Sprachmeister"—an adequate translation in the fullness of time—the nineteenth century and Shakespeare—conclusions to be drawn from Gundolf's book.

Chapter 18. Shakespeare in the nineteenth century

Shakespearean interpretation in the nineteenth century under the tutelage of the romantic school—the wide basis of study planned by the romantic school—the history of the Schlegel-Tieck-Baudissin-Shakespeare—revision of this edition and competing translations—the question of the inviolability of the Schlegel-Tieck-Baudissin translation in the light of its origin—Kleist's struggle to rival Shakespeare—his partial appropriation of Shakespeare's art—Grillparzer's struggle to keep himself free from Shakespeare—Hebbel's philosophy and Shakespeare's mutually exclusive—Shakespeare's tragic characters free agents struggling with self—Hebbel's characters fore-ordained to contend with the world in a certain way—Ludwig, Hebbel, and the turning toward the recent Ibsen type of drama—Ludwig between the two ideals—Wagner's hope of a "Drama der Zukunft" surpassing Shakespeare's—Grabbe's defiance of Shakespeare—Heine's classification of Shakespeare as both Greek and Nazarene—his admiration for Shakespeare's "Stimmungsbrechungen"—Shakespeare and Nietzsche's "Uebersenschen"—present-day values of Shakespeare for Germany.

III. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER (SHAKESPEARE EXCLUDED)

Chapter 19. The nineteenth century in general	472
<p>Sunken prestige of English literature circa 1800—certain English influences outlived in Germany—surviving influences: Shakespeare, the English novel—the humor of Sterne and romantic irony—"Weltliteratur"—the Goethe-Carlyle league—Goethe's sponsorship of Burns—England's literary indebtedness to Germany—England's political institutions—their appeal to the Young Germans—English influences in connexion with the liberal régime of the fifties—gradual broadening of the scope of the novel under English sanction—the aged Goethe's appreciation of English characteristics.</p>	
Chapter 20. Scott	496
<p>Scott's attitude toward history compared with that of the German romanticists—Scott's realism: the dramatic form of his novel—Alexis's view of history as contrasted with Scott's—the form of his novel compared with Scott's—Hauff's specific indebtedness to Scott and other English novelists—Freytag's adoption of Scott's novel as a standard of form—Scott's pictures of contemporary life and the German "Dorfgeschichte"—"Der Mensch an sich" as a novelistic theme—man in relation to his occupation the theme of the English novel—introduction of the latter type into the German novel.</p>	
Chapter 21. Byron	517
<p>Byron's conquest of contemporary Europe—rapid decline of his popularity in England—two early admirers in Germany: F. J. Jacobsen and Elise von Hohenhausen—types of Byronic poets in Germany: the philhellene, the political poet, the "Weltschmerzler"—Heine's dallying with the Byronic pose—estimates of Byron's influence on Heine—Byron, Heine, and the poetry of the sea—the relations of Goethe and Byron—Byron's debt to Goethe.</p>	
Chapter 22. Dickens	540
<p>Dickens's early popularity in Germany—Otto Ludwig's appreciation of Dickens: "die musikalische Stimmung," "das mimische Element"—Freytag's appreciation: "Freude am Dasein"—Reuter's appreciation: hatred of sham and hypocrisy, sympathy with the poor and oppressed—subject matter, form, and atmosphere as criteria of Dickens's influence.</p>	
Chapter 23. America in German literature	555
<p>America as a new theme for literature—economic and political connexion between America and Germany before 1850—Goethe's interest in America—Willkomm, Kürnberger, Lenau—popularity of the American background—Cooper's vogue in Germany—his numerous imitators—pictures of realistic modern types: Howells, James, Clemens, Harte—reasons for the restricted influence of the American novel—lyric poetry: Longfellow, Poe, Whitman and the Whitmanites—American philosophy: Emerson—the widening gulf between America and Germany, 1850ff.</p>	
Chapter 24. The twentieth century	577
Addenda to BIBLIOGRAPHY	584
Index of influences	595

INTRODUCTION

The term *English > German* literary influences means in this survey the influences of English literature upon German literature. Influences in the opposite direction, if they were discussed, would be designated as *German > English* literary influences. By English literature is meant the entire body of literature in the English language, whether written in England, America, or elsewhere, and by German literature is meant all literature in the modern German language, Austrian and Swiss writers being included as well as writers of Germany proper. Some readers may regret the one-sidedness of the present treatise, but even had the writer felt himself equipped for the double task of treating of the mutual relations, such a procedure would have been inadvisable from an artistic point of view. The resultant work would have been Janus-faced, lacking in unity and symmetry. In the excellent work of Waterhouse [17], wherein such a course is attempted, the unity hangs upon a slender thread.

It is not in a partisan spirit that *German > English* influences are excluded from consideration. The writer is not aware of any critical bias excepting one in favor of literary free trade. He regrets that there have not been more Klopstocks, Lessings, and Goethes, more Voltaires and Rousseaus, more Carlyles, Margaret Fullers, and Longfellows, all of them good borrowers, and most of them no less good representatives of their national types in consequence thereof.

As to the meaning of literary influence, when applied to an individual, there is a fortunate agreement among specialists in the subject. Mere imitation is not ignored by them, but it is no longer confused with literary influence. Literary influence does not take place until an author begins to produce independently and spontaneously after the manner of a predecessor. There is nothing servile about such a relation. Goethe, one of the most spontaneous of producers, confessed himself subject to many influences in the course of his long life, yet remained always and distinctively Goethe. Freiligrath, on the other hand, imitated English literature throughout the greater part of his life, but it has not yet been shown that he was ever influenced thereby. It is not to be thought that an influence changes the character of any man or of any author's writings. "Was im Menschen nicht ist, kommt auch nicht aus ihm," Goethe lets Hermann's father truly say. A work of literature cannot create anything in the reader. It can only quicken something latently there. Bodmer's description of Milton's influence on Klopstock is a good psychological analysis of the phenomenon of literary influences.¹

When the term "influence" is applied to the action of one literature on another in its totality, the critics begin to talk at cross purposes, and it is evident that their underlying principles are different. Lessing said

¹ See SURVEY, p. 230f.

that English models were more desirable in German literature than French ones on account of the congeniality of the English and German nation. Herder based his theory on the existence of a "Volkseele," and held Shakespeare free from the Aristotelian rules, because he was not sprung from the Grecian race and clime, and Taine, as is well known, wrote an entire history of English literature on a theory similar to Herder's. The views of Lessing and Herder have dominated, to a large extent, the works reviewed in this survey. Many of the critics quoted here have seemed to adopt with moderations and modifications the view that a national literature has a character corresponding to that of the nation which produced it. To speak of the influence of one literature upon another under such presuppositions is to use a mighty phrase. Not all the thousand witnesses here past in review suffice to prove German literature as a whole to-day, or at any previous time, essentially different from what it would have been had the British Isles always reposed at the bottom of the North Sea.

The compiler of this work is bound to confess his skepticism regarding the existence of differentiating characteristics in national literature, as well as in national life. It is entirely possible to characterize an author; it is possible to characterize a group of authors, or a literary age such as the Greek classical period, the German romantic period, or the age of Elizabeth; but if one, for example, attempts to find the terms that describe English literature in its totality, with its *Beowulf*, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Keats, Byron, Tennyson, Dickens, and Oscar Wilde, one must find terms so general that they will apply equally well to any other literature that has a complete course of life. For almost every second or third rate author in one country it is possible to find a counterpart in another, and if we direct attention to the geniuses of first rank we are by no means nearer to a definition in terms of nationality; Luther and Goethe were as unlike each other as Shakespeare was unlike both. At any given moment, it is true, literatures may seem to be unlike each other, but this will be found due in most cases to the fact that they are at different stages of development. The literatures of western Europe in the nineteenth century, however, past thru similar phases almost simultaneously.

Even tho we feel constrained to admit that influences are limited in the scope of their operation, that they cannot permanently give an otherwise never adopted direction to a whole body of literature, they are none the less too important to be overlookt. Individual works, individual authors, even individual periods are affected by outside influences, and some of the works affected thereby are objects of close concern to us. We would not amend the lines of Homer, Shakespeare, or Goethe, even where we can clearly see flaws therein. We are, therefore, interested in everything that made those works just what they are. We have a similar attitude toward historical facts. We are interested in the rain-storm that delayed Blücher, even tho we feel certain that Napoleon would have been eventually defeated whether he came soon or late.

Influences, after all, like Blücher's rainstorm, are largely hastening or retarding elements, and as such are of the utmost consequence in the nice adjustments of society. The intellect of a child of five is not a dangerous element in a community, unless it happens to be housed in a body that has the strength of twenty years; but an entire race is likely to become a dangerous element in society if it suddenly reaches world power without the quality of self-criticism that comes with maturity. There are fortunate and unfortunate conjunctures in literature. When it came to be Germany's turn to enjoy the fruitage of the renaissance, the thirty years' war interfered and the fruitage was postponed, with the result that Germany's highest literary products are more modern in language and in tone than those of England's greatest literary period. This is fortunate for our age, but was deplorable at the time. The spirit of a Luther or of a Hans Sachs was able to break thru the clumsy trammels of an undeveloped language, but how many equally fine but less sturdy spirits may have been held to earth thereby!

This survey is able to record at least one instance of a fortunate adjustment. At the beginning of the eighteenth century German literature was still rather bare of poetic qualities. It had to advance by leaps and bounds to be ready for Goethe seventy-five years later. The French and English literatures, like good pace makers, kept just a few steps ahead during this time. Goethe, more than any other, profited by the effect of this stimulus. Without it he would have lived and written, to be sure, but he would have written otherwise, and he would have left it to another to demonstrate the full poetic range of the German language.

It should next be noted that literary influences are of different types. Gundolf has introduced order into the study of this subject by the arrangement of his *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*. He has divided his work into three parts: (1) Shakespeare als Stoff, (2) Shakespeare als Form, (3) Shakespeare als Gehalt. Gundolf borrowed his classification no doubt from Goethe, who may perhaps have derived it in turn from conversations with Herder;² but whatever its origin, it is a classification of general applicability. The first and lowest form of influence is proved by the parallel passage, theme, or plot. In the strictest sense these are not signs of influence, the term "influence" being used out of courtesy or convenience only. The designation "form influence" explains itself, altho it is true that form and content influences cannot always be strictly distinguished, since form is so largely contingent upon content. The last type of influence brings us into the higher realms of literature. The great poet is a seer and therefore a creator. He gives a new content and value to human life. It is precisely the most gifted portion of humanity, his fellow-poets, who are able to see his vision after him. But these

² Goethe, *Werke* I 27, 345. Goethe relates in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* X that Herder found his appreciation of the *Vicar of Wakefield* faulty: "Er, der bloss Gehalt und Form achtete, sah freilich wohl, dass ich vom Stoff überwältigt ward, und das wollte er nicht gelten lassen."

gifted after-seers are men of personality too and of creative imagination. Out of the contact of powers arises often a third and higher view of life. The study of influences in this sense is often an investigation into the genetics of poetry.

It is not the endeavor of the present work to penetrate these mysteries. This *Survey* is, as its name indicates, an extensive and not an intensive view. It undertakes to draw up approximately the sum of our present knowledge of English>German influences, and by defining the known to suggest certain neglected episodes for later investigators. Such a survey would have been better written by one of the group of scholars who have made this study the work of many years, but men of this type prefer to devote themselves to original investigations and are doubtless well pleased to leave the task of compiling a bibliography and recording progress to a novice. It is true that surveys of the mutual relations of English and German literature have been written before, and indeed by distinguished scholars, but Herford's work on the sixteenth century [13] has practically only German>English influences to show. Waterhouse [17] has refrained from dealing with the English influences on the German drama in the seventeenth century, and these were the only vital ones of the time. For the eighteenth century we have the monograph of Max Koch [76], as packed with information as any forty-page treatise could be. Written in 1883, it represents, however, an early stage of knowledge, for E. Schmidt's treatise on *Richardson, Rousseau and Goethe* [295], written eight years previously, marks the beginning of the intensive study. Of the works on the eighteenth century listed in the bibliography nearly all have appeared since 1883. In the light of these studies several statements of Koch need revision and nearly all need expansion.

The time seemed at last ripe for such a summarizing treatment of the eighteenth-century English>German literary influences as is contained in the first two parts of this work, but now that the summary has been made the author realizes that it is not final. Despite the flood of literature dealing with Shakespeare in Germany, there is as yet no total survey of the history of Shakespearean criticism in Germany. Gundolf's work gives the quintessence but no details. Regarding the changing opinions of the nineteenth century, we are particularly ill-informed. We need some adequately equipt critic, who will undertake to do for Shakespeare what A. Ludwig has done for Schiller with his *Schiller und die deutsche Nachwelt* [564]. The summary of the eighteenth-century influences in general is inadequate and partial, as the author well knows, for another reason: The account of the increasing sway of the English influence is incomplete without a more constant reference to the diminishing but still tenacious French influence. The third part of this survey is necessarily the least satisfactory, partly because nineteenth century authors have only recently been deemed worthy of scientific consideration; hence the influence of Dickens and some others has been discussed in but a partial

way while the influence of Emerson, to mention one striking instance, has been treated practically not at all. The chief difficulty, however, lies in the fact that we have to do in the nineteenth century not with simple influences but with highly complicated interrelations.

To criticize individual monographs in this survey has been found almost superfluous. A marked uniformity of quality has prevailed, due to the fact that most of these investigations have originated under similarly favorable conditions, that is to say, under the auspices of German and American universities. The researches seem also to have been prosecuted with notable freedom from nationalistic bias. This survey has of course treated its basic material selectively. Only those monographs have been summarized which tend to show that some important German poet, German work, or German literary movement has been affected in a considerable way by an English influence. Sporadic and transitory literary vogues, instances of parallel passages, and other minor phenomena frequently regarded as evidences of influence receive only passing mention, or none at all. The symptomatic significance of such lore is recognized by the inclusion of many suggestive titles in the BIBLIOGRAPHY which supplements the SURVEY.

In conclusion I wish to express my indebtedness to those who have made it possible for me to complete this work. It was Professor H. K. Schilling of the University of California who first suggested that I provide a SURVEY to accompany my BIBLIOGRAPHY. Since then he has supported me generously with his assistance, particularly by reading my MS at the early and plastic stage in its development, when it was possible to profit by his abundant detailed criticism.

My interest in this particular phase of the literary history of Germany was first aroused by Professor A. R. Hohlfeld of the University of Wisconsin several years ago. I thank him also for permission to use his fundamental conception of the three waves of English influence that reach Germany from England in the eighteenth century. Helpful as this idea has been to successive groups of students at Wisconsin he has left it to one of his pupils to first give it a slightly broader circulation thru the printed word. My wife prepared the first typewritten manuscript of this work and the successive revisions, read with me all the proofs, and shared with me all of the labor of preparing the copy for the press. If the work shall be found to possess any grace or uniformity in detail it is largely due to her help.

As the work approacht a conclusion Professor Hohlfeld read all the galley proofs, pointing out sins of omission as well as commission; Professor Evans of Ohio State University read the proofs of Chapter 2, and Professor Kind of Wisconsin those of Chapter 8. To all the scholars who have helpt me I am deeply grateful. As I have always revised on the basis of suggestions it is entirely possible that I may have introduced some errors into the work despite the vigilance of my censors.

ABBREVIATIONS AND METHOD OF CITATION

(a) The list of abbreviations in the BIBLIOGRAPHY pp. 6-8, applies also to the SURVEY.

(b) Quotations from certain authors are cited according to standard critical editions of their works, for which the following abbreviated designations are used:

Biedermann, *Gespräche* = Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*² (Leipzig 1910); 5 vols.

Börne, *Schriften* = Börne, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Hamburg 1862); 12 vols.

Eckermann, *Gespräche* = Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*¹⁰ (Leipzig 1910); 805 pp.

Freytag, *Werke* = Freytag, *Gesammelte Werke* (Leipzig 1896-1898); 22 vols.

Goethe, *Werke* = Goethe, *Werke* Weimar edition (Weimar 1887ff.) 129 vols.

Hamann, *Schriften* = Hamann, *Schriften* ed. Roth and Wiener (Berlin 1821-1843); 15 vols.

Heine, *Werke* = Heine, *Sämtliche Werke* ed. O. Walzel (Leipzig 1910-1914); 10 vols.

Herder, *Werke* = Herder, *Sämtliche Werke* ed. Suphan (Berlin 1877-1899); 32 vols.

Lenz, *Schriften* = Lenz, *Gesammelte Schriften* ed. F. Blei (München and Leipzig 1909-1913); 5 vols.

Lessing, *Schriften* = Lessing, *Sämtliche Schriften* ed. Lachmann-Muncker (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1886-1907); 21 vols.

Ludwig, *Schriften* = Ludwig, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Ad. Stern and E. Schmidt (Leipzig 1891-1899); 6 vols.

Schiller, *Werke* = Schiller, *Sämtliche Werke*, Säkularausgabe, ed. E. von der Hellen (Stuttgart and Berlin 1904); 16 vols.

(c) Works listed in the BIBLIOGRAPHY are cited in the SURVEY according to their bibliographical serial number. Bibliographical references containing an x in the brackets are to be found in the addenda, page 584f.

(d) The elevated numeral after a bibliographical entry denotes the edition, e. g. Schmidt [126]² I 36 indicates Schmidt's *Lessing* etc., 2nd edition, vol. I, p. 36; cf. Eckermann above.

(e) Volume, if any, is indicated by the roman numeral following the designation of the work. The page is given in arabics without the abbreviation p.

SURVEY

PART I

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND BEFORE

(Shakespeare excluded)

CHAPTER 1

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN GENERAL

“Wenn man eines neusüchtigen Deutschlings Herz öffnen und sehen sollte, würde man augenscheinlich befinden, dass fünf Achtel desselben französisch, ein Achtel spanisch, eins italienisch und kaum eins deutsch daran gefunden werden.”

These frequently quoted words of Moscherosch in his *Wahrhafte Gesichte Philanders von Sittenwald* (1642) call attention to the fact that despite the prevailing fondness for things foreign, English influences in the middle of the seventeenth century had as yet failed to make their impress upon the social life and manners of the Germans of the time. Moscherosch's testimony notwithstanding, the influence of English literature was for the first time becoming faintly discernable in German literature at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In Herford's closely printed work of four hundred pages *The literary relations of England and Germany in the sixteenth century* [13] England appears almost exclusively as the debtor nation. In that century German literature rarely rose above the level of social and religious tracts of a predominantly satirical tone, yet it was able to lend inspiration even to the Elizabethan dramatists. In the economics of literature the power to lend is always present, while the power to borrow to advantage depends upon the vigor of the borrower.

In the seventeenth century the influence of English literature upon the German was but sporadic. German literature was distinctly under the ban of foreign influence. Nearly all the con-

spicuous features of life, trends of taste, and literary characters emphasize this fact. The characteristic social form of the time was the "Sprachgesellschaft." The "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," later called the "Palmenorden," was founded in 1617 by Prinz Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen. The "teutschgesinnte Genossenschaft" of Hamburg (1643ff.) was led by the purist Zesen. The "Pegnitzschäfer" of Nürnberg (1644ff.) were under the sponsorship of Klaj and Harsdörffer, the grammarians. The "Elbschwanen" (Hamburg, 1660-1667) were under the leadership of Johann Rist. A common chief aim of all these and similar societies was the elevation and the purification of the German language, especially the supplanting of French and Latin words. The very existence of these societies testifies to the consciousness of a danger threatening the language. Yet even the method of combating the encroachment was suggested from without. The model of the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" was the "Accademia della Crusca" of Florence (1582). The cherishing of the vernacular was furthermore a common renaissance tendency.

Germany participated as a late convert in a change of taste in fiction. The love story reached its climax in *Amadis of Gaul*, a Portuguese romance of about the year 1500. This type of novel had enjoyed a great popularity; but a reaction in favor of the simple life had already set in. Jacobo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (Naples 1504), Montemayor's *Diana* (Portugal 1524), D'Urfée's *L'Astrée* (France 1607-1625), and finally the *Arcadia* of Sidney (England 1590), which Opitz translated into German in 1638; these titles indicate the triumphant march of pastoral prose and poetry around the periphery of the continent to interior Germany.

The prevailing literary contest in Germany was that between the purists and the bombasts or, as they are usually termed, the adherents of the first and of the second Silesian school; for strangely enough Silesia had come into literary leadership for the time. The affected bombastic trend had its counterpart in

other countries; in Italy it was represented by Marino, whose *Strage degli innocente* appeared in 1630;¹ in Spain by Gongora (1561–1627); in France by the “*précieuses*”; in England by Lyly, whose *Euphues* appeared in 1579. Daniel Casper von Lohenstein (1635–1683), who gave his name to the trend in Germany (Lohensteinscher Schwulst), was accordingly one of the last to be affected.

By common consent Martin Opitz (1597–1639) is the spokesman of orthodox literary opinion of his time and country. When still a young man he had protested in a well written Latin treatise, *Aristarchus sive de contemptu linguae teutonice* (1617), against the excessive use of Latin and foren languages in Germany. He made it his life work to show that Germany could have all the literary genres possible in other languages. There is something less than complete literary independence in this very endeavor. Even his *Buch von der teutschen Poeterey* had many predecessors. One of the earliest in renaissance times was that of Hieronymus Vida, which appeared in Rome in 1527 under the title *De arte poetica: Libri tres*. J. C. Scaliger published his *Poëtices libri septem* in Lyons in 1761; the seven-book division was retained by most of his successors. Du Bellay of the French “*Pléiade*” wrote his *Défense et illustration de la langue française* in 1549, which his colleg Ronsard contracted into the *Abrégé de l’art poétique* (1565). Sir Philip Sidney wrote his *Apologie for poetry* in the years 1579–1580.² Martin Opitz studied at Leyden (1620) under the noted Dutch grammarian Heinsius, author of *Nederduytsche Poemata* (1616), before producing his own *Buch von der teutschen Poeterey* in 1624. Again we have the typical advance from Italy thru the Romanic countries to England and thence indirectly to Germany, this time by way of Holland. More frequently England’s contribution to the common stream past back into Germany by way of France, while still other currents past directly from France or Italy into Germany, leaving England out of the course.

¹ Translated into German by Brockes (1715), *Der bethlemitische Kindermord*.

² Cf. Brie, *Sidneys “Arcadia”* QF CXXIV (1918) 158.

From the foregoing it is clear that the English was only one of many foren influences operating in Germany in the seventeenth century, and on closer inspection it appears as one of the least weighty of these. Waterhouse, in his monograph *The literary relations of England and Germany in the seventeenth century* [17], treats of the reciprocal relations between the two countries. In the sixteenth century, as has been shown, Germany was the giver to England. In the eighteenth century she was to be the receiver. In the seventeenth century the accounts are brief, but Waterhouse finds the balance nearly even. It is true Waterhouse omits the drama from consideration, a considerable omission, for the English drama, as represented by the English comedians, was destined to prove itself the one permanent English literary influence of the time. There remain then, on the English > German side, for Waterhouse's discussion about seven main topics.

... In the realm of lyric poetry Georg Rudolf Weckherlin (1584-1653) is the only German of his time to display the results of English influence. Weckherlin was born in Tübingen, he studied in Stuttgart, and traveled in France and England. For six years he was in the service of the Duke of Württemberg. In 1616 he married an Englishwoman, Elizabeth Raworth. In 1622 or before he left Stuttgart, and in 1624 he entered the diplomatic service in England. On the defeat of the royalists he lost his position as secretary for foren tongues to the committee of the two kingdoms and was succeeded by John Milton. He died in London in 1653.

... In spite of his preoccupation with state affairs, in spite of his long absence from Germany, and in spite of his imperfect technik, Weckherlin enricht his century with some of its best German poetry. Weckherlin is better known, however, on account of his opposition to Opitz in the theory of metrics. Weckherlin based his view on the false assumption that the German syllabification was more nearly akin to that of the French, Spanish, and Italian languages than to the Dutch and English,

for which latter languages, he said, Opitz's rule fitted well. As a creative poet Weckherlin takes precedence over Opitz. According to some of the best critics,² he anticipated Opitz in the reform of German poetry. He introduced the sonnet and the romance strophic and metric forms as early as 1616. This was the entering wedge that eventually rendered obsolete the old Germanic narrative poetry in "Reimpaaren."

Tho Weckherlin drew upon France most largely for his new forms, the English influence was not entirely negligible, as Bohm [20] has shown. While in the service of the Duke of Württemberg Weckherlin wrote a poem entitled *Triumpf newlich bey der F. Kindtauf zu Stuttgart gehalten*. The English princess Elizabeth, the wife of Frederick V., Elector Palatine, was a guest of honor on this occasion. Weckherlin summoned for the purpose all the English that he commanded and wrote an English version of his poem, which he dedicated to her. Weckherlin's *Oden und Gesänge* (1618) are introduced by a free rendering of Spenser's lines "To his Booke" in the *Shepherdes Calender* (1579). Weckherlin also wrote a poem address to the princess Elizabeth, in which the Latin, English, French, and German muses speak in turn in their own languages. His *Kennzeichen eines glückseligen Lebens* is a translation of a poem by Sir Henry Wotton. Bohm has pointed out additional English-Weckherlin parallels. Waterhouse agrees with Weckherlin's editor, Fischer,³ that some of Bohm's parallels are best accounted for by the supposition of a common French origin.

Weckherlin's impulse toward poetic production was kept alive by the example of foren poets, English poets among others. Borinski says: "Die Stellung der englischen und französischen Poeten bestimmte den schon zu Amt und Würden gelangten Mann, mit einem Band deutscher Gedichte hervorzutreten, dem ersten bedeutenden Ergebnis der Renaissancepoesie für

² Cf. Goedeke, Introduction to *Gedichte von Georg Rudolf Weckherlin*, Deutsche Dichter d. 17. Jh. V (Leipzig 1873). See also Borinski, *Die Poetik der Renaissance*, etc. (Berlin 1886), p. 52; quoted by Waterhouse [17] 67 and 72.

³ *Georg Rudolf Weckherlins Gedichte* (ed. Hermann Fischer), Bibliothek des Stutt. lit. Vereins CXCIX and CC, Stuttgart 1894 and 1895.

Deutschland,"⁴ while Schaffer attributes to England an influence on Weckherlin's style. He says: "Under the influence of the English court poets—Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, Spenser—Weckherlin became tinged with that marinistic style to which the literatures of Spain, France, Italy, and England in the latter half of the sixteenth century were addicted."⁵

The thirty years' war is doubtless responsible for the absence of English lyric influences during the remainder of the seventeenth century. Dryden, Prior, and Milton scarcely became known in Germany till the eighteenth century; hence the history of their fame does not belong here.

The third chapter of Waterhouse's book is entitled "Sidney's *Arcadia* in Germany." Sidney began the *Arcadia* in 1577.^{5a} He died in 1586, leaving the unfinished poem to be published in 1590. The work shows the influence of previous pastoral poetry in other lands. It became immediately popular; editions followed in rapid succession in England, and two French translations appeared in 1624–1625. It is first mentioned in Germany in the second edition of Opitz's *Aristarchus* in 1624. The first translation (1629) was written by one who signed himself Valentinus Theocritus, and who admitted that he translated from the French rather than the English. The publisher found it necessary in 1638 to provide for a new edition, "jetzo allenthalben uffs neu übersehen und gebessert; die Gedichte aber und Reymen gantz anderst gemacht und übersetzt von dem Edlen und Besten M. O. V. B." This M. O. V. B. was none other than Martin Opitz von Boberfeld. It was asserted by Lindner in 1740⁶ that Opitz was also responsible for the earlier version of the *Arcadia* which appeared under the name of Valentinus Theocritus, and this view was accepted by some later critics,⁷ but it has been proven untenable by Waterhouse and by Wurmb,⁸ who have

⁴ Borinski, *Die Poetik der Renaissance* (Berlin 1886), 52; quoted by Waterhouse [17] 72.

⁵ Schaffer [20a] 68.

^{5a} According to Brie, QF CXXIV (1918); cf. Fischer in *LblGRPh* XL (1919) 157.

⁶ Lindner, *Umständliche Nachricht von des weltberühmten Schlesiens, Martin Opitz von Boberfeld, Leben, Tod und Schriften*; Hirschberg 1740.

⁷ Cf. Brie [25].

⁸ Wurmb [25x] 54ff.

reacht their conclusions, as it appears, independently of each other. Wurmb is not able to find any certain proof that Opitz used the English original in revising the translation of "Theocritus," or, indeed, that he knew the English language at all. Sidney influenced Opitz's version, she says, not at all as to content, but in some respects as to form. The improvements that Opitz really introduced concerned chiefly the form and the style. She also brings out the interesting fact that still a third translator had a hand in the German *Arcadia* of 1638. This version contains a translation of the sixth book of the poem. The French version had not included this book, nor had the translation of 1629. The first impression would be that Opitz had translated this book directly from the English, but Wurmb shows that poetic licences are taken in this book which Opitz denied himself on principle. So one must conclude that the publisher or perhaps Opitz himself engaged an unknown translator to render this portion of the work.

Under the caption "The Latin novel," chapter IV of Waterhouse's work treats of the reception accorded to Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter et idem* (1607), and John Barclay's *Argenis* (1617-1621). The last named work was by far the most popular. Opitz was called upon to make a translation.⁹ He used the Latin and a French version alternately as his basis. His popular translation was severely criticized by such competent scholars as Johann Baltasar Schupp and Daniel Morhof, while the Latin of the original was condemned as a dangerous model for the young. John Barclay's *Argenis* itself was, however, held up as a model by such scholars as Schupp, Harsdörffer, Buchner, and Birken in the seventeenth century, and dissertations on his work began to appear at this early period. Kindermann's *Unglückselige Nisette* (1669) and Zesen's *Assenat* (1670) may be regarded as imitations of the *Argenis*, while Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* profited much from the *Argenis* in the matter of technique, as Bloedau [21ax] has pointed out. The most successful pure

⁹ Cf. Schmid [21a].

imitation of Barclay's *Argenis* in Germany was the drama of Christian Weise, *Von der sizilianischen Argenis* (1684).

John Owen (1563-1622) of Carnarvonshire was the best known epigrammatist of his age. His influence upon German literature was investigated by Urban [23]. Waterhouse summarizes the results, at the same time printing a number of parallel passages which Urban merely indicates. Owen's epigrams were written in Latin, chiefly in alexandrines. Among the German translators and imitators we note some of the leading names of the time—Rist, Fleming, Weckherlin, Gryphius, Morhof, and numerous others; but the most distinguished poet in this particular field was Friedrich von Logau (1604-1655). We may regard the influence of Owen in Germany as a healthful one for by his epigrams he brot it about that pithiness of expression and clarity of phrase were recognized as virtues.

The intellectual connexion between England and Germany was also maintained by other ties not purely literary. English philosophy found a ready acceptance in Germany. The first complete edition of Bacon's works was published in Frankfurt in 1665. This was of course printed in Latin. There were no English versions, but certain passages from time to time were translated from the Latin into German. There are echoes of Bacon in the writings of many German poets; but in the case of the scholars Schupp and Morhof we may speak of a distinct influence. Bacon determined Schupp's views in regard to society, economics, and education, and to a large extent in regard to ethics. Morhof, the father of German literary history, reveres Bacon as the founder of the study of the history of literature.

The English theologians also were not without their influence in Germany. William Perkins (1558-1602) was honored with several translations into German. The same is true of Joseph Hall (1574-1658), Harsdörffer being one of his translators, of Daniel Dyke (1508-1614), and of John Barclay (1582-1621), the latter being the only Catholic theologian so distinguished. Waterhouse mentions several other names, but no especial importance is attached to their influence.

The fate of English rulers was followed with interest in Germany. Catherine of Aragon, her divorce and death, is the theme of Joh. Chr. Hallmann's *Sterbende Unschuld* (1684). The beheading of Charles the First is a favorite theme; Andreas Gryphius, *Carolus Stuardus* (1657), is its most noted dramatizer. The most popular character of all, however, was Mary, Queen of Scots, as has been shown by Kipka [11].

To sum up the results of the century, we may say that England retained its place as intellectually one of the remotest countries from Germany tho its influence was not quite so insignificant as might be inferred from the comment of Moscherosch.¹⁰ At the courts foren languages prevailed; Italian was spoken in South Germany, in Vienna, and in Hessa; French at Stuttgart; and English, for a time, at Heidelberg. The Italian had to yield to the French as time went on. In literature French influence predominated, but Italian influence accompanied it. Dutch influence was prominent in the first half of the century, Moscherosch's *Philander von Sittewald* (1642) and Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* (1666) betray the influence of the Spanish "Schelmenroman," and English influence is not wholly absent.

The century falls, as far as English influence is concerned, into three unequal parts. The first period reaches its climax about 1613, when the entry of an English princess in Heidelberg suggests the possibility of many close relations between England and Germany. Such prospects are ruined in the next period by the thirty years' war in Germany; but ere that war is over the religious wars have begun in England. Not until the end of the century have normal conditions been restored. Of the influences toucht upon thus far, those of Owen, Sidney, Barclay, and More may be regarded as transitory; that of Bacon was more important, tho less enduring than the influence of later English philosophers.¹¹ Of further-reaching importance were the visits of the English comedians to Germany, which form the theme of the next chapter.

¹⁰ See beginning of this chapter.

¹¹ Zart [307] and Freudenthal's review of the same.

CHAPTER 2

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—DRAMATIC

The wanderings of the English comedians in Germany during the last decades of Shakespeare's life and the half century or more after his death form one of the most romantic episodes of literary history. The reconstruction of the itineraries, repertoires, and stage technik of these companies in broad outline, and the resurrection even of unimportant but convincing detail, constitute one of the definite triumphs of the last round hundred years of research.

In the year 1592 an Englishman by the name of Fynes Moryson past thru Frankfurt and found some of his countrymen presenting some English plays for the entertainment of the German audience. Moryson was not at all edified by the exhibition and exprest himself in no uncertain terms in the account which he wrote on his return. This account [26] was publisht in London in 1617.

In the nineteenth century it seems to have been Ludwig Tieck who first called attention to the comedians. In his *Deutsches Theater* [27] he reported in 1817 regarding the comedians, but in such a way as to excite curiosity rather than satisfy it. Ideas regarding the comedians grew more fanciful until the whole matter threatened to be lookt upon as a myth by scholars; but in reality Tieck had a store of evidence regarding the subject, which eventually came to light. About the year 1850 Tieck was called upon to pay a large debt which his brother had contracted. Not having the necessary money, he was compelled to sell the valuable library he had been zealously collecting. In order to do so, however, his books had to be first put in order and cataloged.¹ For this special service Albert Cohn was called

¹ Cf. ShJ XLII (1906) 221.

in. Confidential relations were established between Tieck and Cohn. Tieck's data regarding the comedians were placed at Cohn's service, and thus the first reliable account of the wanderings and repertory of the players was rendered possible. Cohn's work [28] of the year 1865 is of value even to-day. The historical introduction is followed by six specimens from the plays of Ayer and the repertory of the English comedians.² Cohn was indebted not only to Tieck but to the work of A.³ and E. A. Hagen,⁴ Fürstenau,⁵ Grimm,⁶ and Rommel.⁷ His work was supplemented by Köhler in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* of the same year [29]. By the year 1886 the data regarding the productions of the comedians had already reached extensive proportions, as a glance at the items indicated by Goedeke will show.⁸ When Creizenach [39] summed up the results three years later he was able to include additional material brought in by Bolte, Cohn, Trautmann, Crüger, and Könnecke during the years 1885–1889.⁹ The more recent work of Herz [45] is divided into two parts, corresponding to parts I and III of Creizenach;¹⁰ the first dealing with the wanderings, the third with the repertory of the comedians.

² *Comedy of the Beautiful Sidea*, by Jacob Ayer of Nürnberg (about 1595), the only drama extant which points to the plot of Shakespeare's *Tempest*; *Comedy of the Beautiful Phaenicia*, by Jacob Ayer of Nürnberg (about 1595), containing the plot of Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*; *Tragedy of Julius and Hyppolita*, acted in Germany, about the year 1600, by English players, containing part of the plot of Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; *Tragedy of Titus Andronicus*, acted in Germany, about the year 1600, by English players, supposed to be an imitation of the old *Titus Andronicus*; *Tragedy of Fratricide punished or Prince Hamlet of Denmark*, acted in Germany, about the year 1603, by English players; *Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet*, acted in Germany, in (and perhaps before) the year 1629, by English players.

³ A. Hagen, *Shakespeares erstes Erscheinen auf den Bühnen Deutschlands. Preusz. Prov.-bl.* 1832.

⁴ E. A. Hagen, *Geschichte des Theaters in Preussen* (Königsberg 1854).

⁵ Moritz Fürstenau, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen* (Dresden 1861).

⁶ Grimm [54].

⁷ Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen* (Cassel 1837), Bd. VI.

⁸ Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*² II 522ff.

⁹ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [34]–[39].

¹⁰ See BIBLIOGRAPHY for chapter headings of Creizenach [39].

As far as the repertory is concerned, Herz had little to add to the collection of his predecessor. In the fourteen years that had elapsed since 1889, however, a mass of new material had accumulated in regard to the journeyings of the English players, to which Bolte's two monographs, [40] and [42], contributed the largest share. That Herz failed, unfortunately, to include all the material available has been demonstrated by his reviewers. Von Weilen points out the following omissions: The appearance of Sackville in Vienna, in 1590, and in Prag August, 1598; of Green in Vienna, July 28, 1617; of the players of Moritz von Hessen and Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig in Prag, 1610; and of comedians at the court of Philipp Julius von Pommern-Wolgast, 1606 and 1623 (Richard Jones's name is signed to a petition of the latter date);¹¹ Kaufusz-Diesch calls attention to an appearance of the troupe of Peter de Prun in Nürnberg in the year 1594, while Witkowski mentions certain unused sources of information.¹² Since the appearance of Herz's work the fund of available information has been further increased by the articles of Witkowski and Niedecken-Gebhart, [46] and [48]. Herz shows a series of maps of Germany upon which are indicated in graphic fashion the wanderings of the various troupes. The narrative of their wanderings is also found in connected form in the monographs of both Creizenach and Herz and need not be repeated here. The graphic representation on the diagram opposite page 138 will serve in place of much detailed description. The outline is based chiefly on Herz's résumé and on the addenda of his reviewers as indicated above. In its broad outline the history of English comedians in Germany presents itself as follows:

The English comedians found their way into Germany by way of Denmark. In 1579 English musicians are reported in

¹¹ Meyer [44] 209.

¹² Witkowski refers to: Koppmann, *Zur Geschichte der dramatischen Darstellung in Rostock*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte Rostocks* 1890, 37-70; Hippe, *Aus dem Tagebuch eines Breslauer Schulmanns im 17. Jahrhundert*, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens*, XXXVI, 190ff.; Zimmermann in the *Braunschweiger Anzeiger* 1902, nos. 117-122, later in the *Festschrift für Hermann Paul*.

Denmark; in 1585 English players followed them. In the next year William Kempe and his followers are all designated by name as players at the court.¹³ Christian I, the electoral prince of Saxony, heard of the performances in Denmark and thru his connexion with the king arranged for a visit of Kempe's five players to his court. These players followed him on his journeys and entertained him with their repertory, which consisted of "Singspiele, Schauspiele, Musik und Tanz." They remained about nine months in his service, leaving Dresden July 15, 1587, and visiting Danzig on their homeward journey.^{13a}

A lasting foothold in Germany was first secured by the troupe of Browne in the year 1592. Browne was succeeded by Greene temporarily during the years 1593-1596 and permanently in 1607. From Browne's troupe descended the Sackville troupe (1593-1603), the Webster troupe (1598-1613), the Blackreude-Theer troupe (1603-1606), the Greene troupe (1607-1627). It will be noted that the Sackville, Blackreude-Theer, and Greene troupes exactly combine to cover the period 1593-1627 (see diagram opposite p. 138). After the year 1627 Greene's name appears no more in the records. Reinhold seems to have been his immediate successor. The Reinhold troupe in spite of losses and reorganizations held itself together for nearly half a century longer. Certain of its members are mentioned as playing in the year 1671, and it is supposed that they took part in performances in Dresden of an even later date.¹⁴

Contemporaneous with the Browne-Greene troupe were other companies which purported to come directly from England. The most notable of these were the Spencer troupe (1604-1623)

¹³ William Kempe did not go with the others at this time, but his presence in Germany at a later time is attested. He is a well known personage in English stage history. He was a player of Shakespeare's clowns and an incorrigible improviser. Hamlet's strictures in the speech to the players are said to have reference to him. Regarding this as well as Kempe's continental journeys see Nicholson, *Kempe and the play of Hamlet in Transactions of the new Shakespeare society*, series I no. 8, 57-65. That Kempe visited Germany is stated by Cohn [28] xxi and Bolte [38] 101. Cf. Creizenach [39] iii and Herz [45] 6.

^{13a} Bolte [40] xvi.

¹⁴ Herz [45] 58.

and the Jolliphus troupe (1648-1660). It is by no means certain, however, that these troupes were entirely unrelated to the Browne-Greene stock. Thus Kaulfusz-Diesch mentions as significant the fact that of five dramas played by Spencer in Nürnberg in 1613 three correspond to plays known to have been in Browne's repertory,¹⁵ while Worp [47] calls attention to the notice of the birth in Nürnberg, December 29, 1659, of a child to Geo. Jolliphus and Maria di Roy. This Maria di Roy of Utrecht is shown to be related to William Rowe, who was a member of the Reinhold troupe and later a leader of a part of the same. The présence in Utrecht in 1645 of a "Willem van Roo" had already been established.¹⁶ It has thus been made to appear that the Jolliphus ensemble, far from being a new troupe, consists in part at least of the remnants of the old Browne-Greene troupe which Jolliphus from now on directed.¹⁷

Recent information in regard to players in Leipzig is particularly difficult to harmonize with previously existing theories. An entry of the city records, dated July 19, 1585, and reprinted by Witkowski [46], records the payment of "5 Thaler den englischen Spielteuten, so ufm Rathhaus ihr Spiel mit allerlei Kurzweil getrieben." Witkowski interprets "Kurzweil" as inclusive of a comedy. It will be noted that this performance antedates by more than a year the arrival of the Danish players of Christian I, which has previously been regarded as the earliest appearance of the comedians in Germany.

The second item from Leipzig¹⁸ also runs counter to pre-existing impressions. Hitherto no information could be obtained of any English comedians in Germany between the date of the arrival of Kempe's followers (1587) and the arrival of Browne

¹⁵ Kaulfusz-Diesch [49] 142.

¹⁶ Herz [45] 56. Herz depends on Wolter, *Chronologie der Reichsstadt Cöln, Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins* XXXII, 102.

¹⁷ Attention is also called to the large number of sporadic performances indicated on the outline opposite page 138, such as those of Peter de Prun (1594), Fabian Penton (1602), the "Hofschauspieler des Prinzen Moritz von Oranien" (1611), an unknown troupe in Frankfurt (1607), and about a dozen other attested performances which cannot with certainty be attributed to any particular company. Cf. Herz [45] 63.

¹⁸ Witkowski [46] 442.

(1592), but the city records of Leipzig record the payment of two gulden to one Andreas Röthch at the end of July 1591, "dasz er ein Spiel vom reichen Mann gespielt." If Wustmann is right in seeing an Andrew Rudge behind this name, then the existence of a hitherto unknown company must be conceded.

Entries in a private diary indicate the presence of English entertainers in Leipzig in the years 1610, 1611, and 1613. One entry reads, "Im Ostermarkt sind 2 Englische Comödianten allhier gewest." Witkowski, rather arbitrarily it seems, interprets this to mean two troupes of comedians. The entry of April 25, 1613 is also ambiguous: "Bis Pfingsten hat der Engelländer Hanss Leberwurst mit s. Knaben Comödien gespielt in der Fleischergasse." Whether two persons are meant here or an entire English company is not clear. It would be strange, however, if the Leipziger Messen never set to compete with the Frankfurt festivals in theatricals of this type, and doubtless more decisive information will be produced in course of time.

It is unlikely, however, that the existence of any hitherto unknown companies will be demonstrated. The sporadic performances here and there were in all probability staged by stragglers of the already well-known companies. It does not seem likely that new companies coming from England would have found it easy to win large rewards. Even the old established companies played with varying success. They discovered that it was first necessary to learn the German language, then that they must acquire the art of pleasing the spectators without conflicting with the city authorities. In times of little income there was a tendency to split up into smaller groups, which were perhaps recruited by additions from amateur German talent. The term "eine neue, aus England herübergekommene Truppe" probably had an advertising value, and doubtless some companies called themselves English that had no valid claim to that designation.

The leaders of the various companies differed widely in their personal characteristics. The most reliable and honest of them all was Browne. He was aware of the inferior place assigned

by society to actors and accepted it as a matter of course. He cherishes his reputation as a man and could remind the authorities, "dasz er nie wegen Überforderung der Spectatores oder sonstiger Unbill bestraft worden sei."¹⁹ This was a rare distinction for a player. The civic authorities address Browne always in terms of respect. He accepted a refusal from them as final. He was not enterprising and not inventive, but he never demeaned his art to gain the favor of the spectators. Greene was in most respects the opposite of Browne. He judged success by financial gain and, measured by that standard, was a good business manager. He met city councillors on a basis of equality. He preferred to seek a virgin soil rather than to cultivate the old fields. Sackville was a many sided artist who played all types of fool and clown with equal success. He later utilized his experience as buyer for his company and his popularity with people and court, by becoming a merchant and "Hoflieferant" in Braunschweig. Spencer was a Greene on a larger scale. He met the authorities with an attitude of superiority. His spectacles, especially his *Türkische Triumphkomödie*, were the most elaborate recorded. He treated the public with a certain mephistophelian irony. When accused he could play the rôle of the injured benefactor. Meeting opposition once in Köln, he found a way nevertheless to continue his performance; he argued about religion with the authorities and let himself and his company ostensibly be converted to Catholicism. As a reward they were permitted to play during Lent at an increased price. In Dresden and Berlin his change of heart was not known and he was received with the usual favor on his return. There was nothing grandiose in the faults of Jolliphus. Either the time or the immediate surroundings of the comedian's life seem to have had a depraving effect upon him. He is last heard of in Nürnberg, where he played in May and June 1659. He was ordered out of the city at the end of September and again at the end of October; he was then permitted to return on November

¹⁹ Herz [45] 22.

14, only to be driven out again on account of a disgraceful row, of which he was the occasion.

* * * * *

Information regarding the repertory of the English comedians is far from complete. It is based chiefly upon fifteen lists of plays which were handed in to the city authorities by the comedians desirous of permission to play²⁰ and upon a collection of the plays of the English comedians containing ten plays and five farces published in Leipzig in 1620 (2nd edition, 1624). On the basis of this and some miscellaneous evidence the following English plays have been listed by Creizenach as presented in Germany, or as related to some plays performed in Germany. The precise nature of the relationship is in most cases in doubt. Very frequently the English play and the German play are shown to have had a common origin in some well known European romance; but even in these cases some minor incident, a character, or some phrase shows that the English version has contributed something to the version of the comedians in Germany.

John Still, Bishop of Bath:	<i>Gammer Gurton's needle</i>
Robert Wilmot:	<i>Tancred and Gismunde</i>
George Peele:	<i>Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes</i> <i>The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the fair Greek</i>
Christopher Marlowe:	<i>Doctor Faustus</i> <i>The rich Jew of Malta</i> <i>The massacre of Paris</i>
Thomas Kyd:	<i>The Spanish tragedy</i>
Robert Greene:	<i>Orlando Furioso</i> <i>A looking glass for London and England</i> <i>Alphonsus, king of Arragon</i>
Henry Chettle:	<i>Patient Grissil</i>
William Shakespeare:	<i>Comedy of errors</i> <i>A midsummer night's dream</i> <i>The merchant of Venice</i> <i>The taming of the shrew</i> <i>King Henry IV</i> <i>Titus Andronicus</i> <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> <i>Julius Caesar</i> <i>Hamlet, prince of Denmark</i> <i>King Lear</i> <i>Othello, the Moor of Venice</i> <i>The winter's tale</i>

²⁰ See Herz [45] 64-70. Thirteen of these are included in Creizenach [39] xxvii-xxxI.

Pseudo-Shakesperean plays:	<i>The two noble kinsmen</i> <i>The London prodigal</i> <i>A Yorkshire tragedy</i> <i>Mucedorus</i>
George Chapman:	<i>The conspiracy and tragedy of Charles, duke of Byron</i>
Thomas Dekker:	<i>Old Fortunatus</i>
Thomas Heywood:	<i>If this be not good, the devil is in it</i> <i>King Edward IV</i> <i>The rape of Lucrece</i>
William Houghton and John Day:	<i>Friar Rush and the proud woman of Antwerp</i>
John Marston:	<i>Parasitaster or the fawn</i>
Lewis Machin:	<i>The dumb knight</i>
John Mason:	<i>The Turke</i>
Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher:	<i>The maid's tragedy</i> <i>The prophetess</i>
Philip Massinger:	<i>The virgin martyr</i> <i>The great duke of Florence</i>
John Ford:	<i>The broken heart</i>
Henry Glapthorne:	<i>Albertus Wallenstein</i>
Lewis Sharpe:	<i>The noble stranger</i>
Anonymous plays:	<i>The prodigal child</i> <i>Esther and Ahasverus</i> <i>Nobody and somebody with the true chronical historye of Elidure, who was fortunately three several times crowned kinge of England</i> <i>Sir Thomas More</i> <i>The tragical life and death of Tiberius Claudius Nero</i>

The following plays are also listed by Creizenach as indicating the existence of English plays which are now lost:

Julio und Hyppolita

Comödia von der schönen Sidea, wie es ihr bisz zu ihrer Verheurattung ergangen

Tugend und Liebesstreit

Schöne lustige triumphirende comoedia von eines königes Sohne aus Engellandt und des Königes Tochter aus Schottlandt

The four sons of Aymon

The influence of the English comedians upon dramatic art was more important than upon literary production. These entertainers were the first professional players in Germany. Their performances easily surpass in theatrical art the "Schulkomödien," the "Fastnachtsspiele," and the productions of the "Zünfte." It is true that the "Zünfte" were semi-professional. Their members joined their talents and produced plays for money in their own cities and even journeyed to neighboring cities, but

they never abated their dignity as citizens and master workmen. It was their aim as Hans Sachs's Prologus frequently says:

Ein Tragedi zu recedirn
In teutscher Sprach zu eloquirn.²¹

It was the aim of the English comedians, on the other hand, to arouse emotions, fear or at least horror, or to cause tumultuous laughter. They cared not a whit for dignity. They submerged their own individualities in the parts which they played, and they studied every gesture and facial expression in order to emphasize its effects. The frequent stage direction to "tear the hair" seems to have been meant and understood literally. In short, the comedians brot with them an entirely new attitude toward their art. Their specialty was what is known to-day as "getting it over." There is no doubt that they exerted a deep and lasting influence upon dramatic art in Germany. The direct successors of the English players were the wandering players of the last half of the seventeenth century, among whom Velten was recognized as a leader. A direct descendant professionally of Velten was Frau Neuber, who was later to join for a time with Gottsched in the purification of the stage, especially from the very abuses the English comedians had brot in.

The plays of the comedians were at first given in the English language, which, according to Herz, explains the cool reception accorded to the Browne company in Frankfurt and Nürnberg in 1592 and 1593.²² The year 1596 found the company still playing in the English language. When the change to the German language began is not known; but it began as early as 1608,²³ and we may assume that it was completed at the time of the publication of the Leipzig collection of 1620. During the

²¹ With the view that the English comedians were more realistic in their representation than the amateur players from the peasant and poorer classes Minor in his review of Kaulfusz-Diesch does not coincide. Euph XIV (1907) 802.

²² Herz [45] 11; but cf. Moryson [26], who reports that the Frankfurt performance found great favor.

²³ *Niemand und Jemand* was played in German in Gratz in the year 1608; see Bischoff [58a].

early or English-speaking period, Gundolf holds, the English verse form was retained,²⁴ but doubtless monologs and dialogs unaccompanied by action were omitted from the earliest time. The trend toward demoralization increast after the plays were transferred into German prose. Thereby every connexion with the poetic original was severed and unrestricted opportunity was given for the improvization of words and the introduction²⁵ of the rude comedy of the clowns, that was sure to call forth an immediate reaction from the audience.

The naturalistic tendencies of the players favored the transition to the prose form. Kaulfusz-Diesch holds that the first transition was from English verse to German verse, and that the prose form, as represented by the collection of 1620, was the result of a later disintegration. The prose plays of Herzog Heinrich Julius formed an exception in this period, Kaulfusz-Diesch holds, the prose being occasioned by the duke's extreme haste. Kaulfusz-Diesch bases this theory chiefly upon two facts: First, that there are rithmic lines in the collection of 1620,²⁶ remnants, he says, of the earlier verse form; and second, that the Blackreude troupe in Nürnberg in 1604 undertook to present its play in "schönen deutschen Reimen." Kaulfusz-Diesch is somewhat alone in this belief.

Minor, in his review of Kaulfusz-Diesch, holds it as most improbable that the English comedians would have made first the transition from English blank verse to the German "vierhebigen Reimpaaren." The rimes at Nürnberg would scarcely have been mentioned, he says, unless they had formed an exception,²⁷ while the "durchklingende Verse" of the collection of 1620 might have been an intentional imitation of the Shakespearean mixture of prose and poetry. Minor holds further that it is improbable that a rimed version, once establisht, would have given way to a prose version. That the lack of rime was

²⁴ Gundolf [416] 18.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁶ Kaulfusz-Diesch [49] 85.

²⁷ Minor, review of Kaulfusz-Diesch [49]; Euph XIV (1907) 801.

felt as a fault, is shown by the fact that two of Herzog Julius's plays were later done into rime by a reviser. Doubtless the companies gladly availed themselves of rimed versions when such were to be had, but for the most part contented themselves with prose.

The new or naturalistic technik was the most essential innovation of the English comedians. It did not impress the spectators, however, so forcibly as some concrete changes that were brot in. These changes consisted of the employment of a new type of stage, the use of elaborate stage decorations, and the introduction of new types of stage fools. All these innovations have been studied in detail by Kaulfusz-Diesch. He develops his stage from a minute study of a large number of dramas of the comedians, dramas of Herzog Julius von Braunschweig, and of Jacob Ayrer of Nürnberg. It is possible here only to record his results. He holds that the stage of the English comedians, like that of their contemporaries at home, was divided into three parts, which he calls "Vorderbühne, Hinterbühne und Oberbühne." The "Vorderbühne" was without decoration and was neutral, i.e., it could represent any place according to need. The "Hinterbühne" was not separated from the "Vorderbühne," but was distinguisht from it by the presence of specific decoration; consequently it could not be neutral. The "Oberbühne" was a balcony attacht to the rear wall and could represent whatever specific place a play demanded. One or two doors were at the back of the "Hinterbühne" beneath the balcony. There were also doors at the right and left opening directly into the "Vorderbühne," as indicated in the diagram on page 146. Kaulfusz-Diesch finds that the stage directions in the plays of Herzog Julius von Braunschweig almost without exception are applicable to a stage precisely like that described. The text and stage directions of Jakob Ayrer, on the other hand, point to a compromise between the old Hans Sachs stage and that of the English comedians, which may be represented as follows:

Back of stage		
<i>Standorte</i> ²⁸	Balkon	Balkon (= Zinne)
<i>Ungeteilte Neutralbühne</i>	<i>Hinterbühne</i>	<i>Standorte</i> ²⁸
	<i>Neutrale Vorderbühne</i>	<i>Ungeteilte Neutralbühne (= Bühne oder Brücke)</i>
Hans Sachs	Englische Komödianten	Ayrer

A more definite idea of Kaulfusz-Diesch's conception of the appearance of the stage of the English comedians is given below.

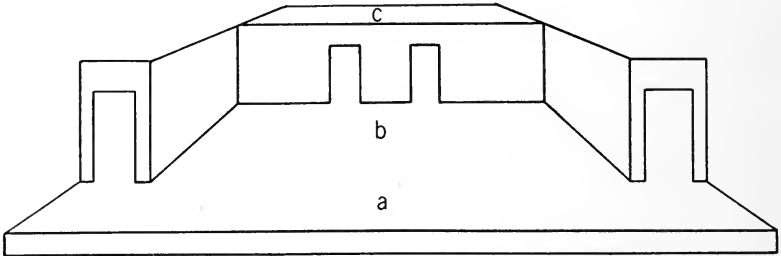


Fig. 1—Reconstruction of the stage of Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig (according to Kaulfusz-Diesch [49]).

- (a) "Vorderbühne"
 (b) "Hinterbühne"
 (c) "Balkon"

Kaulfusz-Diesch's investigation is painstaking and thoro, but the critics are far from ready to concede that he has proved his assertions. Bolte records his conclusions without taking exception to them, but Minor and Kilian in their more detailed reviews indicate points where he has forcibly fitted the stage directions to his hypothesis regarding the German stage, and Evans points out that his original assumption regarding the threefold division of the English stage is false. It appears that it will be impos-

²⁸ In the religious dramas as well as in Hans Sachs's dramas a given place on the stage represented a given locality (heaven, hell, a tavern, etc.), as long as a certain group of people maintained its position there. Such a point was called a "Standort."

sible to obtain convincing results regarding the stage from internal evidence alone, and definite external evidence is lacking.

More impressive to the German public than the change of stage form was the elaborate stage scenery and costume. The splendor of the English comedians came to be proverbial. In the *Magdeburger Geldklage* of Johannes Olorinus Variseus (1614) a passage reads: "Da müssen die Kragen mit Perlen besetzt werden, und wird ein solcher Pracht gesehen, dasz sie einhergehen, wie die Englischen Komödianten."²⁹ The troupe of Greene had, at least on one occasion, a special "Kleiderbewahrer,"³⁰ and Spencer, whose *Türkische Triumphkomödie* surpasses all else as a show play, once claimed 1000 Thaler as due to him from the court for expenditures.³⁰ These large expenditures seem not to have been taken into account by Harris in his estimate of the profits of the companies [50].

The rôle of the fool was of course traditional with the German religious and profane drama as well as the Elizabethan. The English comedians merely introduced new and distinctive types. The new clown was distinguished by his grotesqueness and his originality. Elsewhere in the play of the comedians the principle of naturalness was adhered to. Exaggeration, however, was the privilege of the clown. Kaulfusz-Diesch distinguishes three types of comic characters—the active, the passive, and the acrobatic. The Jan Bousset played by Sackville and the Pickelhäring of Reinhold were of the passive type, "der einfältige Tölpel." Wursthänsel was of the active type, "der Schlaukopf." The acrobatic clown was called the "Springer." It was such a one of whom it is recorded (Schmalkalden 1595), "dasz er in Paul Merkerts Hof gesprungen und die Wand hinauf gelaufen sei."³¹ These various types were not always kept apart and were later combined with the Harlekin of Italian origin. Kaulfusz-Diesch remarks: "In einer Beziehung sind die englischen Komödien

²⁹ Quoted by Kaulfusz-Diesch [49] 107.

³⁰ Kaulfusz-Diesch [49] 107.

³¹ Herz [45] 13.

^{31a} Kaulfusz-Diesch [49] 114.

ärmer als das ältere deutsche Drama; es fehlt ihnen der gemütvoll-philosophische Narr, der unter der Maske der Torheit tiefe Weisheit verbirgt, der Jeckle des Hans Sachs in seiner *Esther*. Shakespeare hat allerdings auch diese Gestalt; die rohen Wandertuppen in Deutschland jedoch konnten sie nicht brauchen."^{31a} Creizenach says: "Tiefsinniger und gemütvoller Humor war nicht ihre Sache."³²

The action of the fool was sometimes merely indicated in the manuscript, as in *Fortunatus*, "hier agiret Pikelhäring;" in other cases the entire action was comic, as in the "Singspiele;" in still other cases it was originally a minor action which later developed into a major one. In the English original of *Jemand und Niemand* the comic element makes up about a third of the play, in the German version of 1608 it is about half, in the version of 1620 about two-thirds.³³ As the comic figure was regarded as the chief character, it was usually played by the leader of the company. Sackville played Jan Bouset, Spencer called himself "Stockfisch," and Reinhold, "Pickelhäring."

When the immediate literary influence of the English comedians is thought of, only two names can come under consideration; Herzog Julius of Braunschweig and Jakob Ayser of Nürnberg. Landgraf Moritz von Hessen is known to have written dramas under the impulse given by the comedians, but his works have not been preserved.³⁴

The zeal of Herzog Heinrich Julius was phenomenal. In the space of two years, 1593 and 1594, he wrote nine plays for the comedians he had called to his court. His plays dealt chiefly with German material, but his *Tragoedia von einem ungerathenen Sohn* has been connected with *Titus Andronicus*, the *Comoedia von Vincentio Ladislao* with *Much ado about nothing*, and the *Tragoedia von einer Ehebrecherin* with the *Merry wives of*

³² Creizenach [39] cviii.

³³ Kaulfusz-Diesch [49] 110.

³⁴ See Duncker [56].

Windsor.³⁵ The duke's court formed no bridge, however, by which the English drama could gain access to the German public. His court was remote from German public life. It did not even represent the taste of a class, as did the court of Louis XIV. The players, for their part, soon lost their feeling for their native land and perpetuated only a stage tradition.

The precise relations of Jakob Ayrer of Nürnberg to the influence of the English comedians is a problem that has occupied investigators for a round hundred years. In his *Deutsches Theater* (1817) Ludwig Tieck recognized that the dramas of Jakob Ayrer stood in some close relation to the English dramas and attributed the fact to the influence of the English comedians. Wodick^{35a} lists 241 works devoted in whole or in part to this theme. His eight-page "Überblick über den Gang der Forschung" scarcely permits of any further condensation. Despite the objections of reviewers, he accepts the work of Kaulfusz-Diesch [49] as representing the present state of our knowledge in regard to Ayrer's stage as influenced by the comedians. Regarding the sources of Ayrer's plays, we must give Wodick's own work pre-eminence.

Robertson [51] drew up a chronology of Ayrer's works, basing it on the extent of English influence recognizable in his dramas.³⁶ Kaulfusz-Diesch has shown that his chronology is untenable, and has drawn up another plan which shows, indeed, that Ayrer first made use of the English clown in the second of his Roman dramas, begun May 24, 1596, that is to say about a month after an appearance of Sackville in Nürnberg; but not all of the several dramas of the next following years made use of the English clown. In the year 1602 the Browne troupe appeared in Nürnberg, and its presence there was followed by a series of dramas written by Ayrer, the subject matter of which is closely related to that of the English comedians.

³⁵ The plays were reprinted in 1855. See BIBLIOGRAPHY [53].

^{35a} Wodick [52] vi-xii.

³⁶ Jakob Ayrer was born 1543 in Nürnberg, moved 1570 to Bamberg, moved 1593 back to Nürnberg, where he was "Prokurator am Stadtgericht." He died in 1605. The period 1593-1605 is the time of his greatest productivity.

To this chronology one non-conflicting detail has been suggested by Castle [69]. He points out that in Ayrer's *Historischer Processus Juris* (Frankfurt 1597) Faust appears as a doctor of laws; in the folk book he had been known only as a doctor of philosophy and theology; the new degree had been first conferred upon him by Marlowe. Marlowe's version might have been brot to Nürnberg in 1596 by the Browne troupe, whose performance Ayrer might have seen.

Wodick [52] coincides with Kaulfusz-Diesch in discarding the chronology of Robertson. He finds that nothing is gained by the endeavor to distinguish two periods in Ayrer's productivity, the one preceding and the other following his acquaintance with the art of the comedians. The new element is present in greater or less measure in all the dramas after 1593, but at the same time Ayrer recurred ever and anon to the Hans Sachs type of drama, which had been his starting point.

Certain of Ayrer's plays, however, present knotty problems to the investigator of sources, and there is an extensive literature on the relation of various dramas of Ayrer to certain dramas of Shakespeare.³⁸ Gundolf is doubtless right, none the less, in holding that Ayrer is quite as negligible as Herzog Julius as a bridge for Shakespeare's entrance into Germany. Herzog Julius was inspired by the outward display of the comedians. The external technik of the new players influenced Ayrer also, if we accept the conclusions of Kaulfusz-Diesch. What chiefly appealed to Ayrer, however, was the abundance of new material. Herzog Julius would never have written but for the comedians; Ayrer would have written differently. Herzog Julius was indifferent to all traditions. Jakob Ayrer respected the old Hans Sachs tradition, to which he adhered in its essentials. Unlike

³⁸ The surmizes up to date and the facts ascertained in regard to this group of plays are discust by Wodick [52], who devotes the largest share of attention to the relation between Ayrer's *Die schöne Sidea* and Shakespeare's *Tempest*. A common source accounts for most of the similarities. Kaulfusz-Diesch [458] arrives at a like conclusion in regard to the relation of *Much ado about nothing* and Ayrer's *Die vom Tode erweckte Fenicia* cf. Heinrich [463x].

Hans Sachs, however, Jakob Ayrer stood in need of some enrichment of material. Gundolf says:

Des Schuhmachers Werke sind alle zusammengehalten durch jene weltfreudige Stimmung, dasz es so viele merkwürdige Dinge gibt, die man seinen lieben Landsleuten mitteilen kann. . . . Bei Ayrer fühlt man, dasz sie nicht mehr aus einem Lebensgefühl heraus geschaffen sind, sondern aus der selbständig und erstarrt weiter rollenden Tradition.⁴⁰

Gundolf weaves these relationships into the form of a symbol.

Man könnte auf diesem engen theatergeschichtlichen Gebiet Schicksale vorgebildet sehen, die der Krieg auf politischem über Deutschland gebracht: in Ayrer den Zerfall des deutschen Bürgergeistes, in Heinrich Julius die Entfremdung der deutschen Fürsten, im Erfolg der englischen Komödianten die Fremdherrschaft, in allen dreien Verwelschung, Verstofflichung, Entvolkung, das Erlöschen der bauenden, bindenden, begeisternden und begeisternden Kraft, die aus menschlichen Fähigkeiten erst ein Ganzes, im Menschen Stil, im Volk Kultur schafft.⁴¹

Neither in Ayrer's works nor elsewhere did Shakespeare live in Germany in the seventeenth century. At most we can speak of the history of Shakespearean themes in Germany. For Shakespeare's works, as well as those of his contemporaries, were reduced to raw material; the spirit of the works departed from them. Shakespeare's works fared rather better than some others, for as Gundolf points out:

Lear, Othello, Cäsar, Hamlet, überhaupt Shakespeares Werke, waren straffer zusammengehalten als selbst die besten Werke seiner Mitwerber, denen Unterhaltung und Fabel doch immer wichtiger war als Pathos und Weltbild. Dieser Zusammenhalt, den die Shakespearischen Fabeln relativ vor den übrigen Darbietungen der Komödianten voraus haben, ist (auszer einigen mythischen Bühnenbildern) fast das einzige, was den dichterischen Ursprung dieser elenden Texte noch erkennen lässt. Aber freilich ist dieser Zusammenhalt nur bewahrt, weil er nicht tot gekriegt werden konnte, nicht etwa aus Pietät, oder auch nur weil er brauchbar gewesen wäre.⁴²

To speak of the influence of Shakespeare's works on public taste in Germany would be misleading; but it is interesting to

⁴⁰ Gundolf [416] 54.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 22-23.

note with Gundolf the influence of public taste on Shakespeare's works. He takes up in order several of the essential passages in Shakespeare's dramas and shows how they disintegrated at the hands of the comedians.

Vom *Titus* bis zum *Juden von Venedig* lässt sich eine Stufenfolge der Zersetzung des Organismus durch den Mechanismus aufstellen. Der deutsche *Titus* zeigt Charaktere, Sprache, Symbolik und Sinn zerstört durch die Nerven- und Stoffsensations, die komischen Teile des *Hamlet* den Sieg der Bühnenburleske über Humor und Ironie, *Romeo* den Sieg des Opernhaften über das Poetische, der *Jude von Venedig* den Sieg der Garderobe über die Handlung. . . . Nacheinander werden weggefressen Sprache, Seele, Symbolik, Stimmung, Charakteristik, Sinn, Handlung, und nach einander werden herrschend Stoffmasse, Clown, Dekoration, Musik, Garderobe.⁴³

To show how the poetry of Shakespeare was converted into the prose of the comedians, one of the examples presented by Gundolf will suffice. *Titus Andronicus* II, 2, has the following passage:

The hunt is up, the morn is bright and gray,
 The fields are fragrant and the woods are green.
 Uncouple here and let us make a bay
 And wake the Emperor and his lovely bride.
I have dogs, my lord,
 Will rouse the proudest panther in the chase
 And climb the highest promontory top.
 And I have horse will follow where the game
 Makes way, and run like swallows o'er the plain.

The English comedians rendered this passage as follows:

O wie lieblich und freundlich singen jetzt die Vögel in den Lüften,
 ein jeglich suchet jetzt seine Nahrung . . . schöner und lustiger Jaget
 hab ich mein Tage nicht gesehen.

However soon the poetic element may have forsaken Shakespeare's dramas when transferred to German soil, the plots of his plays soon became public property there, and the seventeenth century produced a number of dramas based on Shakespearean themes. The play *Tugend und Liebesstreit* (1697) deals with

⁴³ Ibid., p. 47-48.

the same theme as Shakespeare's *Twelfth night*.⁴⁴ The *Merchant of Venice*,⁴⁵ *Romeo and Juliet*,⁴⁶ *King Lear*,⁴⁷ *Hamlet*,⁴⁸ and *Titus Andronicus*⁴⁹ were presented in the seventeenth century in forms not wholly unlike their original, but Shakespeare's name is never mentioned in connexion with the plays. With few exceptions the adaptors are also unnamed. Of the known adaptors may be mentioned Michael Kongehl (1646–1712), who made use of *Much ado about nothing* and *Cymbeline*,⁵⁰ Christoph Blümel, who produced a version of the *Merchant of Venice*⁵¹ (1654), and Christian Weise (circa 1700), who produced a poor version of *The taming of the shrew*.⁵² The only really excellent adaptation of a Shakespearean play is the *Peter Squenz* of Andreas Gryphius (1657), of which the peasant comedy of the *Midsummer night's dream* forms the main action.⁵³

Lessing was the first critic of note to comment on the congeniality of the English and German temperaments. He supported his assertion by a single example: "Gottsched," he said, "hätte . . . hinlänglich abmerken können, dasz unsere alten Stücke sehr viel englisches gehabt haben, und mehr in den Geschmack der Engländer als der Franzosen einschlagen."⁵⁴ Readers of Lessing's *Literaturbriefe* are still frequently inclined to take sides with Lessing in his campaign against Gottsched and the exclusive sway of French pseudo-classicism over the German stage; the illogicality of Lessing's argument is therefore all too easily overlooked by them.

⁴⁴ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [463ax].

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, [451]–[452].

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, [459]–[461].

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, [449]–[450].

⁴⁸ Regarding the connexion of *Der bestrafte Brudermord* with Shakespeare's *Hamlet* an extensive literature has grown up, [436]–[448]. Evans's view, [444], [446], and [447], seems to be prevailing, Creizenach, the former chief opponent of that view, having modified his earlier opinions.

⁴⁹ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [450], [463], and [463x].

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, [464a].

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, [452].

⁵² *Ibid.*, [465]; cf. [462].

⁵³ *Ibid.*, [464], [453]–[456]. Palm [445] is the best authority on this relation. Wysocki [456] should be used only in connexion with Creizenach's review of his work.

⁵⁴ Lessing, *Schriften* VIII 41; letter of Feb. 16, 1759.

From the popularity of the English plays, or rather, as one would say today, of the English players, no conclusions should be drawn disadvantageous to French classicism, which was almost totally unrepresented in Germany in that century. Moreover, the public that Lessing had in mind was, after all, different from that which thronged the performances of the English comedians. Lessing's statement needs to be narrowed down to the assertion that the German public of the seventeenth century was delighted with the crude strength of the dramatic products of Elizabethan England. The fate of these dramas in Germany, however, tends to bring out the differences rather than the similarities subsisting between the Elizabethan public and the seventeenth century German public. These were, again, differences of maturity rather than of race. The German public had not yet reached that elevation of taste and unity of spirit which lent support to the dramas of Shakespeare. Whoever believes in the existence of race characteristics, racial similarities and dissimilarities must defend his faith by other examples than that put forth by Lessing.

CHAPTER 3

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN GENERAL

Und warum ists falscher Geschmack, dem Britten zu folgen?
 Ist er nicht näher mit uns verwandt, als Galliens Sklaven,
 Denen Gebrauch und Grammatik die stärksten Flügel beschneiden?
 Deutsches sächsisches Blut schlägt in Brittanniens Barden.
 Schande genug, dasz Enkel von uns uns längst übertroffen,
 Aber noch grözere Schande, wenn wir nicht Enkel verstünden,
 Und die gedankenreichsten Gesänge für schwülstig erklärten.
 Aber noch brennt auch in unserem Deutschland das heilige Feuer,
 Das von germanischen Barden auf brittische Barden gekommen.
 Groszer Mililton, wer könnt, auch bey uns dich schöner verewgen,
 Als ein Bodmer und Klopstock durch ihre göttlichen Lieder!
 Die unsterbliche Rowe singt aus dem fühlenden Wieland;
 Du, mein Gärtner, Giseke, Gleim, Schmidt, Gellert und Schlegel,
 Rammler, Leszing, und Dusch; und du freymüthiger Huber,
 Ihr seyd alle Germaniens Zierde; und alle Verehrer
 Der mit uns so nahe verschwisterten brittischen Musen.
 Und könnt ich dich, Ebert, vergessen! Du, der du die Sprache
 Dieses denkenden Volkes zu deinem Eigenthum machest?
 Du, der Herold von jedem Genie der dichtrischen Insel,
 Wirst mit mir voll Mitleid die kriechenden Dunse verachten,
 Die ihre Prosa voll hinkender Reime zur Göttinn erheben,
 Oder vielleicht glüht schon ein glücklicher Schüler von Popen,
 Welcher die stolzen Zwerge mit Dunciaden verewigt.

In these words Zachariä in his *Tageszeiten* (1755) emphasizes one of the leading trends of German literature at the middle of the eighteenth century, the preference of the younger school of poets for English literature.

In the history of German literature in the eighteenth century four movements stand out with especial prominence: the turning away from French pseudo-classicism, the simultaneous increase of respect for English models, the renewed interest in the classic literature properly understood, and with it all the attainment of literary independence on the part of Germany. These movements are so interlockt that the study of any one

of them involves all the others. A perusal of Max Koch's brief treatise *Über die Beziehungen der englischen Literatur zur deutschen im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* [76] convinces of this. It is not easy to conceive of an essay more closely packed with facts and at the same time more pregnant with ideas. Almost every sentence is an embryonic paragraph, and the work as a whole has served as a program for a series of investigations in Germany, England, and America. It was never intended, however, as a permanent standard work of reference on its subject, yet it is to-day still quoted as an authority, often to the exclusion of more detailed and authoritative monographs, which it has helped to call into being. That this is the case is chiefly due to the fact that it is not easy to learn of the whereabouts of such monographs. It is the especial intent of this and the following chapters to substitute the detailed monographs¹ for the general work as authorities. At the time of Koch's writing the present day authoritative work on the influence of the "moral weeklies," of Pope, Thomson, Milton, Young, Percy, Ossian, Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, Goldsmith, and Shakespeare in Germany had yet to be written. Flindt [79] was little better off as late as 1895, and he gives no indication, even by quotation of authorities, of the progress that had been made in the last twelve years. Seidensticker's essay [77] of 1890 is preferable to Flindt's. It treats its subject matter with notable breadth. Its generalizations are well founded, except that they give currency to certain traditional errors regarding Shakespeare's entrance into Germany.² Its details are also accurate³ and handled in such a way as to present an impressive picture.

Since Koch's statements of facts in many cases have been subjected to revision, his generalizations must be altered accordingly. His final word is also assailable:

Die Verbindung mit modernen Literaturen hat uns zeitenweise geschult, meist aber der deutschen Literatur ihre eigene Freiheit gekostet.

¹ Cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY [72]-[372] and [466]-[623].

² For a discussion of these traditional errors see SURVEY, chapter 14.

³ An error in regard to Gellert's translation of Richardson is corrected in SURVEY, p. 292, footnote 29.

Nur in der innigsten Verbindung mit der Literatur des Altertums konnten wir Hingebung und Selbständigkeit mit einander verbinden. Dieses Bündnis herzustellen, auf verschiedenen Wegen nach ihm strebend, bewusst und unbewusst, dahin zielten unsere literarischen Bemühungen seit den Tagen der Renaissance. Nicht mit Hilfe der klassicistischen romanischen Literatur, sondern durch die stammverwandte englische sind wir im achtzehnten Jahrhundert ans Ziel des langjährigen Strebens gelangt.⁴

Here speaks the classicist, and his words readily convince those who see in the ripe works of Goethe and Schiller the last phase of the German literary development; but voluntary submission and literary independence, "Hingebung und Selbständigkeit," are as difficult to reconcile within the sway of ancient literature as of modern; and literary freedom is not to be found in the acknowledgment of any one foren master.

There is one other statement of Koch's which many recent investigations have tended to disprove. He says: "Hatte die französische Literatur einen vorwiegend formalen Einflusz ausgeübt, so wirkte die englische hauptsächlich stofflich."⁵ On the contrary, the fact stands out quite clearly to-day that the English influence on German literature in the eighteenth century was largely a formal one. Addison was lookt upon as a master of prose, while Pope's verse was the despair of his German admirers. Later the verse of Thomson was imitated, and the attempt was made to soar with Milton in his flight. The letter-form of Richardson's novels was reproduced, as were Fielding's direct appeal, and Sterne's zigzag course of narration. Above all the Shakespearean form of the drama broke down the prevailing French form. It is true that in the attempt to follow the English models new concepts were added to the German language; friendship, religious fervor, patriotism, sentimentality, religious introspection, a feeling for popular poetry were developed in part under English influences. But even so such influences were not "stofflich," but rather, to make use of Gundolf's classification (Stoff, Form, Gehalt)^{5a} they were influences of the third and highest kind.

⁴ Koch [76] 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

^{5a} Cf. SURVEY, p. 120 and chapter 17.

Before entering upon the discussion of the numerous English men of letters whose works were known, admired, and imitated in Germany in the eighteenth century it is of prime importance to distinguish in a general way the stages of German cultural development which conditioned the acceptance of these authors by enlightened public opinion. To this end it is desirable to make use of a fundamental principle of division which has apparently never been set forth in any published treatise on the subject but which has long been used in the study of English > German influences in the German literature seminary at the University of Wisconsin.⁶ There were three distinct groups of English authors, embodying as many different tendencies, which in three succeeding periods affected in some way the German pre-classical eighteenth-century literature. There were in short three waves of English influence.

The first group included such men as Addison, Pope, and Thomson, who had certain strong French affiliations. Clear thinking and clear writing were the highest ideals for them. By the second group, including Milton and Young, man's religious and emotional nature was emphasized, while the literature of the third group, the dramas of Shakespeare, the songs of Macpherson's Ossian, and the popular poetry of Percy's collection had the effect of setting in full light the justification and value of genius, originality, and spontaneity in man.

The first impulse, which we have termed the Addison-Pope wave of influence, makes its new force felt in the twenties and endures thru the thirties and forties. Pope's influence continues even into the fifties, but it is being challenged by the forces which Milton typifies. Milton begins to be a theme of discussion about 1740 and celebrates his triumph in the first three cantos of the *Messias* (1748). Shakespeare becomes the vital problem with

⁶ It is with the express permission of Professor A. R. Hohlfeld that I here first give broader circulation to this interpretation of the process as a whole. A faint suggestion of some such classification of influence can be found in Koch [76] (see especially pages 8 and 11) but unfortunately in his subsequent presentation of the material it is completely lost sight of.

Lessing's 17. *Literaturbrief* (1759) but is not really established until the "Sturm und Drang" period of the seventies.

The assimilation of these men of letters into Germany was thus in inverse order to the order of their appearance in England and not without good reason, for the sequence Shakespeare, Milton, Pope represents a decline of the imaginative and creative powers in England; Gottsched, Klopstock, Goethe represent a corresponding ascent in Germany. Gottsched and Pope could meet on a common footing, but German literature had to rise to a higher and still higher level before the fields of Milton and Shakespeare could be surveyed. These periods of English influence, 1720-1740, 1740-1760, 1760-1780, are well worth bearing in mind, tho deviations appear in the boundaries when more closely inspected. What is true of the dates is also true of the groups, for certain of the English poets are not to be classified so sharply. Thomson, for example, was a pseudo-classical dramatist and a "sentimental" poet of nature, while Young was a sentimental poet and a theoretic defender of genius and originality.

The three important German literary centres, Hamburg, Zürich, and Leipzig, were all connected with English literature in a unique way. Leipzig, as a "klein Paris," was susceptible to such English poetic influences as had a distinct French admixture. The sound sense and clear expression of Pope and Addison found zealous advocates in Gottsched and his coterie. Gottsched also followed French criticism of English writers closely and quoted or echoed such criticism in his journals. Toward the second and third waves of English influence Leipzig was compelled to assume a reactionary attitude.

Hamburg had ancient trade relations with England founded on the traffic by sea. Many of the earliest translations came from Hamburg, Brockes's translation of Pope and Thomson among them; and Hamburg was foremost in the founding of popular weeklies of the English type, Leipzig and Zürich taking second and third place in this respect.

Zürich's affiliations with England had a religious origin dating back at least to the time when English Protestants sought shelter there in the reign of "Bloody Mary."^{6a} It is not surprising, then, that Milton's first advocate in Germany should have been a Züricher, Bodmer. Bodmer's interest in English literature was lifelong and extended not only to religious poetry but to satirical poetry, to the Percy ballads and to Shakespeare as well. A group of associates shared Bodmer's interest; their work has been summarized by Vetter [102].⁷ Among Bodmer's colleagues Vetter makes especial mention of Hans Heinrich Waser, deacon in Winterthur (1746-1777), the translator of Swift's works in eight volumes (1756-1766) and of a prose version of Butler's *Hudibras* (1765); of Johannes Tobler, Pastor at Ermatingen (1754-1768), the author of a prose translation of Thomson's *Seasons* and of a poetic translation of Gray's *Ode to adversity*; and of Heinrich Escher, also a clergyman, who translated sermons of John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose style was said to have served Addison as a model, and of Jeremy Taylor, "the Shakespeare of English prose, the Chrysostom of the English pulpit." The sermons of numerous other English theologians were translated in Zürich, among them those of Isaac Barrow, Samuel Clarke, Philipp Doddridge, James Herve, James Duchal, and Richard Hurd. The sermons of Laurence Sterne appeared in Zürich after his better known works had been translated elsewhere. English philosophy was represented by Fordyce, Ferguson, and Webb. In a moral weekly *Das Angenehme mit dem Nützlichen* (Zürich 1756-1767) Bacon, Shaftesbury, Hume, Steele, Addison, Swift, Pope, Buckingham, the Earl of Rochester, and John Gay are represented. These are but minor facts. It is of the highest importance that Bodmer was the most liberal interpreter of Addison in German literature, that he kindled Klopstock with Milton's spirit, and presumably first called Wieland's attention to Shakespeare.⁷ Zürich deserves the distinction of having brot out the Wieland trans-

^{6a} See BIBLIOGRAPHY [13a].

⁷ Cf. Vetter [103].

lation of Shakespeare (1762–1767) and its revision and continuation by Eschenburg (1775–1782).

Should a fourth centre of English literary influence be mentioned, the distinction would fall to Göttingen. To quote R. M. Meyer: "Mancherlei Umstände wirkten zusammen, um aus der neuen Universität die erste moderne Hochschule zu machen. Vor allem war es der freie Geist, in dem sie begründet ward. . . . Hannover gehörte damals zu England und war wohl der am liberalsten regierte Teil Deutschlands, wie auch Lichtenberg mehrmals aussprach."⁸ Lichtenberg's interest in public affairs was first aroused in England in 1728. Perhaps the same may be said of that other Göttingen professor who visited England, Albrecht von Haller. Haller's visit was brief, however, (July 25–August 27, 1727), and he had no command of the English language at the time. Lichtenberg visited England twice. He made a short sojourn in 1770 and a longer one from August 1774 to December 1775; he studied English conditions in their totality and in detail, neglecting no important class of society, and compared conditions in England with those in Germany. To quote Meyer again: "Keiner seiner Zeitgenossen . . . hat wie er das Krankhafte und Elende der kleinstaatlichen Atmosphäre erkannt. . . . Er erkennt vor allem, wie das Gedrückte und Ärmliche der allgemeinen Lebensbedingungen sich abspiegelt in der Geringfügigkeit und Inhaltslosigkeit der damaligen schönwissenschaftlichen und gelehrten Literatur Deutschlands." Lichtenberg felt more at home in the English atmosphere than in the German. Meyer asserts "er hat deutsch gefühlt, aber englisch gedacht, und mehr und mehr gewann sein Kopf die Oberherrschaft über sein Herz."⁹ Lichtenberg seems to have planned realistic and satirical works after the manner of Fielding, whom he so much admired, but the works were never completed; perhaps, as Meyer surmizes, because there was so little to inspire him in German life.⁹

⁸ Meyer [355] 72.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Kleineibst [131] provides abundant proof of the assertion of Meyer in regard to the importance of Lichtenberg's sojourn in England. Boie once accused Lichtenberg of anglomania¹⁰ but the mania did not take the usual form, for nothing was more distasteful to Lichtenberg than the senseless aping of English literature. "Der Deutsche ist nie mehr Nachahmer," he declares, "als wenn er absolut Original seyn will,"¹¹ and again he asks of what service it would be "wenn ich originell schreibe, z E. in synkopischen Sentenzen, fluche und schimpfe wie Shakespeare, leyre wie Sterne, senge und brenne wie Swift."¹²

Kleineibst says of Lichtenberg's sojourn in England:

Ein sprudelnder Übermut, eine frische Lebenslust spricht aus den Briefen an seine Freunde, besonders aus denen der Jahre 1774-75. England war ihm das gelobte Land; wenn er seine politischen, künstlerischen oder seine gewöhnlichen Lebenszustände mit dem Leben in Deutschland vergleicht: so immer zum Nachteil seines Vaterlandes. Der Stolz und das Selbstbewusstsein der Engländer imponierte ihm gewaltig, ihre politische Reife und Selbständigkeit muszten ihm um so schätzenswerter erscheinen, als es damals in Deutschland trotz Friedrich II. keine Macht gab, die man in politischer Beziehung mit England hätte irgend vergleichen können. Doch mehr noch als das Volk in abstracto interessierte ihn, wie die Menschen der Aufklärungszeit überhaupt, das Volk selbst in seinen Lebensgewohnheiten und seinem Treiben in Liebe und Hasz. Selbst vor Puffen und grösseren Gefahren—vom Taschentuchraub bis zum Messerstich—schreckte er nicht zurück, wenn es galt, das Strassenleben und den Pöbel Londons zu studieren.

Ebensoehr wie dies intensiv Leben, in das er sich kopfüber hineinstürzte, wird zu seinem freudigen Wohlbefinden in England die Gunst der königlichen Familie beigetragen haben und die Hochschätzung, die man ihm von allen Seiten entgegenbrachte. Er speiste nicht nur—zeitweise täglich—an der königlichen Tafel, sondern durfte sich rühmen, den König auch bei sich, kurz nach dem Aufstehen, noch in primitivster Toilette empfangen zu haben. Von der Königin entlieh er Bücher und erhielt von ihr unter anderm auch Lavaters *Fragmente*, die ihm damals zuerst zu Gesicht kamen. Überhaupt beschäftigt er sich gerade in England besonders viel mit der zeitgenössischen deutschen Literatur; hier drängt sich ihm am stärksten auf, dass sich die deutschen Dichter, was

¹⁰ *Briefe von und an Bürger* ed. Strodtmann (Berlin 1874), III 67.

¹¹ Lichtenberg, *Aphorismen* ed. Leitzmann DLD CXXXI (1904) 154.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Ziele und Formen anginge, auf Irrwegen befanden. Die praktische Tendenz des Engländers, die in seinem Welthandel, seiner Politik und vor allem seiner Erziehung für das spätere tätige Leben zum Ausdruck kam, hatte es ihm angetan; und damals in England, selbst von diesem Wirkungsdrang ergriffen, faszte er den Plan zu einer groszen Satire gegen die herrschende Mode der Originalgenies.¹³

Lichtenberg had at first planned to direct his satire against "die schlechten gelehrten Zeitungsschreiber," but at Nicolai's suggestion he turned the point against the "Originalgenies." The intensive study of German literature on English soil shows that the plan was developing most rapidly there. The title of this work was to be *Parakleta oder Trostgründe für die Unglücklichen, die keine Originalgenies sind*.

Kleineibst admits:

Dasz gerade die Beschäftigung mit Swift, dem Zeichner Hogarth und anderen englischen Satirikern den Wunsch in ihm wach rief, die Zustände in der deutschen Gelehrtenrepublik und auf dem Parnasz in einem groszen satirischen Roman zu karikieren, darüber schreibt er selbst nichts, doch sind die Engländer sicher Wegweiser für ihn gewesen. Einen Mittelpunkt, um den sich alles grupperte, brauchte er für seine Satire: Was lag ihm näher, als den hervorragendsten Vertreter des Sturm und Dranges zu wählen, ihn, der von den Strahlen des neuen Gestirns heller getroffen auch tiefere Schatten warf.¹⁴

In his admiration of Shakespeare combined with an abhorrence of Shakespeare's German imitators Lichtenberg agreed with Lessing. Several of Lichtenberg's *Aphorismen* are directed against these imitators, but chiefly against Goethe.¹⁵ One of the most striking because least logical asserts that Goethe has gained the name of the German Shakespeare "wie die Kelleresel (assel) den Nahmen Tausendfusz, weil sich niemand die Mühe nehmen wollte, sie zu zählen."¹⁶ Lichtenberg had been helpt to a fuller appreciation of Shakespeare by his knowledge of English life, his familiarity with Fielding's Shakespearean criticism, and his association with David Garrick. Fielding and

¹³ Kleineibst [131] 3-5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, D. 211 and 604.

¹⁶ Lichtenberg, *Schriften* (Göttingen 1844-1847), I 10.

Garrick were in their thot more advanced, more realistic than the majority even of English interpreters of Shakespeare. Lichtenberg's satire against the "Originalgenies" remained, like most of his works, a fragment. One of his few completed works was an interpretation of the art of another great English realist, Hogarth.¹⁷

Another German writer who succeeded in acquiring an intimate knowledge of English life was Carl Philipp Moritz, who journeyed afoot in England in 1782.^{17a} Because of his method of travelling he was lookt upon askance by the innkeepers and treated as a suspicious character, but in spite of these inconveniences he came to know the English people well and favorably. One of the things that imprest him in English life was the close contact of poet and people. He reported:

Ausgemacht ist es, dasz die englischen klassischen Schriftsteller, ohne alle Vergleichung, häufiger gelesen werden, als die deutschen. Meine Wirtin, die nur eine Schneiderwitwe ist, liest ihren Milton, und erzählt mir, das ihr verstorbner Mann sie eben wegen der guten Deklamation, womit sie den Milton las, zuerst liebgewonnen habe. Dieser einzelne Fall würde nichts beweisen, allein ich habe schon mehrere Leute von geringerem Stande gesprochen, die alle ihre Nationalschriftsteller kannten und teils gelesen hatten. Dies veredelt die niedern Stände und bringt sie den Höhern näher. Es gibt dort beinahe keinen Gegenstand der gewöhnlichen Unterredung im höhern Stande, worüber der niedre nicht auch mitsprechen könnte. In Deutschland ist seit Gellerten noch kein Dichtername eigentlich wieder im Munde des Volks gewesen.^{17b}

Direct personal contact of an author with a foren people was, however, rare in the eighteenth century; especially light was the contact between Germany and England. English writers such as Addison and Sterne were wont to include France and Italy in their journey, as Milton before them had done, but Germany was left unregarded. Indeed it is not easy to recall any English men of letters who visited Germany before the end of

¹⁷ Lichtenberg, *Ausführliche Erklärung der Hogarthschen Kupferstiche* (Göttingen 1794); cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY [208a].

^{17a} See BIBLIOGRAPHY [132].

^{17b} Moritz, *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre 1782*; reprinted in DLD CXXVI (1903) 24-25.

the eighteenth century, when Coleridge and Wordsworth arrived (1798) as harbingers of a more active interest. In addition to Lichtenberg, Haller, and Moritz, who have already been mentioned, there were, however, a few notable German visitors in England: Wernicke, who adapted an English satire to Hamburg conditions;¹⁸ Postel, his adversary;¹⁹ Borek, the Prussian ambassador to London (1741),²⁰ who first translated a Shakespearean play into German;²¹ and Helferich Peter Sturz (1768–1770),²⁰ who, like Lichtenberg, met some of the literary leaders of England, among them Garrick, Colman, Macpherson, and Dr. Johnson,²² and wrote some notable letters from there. Lessing's cousin Mylius planned to include the whole of English literature within the scope of his investigations but died soon after his arrival (1754). A sojourn in England was a decisive element in the education of Möser and of Hamann (1757–1758). Möser's relation to English life will be referred to presently. If Hamann neglected the opportunity while in London to become acquainted with English literature he at least gained the command of language for his later study. The Swiss poet Tschanner in 1751 made a trip to England especially to visit Young, with whom he spent two or three days.²³ But Hermann Hagedorn (1726–1729)²⁰ succeeded better than any of his contemporaries in transfusing some of the English spirit into the German literary guild.

Hagedorn made a practice of acknowledging conscientiously the sources of his inspiration. Perhaps that is why the theme of his relation to English literature so long failed to attract the investigator. But when influence is construed in the more liberal sense it appears that Hagedorn's literary relations to England constitute an interesting and vital subject, for Hagedorn was in many respects a transitional poet and, as Coffman [118] shows, his brief visit to England was decisive for his own poetic career.

¹⁸ See SURVEY, page 180.

¹⁹ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [134].

²⁰ The dates in parentheses indicate the period of the stay in England.

²¹ See SURVEY, p. 363, and BIBLIOGRAPHY [490].

²² See BIBLIOGRAPHY [213a].

²³ See SURVEY, p. 239.

It is true that Hagedorn, as a Hamburger, enjoyed a certain contact with English literature even in his youthful days. His father was a friend of Brockes. The young Hagedorn contributed to the *Patriot* two letters of the prevailing type. Moreover he studied at Jena the philosophy of Wolff, who popularized some of the ideas that Leibniz had derived from Shaftesbury and the English deists. Yet in the collection of *Moralische Gedichte* printed in 1729 there is chiefly a reflexion of the pseudo-renaissance taste and little that is specifically English. Then came the two years spent in London, "die einzigen Jahre," as he wrote twenty years later to Bodmer, "die ich wieder zu erleben wünschte."²⁴ It is not known whether he associated with any English men of letters while in London; but Pope, Thomson, Young, Richardson, Gay, and Mallett were in London at the same time Hagedorn was there. He read their works and presumably it was there that he formed the habit of purchasing the new works of English literature as they came out.²⁵ English books were at that time not readily to be had in Germany, and Hagedorn enjoyed the reputation of being a liberal lender of such works.²⁶

The specific influence of Pope's and Thomson's poetry upon the form and content of Hagedorn's will be dealt with elsewhere. What Coffman has to say regarding the spirit of English poetry as reproduced in Hagedorn's works she groups under five headings: (1) Philosophy of happiness; (2) Hatred of pedantry, love of wisdom; (3) Love of freedom, hatred of servility; (4) Friend-

²⁴ Ungedruckte Briefe in Zürich; quoted by Coffman [118] 321 from Schuster (see footnote 27a) 23.

²⁵ In the appendix, pages 90-97, of Coffman's work [118] entitled "Hagedorn's references to English literature" about 75 English authors are included. References are made in many instances to works soon after their appearance in England.

²⁶ A letter of Hagedorn to Bodmer, dated April 13, 1748, refers to two books loaned in this way: Turnbull's edition of Shaftesbury, and Johnson's *Plan of a dictionary of the English language*. The same letter mentions Borek's translation of *Caesar*. A year later Hagedorn lends Brockes all his books on Chaucer, at another time the *Essays* of Hume. Cf. Vetter [102] 12.

ship; (5) Love of country life.²⁷ Trite as these ideals and sentiments may seem to-day they had only just been recognized in England, and in Germany they were almost unknown. Schuster is authority for the statement that Hagedorn's stay in England and his familiarity with English life and literature had much to do with the "Freundschaftskultus" in Germany.^{27a} Hagedorn's friendship, however, was that of good fellowship, not the abnormal cult of the "Göttinger Hain," for example. As for the hatred of servility, that too was a new note in German literature. There is a servile tone to Hagedorn's *Das frohlockende Ruszland*, written in 1729 just before his departure for England. The philosophy of happiness was looked upon with suspicion as being less than religious. Pedantry, insistence upon deference by inferiors, and factionalism in literary matters were prevalent in German literary life. It was the release from this atmosphere of pettiness that so endeared London life to Hagedorn. It is well-known that the joys of country life were only just being discovered by Haller, Thomson, Brockes, and other innovators, and Rousseau had not yet gained for them general appreciation.

There was nothing formal about Hagedorn's acceptance of these new ideas. Optimism, good cheer, and love of the pleasant things in life were in Hagedorn inborn. He was above all a good fellow among his colleagues, ready to give a helping hand

²⁷ Hagedorn's views in regard to (1) are manifested chiefly in the two poems *Wünsche* and *Glückseligkeit*. The former is drawn into comparison with Pope's *Essay on man*, *Moral essays*, 3rd. epistle, and Thomson's *Seasons*. *Glückseligkeit* is compared with Prior's *Solomon on the vanity of the world* and Addison's philosophy of life as exprest particularly in *Spectator* nos. 15 and 243. In regard to (2) Pope's introduction to Homer is compared with Hagedorn's introduction to his *Moralische Gedichte*. Both authors expressly deny being learned men. Prior's *Solomon* is also mentioned in this connexion. Thomson's *Winter* is compared with Hagedorn's *Wünsche*. Hagedorn expresses his ideas in regard to freedom and against servility (3) in the poems *Der Weise* and *Schreiben an einen Freund*. These are compared with Thomson's *Liberty* and *Autumn* and Pope's *Essay on man*. (4) Hagedorn's sentiments regarding friendship are deduced from the poems *Freundschaft* and *Der Schwätzer*. These are compared with Addison's sentiments as exprest in *Spectator* nos. 60 and 15, Thomson's in *Autumn* and *Winter* and Pope's *Essay on man*. (5) Hagedorn expresses enthusiasm for country life in *Horaz*. Cf. Thomson's *Seasons*.

^{27a} Schuster, H., *Friedrich von Hagedorn und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur* (Leipzig 1882), 31; quoted by Coffman [118] 8?

and forefending gratitude, asking no deference from his less successful literary competitors, and heedless of his title of nobility. He was at heart democratic, abasing himself before none and claiming homage from none. Only in respect to his admiration for country life may his professions have exceeded his sentiments.

In the year 1763 Justus Möser was called to London on a mission connected with the regency of the English royal house over the bishopric of Osnabrück. He remained there eight months and saw England during one of her most prosperous periods.^{27b} He was a keen and interested observer, who turned his experiences to good profit. As his biographer Nicolai says:

Alles öffnet sich seiner lebendigen Beobachtung. Landesverfassung, Politik, Industrie, Handlung, Litteratur, Schauspiele, Nationalbelustigungen, und vor Allem menschliche Charactere von der interessantesten und verschiedensten Art, beschäftigten Möser's Aufmerksamkeit. Auch das Geringste entging ihm nicht. Dieser Zuwachs von Kenntnissen hatte auf ihn als Geschäftsmann und als Schriftsteller einen wichtigen Einfluss. Die Menge der Gegenstände, worauf er nachher in seinen Schriften seine Augen richtete, deutet hierauf; und seine unnachahmliche Laune ward hier hauptsächlich, wo nicht erweckt, doch noch mehr entwickelt.^{27c}

Several years after his return Möser founded (1766)^{27d} the weekly paper *Die Osnabrückischen Intelligenzblätter*, which was patterned after English weeklies he had seen. In this paper he publishes his *Patriotische Phantasien* (1768ff.). Goethe compared Möser with Franklin "in Absicht auf Wahl gemeinnütziger Gegenstände auf tiefe Einsicht, freie Übersicht, glückliche Behandlung, so gründlichen als frohen Humor,^{27e} but Nicolai preferred to compare him with Addison, whom Möser excelled as a statesman and man of affairs. He says:

Beiden war die feine Weltkenntnis, die ungesuchte Eleganz, der Sinn für das Schickliche, die mannigfaltige Einkleidung und die Gabe, ganz kleine Gegenstände zu wichtigen Folgen anzuwenden, gemein. Der *Zuschauer* und die *Phantasien* stehen in gleichem Range.²⁸

^{27b} See Nicolai's *Leben Möser's* in Möser, *Werke* ed. Abeken (Berlin 1843), X 27.

^{27c} *Ibid.*, X 30.

^{27d} *Ibid.*, X 43 and 107. Koch [76] 20 gives the date 1768.

^{27e} Goethe, *Werke* I 28, 240f. Möser and Franklin had already been paralleled by the *Berlinsche Monatsschrift* of July 1783, p. 37f.; cf. Möser, *Werke* X 73.

²⁸ Möser, *Werke* X 73.

If English men of letters failed to visit Germany they were at least accessible to correspondence. Klopstock and Meta corresponded with Richardson and Young. Klopstock opened up a futile correspondence with Macpherson regarding the presumable melodies of the Ossianic songs, and Young replied graciously to his German admirers promising to meet them in heaven.

To supplement such inadequate personal communication the German literary journals made an earnest effort to keep in touch with tendencies outside their own land. In the earliest part of the century the journals lookt to France for information even in regard to English literature, but later on the inflow of English thot became more direct. The *Spectator*, *Tatler*, and *Guardian* were so influential that they are reserved for treatment in the next chapter of this SURVEY. But other English journals also apprized German critics of the new works of fact and fiction as they appeared in the British Isles, and German journals spread the information. Trieloff [86*ax*] devotes over a hundred pages to the reproduction of foren parallels to passages in the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1772. Most of the parallels are from the *Monthly review*, a few are from the *Gentleman's magazine* and other sources; the *Monthly review* was also the chief source of Christian Felix Weisze's plagiarized book reviews in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (1758ff.). When Nicolai was forced for business reasons to yield up the editorship of this journal he was succeeded by Weisze, who added a new department, "Vermischte Nachrichten." Herder regarded this as one of the best and most interesting parts of the magazine and always read it first, for it kept its readers in touch with literary affairs in other countries,^{28a} and gave reviews of the most important works in foren languages. Weisze's knowledge of the English language is well known. He was indeed the translator of a large number of English works,^{28b} but his in-

^{28a} Herder, *Werke* I 145.

^{28b} For a list of some of the translations see *Christian Felix Weiszes Selbstbiographie hrsg. von dessen Sohne Christian Ernst Weisze und dessen Schwiegerohne Samuel Gottfried Frisch* (Leipzig 1806), p. 238-242.

ability to concentrate his mind upon a work long enuf to appraise its value was admitted by himself.^{28c} Despite this fact the *Bibliothek* contains scores of pithy reviews of contemporary English works. Giessing [141a] has recently discovered the English sources from which many of these reviews were drawn. That the plagiarism was rather systematic is shown by the fact that of eleven reviews of English works in Weisze's first volume the first five were almost literal translations of estimates in the *Monthly review*, and the plundering was continued in the later volumes, as Giessing's parallel columns strikingly show. Other British sources were exploited by Weisze as well. In five half-year volumes of the *Bibliothek* searcht by Giessing eleven cases of dependence on the *Scots magazine* were discovered. In no case is there any evidence that the reviewer read the book he criticized and in no instance is there any acknowledgment of the source of his information. Weisze's *Bibliothek* stands in markt contrast to Eschenburg's *Brittisches Museum für die Deutschen*, the reviews in which were also taken from English magazines but with acknowledgment. The practice of borrowing from foren periodicals was apparently widespread at the time, for it brot upon itself a general condemnation from the *Neues Han-növerisches Magazine* in 1800 in an article entitled "Über die Diebstahle der Gelehrten."^{28d}

So closely intertwined was English literature with German literature in the eighteenth century that it is difficult to define the relations without losing oneself in a mass of detail. In order to distinguish the essential from the unessential it is worth while to bear in mind a paragraph of R. M. Meyer in which he has summarized in a masterly fashion the forward movement of German literature in the eighteenth century:

Da kommen die Vorklassiker. Haller bringt wieder Ernst und Kraft, Hagedorn Leichtigkeit und Geschmack, Gellert lehrt wieder eine gewisse Natürlichkeit der Rede, Gottsched und die Schweizer gewinnen wieder höhere Standpunkte der Kritik und der litterarischen Pädagogik. Auf

^{28c} *Ibid.*, p. 272.

^{28d} *Op. cit.*, 1800, p. 2014; quoted by Giessing [141a] 88.

dem Fusz folgen ihnen die Klassiker. Klopstock giebt ein groszes Beispiel dichterischer Kühnheit; er ergreift schwungvoll die höchsten Interessen: Religion, Vaterland, Humanität, und spricht in seinen Oden persönliche Empfindungen frei und wahr aus. Lessing wirft mit sicherer Kritik den angehäuften Dilettantismus beiseite, schafft eine Prosa, wie Deutschland sie seit Luther nicht kannte, und erzieht durch seine stolze Selbständigkeit ein seit Jahrhunderten an bestellte Arbeit gewöhntes Publikum zu der Forderung, dasz der Dichter sich selbst und seine innere Wahrheit geben müsse. Wieland lernt Franzosen und Engländern die bei uns gänzlich verfallene Kunst der Erzählung ab und würzt sie durch eine freie Gesinnung. Herder betont den Begriff der Originalität, reiszt endgültig die Scheidewand nieder, die den "Gebildeten" den Blick auf die volkstümliche Dichtung entzog, und bahnt den groszen Verkehr einer Weltliteratur an."²⁹

We have principally to inquire to what extent Pope, Prior, Dryden, and Thomson helpt Hagedorn toward his facile manner and good taste, how much of his grace of style Gellert owes to Addison; how much Addison, Milton, and Shakespeare contributed to the esthetic and literary principles developpt by Gottsched and the Swiss scholars; how much Klopstock was indebted to Milton and Thomson for the new ideals wherewith he was able to enrich the content of German life and poetry; how much of the art of entertaining narration Wieland learned from the English; how much support for his ideas in regard to genius Herder found in Shakespeare and in Macpherson's *Ossian*; and to what extent the Percy collection of ballads helpt him to break down the barrier that kept the educated from appreciating folk poetry. In attempting to answer such questions we may be sure that we are laying hold of the essential only. The answers of the critics to these vital problems will be summarized in the following chapters.

In order to clear the ground for the discussion of the genuinely crucial questions it is first necessary to mention in passing certain English poems, novels, and satires which, tho not actually influential in German literature, nevertheless called forth a response that should not be entirely ignored in this connexion. Under this category falls first much of the work of Dryden and Prior.

²⁹ Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur d. 19. Jh.*² (Berlin 1900), 3.

Dryden's *Essay of dramattick poesie* played a leading rôle in the history of the German drama and will be discusst in its proper connexion.³⁰ His *Alexander's feast* was as influential a poetic model as Pope's *Ode to St. Cecilia*.³¹ Other works of Dryden made but minor ripples on the literary current. Of Dryden's twenty-five dramas publisht in about as many years, 1669-1694, only five became known in Germany. The *Spanish friar* (1681) was apparently played at court in Württemberg sometime between the years 1681 and 1685. The *State of innocence* (1674) was discusst because of its connexion with Milton's *Paradise lost*. Bodmer translated some passages of it in his treatize, *Von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie* (1740). Later three translations appeared in Switzerland, in 1754, in 1757, and in 1761. The second one was by Sprenger. Baumgartner [182] gives good evidence that the first and third were by Grynaeus.³² Dryden's *Oedipus* (1679) appeared anonymously at Basel in 1758 in a collection entitled *Neue Probestücke der Englischen Schaubühne, aus der Ursprache übersetzt von einem Liebhaber des guten Geschmacks*. Baechtold attributes the translation to Grynaeus.³³ Dryden's *All for love or the world well lost* (1678) played a more important part in German dramatic history. It was one of the first English plays that Bodmer read (1723). The first translation was by Schmied (1769). A better translation appeared in a Mannheim collection in 1781, but the work was called most directly to the attention of the public by a controversy between Ayrenhoff of Vienna and Wieland, when the former presented *Kleopatra und Antonius* on the Vienna stage. For this play Dryden as well as Shakespeare was a model.³⁴ Baumgartner,³⁵ as well as Ibershoff [183] has called attention to the fact that Dryden's *Tempest or the enchanted*

³⁰ See SURVEY, p. 356.

³¹ Baumgartner [182] 66ff.

³² Ibid., p. 44-58 and Ibershoff [183].

³³ Baechtold, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz* (Frauenfeld 1892), Anhang p. 174.

³⁴ See Horner [482].

³⁵ Baumgartner [182] 55-57.

island (1670) was an important source for Bodmer's *Noah* (1752). Dryden's *Fables* were admired by the Zürich circle. Certain of them were imitated by Hagedorn. In his *Laokoon* Lessing refers to Dryden's translation of Virgil,³⁶ and Blankenburg regarded it as the best translation of its kind.³⁷

Prior,³⁸ like Dryden, was a poet of Roccoco taste, only a trifle less French than the French themselves. Appreciation of Prior was regarded as a sign of good taste in an English gentleman. In Germany he was admired by men of most diverse tastes; by Herder, Voss, and Boie, by Gleim and Uz, by Lessing, Hagedorn, and Wieland. At the time of his death (1721) the German journals spoke of him in laudatory terms; and even after public taste had past thru transitions as a result of the influence first of Milton and then of Ossian and the Percy collection, he continued to live in the *Almanache* even into the nineteenth century. He brot no new type of poetry into vogue. He was admired because he practiced the prevailing poetry with such skill. Herder translated Prior's *To Chloe weeping* for the *Göttinger Musenalmanach* of 1772 and included it in his *Volkslieder*; but, of the more notable poets, only Hagedorn and Wieland showed more than a passing interest in Prior.

The *Almanach der deutschen Musen*, Leipzig 1773, p. 3, praises Hagedorn as "der deutsche Prior." There is much in Hagedorn's literary manner and way of life and experience that justifies such a comparison. Wukadinovic discusses the several instances in which Hagedorn borrowed a theme from Prior, and shows that he treated these themes freely, sometimes improving on the originals and sometimes falling short of them.

Wieland, in his early and more pious days, spoke of Prior's seductive poetry with disapprobation, and in 1755 he seemed resolved to preserve himself from its beguilements;³⁹ but by

³⁶ Lessing, *Schriften* IX 41.

³⁷ Cf. Baumgartner [182] 64.

³⁸ Wukadinovic [286] is practically the only authority regarding Prior in Germany, but cf. Coffman [118] for Prior's influence on Hagedorn's didactic poetry.

³⁹ Wukadinovic [286] 47.

1764 he was competing with Prior in Prior's own domain. *Nadine* (1762) was the first fruit of this competition. There are traces of Prior's influence in *Amadis*, and Wukadinovic has collected external evidence showing that Prior's *Alma* gave the original impulse to Wieland's *Musarion* (1768). This seems to have been the last obvious debt of Wieland to Prior. There follows with Wieland the period of enthusiasm for Sterne, whose work seemed to have much the same allurements for him as Prior's.⁴⁰

To the poets Dryden and Prior may be added the novelists, Bunyan, Defoe, and Swift, whose works were known, translated, admired, and in some instances imitated in Germany; yet it would be an exaggeration to rate their novels as important influences in the development of German literature.

The earliest of these narrators, John Bunyan, denied that he owed anything to the learning of the world, but that he owed much to oral tradition seems now quite certain. The tales of fugitive Anabaptists of Germany and Holland told to the humble folk of eastern England clung to his memory and formed the basis of his *Pilgrim's progress* (1678)^{40a} and his *Holy war* (1682).^{40b} It is little wonder then that these epics became household books with the later pietists of Germany. A translation of *The pilgrim's progress* was made as early as 1685 by Pastor Christoph Matthaeus Seidel, a follower of Spener.^{40c} The second part of the work appeared in 1708 and soon after that a translation of *The life and death of Mr. Badman*. In his preface of 1708 Seidel explicitly assumes that the life and character of Bunyan are well known to all his readers. By the year 1733 other works of Bunyan had appeared in German translation: *Der heilige Krieg*, *Das zarteste Herz der Liebe Christi*, and *Die Gnade Gottes über den gröszesten Sünder*. In 1785 a French

⁴⁰ See SURVEY, p. 320.

^{40a} See Heath in the *Contemporary review* LXX (1896) 540-558.

^{40b} *Ibid.*, LXXII (1897) 105-118.

^{40c} The Congressional library has a German reprint (1732) of this work. The work appeared in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, in 1754.

translation of *The pilgrim's progress* was printed at Halle, and about the year 1826 Friedrich Heinrich Ranke, brother of the historian, began to translate *The pilgrim's progress* to read to his parishioners in the little town of Rückerdsdorf. The work was published in 1832. Since that time *The pilgrim's progress* has appeared frequently in German translation, but its influence appears to have been religious rather than literary. Of the known eighteenth century writers Lenz and Jung-Stilling alone seem to have shown an interest in him; the latter once planned a *Christenreise* in hexameters.^{40a}

Robinson Crusoe, it is well known, belongs to world literature to an extent scarcely surpassed by any other English work.⁴¹ The first translation into German was that of M. Vischer (Hamburg 1720).⁴² The first imitation was *Der teutsche Robinson oder Bernhard Creutz das ist Eines übelgearteten Jünglings seltsame Lebensbeschreibung usw.* (Hall in Schwaben 1722). All previous German "Robinsonaden" were surpassed by J. G. Schnabel's *Insel Felsenburg* (1731),⁴³ which sped thru many editions, was trans-

^{40a} The source of the above paragraph is Eiefert [164x]. It is to be hoped that this interesting essay will soon be published. It is full of interesting detail not reported above.

⁴¹ Ullrich [175] records 5 Dutch translations, 49 French, 21 German (scarcely more than a half dozen since the appearance of Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* in 1779), 5 Danish, 4 Swedish, 3 Polish, 2 Spanish, 2 Arabic, 2 Old Grecian, 1 Finnish, 1 Turkish, 1 Maori, 1 Bengalese, 1 Maltese, 1 Hungarian, 1 Armenian, 2 Hebrew, 1 Gaelic, 2 Portuguese, 1 Esthonian, and 1 Persian.

⁴² Regarding the translator see Biltz [172], Kippenberg [171], and Schott [177a].

⁴³ The work is commonly called *Insel Felsenburg* for short but the complete title is: *Wunderliche / FATA / einiger / SEE — FAHRER, / absonderlich / ALBERTI JULII, eines gebohrnen Sachsens, / Welcher in seinem 18ten Jahre zu Schiffe / gegangen durch Schiff-Bruch selbste an eine / grausame Klippe geworffen worden, nach deren Übersteigung / das schönste Land entdeckt, sich daselbst mit seiner Gefährtin verheyrathet, aus solcher Ehe eine Familie von mehr als / 300 Seelen erzeuget, das Land vortreflich angebauet, / durch besondere Zufälle erstaunenswürdige Schätze gesammelt, seine in Teutschland ausgekundschaftten Freunde / glücklich gemacht, am Ende des 1728sten Jahres, als in / seinem Hunderten Jahre, annoch frisch und gesund gelebt, / und vermuthlich noch zu dato lebt, / entworffen / Von dessen Bruders-Sohnes-Sohnes-Sohne, / MONS. EBERHARD JULIO, / Curieusen Lesern aber zum vermuthlichen / Gemüths-Vergnügen ausgefertiget, auch par Commission / dem Drucke übergeben / Von GISANDERN. / Gisander was Schnabel's pseudonym.*

lated into Danish and thence into Icelandic, and was worked over and continued by German writers and writers of other nations. Schnabel's work is, however, no mere imitation of Defoe's.^{43a}

Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* (Hamburg 1779), a popular "Bearbeitung," reached its 115th edition in 1891.⁴⁴ Campe's *Robinson* had been by that time translated into French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, English, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Lithuanian, Turkish, and ancient Greek, and widely imitated in all parts of the world. Ullrich's bibliography, with its 248 pages practically of titles alone, gives some conception of the extent of Robinson imitation. German enthusiasm exhausted itself in imitations and in imitations of imitations. Close upon *Der deutsche Robinson* there followed, according to Flindt, "ein fränkischer, pfälzischer, sächsischer, schlesischer, westfälischer, brandenburgischer, ein Leipziger und ein Berliner Robinson. Diesen folgen dann, für einzelne Klassen geschrieben, der medizinische, der geistliche und der buchhändlerische, ja schliesslich sogar ein jüdischer und ein weiblicher, die Jungfer Robinson."^{44a} This widespread interest and imitation does not necessarily prove the existence of literary influence in the strictest sense. Robinson merely provided a solid chapter in the records of "Stoffgeschichte."⁴⁵

^{43a} Cf. Brüggemann [180] and Strauch in ZDPh. XLVIII (1919) 148. Three new elements in Schnabel's work were: "1, die Auffassung des Inselaufenthaltes als eines Asyls, nicht eines Exils; 2, als Folge davon das systematische und keinesweges nur unfreiwillige Sichabschlieszen . . . gegen die europäische Kulturwelt; 3, ein geschlechtliches Moment."

⁴⁴ According to Philippovic [353] 28.

^{44a} Flindt [79] 8.

⁴⁵ The following additional comments should be made in regard to the literature on the subject. Hettner's lecture [170] was based on traditional information, much of which was false. There is little evidence of first-hand acquaintance with his theme. Ullrich is the recognized authority upon the subject; however, only the first and most essential part of his work [175] has appeared. In his criticism of Kippenberg [171] Ullrich says that he is thoroly reliable in regard to the first German translations of *Robinson*, in regard to the history of *Robinson* since 1731, and in regard to *Insel Felsenburg*; that his treatment of the introductions and of "Robinsonaden" since 1731, however, displays "erhebliche Lücken." The list of works in the BIBLIOGRAPHY [170]-[181] might have been easily extended but for the conviction of the compiler that we do not have to do here with a genuine instance of literary influence.

Robinson Crusoe may be described as a realistic novel dealing with an unplausible adventure as a result of which its hero retraces the early stages of human development. The German imitations emphasized the adventurous element almost exclusively. But this element was a prevalent characteristic of the seventeenth century novel, so it may not be said that *Robinson* brot a new element or influence into Germany, but rather that it prolonged an older tendency. No important instance of a genuine Robinson influence has been pointed out, but Carl Heine makes a comparison which is too interesting to pass over. He refers to *Wilhelm Meister*, which was one of the first German works in which a character development similar to Robinson's takes place: "Robinson wie Wilhelm sind gut veranlagte, lebenskräftige, glückliche aber keineswegs über das Durchschnittsmasz erheblich hinausragend begabte Naturen. Beide geraten im Verlauf ihres Lebens in Lagen und Umstände, auf die ihre ursprüngliche Bestimmung keineswegs hingewiesen hatte, und diese Umstände zwingen beide Jünglinge zu einer durchaus allseitigen Ausbildung aller in ihnen ruhenden Kräfte."⁴⁶ There is a difference here, which Heine does not fail to point out. Robinson's fate carries him to a desert isle, Wilhelm's to a highly cultivated community, where, in contrast to Robinson, he develops from egotism to cosmopolitanism. If it can be shown that *Robinson Crusoe* really contributed in any essential way to the origin of the "Bildungsroman" in Germany, then Defoe will assume a hitherto unconceded importance in the history of the novel.

Gulliver's travels won its way into Germany less rapidly than Defoe's novel. Not until a French edition of fifteen hundred copies was sold out in one year (1726–1727) was its popularity noted, and the French version turned into German by one Cörner (1727). In 1729 a translation of *The tale of a tub* appeared in Altona but no further translations of *Gulliver* appeared until Bodmer's friend, Waser, began his translation of

⁴⁶ Heine [89] 46.

Swift's works (1757ff.). *Gulliver's travels* was included in his fifth volume of the set (1760-1761) but found no great favor. In 1787-1788 R. Risbeck was at work revising Waser's translation of the *Tale of a tub*, *Battle of the books*, and *Gulliver's travels*. His work consisted largely of modernizing the language of his predecessor. In 1800-1801 *Gulliver's travels* appeared as the fifth volume of a translation by Potts (Leipzig 1798-1801). A new translation by an anonymous hand appeared in Leipzig in 1804. A review of the same year expressly assumed that every one was familiar with the work. The year 1839 saw a new *Gulliver's travels* in the large illustrated edition of Kottenkämp. A *Gulliver für die reifere Jugend* prepared by Karl Seifart (1870) was not the earliest version of its kind, but Philippovic is unable to furnish data as to the earlier ones.

There is a notable absence of Gulliver imitations in Germany. So far as is known Lichtenberg was the only one who even planned such a work. There is a reference to this plan in his *Tagebuch*, Oct. 7, 1785, but like his contemplated satirical novels against the sentimentalists and against the "Stürmer und Dränger" the idea was allowed to lapse entirely unless we may take into account a mere fragment entitled *Lorenz Eschenheimers empfindsame Reise nach Lapita, Schreiben des Hrn vx⁸+ dx⁸ddy Trullrub, Aeltesten der Akademie zu Lagoda, das Empfindsame im Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande und im Hause sitzend betreffend, aus dem Hochbaldnabarischen übersetzt von M. S.* (Martinus Scriblerus?). In the preface Lichtenberg says: "Die gelehrte Welt hat es bekanntermassen schon längst und mit Recht bedauert, daz der berühmte Lemuel Gulliver bei seinem Aufenthalte in Lapita und Lagoda sich nicht mehr bemüht hat, eine genaue Verbindung zwischen der dasigen Akademie und irgend einer europäischen zu stiften." After a little more learned nonsense this fragment abruptly ends.

Nor can it be said that any other of Swift's works exerted a genuine influence in Germany. Philippovic says:

Ungefähr mit dem zweiten Viertel des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts beginnt sich Swift in der deutschen Literatur fühlbar zu machen. An-

nähernd ein Jahrhundert hält er vor, um dann mit *Gullivers travels* der deutschen Kinderliteratur anheimzufallen. Seine Wirkung in Deutschland ist niemals tief und niemals von groszer Bedeutung gewesen. Eigentlichen Einflusz hat er nur auf die zwei mehr oder weniger geistesverwandten Köpfe ausgeübt, nämlich auf die Satiriker Rabener und Lichtenberg; und selbst diese zwei würden wohl schwerlich ein anderes Gesicht zeigen, wenn sie die Schriften des Dechanten nicht gekannt hätten. . . . Man kann fast sagen, dasz er seit ungefähr 1760 nur noch bei den Anhängern der alten Richtung in Deutschland lebt. Es kennzeichnet die von der neuen Strömung wenig beeinflusste schweizerische, speciell zürcherische Literatur, dasz noch nach 1760 in der Schweiz eine Gesamtübersetzung⁴⁹ erscheinen konnte.⁴⁷

More influential than Swift's writings were his extraordinary personal experiences. Goethe workt these over freely in his drama *Stella*, and according to Caro [354] they, rather than Lillo's *Merchant of London* and Richardson's *Clarissa*, were the basis of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson*.⁵⁰

Philippovic has collected references to Swift from the works of Gottsched, Bodmer, Haller, Hagedorn, Liscow, Rabener, Gellert, Kästner, Lessing, Lichtenberg, Herder, August Wilhelm and Friedrich von Schlegel, and Jean Paul Richter. None of these, however, wrote any extensive work in imitation of Swift. Hagedorn, it is true, discovered "Swiftische Erfindung" in Liscow's *Briontes* (1732) and Bodmer joined with others of his time in calling Liscow "der deutsche Swift." Litzmann, however, finds that the influence of Swift on Liscow has always been exaggerated. He was influenced a little as to form by Swift as well as by Pope and Arbuthnot, but the chief foren influence on him was that of his acknowledged master, Boileau.⁵²

There were comparatively few attempts to adapt Swift's works to German conditions. Schwabe's translation of his *The art of sinking in poetry* goes farthest in this direction.

⁴⁷ Philippovic [353] 43; cf. p. 19.

⁴⁹ The reference here is to the translation by Waser, the friend of Bodmer; cf. Bodmer [139], Vetter [140], and SURVEY, pp. 160 and 178.

⁵⁰ Kunze [215] 15 says: "Goethes *Stella* beruht auf Lillo's *London Merchant*, ist aber nur durch Vermittlung von Weiszes *Groszmut für Groszmut* entstanden;" cf. Metz [353a].

⁵² Litzmann, *Christian Ludwig Liscow in seiner litterarischen Laufbahn* (Hamburg 1883), p. 74.

Schwabe was commissioned by Gottsched to undertake this work and to provide examples of "bathos" from German poets as well as English.⁵³

The attempts of German critics to make adaptations of other English satires are significant. They show that the German leaders in literary affairs were conscious of the need of foren tutelage as far as form was concerned. A satirist writes for his own community, where the conditions he satirizes are known, his half veiled references penetrated, and his jibes appreciated. Moreover political and literary conditions in Germany differed so greatly from those in England as to make adaptation particularly difficult. Despite this fact the attempt was constantly repeated thruout the century in Germany.

The earliest imitation of this kind stands at the very threshold of the century. It was written by Wernicke in 1702. Christian Wernicke was more familiar with English literature than were most men of his time. He had served as a diplomat in London and Paris. Literature was not a profession with him, but a leading interest. He had studied the works of Morhof and Opitz, nevertheless in his early days he had admired Gryphius, Hoffmannswaldau, and Lohenstein. He later repented of this unnatural taste. When the opera came to the fore in Hamburg Wernicke made a stand against it and opposed, in literature and art, all that was not founded on sound sense, including the work of his formerly admired Lohenstein, whom he criticized in the second edition of his *Überschriften* (1701). Christian H. Postel, a leading adherent of the operatic bombastic school, retorted with a sonnet. To this sonnet Wernicke replied with his *Heldengedicht, Hans Sachs genannt, aus dem englischen übersetzt*. In the introduction to this poem Wernicke wrote: "Als ich nun mit diesem Gedanken im Schwange ging (i.e. of replying to Postel) so gerieth ich unversehens unter meinen

⁵³ *Anti Longin oder die Kunst in der Poesie zu kriechen, anfänglich von dem Herrn D. Swift den Engländern zum besten geschrieben, itzo zur Verbesserung des Geschmacks bey uns Deutschen übersetzt und mit Exemplen aus englischen, vornehmlich aber aus unsern deutschen Dichtern durchgehends erläutert.* (Leipzig 1734.)

zusammengesammelten Schriften auf folgendes sinnreiches Gedicht eines berühmten englischen Poeten, worinnen er eine Person aufgeföhret hat, welche meinem Widersacher in allen Stücken gleichet."

Wernicke's model was the English satire *Mac Flecknoe, or a satyr upon the true-blew Protestant poet T. S.* (London, 1682). The "true-blew Protestant poet T. S." was known to be Thomas Shadwell, and the author of *Mac Flecknoe* was no doubt Dryden,⁵⁴ whom Shadwell had recently attacked in a satire entitled *The medal of John Bayes*. The situations represented in the two poems are closely similar. The Irish poet Richard Flecknoe, who died in 1678, had been accorded the title of the prince of dullness. After his death the author of the poem lets his mantle fall upon Thomas Shadwell. The coronation rites are described in detail and offer abundant opportunity for parody and jest at Shadwell's expense. Wernicke calls his work a translation but it was really a successful adaptation in which Postel, in the poem designated as Stelpe, plays a rôle corresponding to that of T. S. To Hans Sachs is assigned the Mac Flecknoe rôle. There is a close correspondence of detail and of verse as well. Many of the lines are simply translations or paraphrases of the original. Wernicke's satire is composed of 269 verses as against 217 in Dryden's. Eichler holds this early literary satire to be of no small significance. It was criticism not only of Postel but of Hans Sachs. It was "Kritik des literarischen Individuums." "Den Begriff dieser letzteren," he says, "so weit wir sie für moderne deutsche Literatur zurückverfolgen können, verdanken wir m. E. den Engländern."⁵⁵

After Wernicke had launched this attack against Postel, a third rate Hamburg writer Hunold came to Postel's defence with a comedy called *Dem thörichten Pritschmeister, oder schwermendenden Poeten* (Coblenz 1704). Hunold's plot is without originality. He makes Wernicke, under the names Weck-

⁵⁴ Dryden's authorship has recently been challenged but on inadequate grounds; see BIBLIOGRAPHY [185].

⁵⁵ Eichler [185] 233. Eichler is the most satisfactory authority for this feud; Baumgartner [182] for its aftermath.

narr and Narrweck, the prince of dullness and the "Erzpritschmeister." J. U. König of Hamburg wrote to his friend Bodmer of the Postel-Hunold-Wernicke passage-at-arms and sent him, April 30, 1725, a transcription of the lampoons. Bodmer reprinted the work of Wernicke in 1741 and it past thru four editions during the time of the Leipzig-Swiss controversy. Bodmer always implied that Gottsched belonged to the Hans Sachs-Stelpo school; and he himself wrote (1742) a prose satire called *Das Complot der herrschenden Poeten* (i.e. of the Gottsched school) for which he borrowed notives from Wernicke as well as from Pope's *Dunciad*.

Bodmer's taste for satires was only less strong than for religious poetry, but most of the satirical works he planned fell short of completion. He endeavored to adapt Pope's *Dunciad* to German conditions,⁵⁶ but the fragment that appeared in 1747 showed the insuperable difficulties of this undertaking. Bodmer had previously (1737) published a prose translation of two cantos of *Hudibras* without any attempt at adaptation: "Ein *Hudibras* für uns wäre Überflusz und unnötig, wir leben nicht mehr in den schwärmerischen Zeiten Karls des Ersten."⁵⁷ The introduction was of some significance. Bodmer says that burlesk poetry is of two kinds, that in which an insignificant character is elevated, and that in which a great character is degraded. This idea Bodmer has derived from Addison, tho he does not specifically acknowledge it. At the same time Bodmer misquotes Addison to the effect that rime is a matter of minor importance. Bodmer's own tame translation of *Hudibras*⁵⁸ is evidence to the contrary.

Gottsched reviewed the work of Bodmer rather favorably in his *Kritische Beiträge*; he hoped that Bodmer would finish his translation and that some one else would turn the prose into

⁵⁶ See SURVEY, p. 208.

⁵⁷ Bodmer [139]; quoted by Thayer [167] 578.

⁵⁸ Thayer [167] 549 and Vetter [102] and [103] agree that Bodmer first learned of *Hudibras* thru the *Spectator* no. 249. Bodmer borrowed from Zellweger the copy from which he translated. There are references to Butler in letters written by Bodmer 1723 and 1729.

verses "und zwar in solche, die hübsch altfränkisch klingen."⁵⁹ Gottsched then gives a practical demonstration as to how this should be done. His verses are based on Bodmer's prose, however, and not on the original. Bodmer let it be known that he did not intend to complete the translation. His friend Waser took up the task and produced a complete version in prose in 1765.⁶⁰ Haller regretted the prose form,⁶¹ as Gottsched had done in the case of Bodmer's translation. The earliest complete rimed version was that of Soltau (1787).⁶² There were other later renderings⁶³ but the only noteworthy one was that of Josua Eiselein, "Professor und weiland Oberbibliothekar der Universität Heidelberg" (Freiburg 1845). It has a rambling, erudite, and irrelevant introduction. Eiselein introduces matter of his own invention into the text and uses Soltau's verses wherever he feels he cannot improve upon them.

In spite of numerous and extensive efforts *Hudibras* never became naturalized in German literature. Herder in his *Fragmente über die neuere deutsche Literatur* speaks of *Hudibras* as one of the works which are non-translatable: "An einen Deutschen Cervantes, Hudibras, Tristram, und wie die guten Leute mehr heissen, lässt sich bei unserm Antonio von Rosalva, bei unserm Renommisten, und noch weniger bei anderen Schriftstellern kaum gedenken."⁶⁴ Thayer [167] shows that Pope was far more influential than Butler in the shaping of mock epics in Germany, even among the poets who knew Butler. Wieland found pleasure in Butler, but did not imitate him in his humorous poetry. The same is true of Riedel, who followed Pope in

⁵⁹ *Beyträge zur kritischen Historie etc.* (Leipzig 1737), 17. Stück, pp. 167-176; quoted by Thayer [167] 553.

⁶⁰ Meanwhile J. J. Dusch had published a prose rendering of about 1200 lines in 1764; cf. Thayer [167] 554.

⁶¹ GGA 1766 I 32; cf. Thayer [167] 557.

⁶² *Hudibras frey verdeutscht, dem Herrn Hofrat Wieland zugeeignet von D. W. S.* (Riga 1787, revised ed. Königsberg 1797).

⁶³ In the *Deutsches Museum*, Sept. 1798, the first canto by Dietrich Wilhelm Andreä, in Vienna an ostensibly new prose edition, in reality a revision of Waser's.

⁶⁴ Herder, *Werke* II 46.

his comic epic *Der Trappenschütze* (1765). Thayer finds insufficient grounds for the assertion of Sime and E. Schmidt that Lessing and Nicolai planned to write a satire against Gottsched in the manner of *Hudibras*.⁶⁶

Young's satires made even less stir in Germany than Butler's. Written in 1725-1728 they were first commented on in 1745. Gottsched reviewed the fourth edition in that year, attributing it to Glover, quoting 130 verses of the original, translating it into German prose, and expressing the hope that his fellow countrymen might be satirized in a similar fashion. Such an attempt was made in a fragmentary paraphrase appearing in a Hamburg journal in 1753. Meanwhile Bodmer had reviewed the satires in his *Neue kritische Briefe* (1749) giving a translation of numerous verses.⁶⁷ A poor but complete translation by an anonymous author appeared in Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1755-1756. This had at least the result of leading Ebert to include a good translation in his edition of 1771. There were a few other scattered fragmentary translations, but there is nowhere a sign of influence. Even the writers who were enthusiastic about the *Night thoughts* paid no attention to the satires.

To a large extent Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* was a satire upon Richardson. A similar satirical element predominates in Musäus's *Grandison der Zweite* (1760) which is described in another connexion.⁶⁸ It is in order here to refer in passing to a work called *Geschichte Edward Grandisons in Görlitz* (1755). Edward Grandison is a copy of Richardson's novelistic hero Charles Grandison. In passing thru Görlitz he falls in with Schönaich and some other literary men and seizes the opportunity to inform himself about literary affairs in Germany. Schönaich commends Gottsched and his school, and Bodmer, the admirer of Milton, is harshly treated. But the mention of Milton arouses Grandison's curiosity. During the night he reads some works of the Swiss and the Leipziger and decides promptly in favor of

⁶⁶ Thayer [167] 579-580.

⁶⁷ Vetter [103] regards Bodmer's authorship as doubtful.

⁶⁸ See SURVEY, p. 296.

the Swiss. He is confirmed in his conviction by the conversation of Gottsched and some friends, who arrive and talk the next day. Bodmer was one of the authors of this work, tho it was published under Wieland's name.⁶⁹ The general impression that one derives from most of the imitations just mentioned is that the Swiss men of letters and a few others were constantly trying to estimate their own work by the English standard. In Leipzig the French standard was still regarded as the valid one.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century occurred an event that attracted much attention on the part of the leading German journalists and men of letters, the war of the American colonies for independence. The German writers in question were practically unanimous in their support of constitutional government but differed as to which side best represented that principle. Goebel [93], Hatfield and Hochbaum [94], and Walz [96] and [97], have all made valuable collections of data on this question. They have searched not only thru the works of literature of the time but also thru the journals for contemporary German opinion regarding the contest in America. The findings of these investigators are comparatively accessible, and the contradictory opinions that prevailed in 1775 and thereafter do not need re-quotation here. A few outstanding facts will suffice.

Göttingen was influenced by the strong ties that bound it to England, and Schlözer, a professor at the university, was an ardent defender of the English cause, as apparently were several of his colleagues. The three Swabian journalists whose attitude Walz [97] defines, Schubart, Wekhrlin, and Schiller, were all enamored of England's institutions. Württemberg shared with England the distinction of being one of the two constitutional lands in Europe. It is true a right of 'habeas corpus' was lacking to its constitution, as one of the three journalists, Schubart, soon discovered to his sorrow. Schubart's admiration for the English was intense. Tho sometimes overshadowed by his sympathy for

⁶⁹ Regarding the participation of Wieland and Bodmer in this work see Hordorff, *Untersuchungen zu "Edward Grandisons Geschichte in Görlitz"* (*Schluss*) Euph XIX (1912) 66-91, and Budde, *Wieland und Bodmer*, Pal LXXXIX (1910) 103-129. Cf. Waniek [116] index.

the colonists, it never entirely disappears. He regrets the German traffic in soldiers, but he defends the Hessians in America against the charge of cruelty, and is proud of their achievements. Wekhrlin, on the other hand, in his *Chronologen* (1779-1781) and other journals was uncompromisingly for the English. England was his ideal state. He was a confessed monarchist with a corresponding antipathy for the revolutionists. Schiller, finally, was for a time (1781) editor of a Stuttgart paper, the *Nachrichten zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, a four page sheet, which had much to say regarding English and American political affairs, but very little regarding Swabian—a more dangerous subject. Schiller was a neutral observer of the conflict overseas. There is no direct criticism of the German traffic in soldiers, but there is a suspicion of a fine irony in the picture he drew, March 16, 1781, of the hired troops on their way to America pausing for a moment before the palace to salute "ihren angebeteten Landes Vater und Regenten." One is reminded by this report of *Kabale und Liebe*, II 3.⁷⁰

Other writers have treated of the opinions of Klopstock, Herder, the "Storm and Stress" poets, and Goethe regarding America.^{70a} All accounts agree: First, that the men of letters advocated a liberal, constitutional government generally inclining, on the whole, toward the cause of the colonies; second, that the German traffic in soldiers was especially distressing to them; and third, that the American cause was summed up to the Germans in the names of Washington and Franklin. Other notable patriots and statesmen, such as Hamilton and Jefferson, were practically unknown to them. Walz [97] finds that Wieland, unlike the other German leaders of that, was rather colorless in his remarks in the *Teutscher Merkur* (1773ff.). There are rather few references to England, and there is no expression of opinion against the traffic in soldiers; but the quotations of Hatfield and Hochbaum [94] seem to bespeak a rather warm interest in the American colonists.

⁷⁰ Goebel [93] holds that the contrast was made for effect. Walz [97] 127 sees no necessity for such an interpretation.

^{70a} See BIBLIOGRAPHY [92]-[101].

Klopstock's admiration for the Americans is expressed in two odes *Sie und nicht wir* (1790) and *Zwei Nordamerikaner* (1795), also in *Denkzeiten* (1793) line 22ff. Klopstock was proud of a diploma of citizenship received from the French republic and declined to surrender it, because he felt that in so doing he would surrender his fellow-citizenship with Washington. Walz [96] believes accordingly that in the phrase "Mitbürger des Guten" in *Fürstenlob* the term "des Guten" applies to Washington. There are several other references to Washington in his letters.⁷¹

Herder makes several references to Franklin, in one of which he compares him with Socrates;⁷² but Herder was most concerned about the traffic in soldiers. He wrote of the German mercenaries:

Und doch sind sie in ihrer Herren Dienst
 So hündisch-treu! Sie lassen willig sich
 Zum Mississippi und Ohio-Strom
 Nach Candia und nach dem Mohrenfels
 Verkaufen. Stirbt der Sklave, streicht der Herr
 Den Sold in d'ess und seine Witwe darbt;
 Die Waisen ziehen den Pflug und hungern. Doch
 Das schadet nichts; der Herr braucht einen Schatz.⁷³

Others who were opposed to the renting out of troops were J. J. Engel in *Fürstenspiegel* (1798) and Hermes in *Sophiens Reise* (1769–1773). Frederick II was against it too, but not for sentimental reasons. He felt that it was drawing too much fighting blood from the German states. He taxed soldiers conducted thru his domain just as he taxed cattle similarly led. Schubart voiced the almost universal opposition to the lending of troops in his *Kaplied* (1787). Matthison says the song was sung from the Limmat in Switzerland to the Baltic sea, from Moldau in Bohemia to the banks of the Rhine.^{73a}

⁷¹ Incidentally Klopstock professed to agree with Franklin in regard to simplified spelling. In a letter to Cramer, Dec. 10, 1782 he says: "Wär kan anders über di Ortografi denken, als Franklin und ich?" Lappenberg, *Briefe von und an Klopstock* (Braunschweig 1867), 308.

⁷² Herder, *Werke* XVII 295.

⁷³ In *Nationalruhm*, originally intended for *Humanitätsbriefe* but withheld for political reasons until 1812. See Herder, *Werke* XVIII 208–210; quoted by Walz [96].

^{73a} Matthissohn, *Erinnerungen* (Wien 1794), I 181.

The "Stürmer und Dränger" were interested in America socially rather than politically. Klinger believed in the moral superiority of the Indian over the white man, as a follower of Rousseau should. The scene of his drama *Sturm und Drang*, which gave the name to the movement, was laid in America. Klinger hoped at one time to secure, thru Franklin, a commission in the American army; failing in this, he showed his freedom from partizanship by seeking, thru the Herzogin Amalia, a position as officer in the mercenaries of the Herzog von Braunschweig; but this plan failed also. Franklin plays an important rôle in Klinger's novel *Geschichte eines Deutschen der neuesten Zeit* (1778). Lenz's attitude toward the colonists is not clear. Hatfield and Hochbaum infer from the dramatic fragment *Henriette von Waldeck oder die Laube* (1776) that Lenz was interested in the American cause,⁷⁴ but Walz [96], on the other hand, concludes from the *Waldbruder* of the same year that his attitude was one of indifference. In numerous German novels of the revolutionary time and later, America is referred to as the refuge of those who find conditions no longer favorable at home. Lili Schönemann once proposed to Goethe that they go to America. "Amerika war damals vielleicht noch mehr als jetzt," Goethe says, "das Eldorado derjenigen, die in ihrer augenblicklichen Lage sich bedrängt fanden."⁷⁵ "Damals noch mehr als jetzt;" had Goethe written in 1830 instead of 1810 he would not have so expressed himself. But America as the Eldorado of the oppressed is a theme that for chronological reasons must be reserved for the third part of this survey.

⁷⁴ Hatfield and Hochbaum [94] 365.

⁷⁵ Goethe, *Werke* I 29, 156.

CHAPTER 4

ADDISON AND THE MORAL WEEKLIES

The journalistic successes of Steele and Addison brot a new type of literature to the front in England. The *Tatler* (1709) was followed by the *Spectator* (March 1711–Dec. 1712 and June–Dec. 1714), the interval in its publication being filled successively by the *Guardian* (1713), the *Englishman*, and the *Lover*.¹ These periodicals furnisht a common subject matter of conversation to men and women of leisure. The *Tatler* appeared three times every week, the *Guardian* appeared weekly, while the *Spectator* presented itself daily, and after its revival in 1714, tri-weekly for discussion at the coffee houses. There was a reformatory impulse behind these papers. They sot to improve morals by dint of elevating taste; to substitute literature and manners as topics of conversation for horse-racing, cock-fighting, and other gentlemanly interests; and to introduce into the common speech the simplicity and elegance of the French language. These journals continued to appear thruout the eighteenth century in England. Kawczynski [149] has counted over two hundred during that period, and Brandl in his review has added to the list, yet the papers seems to have lost much of their prestige with the final discontinuance of the *Spectator*. About the time the movement was passing its crest in England a similar one began in Germany. The German weeklies surpast the English in number, tho not in quality.

¹ These papers were not without predecessors, tho the *Christian hero*, mentioned by Hartung [163] and Coffman [118], was not a moral weekly. Defoe's *Weekly review of the affairs of France*, 1704ff, a news sheet rather than a moral weekly, but incidentally containing discussions of moral and poetic questions, preceded the *Tatler*, as did also the *Athenian gazette*, 1690. In reality the moral weeklies develope out of the popularity of moral essays and of "Characters." Works of this kind were prevalent since the time of La Bruyère and especially popular in England in the first decade of the 18th century. See Baldwin, PMLA XIX (1904) 75-144 and Dunham MLN XXXIII (1918) 95-101.

The earliest German weeklies were:

Der Hamburger Vernünfftler, Hamburg 1713–1726.

Die lustige Fama aus der nährischen Welt, Hamburg 1718.

Neuangelegte Nouvelles-Correspondence aus dem Reiche derer Lebendigen in das Reich derer Todten, Hamburg 1721.

Die Discourse der Mahlern, Zürich 1722–1723, conducted by Bodmer and Breitinger.

Der Leipziger Spectateur, Leipzig 1723.

Der Hamburger Patriot, Hamburg 1724–1726, founded by Brockes and his friends.

Die vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen, Leipzig 1725–1726, conducted by Gottsched.

It was natural that Hamburg, Zürich, and Leipzig should lead the movement, not only on account of their connexions with England, which have already been set forth,¹ but also because of their remoteness from court life, which was then under the domination of the more aristocratic French influence. Berlin joined the movement tardily with *Das moralische Fernglas* (1732) and *Der Weltbürger* (1741–1742).²

Gottsched listed 180 weeklies founded in Germany during the period 1713–1761. Kawczynski listed over 500 in Germany during the eighteenth century. Hamburg was the leader with ninety-nine such publications including the *Patriot*, in its day the most widely read paper in Germany, with 4500 subscribers in Hamburg and elsewhere. Leipzig followed with twenty-eight weeklies, the leading one being Gottsched's.

The count must necessarily vary with the definition of the term "moral weekly." Most of the papers were partly moral and partly literary with a tendency, as time went on, to become

¹ See SURVEY, p. 159f.

² Regarding the four Hamburg papers see Jacoby [151]; regarding *Die Discourse der Mahlern*, *der Patriot*, *die vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen* see Milberg [148]; for the *Discourse der Mahlern* see further Vetter [157]; for the *Hamburger Vernünfftler* Hartung [156]; for the Berlin papers, Geiger [152].

strictly literary. The year 1735 may be taken as a turning point in that respect. In that year Gottsched suffered his *Biedermann*, successor to the *Tadlerinnen*, to pass away and founded in its stead his *Beyträge zur kritischen Historie der deutschen Sprache, Poesie und Beredsamkeit*. From 1737 to 1773, the date of the founding of *Der teutsche Merkur*, literary titles predominate.³ In the moral weeklies we have all the elements essential to a widespread influence. They were read everywhere and by all classes of people. They stood in high esteem and they provided the most available organ thru which young writers could express themselves.

After Kawczynski, Jacoby, Milberg, and Vetter had prepared the way with special studies of special papers or groups of papers. Umbach [155] was able to advance knowledge of the weeklies by giving his investigations a broader base. He examined twenty-five such journals and included in the scope of his inquiry the later period, which his predecessors had slighted. He lays special stress on the close relation of the weeklies to the English *Spectator*, a phase which Milberg had neglected and Kawczynski had by no means exhausted.

Umbach finds that most of the early moral weeklies in Germany frankly admitted their indebtedness to the *Spectator* and that the dependence, tho less pronounced, was obvious thruout the century. The complete translation of the *Spectator*, which Frau Gottsched produced (1739–1743), necessitated a more active quest for original material. Frau Gottsched also publishes a German version of the *Guardian* in 1749; a translation of the *Tatler* appeared in 1756. The *Hamburger Vernünftler* depended on its English original, the *Tatler*, for its inspiration, but most of the early papers depended upon a French translation of the *Spectator* of 1714, in which 214 numbers were

³ Some of these literary journals had a distinct English flavor, as for example: *Die britische Bibliothek* (Leipzig 1759ff.), and *Bremisches Magazin zur Ausbreitung der Wissenschaften, Künste und Tugend von einigen Liebhabern derselben mehrenteils aus den englischen Monatsschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben* (Bremen and Leipzig 1757–1766). For the period 1777–1855 Elze [74] 58–59 has listed twenty-one English-German literary magazines published in Germany.

lacking or incomplete.⁴ It was this version that Bodmer picked up in Geneva in 1718 on his return from Italy and resolved to imitate. Umbach finds that the *Spectator* was plundered most largely of its religious articles. Persiflage of human faults and foibles is next in point of prominence, and ideas regarding education were also borrowed largely. These borrowed articles must, to a large extent, have determined the general tone of the German periodicals.

The common moral philosophy of these papers, English and German, seems to go back to Locke and Shaftesbury. They all look upon nature in its totality and speak of the wholesome effect of its impressions on man. They attack the group which denies the existence of God. Regarding morals the journals held that good common sense should prevail. They made a crusade against carnivals, masked balls, and modern dances. They ridiculed popular superstitions, astrology, and alchemy. They dealt with practical questions of education and interested themselves in broadening the outlook of woman. They opposed affected manners and false assumptions in society. They preached the ideas of brotherhood and humanity. In short, they popularized the creed of the age of enlightenment, while the emphasis laid upon the equality of man in his natural state and the protest against artificial distinctions lookt forward to the age of the revolution.

It was in the field of letters, however, that the weeklies were most influential. Like their English models they devoted themselves to the simplification of style, the purification of diction, and the fostering of good taste.

Addison had developpt his taste and acquired his style by reading the literary works of the ancients and of the French classicists. He strove for a form of expression free from all affectation, one that rendered up its content with ease and simple elegance. He rarely preacht good style in his journals, but trusted to the power of example. The German imitators, however, declare

⁴ Vetter was unaware of its incompleteness when he wrote [157]. The wrong impression is corrected in [103], where his earlier results are subjected to a review.

their object in advance,⁵ and claim the sanction of the *Spectator*. Frau Gottsched announces a similar purpose in the preface to her translation of the second volume of the *Spectator*: "Unser Wunsch ist allerhand Arten von Leuten zu gefallen und ihnen durch keine seltsame und eigensinnige Schreibart anstößig zu werden, sondern sie vielmehr durch einen zwar reinen aber auch gewöhnlichen und bekannten Ausdruck anzureizen." Quoting Boswell's *A method of study* she writes: "Sie (Addison und Steele) haben sich als Meister in allen Schreibarten gezeigt, sodasz man seine eigene wohl nach ihnen einrichten könne."⁷ The *Hamburger Patriot* is of a like opinion, claiming Addison as its model in point of style. The editor professes to have once visited the *Spectator* in London and asserts: "daz seine Schriften vornehmlich die Ursache der Vollkommenheit sind, die die englische Sprache nun erlangt hat."⁸ A simple and easily comprehended style was the characteristic of nearly all the moral weeklies. The weeklies, moreover, afforded young men their best opportunity for winning their literary spurs. It is not too much to say that the notable simplification of German prose that took place during the eighteenth century was indirectly a result of Addison's betterment of the English language.

The German periodicals were confronted with one task with which the English editors did not have to cope, the purification of the language from foren words. The *Hamburger Patriot* led the reform saying:

Ich habe einen anderen Nutzen gesucht, nemlich den Geschmack meiner Landsleute in der Sprache und Schreib-Art zu verbessern. . . . Ein Teutscher musz ietzund Französisch, Lateinisch und Italiänisch verstehen, um ein Buch in seiner Mutter-Sprache lesen zu können. Ich habe mich aber auf alle Weise bestrebt, durch eine sorgfältige Reinlichkeit und edle, ungekünstelte Einförmigkeit diesen verwehnten Geschmack zu bessern.^{8a}

⁵ See *Hamburger Patriot*, Stück 156; quoted by Umbach [155] 34.

⁷ Op. cit., Vorrede zu Band II; quoted by Umbach [155] 31; cf. *Die vernünftigen Tadelrinnen* II, Stück 32 and Milberg [148] 57.

⁸ Op. cit., 20 Stück; quoted by Umbach [155] 32.

^{8a} Op. cit., 156 Stück; quoted by Umbach [155] 34.

At the outset the *Discourse der Mahlern* was one of the worst offenders in respect to the use of foren words. It was attackt for this fault by the *Patriot* and other weeklies. In its twenty-third number it criticized its own previous style, suggested betterments and improved from that time on. The average number of foren words per page in the first twenty-two numbers was fifteen, thereafter four.⁹

The German weeklies joined with the English ones in the crusade against unnatural forms of poetry and writing, against acrostics, against puns and plays on words. They followed the English papers also in their positive endeavors. The descriptions of nature helpt prepare a way for the reception of Brockes. The fables and characters, which are frequent in the English *Spectator*, in imitation of similar French forms, are re-echoed in the German periodicals, and the opinions of the English critics especially regarding the theatre are quoted as authority.

In his fifth chapter Umbach considers the influence of the English weeklies upon certain important poets of the eighteenth century. His investigations in regard to Haller confessedly bring no definite results. He finds several correspondences of ideas and phraseology between Haller's poetry and the *Spectator* papers; but might these not go back to the English moral philosophers, whom Haller knew as well as did Addison? Haller did not know English at the time of his journey to England (1727), but the French *Spectator* was doubtless well known to him, as well as the German imitations. Haller joined with the German weeklies in the campain against the foren word.

Hagedorn made some minor contributions to the *Hamburger Patriot* in 1726. He was then eighteen years of age. He probably first read the English *Spectator* and *Guardian* in the original during his visit to England 1729-1731. On his return he found the German weeklies insipid in comparison with the English prototypes he was familiar with.¹⁰ He did not write essays for weeklies in Germany, but he workt material from

⁹ Umbach [155] 37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

the English weeklies frequently into his *Moralische Gedichte*,¹¹ with his usual acknowledgment of source.¹² He called attention to the folk-songs reprinted in the *Spectator*, and with Addison he expressed an admiration for this type of poetry.¹³ Hagedorn's simplicity and brevity of style is due in some measure to the example of the *Spectator*,¹⁴ which strengthened him also in his democratic tendency.

The content of Rabener's satires shows a close correspondence in subject matter to the German and English moral weeklies, and there are several particular references therein to the *Spectator*. Rudolf Nedden [158] has shown the extent to which Gellert drew upon the *Spectator* papers for his *Fabeln und Erzählungen*. Umbach calls Gellert "die Summe der moralischen Wochenschriften: Was diese unermüdlich in einzelnen Abhandlungen dem Volke vor Augen gestellt haben, faszt Gellert zu einem groszen moralischen Lehrgebäude zusammen."¹⁵ Umbach finds many passages in Gellert paralleling the German moral weeklies, several paralleling the English weeklies, and many laudatory references to Addison, which he quotes at length.

It is to be regretted that Umbach did not include the two Gottscheds among the list of authors individually tested as to their relation to the English weeklies. Gottsched's esteem for Addison is well known. He showed it not only by his frequent references but by his tragedy *Cato*, written in manifest imitation of Addison's *Cato* and of the *Caton d'Utique* of Deschamps.¹⁶ Lessing points out that this is far from signifying an appreci-

¹¹ Coffman [118] 78-79 draws a comparison between Hagedorn's *Die Freundschaft* and Addison's essay, *Friendship*.

¹² *Harvestuhde* and *Schreiben an einen Freund* to *Spectator*, nos. 196 and 612.

¹³ See *Spectator*, nos. 366-406 and 70-74; cf. SURVEY, p. 267.

¹⁴ See letter to Bodmer, April 13, 1748; quoted by Umbach [155] 75.

¹⁵ Umbach [155] 80.

¹⁶ See Türkheim [160] and Crüger [161]. Addison's *Drummer* was translated into French by Destouches, who revised it slightly to suit his taste. Frau Gottsched later translated Destouches's work into German; cf. Beam [86] 86. Addison's *Cato* was thrice translated into German prose, Frau Gottsched 1735, Anon. 1758, Anon. 1763; and twice into German verse, Felss 1803 and Boehler 1863; see Hegnauer [162] 104.

ation on Gottsched's part of the essential nature of English poetry.¹⁷

Regarding Frau Gottsched there might be something to say as well. While at work on her translation of the *Spectator* she received a letter from a stranger asking advice regarding marriage with a man below her rank. Frau Gottsched gave the answer in the form of a play. Schlenther comments:¹⁸ "Wie Meister Addison nicht nur moralische Wochenschriften sondern auch moralische Komödien verfaszte, so unterbrach auch Frau Gottsched ihre Übersetzung der Wochenschriften mit der Abfassung von Komödien." The reference here is to Frau Gottsched's *Die ungleiche Heirat* (1743), *Die Hausfranzösin* (1744), and *Das Testament* (1745).¹⁹

Not by any detailed investigation of individual German authors, however, is the extent of the influence of the English weeklies on German literature to be estimated, but rather by broader considerations that involve the whole literary history of the first half of the eighteenth century in Germany. Before the classic literature could develop, the German language had to be bettered in many respects. The necessary movement toward purification, clarification, and simplification began under the banner of French pseudo-classicism, but was extended and popularized by the example of the English weeklies.

A further serious defect in Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century was the lack of a common culture. The renaissance had caused a rift between the classically trained scholar and the uneducated mass. Opitz had tried in vain to bridge the gulf. The thirty years war had remedied the disparity only in so far as it levelled downwards. When Gottsched, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, renewed the effort his task was a difficult one. The people read little and satisfied their literary cravings by marvelling at the rude plays of wandering players. Men of culture affected a preference for French liter-

¹⁷ Lessing, *Schriften* VIII 42; in the 17. *Literaturbrief*.

¹⁸ Schlenther [117] 180.

¹⁹ Cf. Hegnauer [162] 131.

ature and the French drama. Then it was that the moral weeklies provided a common meeting ground. They were elegant enough for the enlightened and not too deep for the uneducated. For Gottsched in Leipzig, and for his confederates in Hamburg and Zürich, Addison was the man of the hour. But none of them acquired Addison's easy manner. He wrote as if to social equals. The tone of his German followers on the other hand was stiffer and more pedagogical; they held that the unlearned masses must be instructed by their intellectual superiors. The German public, however, took the lesson in good part, as an English public perhaps would not have done.

Thirdly and lastly, an indispensable pre-requisite for a healthy literature was scientific literary criticism and the development therefrom of an esthetic theory. Both the Leipzig group and the Swiss group learnt from the English weeklies how to express themselves with discrimination and some precision in such matters. Out of their divergencies of opinion arose a journalistic debate. The debate clarified opposing literary theories and marked the beginning in Germany of a criticism worthy of the name.

In view of the great esteem in which he was held in Germany it was fortunate that Addison was so liberal a critic and that he had taken occasion to express so emphatically his admiration of Milton and Shakespeare and even, tho' timidly, of popular poetry. Addison with Pope and other men of wise restraint, common sense, and good taste make up the first wave of English influence in Germany in the eighteenth century. The laudatory essay on Milton opened the way to the second wave, in which the marvellous secured its recognition. The frequent references to Shakespeare aroused first curiosity, then enthusiasm for Shakespeare, while Herder was able to claim Addison's sanction in his campaign in behalf of the poetry of the uneducated, and thus the arrival of the third wave was signalized. In short, the English weeklies played a pioneer rôle in the movement of English literature in Germany, in the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER 5

POPE

The discussion of Pope's influence on German literature seems to have been opened by Max Koch in a study of 1880 [284], wherein he showed that Pope's version of *January and May* in the *Merchant's tale* from Chaucer, was, with Shakespeare's *Midsummer night's dream*, an important source of Wieland's *Oberon*. In his general sketch of English > German influences three years later [76] he laid emphasis upon the influence of Pope's "philosophisches Lehrgedicht" on the poets Brockes, Haller, Drollinger, Uz, Ewald Christian Kleist, Pyra, Wieland, Goethe, and Schiller. He pointed out that Pope was considered a great philosopher in Germany until Mendelssohn and Lessing in their tract *Pope ein Metaphysiker?* (1755) demonstrated the contrary to the Berlin Academy. He further called attention to the fact that Pope popularized the prevailing English philosophy just as Schiller later popularized Kant's ideas. Among the evidences of this influence he refers to two works of Haller: "Das Bestreben, Thomson und Pope zu verbinden, hat Albrecht von Haller in seinen *Alpen* (1729) geleitet. Popes Richtung gesondert hat er im Gedichte *Über den Ursprung des Übels*¹ (1734) eingeschlagen." This last assertion doubtless has reference to Pope's *Essay on man*, with which Haller's work shows many correspondences; but the common direction of the two poetical essays is purely accidental, for, as Wyplel points out, ^{1a} Pope's *Essay on man*, tho begun in 1732, was not completed until 1734, while Haller had begun his *Ursprung des Übels* in February 1733. Up to this time there had been no reference to Pope in Haller's correspondence, tho Butler, Rochester, Swift, Shaftesbury, Blount, and Hobbes had already been referred to. The first mention of

¹ Koch [76] 14.

^{1a} Wyplel [120] 21.

Pope is in a letter from Stähelin in 1734. Haller might have taken his work in hand, thereupon, and revised it with the help of Pope's example, but there is no evidence whatever that he did so. In a later edition of his poem he expressly denies that it had profited by the *Essay on man*.² Wyplel emphasizes the fundamental differences in the characters of Pope and Haller, differences that find their natural reflexion in dissimilarities of style. At most, he says, Pope, with the other philosophic poets of England, may have encouraged Haller in his trend toward greater pregnancy of style.

Wyplel attributed certain apparent Pope-Haller parallels to a common origin in the earlier English philosophic writers and emphasized the importance of Shaftesbury as an influence on Haller. A promist investigation by him did not appear but his surmise has been confirmed by others.

Bondi [318] finds the prevailing English philosophy in Haller's *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben*, in *Die Falschheit menschlicher Tugenden*, and in *Über den Ursprung des Übels*. Jenny, on the other hand, says that Haller's philosophy corresponds rather with Leibniz's.^{2a} Where it does correspond with Shaftesbury's, Haller derived his ideas at second hand from him thru Leibniz. Grudzinski [328] holds a middle view. He declines to regard, with Bondi, the question of the freedom of the will as a touchstone to distinguish Leibniz's philosophy from Shaftesbury's but sees the distinguishing characteristic of the latter in its esthetic stamp, that of the former in its metaphysical foundation:

Wo sich ein Dichter in begeisterten Schilderungen der Harmonie und Ordnung in der Welt ergeht, wird gewöhnlich Shaftesburys Einwirkung vorliegen. Darauf beschränkt sie sich auch in Hallers *Ursprung des Übels*, dessen metaphysische Grundgedanken durchaus der Leibnizschen Philosophie entnommen sind. Shaftesburys Einfluss auf Haller ist in seinen Gedanken über Religion und Sittlichkeit zu suchen; für die ausgeglichene daseinsfreudige Lebensansicht des Engländers hat der schwermütige, weltabgewandte Schweizer kaum Sinn gehabt.³

² Maaek [277] 8.

^{2a} Jenny [319] 11.

³ Grudzinski [328] 18.

At all events investigations undertaken since 1883 tend to show that Koch [76] exaggerated Pope's influence at the expense of that of Shaftesbury and other English philosophers. The three most recent works on Shaftesbury, those of Elson, Grudzinski, and Weiser^{3a}, have given Shaftesbury his due. We may hope for an impartial appraisal of the relative influences in a work that has been begun by Heinzelmann, who intends to include in the scope of his investigation: (1) an account of the extent to which Pope was read by the Germans of the eighteenth century; (2) an account of their critical attitude toward him; (3) a sketch of the influences which he exerted upon their literature.⁴ As yet he has published only his bibliography of translations [274] and a text to the same [275]. This text is so arranged, however, as to give an adequate general idea of the development of the Pope influence in Germany. His subdivisions are in themselves suggestions: (1) Pope first entered Germany thru France; (2) Hamburg and the early Pope translations; (3) translations growing out of the Bodmer-Gottsched controversy; (4) later translations and the rationalistic undercurrent; (5) Pope and the beginning of German romanticism. The first three captions indicate the familiar France-Leipzig, Hamburg, and Zürich routes, whereby Addison and other English authors had made their entry into Germany in the early part of the century. The fourth sub-title calls attention to a fact, sometimes overlooked, that rationalism was by no means an outlived force in German literature even after the coming of the later movements (sentimentalism and "Sturm und Drang").⁵ Heinzelmann shows that the popularity of Pope reached its climax in the sixth decade. It was in the year 1755 that the Berlin Academy made Pope's saying "Whatever is, is right" the subject for a prize essay; and Pope's philosophy, Heinzelmann says, continued to be accepted generally in Germany despite the efforts of Lessing and Mendels-

^{3a} See BIBLIOGRAPHY [327], [328], and [313].

⁴ Heinzelmann [275] 318.

⁵ Cf. Graner [278] 3. "In Deutschland nahm das Interesse für Pope ganz und gar ab, als das strahlende Gestirn eines Shakespeare zu leuchten anfang."

sohn.^{5a} Translations of the *Essay on man* are abundant in the last half of the century, indeed the best do not appear until then. In the sixth decade too translations appeared of several of Pope's poems which had not previously been done into German, among them *January and May, To Mr. Elijah Fenton, Temple of fame, Windsor Forest, and To Mrs. M. B. on her birthday*. The years 1762–1764 brot the first reprint of Pope's works in Germany. It was supervised by Nicolai. About the same time Schlosser, later the brother-in-law of Goethe, was busy at the task of writing in heroic couplets an anti-Pope, an imitation of Pope wherein he sot to demonstrate that man could be unhappy in spite of the perfection of the universe. A prose translation of the *Essay on man* accompanied this work. The whole was not publisht until 1776.

Heinzelmann's last subdivision calls attention to the fact too often overlookt that there were qualities in Pope that apealed also to the romantic mind. Byron, for example, profest a great admiration for Pope. So among Pope's translators in Germany we find such names as Herder, Lenz, Bürger, and Sophie Brentano.

Naturally different works came to the foreground at different literary periods. The *Essay on man* was the chief object of interest with the rationalists. The *Essay on criticism* and the *Dunciad* played a rôle in the Gottsched-Bodmer controversy⁶ while *Éloïse to Abélard* was first appreciated by the more sentimentally-minded public of the end of the century. During the period 1780–1805 there were ten or more translations of this poem, Eschenburg's and Bürger's being the most popular.⁷ It is interesting to note that Dryden also, as a lyric poet, was most fully appreciated about this time.⁸ His reputation was based almost exclusively upon his *Alexander's feast*, an ode written

^{5a} Heinzelmann [275] 346; cf. SURVEY, p. 198.

⁶ Cf. SURVEY, p. 208.

⁷ An early predecessor of these was a literary curiosity. It was a translation by an Englishman into the French language publisht in Berlin in 1751. See Heinzelmann [275] 324.

⁸ Cf. SURVEY, p. 172f.

on St. Cecilia's day 1697. It had been translated by Weisze in 1763 and by Ramler in 1766 and 1770, but the new century produced a new sheaf of translations. In 1800 three versions saw the light, one by Kosegarten in Schiller's *Musenalmenach*, and one by Nöldeke and another by T—r, both in Wieland's *Neuer deutscher Merkur*. In 1805 a new translation appeared in Zürich and still another in Vienna in 1812. It was Pope, however, who first attracted attention to this poem in Germany, for when Drollinger (1741) publishes a translation of Pope's *Essay on criticism* he had to include Pope's eulogy on Dryden's famous ode. In his *Essay on the writings and genius of Pope* Warton, following Pope, commended Dryden's ode as the best modern lyric poem, reserving the second place to Pope's *Ode on St. Cecilia's day*. The essay of Warton was much noticed in Germany,⁹ was reviewed by Mendelssohn in 1758,^{9a} and translated by Nicolai in 1763.¹⁰

Koch [284] laid as much stress on the content of Pope's writings as on their form. Friends tho they were, Pope and Voltaire were at variance in their philosophies. Pope held that whatever is, is right, while Voltaire held that much of the traditional was wrong. Generally speaking Germany seems to have accorded Voltaire the first place as a literary critic, but to have followed Pope in his philosophy.

It would appear from Heinzelmann's study, however, that Pope's poetic form rather than the content of his poetry should be emphasized as a force in German literary history. Pope, like Addison, had developed his taste under French influence. Boileau was his authority in poetic matters, and he followed essentially in his practice the precepts of French pseudo-classicism. The simplicity and clarity of Addison's prose were char-

⁹ See *Britische Bibliothek* II (1757) 377, and Mendelssohn in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* IV (1758) 314. Both comment on *Alexander's feast*. Other commentators on Dryden's ode were Hagedorn, Herder, Boie, and Schubart. Upon none of the others, however, does it seem to have made so deep an impression as upon Herder. See Baumgartner [182] 363-370.

^{9a} See footnote 19 of this chapter.

¹⁰ Nicolai, *Sammlung der vermischten Schriften* (Berlin 1763), VI 1 ff.; cf. Baumgartner [182] 359.

acteristic of Pope's poetry. To these virtues he added an epigrammatic pointedness, being a master in the art of precisely encompassing a simple thought in a highly polished couplet. In attempting to imitate this conciseness, clarity, and brevity, German poetic style improved just as the prose had improved under the guidance of Addison, with the difference, however, that Addison presented a permanent model of good prose style while Pope's measured beat eventually grew tiresome in the land of its origin as well as elsewhere.

As far as form is concerned Hagedorn was one of Pope's aptest imitators. Frick [281], who thinks only of material resemblances, says that Pope's influence upon Hagedorn begins to wane after the publication of *Glückseligkeit* (1743), but Coffman points out the constancy of Hagedorn's trend toward Pope's measure. In three of his moral poems Hagedorn employed the iambic pentameter, the form in which the *Essay on man* was written. In one of these poems, *Horaz* (1751), he uses the heroic couplet throughout, while in the other two, *Der Gelehrte* (1740) and *Der Weise* (1741), he employs it at the close of each stanza. In his use of the heroic couplet, Coffman believes, Hagedorn was an innovator borrowing from the English literature and introducing into the German a form which has since been popularly employed there to the present day.¹¹ Coffman further emphasizes Pope's influence on Hagedorn by quoting from the latter several epigrams of strong antithesis which are at once recognizable as after the manner of Pope. "Hagedorn was the first German writer," she says, "who was able to reject the lumbering diffuseness of contemporary German literature and to imitate successfully Pope's compactness of style."¹² Coffman supports this assertion by calling attention to a group of three poems which marks a constantly nearer approach to Pope's conciseness. They are: A rendering of Pope's *Universal prayer* (1742), *Schriftmässige Betrachtungen über einige Eigenschaften Gottes* (1744), and *Horaz* (1751).

¹¹ Coffman [118] 504.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 506.

Coffman places the chief stress, however, upon the harmony of spirit and taste that prevailed with Pope and Hagedorn, in justification of which she appropriately quotes from Hagedorn's introduction to his *Moralische Gedichte*:

Die schönste Übereinstimmung zwischen zwei Dichtern beruhet so wenig auf Worten, als die edelste Freundschaft; Geist und Herz sind in den besten Alten und Neuern die lebendigen, oder vielmehr die einzigen Quellen des glücklichen Ausdrucks gewesen. Er leidet zum öftern unter dem Joche einer blinden Folge und kümmerlichen Knechtschaft. Man sollte nachahmen, wie Boileau und Lafontaine nachgeahmt haben. Jener pflegte davon zu sagen: "Cela ne s'appelle pas imiter; c'est jouter contre son original."¹³

Hagedorn also quoted Pope in support of this view and especially commended Pope's imitations of Horace, calling them "meisterhafte, freie Originale" and "ein Muster der besten Nacheiferung." Pope had said in his observations on Homer: "It is generally the fate of such people who will never say what has been said before, to say what will never be said after them." Hagedorn put this prosy statement into a Pope-like couplet:

Wer nimmer sagen will, was man zuvorgesagt,
Der wagt, dies ist sein Loos, was niemand nach ihm wagt.¹⁴

At the outset, it was that that Pope's poetry could not be rendered into German verse. Readers unfamiliar with the English language contented themselves with French translations, which were early available. The first German translation was of the *Rape of the lock* (1739) by an unknown translator who obviously used the French prose version of Ferard (Paris 1728)¹⁵ as his basis. Two years later a German translation of the *Essay on man* of similar origin appeared. The inadequacy of the French versions was first discovered by Frau Gottsched. She completed a translation of the *Rape of the lock* in 1744. She had begun the work on the basis of the French version six or seven years before and had finished four cantos before an English edition came to her hand. In translating the final canto from

¹³ Hagedorn, *Poetische Werke*² (Hamburg 1760), I vii.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xix.

¹⁵ Waniek [116] 429.

this edition she realized that her previous work was valueless and laid it aside until she at length summoned up the courage to translate the earlier portions again, this time from the original.¹⁶

Frau Gottsched translated Pope's heroic couplets into the all-prevailing hexameters. This had the advantage of giving her an extra syllable per line, but the result was a somewhat heavy form. There were also errors of translation in several cases. Heinzelmann regards the work, however, as a very creditable effort. A revised edition appeared in 1772 after Frau Gottsched's death. The *Rape of the lock* was included in Dusch's complete prose translation of Pope (1758–1764), but no further version appeared until 1797, when G. Merkel produced a "modernized" translation, or adaptation, which Heinzelmann calls "a distorted shadow of Pope's work."^{16a} However, the *Rape of the lock* was in the foreground of attention during this period and was a constant object of imitation, as Petzet [276] has shown. As imitations worthy of special mention he reckons:¹⁷

Pyra's *Bibliotartarus* (a fragment of 1741)

Rost's *Tänzerin* (1741)

Zachariä's *Renommiste* and other satires (1744ff.)

Uz's *Sieg des Liebesgottes* (1753)

Schönaich's *Der Baron oder das Picknick* (1753)

Dusch's *Schoszhund* (1756)

Löwen's *Walpurgisnacht* (1756)

Thümmel's *Wilhelmine* (1764)

The most frequently translated work of Pope was naturally the *Essay on man*. Most of the translators were satisfied to give a mere prose rendering, among them Mylius and Dusch. On the appearance of the latter's work in 1758 Lessing protested.

¹⁶ Heinzelmann [275] 322.

^{16a} *Ibid.*, p. 355.

¹⁷ Compare Waniek [116] 491–493.

^{17a} Zimmer, *J. F. W. Zachariä und sein Renommist* (Leipzig 1892), p. 44, holds it most probable that Zachariä had seen the prose translation of *The rape of the lock* (1739). He presumably was not able in 1744 to read Pope in the original, but he had very likely been allowed to see the MS. of the verse translation which Frau Gottsched had begun.

He characterized Pope as a poet, "dessen . . . Verdienst in dem war, was wir das Mechanische der Poesie nennen; dessen ganze Mühe dahin ging, den reichsten, triftigsten Sinn in die wenigsten, wohlklingendsten Worte zu legen; . . . dem der Reim keine Kleinigkeit war. Einen solchen Dichter in Prosa zu übersetzen," he said, "heißt ihn ärger entstellen, als man den Euklides entstellen würde, wenn man ihn in Verse übersetzte."¹⁸ Mendelssohn agreed with Lessing in his extensive review (1758) of Warton's *Essay on the writings and genius of Pope*. Dusch and his supporters held the criticism to be unjust, said that Pope could not be done into German verse, and were able to cite many unfortunate attempts in proof of their assertion.

Some of the best verse artisans of the country wrestled with the problem of rendering Pope into verse, but with only moderate success. Brockes's attempt (1740) was entirely unsuccessful. His use of a meter of eight feet gave him room enuf, but often necessitated meaningless additions; so the translation was neither poetic nor close. It was accompanied by Zinek's translation of Warburton's defence of Pope against the attack of Crousaz.

Heinrich Christian Kretsch's translation of the *Essay on man* into rimed alexandrines (1759) received much criticism, most of it favorable and apparently well deserved. In the year 1762 a polyglot edition of the *Essay* came out in Amsterdam, containing the original English and the best translations into Latin, Italian, French, and German. Kretsch's work was accorded the honor of representing the German language. Between 1776 and 1790 several new translations appeared, two of them in blank verse. Another blank verse translation, Broxtermann's, appeared in 1798. All of these last named translations were prosy and uninteresting. Heinzelmann regards a translation of the *Essay on man* by Bothe in 1794 as the most successful of the century. Bothe²⁰ preserved the original metre

¹⁸ Lessing, *Schriften* VIII 5; (in the 2. *Literaturbrief*).

¹⁹ Publisht in *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* IV (1758) 500-532. Cf. footnote 10 of this chapter.

²⁰ Re Bothe see SURVEY, p. 279.

to a large extent, but he introduced longer and shorter lines whenever compelled to, and used new rime schemes. He made a virtue of this necessity, claiming that it brot in a needful variety.

The *Essay on man* was the subject of controversy not only in Germany but elsewhere. A Swiss scholar, Crousaz, charged it with being unorthodox, and at the same time asserted that Pope was dependent upon Leibniz for many of his ideas. His *Examen de l'essai de M. Pope sur l'homme* (1737) was, therefore, an attack on Leibniz as much as on Pope. Its direct provocation was a translation by Du Resnel of the same year, *Les principes de la morale et du goût en deux poèmes, traduits de l'anglais de M. Pope*. It soon developept that much of Crousaz's criticism of Pope was unjustified, for Du Resnel, under the pretext of adapting Pope to the French readers, had inserted his own ideas into the text. His translation was half as long again as the original. Doubts as to Pope's orthodoxy prevailed even in England, however, and in the following year Pope wrote his *Universal prayer*, in which he showed that his doctrine was based upon free will and not upon fatalism. Pope's defenders in Germany were quick to translate this prayer into their tongue. Hagedorn's paraphrase, which appeared in 1742, was the most popular. His cautious rendering of the last phrase "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord" into "Gott, dem alle Götter weichen" was received with unmerited approbation. To-day critics are not much concerned with the question of Pope's orthodoxy, but are still interested to know whether Pope was indebted to Leibniz for his leading ideas. The case for the negative has been quite recently stated by C. A. Moore.²¹ He thinks it unlikely that Pope was even indirectly dependent on Leibniz thru Shaftesbury. To a large extent Shaftesbury and Leibniz go back to common predecessors for their common ideas but, as Moore points out, Leibniz admitted that King and Shaftesbury had anticipated much of his *Theodicee* (1710).²²

²¹ C. A. Moore, *Did Leibniz influence Pope's essay?* JEGPh XVI (1917) 84-102.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Next after the *Essay on man* the *Essay on criticism* occupied the largest share of attention. Since Pope was a recognized authority in matters literary both the "Leipzig" and the "Schweizer" desired to claim him as their own. Drollinger was first in the field with a translation of this essay (1741), a prose one, to which the Leipzig group could only respond with a translation by G. E. Müller (1745). Müller attempted a line-for-line rendering into hexameters but came to grief. Even Gottsched could not approve of his work unconditionally, but held it to be better than the lazy prose form of Drollinger or the too long metrical form of Brockes.²³ A prose translation of the *Essay on criticism* was included in Dusch's work of 1758-1764, but apparently no other complete translation appeared before 1795. In that year a rendering was made by J. J. Eschenburg, the translator of Shakespeare. The version was far inferior to what might have been expected of such a writer.

Bodmer planned in 1747 a *Dunciad* also, in which the Leipzig should play the title rôle. He tried to adapt it to the conditions of German literature; but the scheme was not easily carried thru, and his translation was comparatively tame. On the whole the Swiss were as little successful in establishing a claim upon Pope for their sect as Gottsched had been in claiming Addison for his.

While waiting for the completion of Heinzelmänn's study we have only scattered and somewhat unsatisfactory authorities to consult regarding the direct influence of Pope on particular German poets in the eighteenth century. Petzet's adequate account of the imitators of the *Rape of the lock* [276] has already been mentioned. Graner has treated of the translations of Pope's *Essay on criticism* [278]. There are brief articles on the influence of Pope on Goethe [280], Hagedorn [281], Lessing [282], Schiller [283], Wieland [284] and [285], and on Zachariä [145] ff. Maack's program *Über Popes Einfluss auf die Idylle*

²³ The reference is to Brockes's translation of the *Essay on man*; cf. SURVEY, p. 206.

und das Lehrgedicht in Deutschland [277] includes several authors in its scope and needs some further description.

Maack's findings in regard to the "Idylle" are neither extensive nor definite. That Brockes often received suggestions from Pope may be accepted as a fact, tho one parallel passage falls short of proving it.²⁴ Only a general comparison is made between Pope's *Windsor forest* and Haller's *Alpen*. Such an influence is barely possible, for Haller began to learn English soon after his return from England, that is to say about 1728;²⁵ *Die Alpen*, which appeared the following year, originated principally out of the impressions Haller derived from a botanical trip made in 1728. During this trip he stayed for a time at the home of a friend, Ludwig von Muralt. Muralt was the author of *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français*, in which he commended the "bon sens" of the English and the "bel esprit" of the French.²⁶ One is free to surmise that Pope's descriptive nature poetry was discust on this visit, but definite proof of its influence on Haller's *Alpen* is lacking. In the comparison of Pope's pastoral poetry with that of Ewald Christian von Kleist Maack again only refers to general similarity and Thomson's poetry is not taken into account at all. The evidence that Dusch plundered Pope is conclusive but not surprising.

Maack is able to speak more definitely regarding the influence of the *Essay on man* in Germany. He finds the first trace of such influence in Brockes's *Neujahrs Gedicht* 1739. Brockes was at that time preparing his translation of the *Essay*, which appeared the following year. With Frick [281] and Coffman [118] Maack calls attention to Hagedorn's indebtedness to Pope.²⁸ He refers also to Kleist's indebtedness to Pope in his *Frühling*²⁹ and to Zernitz's in his *Der Mensch in Absicht auf die*

²⁴ Brockes, *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* (1744) I 27, (*Das Wasser im Frühling*), and Pope, *Works* (London 1777), V 17ff., (*Spring*).

²⁵ Umbach [155] 69.

²⁶ Koch, in Vogt and Koch, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*² (Leipzig und Wien 1904), II 79.

²⁸ Grudzinski [328] 22 says, however, that not the *Essay on man*, but Shaftesbury's philosophy was the inspiration of Hagedorn's *Freundschaft*.

²⁹ The verses in question are reprinted in parallel columns.

Selbsterkenntnis and *Gedanken von den Endzwecken der Welt*. Uz was not only dependent on Pope in his *Sieg des Liebesgottes* already referred to, but also in his *Theodicee*.²⁹ Dusch borrowed from the *Essay on man* as well as from Pope's *Windsor forest*.

Not much can be proved by investigations of so small a scope as Maack's. It is to be hoped that the work of Heinzelmann [275] will soon be rounded off. In the meanwhile his studies together with Coffman's have corrected the prevailing impressions in two essential respects: First, the influence of Pope did not entirely fail even with waning rationalism (ca. 1770), but on the contrary there were qualities in his work that particularly attracted the romantic mind; and second, Pope guided the Germans not so much in thot as in literary form. To use Heinzelmann's concluding phrase: "The numerous efforts to reproduce the much admired characteristics of Pope's style contributed no inconsiderable share to the rapid development undergone by the German poetic language during the last half of the century."

CHAPTER 6

THOMSON

During the course of the eighteenth century an evolution occurred in the treatment of nature by the English poets. The earlier English poets of the century, of whom Pope is typical, praised the benign aspects of nature, the blue skies, the green fields, and gently sloping hills, in somewhat traditional phrases. A little later these phrases became less stereotyped and poets began to describe with a greater regard for reality and with more attention to things actually seen. At the same time the less benignant aspects of nature began to receive their share of attention, and were defended as useful after all; and in the end nature came to be glorified, even in her most forbidding aspects and sternest moods, as one inseparable whole so fashioned as to produce the most exalted feelings in man.

The transition has sometimes been called the romantic revolt, with the implication that romanticism was a conscious reaction against rationalism, but it now appears that the change was not a revolution but a most natural evolution, that the seeds of development were contained in the writings and that of the earlier part of the century.¹ Previous treatises regarding the influence of English nature poetry on Germany in the eighteenth century have been based largely upon the revolutionary theory, and are consequently subject to a certain amount of revision if the newer interpretation be accepted.

The church regarded as strongly orthodox the defence of nature on the grounds that some of its seeming deformities after all had their usefulness. As specimens of such defence a recent

¹ See the article by C. A. Moore, *The return to nature in English poetry*, in *Studies in philology* (Chapel Hill N. C., Univ. of North Carolina) XIV (1917) 243ff. This article treats of the descriptive content largely, while an article by the same author in *PMLA* XXIV (1916) 264-325, *Shaftesbury and the ethical poets of England*, treats more extensively of the theological and ethical content. Grudzinski [328] also brings Thomson into close connexion with Shaftesbury.

critic, Moore, quotes William King's *De origine mali* (1702, English translation 1729).² From the theologian the idea past to the poet and was expressed by Sir Richard Blackmore in *Creation* (1712). This utilitarian interpretation of nature is practically that of Brockes. Even Pope expressed a theoretic esthetic appreciation of nature as a whole, though he dwelt in detail only upon its milder aspects.

Shaftesbury, however, in his *Moralists* (1709), had surveyed nature in its totality and held it to be the chief and most wonderful revelation of God, rendering other proofs superfluous. The church regarded this doctrine as heretical. Shaftesbury not only defended but glorified the harsher aspects of nature, and so, though he wrote in prose, he was none the less a predecessor of Thomson and the winter poets, and not in opposition to them as has sometimes been implied. There is need to investigate the extent of Brockes's and Haller's knowledge of Shaftesbury, now that recent investigations have reduced to a minimum³ the possible influence of Thomson on these poets. In so far as Brockes, Haller, and Thomson had anything in common it might prove to be due to the common influence of Shaftesbury among others. Shaftesbury is now receiving more attention as an influence in Germany in the eighteenth century⁴ and is claiming some of the importance formerly attributed to Pope and Thomson.

Thomson's *Seasons* appeared in London during the years 1726-1730. They were felt to be an entirely new kind of poetry, not only in content^{4a} but also in form. It had long been considered proper to praise nature with poetic epithets such as the ancients used, selecting particularly those phrases which brought noble and agreeable suggestions to the mind. Thomson's verses, however, were free from restrictions not only of rhyme but to a large extent of other conventions. The peacock's feathers had

² See the article cited above in *Studies in philology*.

³ Moore, in a footnote to the article in *Studies in philology*, speaks without qualification of the influence of Thomson on Haller's *Alpen* (1729) and Brockes's *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* (1721); but cf. SURVEY, p. 213f.

⁴ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [307]-[328].

^{4a} But cf. Moore, *A predecessor of Thomson's "Seasons,"* MLN XXXIV (1919) 278f.

long constituted a part of the stock in trade of the poet, but Thomson discovered that the feathers of the turkey, the cock, and the duck were also beautiful. He no longer used the customary epithets but chose instead whatever adjectives seemed to him to characterize his subjects most precisely. He described in detail the processes of caring for stock, he described the common wild-flowers and the birds, he saw the beauty of the uncultivated fields and distant hills quite as readily as of the convenient, well-cared-for parks.

These innovations found much favor in England, and the new type of poetry soon made its way into Germany as well; but not quite so soon as Koch [76] would have us believe. Regarding Thomson's influence on Haller Koch says: "Das Bestreben Thomson und Pope zu verbinden hat Albrecht von Haller in seinen *Alpen* (1729) geleitet."⁵ Against this assertion Gjerset quotes the opinion of Haller's biographer Frey:

Sehr wahrscheinlich hat ferner Haller die *Seasons* im Jahre 1729 noch gar nicht gekannt, die zudem erst ein Jahr vor seiner Reise nach England erschienen sind,⁶ und deren auch in dem Briefwechsel mit Stähelin nicht die leiseste Erwähnung geschieht; überdies waren sie damals noch wenig bekannt. Schliesslich wissen wir, dass der Plan zu den *Alpen* durch eine im Juni 1728 in die schweizerische Gebirgswelt unternommene Reise hervorgerufen wurde.⁷

Furthermore there is convincing evidence of Thomson's influence, neither in the content of Haller's poetry, nor in his method of expression nor in his verse structure.

Koch was equally unguarded in his assertion concerning Thomson's influence on Brockes. "Die Schilderung, wie wir sie hier finden (i.e. in *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*) lernte Brockes von James Thomson."⁸ Brockes was fifty years of age when Thomson's *Seasons* began to appear, and he had begun

⁵ Koch [76] 14; Flindt [79] 12 repeats the erroneous statement.

⁶ Haller visited England in 1727. In 1726 Thomson's *Winter* only had appeared. The first complete edition of the *Seasons* appeared in 1730.

⁷ Frey, *Albrecht von Haller und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur* (Leipzig 1879); quoted by Gjerset [358] 31 without page reference.

⁸ Koch [76] 13; cf. Koch [76] 16. Flindt [79] 12 repeats the erroneous statement.

his *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* (1721-1748) fully ten years before he first read the *Seasons*. He had already formed his style, which was not totally unlike Thomson's. He too had taught his countrymen to go out of doors and study nature at first hand. He observed the minute phenomena of nature with more intensity than Thomson. He could describe the colors of an insect and the structure of the nightingale's throat with accuracy. He laid stress upon the things perceived by the senses, on sights and sounds and odors, but because he lacked the imagination of Thomson and because the German poetic language was poorer than the English he could not describe as well as Thomson. The grass was for him as green as the traditional emerald, and the dew was like diamonds. Moreover he lacked Thomson's ability to see nature as a panorama. He did not share Thomson's admiration for irregular landscapes and uncultivated expanses. Thomson loved nature for its own sake, Brockes used it to show how astonishingly well the Creator had ministered to man by his works. This is the feature of his poetry that rendered him so soon antiquated and brot upon him so much ridicule.

Brockes was ungrudging in his praise of Thomson. In his *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* he speaks of Thomson's *Seasons*,

In welcher Schrift der grosze Thomson so sinnreich und beglückt gewesen, Dasz wir bei keiner Nation dergleichen Meisterstück gelesen;¹⁰

and B. J. Zink, one of Brockes's chief admirers, wrote an introduction to Brockes's translation of *The seasons*, in which he said:

Die Furcht, durch diese erhabene Schreibart sich übertroffen zu sehen, hat ihn so wenig abhalten können, selbige bekannt zu machen, dasz er sich vielmehr verbunden erachtet, wenn er auch übertroffen wäre, den groszen Endzweck auch hierin desto mehr befördern zu helfen, welcher bei ihm einzig und allein darin besteht, das wahre Vergnügen der Menschen in vernünftigem Genuss nach Möglichkeit zu befördern.

Gjerset is doubtless right in thinking that these words were inspired by Brockes himself.¹¹

¹⁰ Op. cit., VII 427.

¹¹ Gjerset [358] 9.

But Brockes seems only tardily to have made the effort to appropriate something of Thomson's art. He begins *Herbst* (1743) with the words:

Auf denn mein Geist! Tritt eine neue Bahn
In dieser Zeitentheilung an!

The new arrangement, which is according to seasons, is carried over also to the next volume (1746). It will be noted that Brockes during this period was also busy with the translation of Thomson's *Seasons*. Gjerset discovers some evidence of Thomson's influence in Brockes's subject matter. He says: "In den letzten drei Teilen des *Irdischen Vergnügens in Gott* finden wir . . . eine Neigung, ins Freie der Natur sich hinauszuwagen und die Jahreszeiten als ein ganzes zu betrachten. . . . Einzelbeschreibungen von Blumen, Blättern und kleinen Gegenständen erscheinen jetzt seltener."¹² The new tendencies, however, Gjerset holds, only extend to a few outward forms. The character of Brockes's poetry remained unchanged.

A more recent investigator notes the same change but dates it from the time of Brockes's earliest study of Thomson in Ritzebüttel in 1735. "In this place with its quiet country life," Stewart says, "he breathed in a new inspiration for nature and her solitudes."¹³

On the whole it may be asserted that the influence of Thomson on Brockes is too slight to be measured. While Brockes was yet ignorant of Thomson he had joined with him in the revolt from the classic view of nature¹⁴ and its cold, lifeless, stereotyped method of description. Brockes, like Thomson, was an interested and accurate observer of nature, and his descriptions, like Thomson's, were particular and precise and reproduced the characteristics of definite localities. Both departed from the conventional, saw with their own eyes, and described in their own words, but

¹² Ibid., p. 15.

¹³ Stewart [360] 22.

¹⁴ Cf. definition by Myra Reynolds, *The treatment of nature in English poetry between Pope and Wordsworth*² (Univ. of Chicago 1909), p. 57.

this was as far as the similarity went. Brockes reasoned about the admirable construction of the natural world; Thomson felt its mysterious influence. Brockes loved the shady river banks and the level meadows and all the forms of nature that are comfortable and pleasant; Thomson loved the rigors of winter and the distant hill slopes that lured the wanderer. At most Brockes learnt from Thomson to lift his eyes now and then from nearby scenes to the broader horizons of nature.

Tho Brockes's response to Thomson's example was limited by his temperament, his intellectual acceptance of his rival was unreserved, and this helpt to make the path of Thomson in Germany smooth. Brockes's own popularity diminisht rapidly from now on. The first volume of his work past thru seven editions, the last volume thru but one. In the year 1767 the *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* speaks of the "so bewunderten und so bald vergessenen Brockes."^{14a} Wieland repeats the phrase in the *Teutscher Merkur* of 1782,^{14b} and Salomon Geszner echoes it in his *Brief über die Landschaftsmalerei*.¹⁵

Brockes's merit, as far as Thomson is concerned, is chiefly that of a translator. He began with several partial translations; in 1740 he printed a translation called *Die wilden und unordentlichen Eigenschaften der Liebe aus Mr. Thomsons Seasons* as an appendix to his translation of Pope's *Essay on man*. He used several different meters, as if by way of test, and translated very freely. In 1741 he translated Thomson's *Hymn to the seasons* and used it as an introduction to his *Harmonische Himmelslust im Irdischen*. At about the same time he translated lines 535-827 of *Spring* and incorporated them in his *Frühlingsgedicht*. In 1743 he paraphrased *Summer*, lines 46-95 and embodied the passage in *Morgengedanken in Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*.^{15'}

^{14a} Op. cit., V 23; quoted by Gjerset [358] 18.

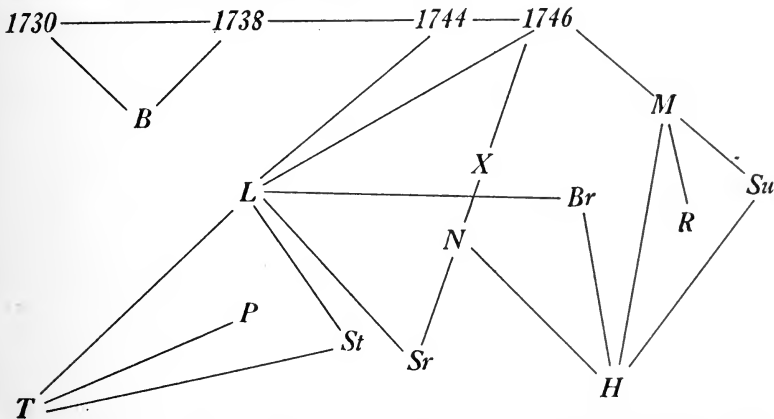
^{14b} Quoted by Gjerset [358] 18 without page reference.

¹⁵ Op. cit., in DNL XLI 1, 289.

^{15a} Op. cit., VII 180.

This ends the period of fragmentary translation¹⁶ and a series of complete renderings begins in Germany. The list was headed by Broekes's version, whose "wohlgemeinte Übersetzung," as Lessing called it,^{16a} was generally regarded as unsatisfactory even in the early years when it had few competitors, but the frequent translations and the private correspondence of such poets and critics as Ebert, Sulzer, Gleim, and Uz^{16b} testify to the popularity of Thomson's *Seasons*.

Gjerset says that most of the translations of the *Seasons* in Germany follow the second edition (1738). One derives a different impression from Stewart, who represents the relation of these renderings to one another, to the four editions of Thomson's *Seasons* in England, 1730, 1738, 1744, and 1746, and the later editions of Lyttleton, 1750, Murdoch, 1762, and X, date unknown, in the following graphic fashion:



B = Broekes 1745¹⁷ M = Murdoch 1762 Sr = Schmitthenner 1822
 Br = Bruckbräu 1827 N = Neuendorff 1815 St = Schübart 1789¹⁸
 H = Harries 1796 P = von Palthen 1758 Su = Soltau 1823
 L = Lyttleton 1750 R = Rosenzweig 1819 T = Tobler 1757-1764
 X = English text unknown to Stewart

¹⁶ In 1745 a translation of three episodes from the *Seasons* was printed as an appendix to Lange and Pyra's *Freundschaftliche Lieder*. Wieland attributed the translation to Bodmer. See BIBLIOGRAPHY [238].

^{16a} Lessing, *Schriften* VII 67.

^{16b} Re Ebert see Gjerset [358] 33; re the others Stewart [360] 385f.

¹⁷ Gjerset disputes the date of the title page and substitutes 1744.

¹⁸ Gjerset says [358] 74: "Im Versmasz des Originals," but Walz [363] 118-119 gives selections, which are in rithmic prose. Cf. Stewart [360] 394-395.

Stewart says:

These translations extend over a period of more than 75 years, covering the critical period of German literature when the poetical language of Germany was being created and perfected and when the literature of the country was advancing by great strides from the dullness and bombast of the early eighteenth-century writers to the finished work of the classical period. . . . The various translations of *The seasons* may be taken as a somewhat crude measure of the growth of the German language and of the advancement of the art of translation which kept step with the general literary development of the country.¹⁹

Stewart's statement is, however, obviously an exaggeration, since of all the translations he lists only those of Brockes (1745ff.), Tobler (1757ff.), and von Palthen (1758) fall within what may properly be called the critical period of German literature.

According to Gjerset, Ewald Christian von Kleist with his *Frühling* (1749) must be regarded as the first German poet to respond to the example of Thomson's *Seasons*. Kleist had been a friend, follower, and enthusiastic admirer of Brockes. The fact of his inspiration by the *Seasons* is sufficiently attested by his letters to Gleim.²⁰ Parallel passages are not difficult to find.²¹ For Thomson's *Spring*, lines 665-676, Vergil's *Georgics* IV, 509-515 are recognized as a model, but Gjerset points out that Kleist has here followed Thomson even in his deviations from the Latin model. Kleist imitates Thomson not only in the plan of his work but also in his way of looking upon nature and describing it, his motifs, his scenery, and his introduction of episodes to break the monotony of description. It has been pointed out by Sauer that Kleist was unable to read Thomson in the original and had to make use of Brockes's translation as the basis for his imitation.²³

Kleist's imitation, however, remained fragmentary. No other seasons followed his *Frühling*. The editors of the *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* relate: "Der sel. Kleist zeigte

¹⁹ Stewart [360] 20.

²⁰ Quoted by Gjerset [358] 22-23.

²¹ See Gjerset [358] 23ff.

²³ Sauer [361a] I 156f.

uns einstmals ein 30–40 Verse vom Anfange zum *Sommer*; und als wir ihn baten, darin fortzufahren, versicherte er uns heilig, dasz solches nimmer mehr geschehen würde. Seit er den Thomson recht gelesen habe, sey er völlig davon abgeschreckt worden, und er rechne sich seinen *Frühling* als eine Übereilung an."²⁴ Kleist's work was nevertheless much imitated by his countrymen. Gjerset names in this connexion J. Chr. Blum with his *Die Hügel bei Rathenau* (1771) and C. S. Slevogt with his *Versuch eines poetischen Gemäldes vom Herbst* (1771).

Wieland was in no strict sense an imitator of Thomson, altho he admits in his correspondence that his *Moralische Erzählungen* (1752) and his *Frühling* owe their initial impulse to Thomson. The same letters show that Wieland had other models before him at the same time.²⁵

The other poets mentioned in Gjerset's treatise seem not to have been independent enuf to create original works on the basis of Thomson's suggestions. They were imitators of Thomson either exclusively or in connexion with some other model. The most successful of these was Giseke,²⁷ of whom Herder said: "Er scheint in keiner Dichtungsart eigenen Ton oder Original-Manier zu haben; er hat sich überall in den Ton eines andern, aber sehr glücklich eingedichtet."²⁸

Not so successful as Giseke were Fr. Wilhelm Zachariä with his *Tageszeiten* (1755), von Palthen with his *Lenz* (1758), Dusch with his *Schilderungen aus dem Reiche der Natur und Sittenlehre durch alle Monate des Jahres*, which appeared in four volumes, namely *Frühlings-, Sommer-, Herbst-, und Winter-Monate* (1757–1760), and Chr. Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld with his *Landleben* (1767) and his *Herbst* (1769).³⁰

These were all confest imitators of Thomson. Zachariä wrote to Gleim, Dec. 10, 1754: "Thomson seine *Jahreszeiten* haben

²⁴ *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* I (1770) 131.

²⁵ See SURVEY, p. 248.

²⁷ *Ode an den Frühling* (1747), *Der Herbst* (1747), *Der Winter* (1753).

²⁸ Herder, *Werke* IV 278.

³⁰ Gjerset [358] 48–71.

mich so begeistert, dasz ich versucht habe, ob ich ihm und Kleisten von fern nachfliegen könnte." But he was compelled to admit in his poem *Tageszeiten oder Jahreszeiten im kleinen* (1755):

Nur Thomsonische Hymnen erfüllen die Seele mit Feuer
Und besingen allein den erhabensten Gegenstand würdig.^{32a}

Eight or more passages in Zachariä's *Tageszeiten* are almost direct translations from Thomson's *Seasons*.³³

Since the publication of Gjerset's treatise the circle of observation has been extended and additional authors have been connected with Thomson. Thus Ritter associates Geszner with Thomson: "Thomsons Einfluss tritt nicht blosz in der runden Sinnlichkeit des Ausdrucks zutage, für die Geszner gewisz von Thomson gelernt hat, sondern sie äusert sich auch in einigen direkten Einzelbeeinflussungen."³⁴ Geszner would naturally be susceptible to Thomson's influence, since he was an artist as well as an author. He says, in fact, in his *Brief über die Landschaftsmalerei*: "Der Landschaftsmaler musz sehr zu beklagen sein, den z. B. die Gemälde eines Thomson nicht begeistern können."^{34a} Koch says of him: "Geszner übt nicht Zergliederung und Nutzenwendung des Einzelnen wie Brockes, noch die schwermütige Betrachtung Kleists, aber er hat von beiden und von Thomson gelernt. Der Künstler sieht überall anmutige, in sich geschlossene Bildchen, die er in der Ausführung, sei's mit der Feder, sei's mit dem Stift stilisiert."³⁵

It will be remembered that toward the end of the eighteenth century a distinct reaction took place against descriptive poetry.

^{32a} Quoted by Crosland [147] 292.

³³ Crosland [147] 293 lists these passages; cf. Gjerset [358] 41ff.

³⁴ Ritter [361] 170 parallels Geszner's *Daphnis* (DNL XLI 1, 11-60) with the Palemon-Lavinia episode in Thomson's *Autumn*, and a passage in the fifth Gesang of *Der Tod Abels* beginning: "Sowie wenn drei lebenswürdige Gespielen" (DNL XLI 1, 170) with Thomson's *Summer*, line 1215ff.

^{34a} Op. cit., in DNL XLI 1, 288.

³⁵ Vogt and Koch, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*² (Leipzig and Wien 1904), II 162.

The reaction seems to have begun in England, but it soon crossed over to the continent. Pope apologizes for his own earlier efforts in this direction asking:

Who could take offence
While pure description held the place of sense?³⁶

Warton, in his *Essay on the genius and writings of Pope*, however, took up the challenge in behalf of descriptive poetry pointing to Lucretius and Virgil in his *Georgics* as sanction, but Mendelssohn in turn (1759) replied to Warton:

So verschwistert die Dichtkunst und die Malerei sind, so hat doch eine jede Kunst ihre angewiesenen Grenzen, die durch das Werkzeug der Sinne, für welches sie arbeiten, bestimmt werden. Virgils *Landbau* und Lukrezens *Natur der Dinge* scheinen uns von Thomsons *Jahreszeiten* wesentlich unterschieden zu sein. Die Römer wollen eigentlich unterrichten, und malen nur zur Veränderung; der Engländer hingegen hat keine andere Absicht als zu malen.³⁷

Lessing supported in his *Laokoon* (1766) this statement of Mendelssohn's quoted in the first sentence. In the seventeenth section of that work Lessing quoted Pope's disparaging words about his own early descriptive poetry and added:

Von dem Herrn von Kleist kann ich versichern, dass er sich auf seinen *Frühling* das wenigste einbildete. Hätte er länger gelebt, so würde er ihm eine ganz andere Gestalt gegeben haben. Er dachte darauf, einen Plan hinein zu legen, und sann auf Mittel, wie er die Menge von Bildern, die er aus dem unendlichen Raume der verjüngten Schöpfung auf Geratewohl, bald hier bald da, gerissen zu haben schien, in einer natürlichen Ordnung vor seinen Augen entstehen lassen und auf einander folgen lassen wolle.³⁸

It is a remarkable fact that Thomson is not mentioned here or elsewhere in this section of *Laokoon*. But the growing opposition to descriptive poetry, especially after Lessing had entered the lists against it, proved too strong, and indications of con-

³⁶ Pope, Prologue to *Satires*, line 147.

³⁷ *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* IV 1 (1758) 396; quoted by Goldstein [556] 198. Gjerset [358] 73 refers also to Bd. II, Th. 2, 103 and Bd. VI 55. The years are not given.

³⁸ Lessing, *Schriften* IX 106.

tinued interest in Thomson's descriptions are rare in the last third of the century. Just after the century had past, however, the *Seasons* were able to celebrate a final triumph. Haydn's oratorio *Die Jahreszeiten* was first produced on April 24, 1801, with a text which Haydn's friend, Gottfried van Swieten, had written the previous year, basing it on Thomson's *Seasons*. In this form Thomson is best appreciated to-day in Germany and elsewhere.

* * * * *

Gjerset concentrated his attention especially upon the influence of Thomson's *Seasons*. Critics have recently found that the philosophic, didactic, and lyric content of Thomson's poetry called forth in Germany a response stronger than has heretofore been estimated, and that several leading German poets were inspired by Thomson's social ideals.

One of the earliest of these was Hagedorn. If Pope was Hagedorn's best teacher in regard to form, Thomson was most congenial to him in respect to sentiments. Coffman has shown this by many examples. Apparently Hagedorn especially commended to his friends Thomson's poem *Liberty*, and it is to the Englishman's love of freedom Hagedorn refers when he exclaims in *Der Weise*: "Wie edel ist die Neigung echter Britten."³⁹ To such independence belongs also a freedom from servility. As Thomson says in his poem *Liberty* (l. 490-492):

Unless corruption first deject the pride
And guardian vigor of the free-born soul
All crude attempts of violence are gone.

With this Coffman compares the lines of Hagedorn in *Der Weise*:

Die Schmeicheley legt ihre sanften Bande
Ihr glattes Joch, nur eitlen Seelen an.
Unedler Ruhm und unverdiente Schande,
O waget euch an keinen Biedermann.⁴⁰

³⁹ Hagedorn, *Werke* (Hamburg 1760), I 11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I 16.

Like Thomson, Hagedorn lays emphasis upon innocence, cheerfulness, health, avoidance of self-delusion; and both extol the joy of true friendship of man for man and the joys of country life. In regard to many of these ideals it is recognized that Thomson and Hagedorn were pioneers in their respective countries.

Coffman is doubtless right in taking the prevalent optimism of Hagedorn as a criterion and asserting that he was more genuinely influenced by Thomson than were Brockes and Haller;⁴¹ and the added statement is probably also correct: that he was earlier influenced than were Kleist, Wieland, Zachariä, and Geszner. The surmise that he may have helped this last mentioned group to know Thomson seems also tenable, but whether or not these suggestions can be demonstrated into facts it certainly remains true that Hagedorn caught the spirit of Thomson's poetry and rendered it into German terms more accurately than did his contemporaries.

Stewart [362] makes out an excellent case for his contention concerning the relation of Klopstock's early poetry to Thomson. Previously Milton and Young had been thot sufficient to account for any English tone in the *Oden* and the *Messias*. Stewart would add Thomson to the group, admitting, however, that there is no direct external evidence that Klopstock read him. Altho Klopstock praises Milton, Young, Elizabeth Rowe, Addison, and other English authors, he makes no mention of Thomson in his poems or correspondence; but Schmidt and Gleim, Klopstock's most intimate friends, corresponded regarding Thomson, and Ebert read Kleist's *Frühling* aloud to a circle of friends of whom Klopstock was one. Stewart holds, with much plausibility, that Thomson's *Seasons*, already much discust elsewhere, must certainly have been spoken of in such a gathering. Klopstock, at the time, knew no English, but the translations of Brockes

⁴¹ Coffman [118] 88. Hagedorn might have acquainted Brockes with Thomson's poetry when he returned from England in 1731; but against this surmise we have the fact that Brockes's interest in Thomson seems not to have been aroused before 1740.

(1740-1745) were at his disposal. It is not Thomson's nature poetry that comes into consideration in this connexion, but his ethical system. Aside from descriptions of nature the elements most conspicuous in Thomson's poetry are: (1) panegyrics to God; (2) praises of benefactors; (3) odes to friends; (4) patriotic eulogies of England; (5) songs of love. Klopstock's odes are usually grouped under the subjects: (1) religion; (2) friendship; (3) love; (4) patriotism. Stewart cites a number of parallel passages in which Thomson and Klopstock use similar pictures and similar comparisons, and points out many words added to Klopstock's vocabulary thru Thomson's influence.

More surprizing is the article of Walz [363] in which he parallels portions of Schiller's *Spaziergang* with Thomson's *Seasons*. In the year 1789, he says, Ludwig Schubart, the son of the Swabian poet, presented Schiller with his translation of Thomson's *Seasons*. Schiller acknowledged the gift in a letter which showed that the work was new to him. Succeeding letters of the period indicate that Thomson made a deep impression on him. The *Spaziergang* has three parts; lines 1-50 describe the walk into the country, lines 50-172 contain a vision of the rise of civilization and its decay, and the concluding part indicates the awakening of the poet and his union with nature. Altho similarities of imagery and situation are not lacking elsewhere, it is particularly the second part that Walz compares with the *Seasons*. Thomson's line of thot is as follows: He begins with the mechanical aspect of civilization, passes on to the development of social life and virtues, as shown in the commonwealth with its legal order, patriotism, and devotion, and ends with the city as the highest form of social order. Schiller expresses the same thots, tho in a different order. He begins with "die thürmende Stadt," which echoes Schubart's "thurmbekränztes Haupt," Thomson's "tower-circled head,"⁴² and then proceeds to the two other phases. Schiller's interest in Thomson is further

⁴² "Thürmende Stadt" was also a favorite expression with Klopstock.

shown by certain references to him in *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1793–1795).⁴³

The complete account of Thomson's influence in Germany remains yet to be written. Gjerset's essay [358] was premature, preceding as it did the studies of Shaftesbury's influence [307]-[328] and most of the detailed studies regarding Thomson. The story of Thomson's vogue in Germany would constitute no small contribution to the study of eighteenth century esthetics even tho he was but one of several poets who brot about a new attitude of man toward nature, and even tho he fortunately failed to establish descriptive poetry as an enduring type.

⁴³ Schiller, *Werke* XII 202 and 209.

CHAPTER 7

MILTON'S *PARADISE LOST*

The opinions of Addison and the poetry of Pope percolated into Germany from many sides; Thomson's new poetry had other and adroit advocates in Germany than Brockes; but John Milton owes almost his whole reputation and influence in Germany directly or indirectly to Bodmer of Zürich. It is true Bodmer's translation of *Paradise lost* was not the first extant in Germany. As early as the year 1678 an acquaintance of Milton, Theodore Haake, sent to two of his friends a manuscript copy of his translation into German of the first three books of Milton's epic.¹ One of these friends, Johann Sebald Fabricius, merely acknowledged the manuscript with a polite note: "Incredibile est quantum nos affecerit gravitas stili et copia lectissimorum verborum;"² while the other friend, Gottlieb von Berge, was inspired to an unsuccessful attempt to compete with Haake as a translator. After that, however, Milton was relegated for a time to the standard books of references. Daniel Morhof's treatise mentions as the chief peculiarity of *Paradise lost* the lack of rime: "Plena ingenii et acuminis sunt, sed insuavia tamen videntur ob rhythmii defectum; quem ego abesse a tali carminum genere non posse existimo."³ In 1690 Hog's Latin translation of *Paradise lost* appeared, which rendered Milton's epic accessible, to the learned class at least, everywhere. A few of the latter in Germany were no doubt able to read and appreciate the original. Milton was best known in Hamburg. The contest between the first and second Silesian schools had its

¹ See Brandl [224] and Bolte [225].

² Bentham, *Engelländischer Kirch- und Schulenstaat*² (1732), p. 116.

³ Morhof, *Polyhistor sive de notitia auctorum et rerum commentarii* (Lübeck 1688), Lib. I, Kap. xxiv, p. 302; cf. Morhof, *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache und Poesie, deren Ursprung, Fortgang und Lehrsätzen* (Kiel 1682), p. 568f.

diminutive counterpart in this city.⁴ Yet Christian Wernicke and Heinrich Postel, the leaders of the two factions, both speak favorably of Milton, Postel in the introduction and notes to his *Listige Juno* (1700), Wernicke in his *Poetischer Versuch* (1704).⁵ Another Hamburg poet sufficiently interested in Milton to translate certain passages into German was Barthold Heinrich Brockes. His translations first appeared in 1740, but were written much earlier, possibly in 1732.⁶

Before the year 1740, however, the name of Milton was well known in wider circles in Germany. Bodmer published his first version of *Paradise lost* in 1732, having completed it, however, as early as 1724. On its appearance Gottsched, who was then on friendly terms with the Swiss scholars, reviewed it favorably, pronouncing it in fact superior to the original and criticizing only the Swiss dialect forms.⁷ It was a prose translation, later often revised.^{7a} As Bodmer himself says, his first translation was Swiss, his second (1742) German, and his third (1754) poetic.⁸ After the appearance of Bodmer's first rendering, partial translations in prose and in verse became frequent.^{8a}

It has sometimes been stated⁹ that Bodmer first learned of Milton thru the pages of the *Spectator*, but such was not the case. Hans Bodmer points out: The Milton essays were lack-

⁴ See SURVEY, p. 180f., and Eichler [185].

⁵ See Pechel, *Christian Wernigkes Epigramme*, Pal LXXI (1902) 492.

⁶ Cf. Brandl [104a] 100, who maintains on not quite sufficient grounds that they were completed as early as 1731.

⁷ *Beyträge zur kritischen Historie* etc. 2tes. Stück (1732).

^{7a} For discussion of the first five editions see Schmitter [232]. Re the edition of 1780 see Pizzo [224] 43.

⁸ Cf. letter of Bodmer to Zellweger, Jan. 27, 1754; quoted by Bodmer [230] 198. Crüger [150] xvii erroneously quotes Bodmer: "erst die dritte (1780) poetisch," while Muncker [243]² 127 says: "erst die vierte vom Jahre 1759 poetisch." The edition of 1759 was, however, a mere repetition of that of 1754. To avoid giving a false impression it should be added that all editions are in prose.

^{8a} Stry 1746, Gruner 1749, Giseke n. d., Grynaeus n. d., Müller 1755, Zachariä 1760f., Herder date uncertain, Ramler 1782, Moritz 1786, Kosegarten 1788, Wieland (1790), Bürde (1793), Pries (1813), Bruckbräu (1828), Rosenzweig (1832), Kottenkamp (1840), Böttger (1846), Schuhmann (1855), Eitner (1865). For translations of *Paradise regained* see footnote 45.

⁹ Cf. Jenny [226] 18 and Vetter [102] 6.

ing in the French edition of the journal which Bodmer possessed and so they remained for the time unknown to him. Bodmer did not come into the possession of an English edition of the *Spectator* until 1724, shortly after the completion of his translation of *Paradise lost*.¹⁰ It has been furthermore asserted that Bodmer first knew Milton's work in French translation, but this is again erroneous, for as late as 1726 no such version was in existence.¹⁰ Reviews of the work in French, it is true, had already appeared, one of the more extensive ones in a French journal published in Holland.¹¹

Whatever may have first kindled Bodmer's interest in Milton, we now know that on May 30, 1723 he wrote to his friend Zellweger asking for a copy of the work and received from him in August or thereabouts presumably the only copy between the Rhine and the Reusz.¹² On the lower Rhine *Paradise lost* was better known and Hans Bodmer suggests that Zellweger may have discovered it while a student in Holland.¹³

On receiving the copy Bodmer retired to his country home at Greifensee and must have devoted himself exclusively to his prize. He read the work with the help only of a Latin-English dictionary.¹⁴ He translated first the eighth book, then the first four books, and sent them all to Breitingen for his approval before the end of the year 1723. The entire work was finished early in 1724,¹⁴ but its appearance was delayed until 1732.

The delay in the publication of Bodmer's translation was chiefly due to difficulties with the censors. Füzli in Zürich wrote to his friend Huber in St. Gallen in 1725:

Es ist hier ein Hr. Bodmer . . . , welcher des verrühmten Miltons *Carmen heroicum de paradiso perduto* in Englisch beschrieben in das Deutsche in ungebundener Rede übersetzt, es hat sollen hier gedruckt werden, die geistlichen Censores aber sehen es für eine allzu Romantische

¹⁰ Bodmer [230] 183.

¹¹ *Journal littéraire* IX (1717) 157-216.

¹² Bodmer [230] 185.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

Schrift an in einem so heiligen themate; es ist etwas extra Hohes und Pathetisches, aber nicht recht, dasz man es nicht gestattet hat, in druk zu geben.¹⁶

Bodmer was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to find a publisher in Hamburg and Dresden. Meanwhile he prosecuted some inquiries in regard to the translation of Berg, apparently without result. It was a Zürich firm, Marcus Rordorf, that eventually undertook the publication in 1732, the opposition of the "geistlichen Censores" having now been overcome.

Earlier comments upon Milton in the German journals had merely reflected a dispute in the French journals of 1727–1729. The Milton essays by Addison, which had been lacking in the earlier French *Spectateur*, were translated into French by Dupré de Saint-Maurs (Paris 1727). Voltaire in his *Essai sur la poésie épique* (1728) attacked Milton from a rationalistic point of view, as did also Constantin de Magny in his *Dissertation critique sur le paradis perdu* (1729). Gottsched was naturally influenced more by critics of the Voltaire and de Magny type. He was, however, reserved at first in his expression of opinion, and only in a personal letter to Bodmer did he write on the seventh of October 1732: "Uebrigens wünsche ich ehestens das versprochene Werk zur Vertheidigung des Miltons zu sehen. Ich gestehe, dasz ich begierig bin, die Regeln zu wissen, nach welchen eine so regellose Einbildungskraft, als des Miltons seine war, entschuldiget werden kann."¹⁷ It was quite natural that Bodmer should quote Addison in his defence.¹⁸ The full title of this apology, which appeared in Zürich in 1740, was *Die kritische Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie und dessen Verbindung mit dem Wahrscheinlichen, in einer Vertheidigung des Gedichtes Joh. Miltons von dem Verlorenen Paradiese; der beygefüget ist Joseph Addisons Abhandlung von den Schönheiten in demselben Gedichte*. Thus began a literary debate which lasted a decade. Gottsched assumed the leadership of the anti-Milonic

¹⁶ J. Zehnder-Stadlin, *Pestalozzi* (Gotha 1875), p. 235; quoted by Vetter [102] 6 and Jenny [226] 21.

¹⁷ Quoted by Crüger [150] lvii.

¹⁸ *Spectator* no. 267ff.

party. At the outset he commanded the best talent in Germany. The trend of the times was against him, however. The enthusiastic newer generations of writers triumphed over the rationalistic school, and when the *Messias* appeared in 1748 it was clear that a campaign had been lost by Gottsched.

It was Bodmer's enthusiasm for Milton's epic that first fired Klopstock's zeal while he was a student at Schulpforta (1739-1745). Klopstock took leave of his school with a speech on the epic poets which indicated his plan to produce a work in the German language worthy of a place beside the epics of Virgil, Tasso, Milton, and Fénelon. By the year 1747 three "Gesänge" of his *Messias* were completed and offered to the *Bremer Beiträge*. The editors hesitated at first, then asked Hagedorn's advice. He expressed himself cautiously, but when the matter was referred to Bodmer in May 1747, the latter gave his enthusiastic approval, declaring that the spirit of Milton had descended on the young poet.¹⁹

In his first letter to Bodmer August 10, 1748, Klopstock describes the impression that Milton first made upon him:

Und als Milton, den ich vielleicht ohne ihre Übersetzung allzuspät zu sehen bekommen hätte, mir in die Hände fiel, fachte es im innersten Grunde das Feuer an, das Homer in mir entzündet hatte, und hob meine Seele, um den Himmel und die Religion zu besingen.²⁰

Bodmer later pictured, in a somewhat similar fashion, the impression which the first reading of *Paradise lost* made upon Klopstock:

Die ersten Reden, die er davon führte, nachdem er wieder zu sich selber gekommen war, wiewol er noch immer zurück sah, lauteten von neuen, unbekanntem Gegenden, in welche der Poet ihn geführt, von seltenen, hohen Bekanntschaften, die er ihm verschaffet, von dem Reichtum der Ideen und der Empfindungen, den er ihm mitgeteilt hätte. Es ist wahr, sagte er, ich hatte vordem einige dunkle Spuren auf einem unbetretenen Boden gesehen, und etliche Züge dieser herrlichen Scenen erblicket: Aber hier fand ich sie in ihrem vollen Lichte vor mir offen liegen. Vielleicht hätte ich einmal den Weg auf diesem ungebahnten

¹⁹ Ibershoff [232x] 592.

²⁰ Mörikofer, *Klopstock in Zürich*, p. 8; quoted by Ibershoff [232x] 592.

Gefilde fortgesetzt, und hätte vielleicht bis in die himmlischen Gegenden durchgebrochen, welche Milton mir gezeigt hat, wenn ein ehrfurchtvoller Schauer mich nicht zurückgezogen hätte. Aber nachdem Milton den Eingang in dieses Heiligthum der Geisteswelt eröffnet hat, nachdem er mich hineingeföhret hat, so darf ich künftig mit kühnen Füßen darinnen herumwandeln.²¹

Contemporary critics joined with Bodmer in dubbing Klopstock the German Milton and later writers have done him a like injustice. Milton's work is essentially epic, Klopstock's is lyric, and no common standard of judgment is applicable. Nevertheless the extensive and detailed comparisons of Muncker^{21a} and later critics were almost inevitable.²² The two works are after all alike in tone; the music of both is as the swell of a great organ, but here too Klopstock's composition must yield to Milton's. Klopstock began his first three cantos with a diapason note that he could not long sustain and could never transcend. Milton prepared for effective climaxes, then let his themes die out in soothing, tranquil cadences.²³ Klopstock might have learned much from Milton in respect to technik and composition but his work was never planned as a whole. The first three "Gesänge" roused the throng to the pitch of exalted enthusiasm in 1748 but the last echoes died away almost unnoticed in 1775 in the midst of the "storm and stress" period.

When Bodmer offered to Klopstock (1750) the hospitality of his home it was with a double purpose; he wisht to afford Klopstock the leisure and freedom to complete his work, but he also hoped that Klopstock could lend him aid in his own epic, his *Noah*, which he had begun under the inspiration of *Paradise lost*. To give a full account of Bodmer's indebtedness to Milton would involve a long and uninteresting list of parallel passages. Bodmer made no effort to conceal his borrowings, indeed like

²¹ Bodmer, *Neue critische Briefe*, p. 15-16; quoted by Pizzo [229] 35.

^{21a} Muncker [234]¹ 117-128.

²² Hübler [235] did not come to hand. Ibershoff's parallel passages are as follows: [236] *Paradise lost* V 278ff. and *Messias* XII 510ff.; [237] *Paradise lost* IX 887ff. and *Messias* XIII 533ff.; [237] *Paradise lost* XIII 498ff. and *Messias* VIII 665ff.

²³ Cf. Stoll, *Is paradise well lost?* PMLA XXXIII (1918) 428-435.

Milton he rather considered it a virtue to show thus the profits he had derived from reading,²⁴ but Ibershoff [232x] is able to indicate certain more general points of resemblance in the content of the two epics. "Like Milton," Ibershoff says, "Bodmer sings the praise of liberty, righteousness, the simple life, the beauties of virtue, and the glories of the life hereafter."²⁵ No doubt Ibershoff is right in seeing a Miltonic influence here, yet most of these new notes were being wafted from England at the same time from other English poets, notably from Thomson.²⁶ Haller too had given expression to them with seeming spontaneity. The same remark applies to the theme of friendship, which was also congenial to Bodmer. With Milton friendship yields, as Ibershoff admits, to divine love.²⁵ In his idyllic pictures Bodmer will best stand comparison with his master; in the creation of epic characters he failed notably and his work is entirely devoid of the musical quality of Milton's.

Bodmer's opinion of *Paradise lost* never changed. In the introduction to the third edition of his translation (1754) he says: "Wir sind überzeugt, wer wahren Geschmack und einiges Genie hat, wird dieses Gedicht für das Beste unter den Werken der Neuern erkennen." But while he was at work on new editions of his translation in rapid sequence (1732-1780), and while successive "Gesänge" of Klopstock's *Messias* were appearing (1748-1773), new men were coming to the fore in German literature and popular taste was passing thru new phases. We are indebted to Pizzo [229] for a résumé of these changes. In showing how the representative critics referred to Milton, Pizzo skillfully unfolds a clear picture of the changing standards of the times.

In endowing God and the angels with visible physical form Milton, as Voltaire pointed out, had involved his epic in incongruities. Bodmer rusht to Milton's aid with theoretical defences that happily deceived himself and his time. Yet what really con-

²⁴ Bodmer, in the second edition of his translation of *Paradise lost* (1742), p. 471, devotes a long footnote to a defense of Milton's display of erudition; quoted by Ibershoff [232x] 597.

²⁵ Ibershoff [232x] 597.

²⁶ Cf. SURVEY, p. 222f.

cerned Bodmer, as Pizzo demonstrates,³⁰ was not the consistency of Milton, or the abstract justification of the "Wunderbare" in poetry, but the freedom of the religious imagination. The seraphic element he admired and it impelled him to translation; the biblical, patriarchal, idyllic element he imitated in his later poetic writings, *Die Noachide*, *Jakob und Joseph*, *Jakob und Rahel*, etc. In these he participated in the romantic "Weltflucht" of his time. The patriarchal time was his Robinson isle, his golden age. Geszner in his *Der Tod Abels* (1758) was Bodmer's follower in this respect. Bodmer's contemporaries appreciated chiefly the seraphic element in Milton and were for that reason easily led into the error of proclaiming Klopstock the German Milton.

Soon after came the period of Winckelmann and Lessing,³¹ which looked to ancient Greece for final sanction of art forms. "Das antik-heidnische" was sought in Milton rather than "das seraphische," but it was only too obvious that "edle Einfalt und stille Größe" were absent in Milton's stupendous pictures. Nor did Milton fare much better at the hands of the "Stürmer und Dränger."³² Tho Gerstenberg was eager to give up the classic standard of judgment for a more individualistic one, tho he glorified Shakespeare for being true to himself alone, and protested against testing Klopstock by a comparison with Homer, yet it does not appear that he ever rated Milton as an "Original-Genie." Gerstenberg's fellow critics made one step forward, however, when they recognized that Satan was the true hero of *Paradise lost*. Bodmer had contended that Adam was the hero, "because he commands our respect."³³ The "Stürmer und Dränger" were able to sympathize with Satan in his struggle for greatness and in his mighty passions. They appreciated the awe-inspiring pictures in *Paradise lost*; but these new men were

³⁰ Pizzo-[229] 17-24.

³¹ Ibid., p. 48ff.

³² Ibid., p. 84ff.

³³ Ibid., p. 32.

after all realists, and Milton was unrealistic, so they could make little use of him as a model in their art. It is said that Klinger admired him thruout his life,³⁴ and Schubart exclaimed in the early sixties: "Wie herabgesunken unsere Dichter von der Würde der biblischen Seher, von der Sonnenhöhe Homers, Ossians, Shakespeares, Miltons, Youngs, Bodmers, Klopstocks!"³⁵ Milton, Young, and Thomson were always looked upon as authorities by Lenz,³⁶ but Schiller classified Milton as sentimental, not naive.³⁷

If we make the one great exception of Klopstock's *Messias*, it does not appear at first glance that Milton influenced German literature very deeply. Pizzo is not inclined to believe that *Paradise lost* influenced Brockes's *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* (1721-1745).³⁸ He does not think with Kraeger³⁹ that Satan was a "Vorbild" of Schiller's Karl Moor. Nor does he finally concede that there is any echo of Milton in Goethe's *Faust*, as has been asserted by Sprenger⁴⁰ and by Max Morris.⁴¹

What remains is inconsiderable. The scene in the Garden of Eden in which Satan gazes with envious eyes upon the first happy pair of human beings was imitated by Bodmer in the *Patriarchiaden*. The bower of Adam and Eve appeared in the *Messias*. In Klopstock's *Tod Adams* (1757) it appeared as a bridal bower, after which it reappeared, according to Pizzo,⁴² in the poetry of Ebert, Geszner, Ramler, Giseke, Herder, Vosz, Miller, Hölty, Wieland, Gerstenberg, Maler Müller, Stolberg. The description of the sunrise also stimulated to imitation. Gleim

³⁴ Rieger, *Klinger in seiner Reife* (Darmstadt 1896), 474.

³⁵ Schubart, *Gesammelte Schriften und Schicksale* (Stuttgart 1839-1840), I 286.

³⁶ Rosanow [539] 77.

³⁷ Schiller, *Werke* XII 227 (in *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*).

³⁸ As against Jenny [227] 15 and Brandl [104a] 46.

³⁹ Kraeger [238a] 9-19.

⁴⁰ Sprenger [233] 304-306.

⁴¹ Morris GJ XXII (1901) 179; and *Goethe-Studien*² (Berlin 1902), I 84ff. and 224ff.

⁴² Pizzo [229] 40.

wrote on the sixteenth of January 1762: "Man gebe mir zehn Poeten, die alle die aufgehende Sonne beschrieben haben, ich will die herausfinden, die ihre Beschreibung aus dem Milton nahmen."⁴³ Neither of these motifs, it may be here noted, was original with Milton, but both were taken from the work of Joost van den Vondel, along with many other episodes, descriptions, situations, and characters. Milton's indebtedness is well known to critics, who refer to it without disparagement of Milton, since the exalted tone of his epic is his own.⁴⁴

This leads to the final estimate of Milton's influence on German literature. Milton ceased to be read, and Klopstock's *Messias* in time lost its hold upon the readers and at a still earlier day the patriarchal poetry had fallen into disfavor; yet before this came to pass Milton had profoundly influenced German letters. Addison's example had led to the clarification and simplification of German prose. Pope had shown the way toward brevity and pointedness in poetry. The German language was becoming a simple musical instrument but Milton's influence made it an organ of symphonic range, fitted to express the sublime. Bodmer's three translations, 1724, 1742, 1754, provide a striking example of the way in which the language struggled for growth in order to cope with Miltonic thot and fancy.⁴⁵

In still another respect Milton's influence was decisive in German literature. The moral weeklies had offered themselves as a battle-ground of poetical theory, but Milton presented himself as the first great topic of a literary debate which established the rights of imagination along with those of reason.

⁴³ *Briefwechsel zw. Gleim und Uz* (ed. Schüddekopf) Bibl. d. Stuttgt. lit. Vereine CCXVIII (Tübingen 1899), p. 320.

⁴⁴ Cf. L. C. van Noppen's introduction to his *Vondel's Lucifer translated from the Dutch* (New York 1898).

⁴⁵ The translations of *Paradise regained* may also be mentioned here: Grynaeus (1752), Anon. (1781), Bruckbräu (1828), Böttger (1846). The work of Grynaeus was entitled: *J. Miltons wiedererobertes Paradies, nebst desselben Samson und einigen anderen Gedichten wie auch einer Lebens-Beschreibung*. Basel 1752.

CHAPTER 8

YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS

The writings of Edward Young, soon after their appearance, began to play a conspicuous part in the history of German literature. His drama *The revenge* (1721) was commented upon by Gerstenberg, was compared not unfavorably with its model *Othello*, and became in turn the model of Brawe's *Freygeist* (1757); his satires, unimportant as they were, were translated into German;¹ but as far as German literature is concerned his *Conjectures on original composition* (1759) and his *Night thoughts* (1746-1751) were by far his most important works. The *Conjectures* are discussed in a later connexion;² the present chapter concerns itself with the reception of the *Night thoughts* in Germany.

Like Thomson, Young submits to no strict classification as a literary influence. Thomson, though endowed with an imagination that made him in a certain sense a forerunner of Milton in Germany, still clung in many respects to the tenets of Pope and Shaftesbury. Young, who, judged by his *Conjectures*, seems to be a forerunner of the genius-loving "Stürmer und Dränger," was, with his *Night thoughts*, a successor of Milton.

The influence of Young's *Night thoughts* in Germany was freely commented upon in the eighteenth century, not the least pointedly by the men who were themselves most affected. Hamann wrote to Herder, Jan. 17, 1769: "Ich musste neulich un-
vermuthet in Young blättern; da kam es mir vor, als wenn alle meine Hypothesen eine bloße Nachgeburt seiner *Nachtgedanken* gewesen, und alle meine Grillen von seinen Bildern imprägnirt

¹ See SURVEY, p. 184.

² See SURVEY, p. 386.

worden wären;”³ and Bodmer, in a letter to his friend Pastor Schinz in Altstätten, August 30, 1765, requested a copy of Ebert’s translation of Young in order that he might see how often and how exactly he had imitated Young. Ebert was, as will presently be seen, an inveterate translator and editor of Young, and his version of 1771 containing abundant parallel passages from German authors [367] may be regarded as the first formal treatise on Young’s influence in Germany. Barnstorff, in 1895, was his next important successor [368]. Barnstorff’s findings were utilized and to some extent increased by Thomas in 1901 [364a] and by Kind in 1906 [365]. The latter included the *Conjectures* within the scope of his inquiry and produced the only extensive and inclusive treatment of the subject of Young’s influence in Germany.

Kind’s portrait of the poet Young was based chiefly upon the work of Thomas, whose picture of Young was at least more sympathetic than the one which his first biographer, Sir Herbert Croft, wrote for Johnson’s *Lives of the poets*. The more recent account of H. C. Shelley,⁶ founded on Young’s private correspondence, present a yet more sympathetic view. A reviewer of Shelley’s work⁷ points out certain respects in which Kind’s work will need revision in the light of the better knowledge concerning Young. Kind, for example, says that a part of Young’s melancholy was due to lack of success in currying the favor of the powerful and that he did not reach his saintly old age without having tasted of the dissipations of youth. Now it is true that Young wrote laudatory verses to men of influence, but it is not true that his nature was embittered by any lack of success, and the most recent biographer finds no evidence of a dissipated youth. Shelley furthermore makes it clear that much of the narrative scheme behind the *Night thoughts* was fiction and not intended to be taken as a literal

³ Hamann, *Schriften* III 393.

⁶ Shelley, H. C., *Life and letters of Edward Young* (Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1914), vii+289 pp.

⁷ Cf. Hulme in *MLN* XXXII (1917) 96-109.

description of Young's griefs as Kind, in common with Young's contemporaries, had assumed.⁸ It is true that the German enthusiasts for Young suffered a disillusionment, when they finally became better informed in regard to Young's personality; but this was merely because they had formed an unwarranted pre-conception.

Young's *Night thoughts* appeared at a psychological moment. The enthusiasm for Milton had paved the way for the appreciation of Young's religious poetry, but the personal note distinguished Young from his predecessor. In other words Young's appeal differed from Milton's in much the same way that the appeal of the middle-class drama differed from that of its nobler predecessor. Young's poetry was, however, like Milton's in its lack of rime, in its imaginativeness, in its relative formlessness, and in its recognition of inscrutable and mysterious forces. It cast its strongest spell upon the Swiss writers and upon the North-German admirers of Klopstock, whose *Messias* slightly anticipated Ebert's translation of the *Night thoughts*. The time was past when an English work of note had difficulty in commanding attention in Germany. The danger was rather that it might be taken up as a fad.

For about three years after their completion (1751) the *Night thoughts* remained untranslated but not unknown;⁹ the earliest portions had been welcomed by the learned journals of Göttingen and Leipzig, Gleim and Uz corresponded about the new poem, and Johann Arnold Ebert began promptly a translation. It was thru Ebert, apparently, that Klopstock became acquainted with Young's work, for there are echoes of it in the first three cantos of his *Messias* (1748). He learned English about the year 1752 with the *Night thoughts* as his text-book. Bodmer anticipated Ebert by two years, for he published a translation of a few verses from the *Night thoughts* in his *Neue kritische Briefe* (1749). The influence of Young is evident in Bodmer's next work, the

⁸ Kind [365] 61.

⁹ The following account of the *Night thoughts* in Germany is based on Kind's work [365] except where otherwise indicated.

Noah of 1750. Vetter quotes over thirty passages in the *Noah* parallel to passages in the *Night thoughts*.¹⁰

The decade 1750–1760 was the period of translation. In 1751 Ebert's renderings began to come out. His career was from that time on bound up with Young's fate in Germany. He had intended to publish a series of translations of the best English writings including the first seven "Nights" of Young; but he was diverted from his plan and spent the greater part of his life in translating, annotating, and teaching, and otherwise treating Young's works only. He completed his prose translation of the *Night thoughts* in 1752. It met with favor at the hands of both the critics and the public, and past thru three new editions in rapid succession (1753, 1756, and 1763); but during this period he had many rivals. Geusau's translation of *Night IV* (Jena 1752) in alexandrines was probably the worst of all renderings. Kayser's translation in hexameters of *Nights I-IV* (Göttingen 1752) found favor with Haller. Its preface contained the results of Tschärner's investigations regarding Young's private life, made in England in 1751.¹¹ A Hamburg journal published (1754) a translation of *Night V* by Oeder, the first rendering in the original meter. The year 1755 saw a translation in rimed trochaic octameters (Frankfurt) of *Night I*. To this was added in 1756 *Night IV* and in 1759 *Night II*. In 1760 Ebert published a translation of *Nights I-IV* with the English version on the opposite page and with notes treating of Young's sources and of echoes of his works in later writers. Thus Ebert was not only the chief herald of Young in Germany but also the first investigator of his influence. This new edition was almost as popular as Ebert's earlier one and was exhausted in a comparatively short space of time. Ebert was now the generally recognized authority on Young in Germany, tho Kayser also had his adherents. A reviewer, possibly Haller,

¹⁰ Vetter [103] appendix.

¹¹ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [372].

in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* found Kayser's hexametric version better than Ebert's prose one, tho he praised Ebert's scholarly annotations.¹²

During the next decade (1760-1770) Young seems to have reached the height of his popularity. To quote Kind's survey:

During these years Ebert is giving English courses in the *Night thoughts* at the Carolineum (i.e. in Braunschweig); and Klopstock, in his treatise *Von der heiligen Poesie* (1760) discusses the work at length and pronounces it the only example of sublime poetry that deserves to be without a fault. Young's satires, tragedies, and other writings continue to receive attention and add to his glory. Gerstenberg reviews the *Night thoughts* with ardor; Dusch is influenced by them; Schubart is busy with them; Knebel is rescued from the abyss of doubt thru them and is held spellbound; Herder begins his active work with them; Lenz imbibes them; Hamann continues his studies in them; and the youthful Goethe uses them as his English reader. But worse than all this, scores of poets imitate lamely; they are lonesome and sad, they have night thoughts on all occasions, even on pleasure trips; they Youngize without cause, simply because that is the current fad.¹³

It was these extremes that brot on the reaction in the seventies. In a short time the Youngists were ridiculed or reproved by Lessing, Nicolai, Möser, Heinse, Klotz, and Unzer¹⁴ and even by Wieland, who as early as 1758 had turned against his one-time favorite. After the year 1770 Ebert found that he had the field largely to himself. He utilized it chiefly in polishing up his previous editions. Altho the servile imitations of Young had fallen into disrepute, the sentimental, melancholy atmosphere of his poetry still prevailed as is shown, among other works, by *Werther*.¹⁵ Schiller also past in this decade thru his Klopstock-Young period; but speaking generally Ossian and Percy had crowded out former favorites in lyric poetry, and with the ad-

¹² GGA (1760) II 12; cf. *ibid.* (1761) 112.

¹³ Kind [365] 68.

¹⁴ Kind [365] 62 quotes from Mauvillon and Unzer, *Über den Werth einiger teutschen Dichter* (Frankfurt and Leipzig 1771-1772), Brief 15.

¹⁵ Goethe mentions the *Night thoughts* along with Sterne's *Sentimental journey* as one of the works of literature that helpt to pave the way for *Werther*. *Werke* I 27, 214.

vent of Ossian and Shakespeare the contempt for imitative poetry had increast.

Ebert's activity continued to the end of his life despite the general reaction and despite the admonitions of such friends as Zachariä who wrote:

O E. . . , hülle dich nicht in Melancholey!
Verlasz die Grotte, die du bewohnst,
Und sitze nicht immer allein bey dem klagenden Young,
In schwarze Nachtgedanken verwölkt.^{15a}

Zachariä had himself but recently past thru a period of enthusiasm for Milton and Young and had written of himself to Gleim, Dec. 24, 1756: "Glücklich schätzt er sich, fern von allen Lagern und Königsheern zu seyn, und bei einer Schale Punsch den Milton oder Young zur Gesellschaft zu haben."^{15b}

In the year of his death (1795) Ebert was at work on a final reprint of the edition of 1767. The last edition of Young in the eighteenth century to appear in Germany was an English edition with Ebert's notes; it was intended for use in English classes and was prepared by Herrmann (Leipzig and Weissenfels 1800). In the year 1825 there were two translations of the *Night thoughts* in Germany, one partial and one complete. In the year 1844 Elise von Hohenhausen produced a line-for-line translation of Young in the mistaken belief that this was the first rendering of Young into blank verse. This edition was reprinted in 1874 and was the last attempt to turn the *Night thoughts* into German verse. About the same time the *Night thoughts* came to be a subject of programs and dissertations, a few of which toucht upon Young's influence in Germany, thus leading up to the works of Barnstorff and Kind.

No German poet was deeply and permanently influenced by Young, but it would appear that many of the leading German poets of the eighteenth century were affected transitorily in some

^{15a} Zachariä, *Scherzhafte epische Poesien nebst einigen Oden und Liedern* (Braunschweig and Hildesheim 1754), p. 427.

^{15b} Quoted by Crosland [147] 294.

way.¹⁶ The connexion of the Swiss with Young has already been noted. Despite the fondness of the Swiss for Young, the Gottsched school was not hostile. On the occasion of the appearance of an anonymous rimed translation Gottsched commended the translator and the original. Incidentally he spoke of the rime of the original, thus showing that he had never read it. Frau Gottsched once advised a friend who had recently suffered loss by death not to read the *Night thoughts* lest they leave her too hopeless.¹⁷ The "Bremer Beiträger" were practically of one mind regarding Young. Ebert strangely enuf shows little sign of Young's influence in his poetry, but Klopstock once wrote to Ebert that he read the psalms, the prophets, and the *Night thoughts* for inspiration while working on his *Messias*. Cramer was equally extravagant in his praises; he declared that Young was nearest to David and the prophets and his work second only to the *Book of revelation*. Lessing at the time merely characterized this as "etwas übertrieben,"^{17a} but he later joined with Mendelssohn in the campaign against the imitators of Young, the "Nachtgedankenmacher."¹⁸ Zachariä also came within the sphere of Young's influence. He began his *Tageszeiten* in 1755 by invoking the muse of Thomson:

Muse, die du den Brittischen Sanger mit guldener Laute
Zu der geheimen Wohnung der Jahreszeiten gefuhret:
Lass mich, gutige Muse, die Jahreszeiten im Kleinen—
Jahreszeiten des Tages nicht ganz unwurdig besingen!^{18a}

¹⁶ In addition to the poets mentioned above Kind refers to Schonaich, Triller, Creuz (see also [369] and [370]), Johann Adolf Schlegel, Giseke, Gleim, Uz, Cronegk, Hagedorn, Gockingk, Fr. L. Stolberg, Crugot, Zimmermann, Lavater, Dusch, Gerstenberg, Schubart, Lenz (see also [123]), Jung-Stilling, Richter, Holderlin, Novalis, Moser, Michaelis, H. L. Wagner, Heinse, and J. G. Jacobi; cf. Kind [365] 75ff.

¹⁷ Letter to Fr. v. R. Leipzig, Aug. 22, 1752; cited by Kind [365] 79.

^{17a} Lessing, *Schriften* VIII 125f.

¹⁸ Lessing, *Schriften* V 152; in his review of Kayser's translation (1753) he calls the *Night thoughts* "dieses Meisterstuck eines der ehrbarsten Dichter." Kind [365] 106 evidently read "erhabensten" for "ehrbarsten." Two fragmentary poems of Lessing, *uber die menschliche Gluckseligkeit*, *Schriften* I 237-240 and *Die Religion*, *Schriften* I 255-267, according to Kind [365] 107, show the influence of Young.

^{18a} Zacharia, *Die Tageszeiten, ein Gedicht in vier Buchern* (Rostock and Leipzig 1756), p. 2.

But having proceeded thru *Morgen*, *Mittag*, and *Abend* and arrived at *Nacht* he acknowledges a debt of gratitude to Young and Ebert:

O Ebert, du, der du zuerst mich
Zu der hohen Versammlung der brittischen Sanger gefuhret,
Und die Schonheit der Youngischen Muse Germanien zeigtest.^{18b}

Some of the critics held Gellert largely responsible for the Young mania.^{18c} Tho his own works show little trace of this influence, his literary authority was so great that his commendation of Young was doubtless widely effective.

More important was the effect upon the "Klassiker und Vorklassiker." Wieland's works were colored by Young's mood during the years 1751–1758. Ebert proves this fact by passages from Wieland's *Briefe von Verstorbenen an hinterlassene Freunde* (1753), *Sympathien* (1754), and *Empfindungen eines Christen* (1757). The more direct influence in this case comes, however, from Young's protegee, Elizabeth Rowe.¹⁹ A change takes place in Wieland soon afterward, and we find him presently complaining to Zimmermann that Young is corrupting the taste of writers of to-day; he adds that he himself was once under the spell but that that time is now past.²⁰

Herder was less readily captivated by Young than was his teacher Hamann. He discust Young in his reviews, sermons, and letters, and translated passages from *Nights I* and *II*. He had no patience with the imitators of Young. He called them "schlechte Schmierer von Nachtgedanken,"²¹ and prophesied that they would soon become the most miserable and gloomy of poets (1772).²² In 1796 he described Young as an author who strove for originality without attaining it,²³ but his subsequent

^{18b} Ibid., p. 100.

^{18c} Kind [365] 71 and 85f.

¹⁹ See SURVEY, p. 248.

²⁰ Wieland, *Ausgewahlte Briefe* (Zurich 1815), I 269–270.

²¹ Herder, *Werke* I 253.

²² Ibid., V 290–291; quoted by Kind [365] 108.

²³ Ibid., XVIII 106.

judgment was more favorable. In *Adrastea* (1801) he called the *Night thoughts* "das non plus ultra sinnreicher, witziger, erhabener, frommer Gedanken, glänzend wie das nächtliche Firmament."²⁴

Goethe's acquaintance with Young dates as far back as the Leipzig period. In Leipzig he learned English from Milton and Young. Young's influence seems not to have affected Goethe's lyric poetry, but in the thirteenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* he mentions the *Night thoughts* among other sentimental works in connexion with *Werther*.²⁵

At about the same time, 1773-1778, Schiller was passing thru the school of Klopstock and Young; it is not always easy to distinguish the influence of the one from that of the other. Possibly Schiller retained some trace of these influences even in his maturer poetry; Wieland, at any rate, called Schiller's *Künstler* (1789) philosophical poetry of the species of the *Night thoughts*. But in his *Naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795-1796) Schiller questions the intelligence of persons possess of an excessive fondness for poets like Klopstock and Young, who lead not into life but away from it.²⁶

On looking back upon the history of Young in Germany the first impression is that Young was not an influence but at most a fad, and that he owed his vogue to the prevailing enthusiasm for things English, which, helpful as it had been in the emancipation from French influence, was now becoming itself detrimental to the natural growth of German literature. When the development of lyric poetry in the eighteenth century is viewed in its totality, however, Young is seen to constitute an indispensable stage. He led away from the universal pathos of Klopstock and Milton into the details of personal grief and particular sorrow, and so prepared the way for folk poetry, the appeal of which is universal precisely because it is so individual.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIII 236.

²⁵ See footnote 15 of this chapter.

²⁶ Schiller, *Werke* XII 211.

A protégée of Edward Young who, like him, commanded much attention in Germany was Elizabeth Singer Rowe. Her literary reputation was established by a series of letters entitled *Friendship in death* (1728). Edward Young prepared these for the press and wrote a preface for them at her request. The letters were followed in 1739 by *Devout exercises*. After her death her personal correspondence and her miscellaneous works were published. The favor with which these works were received in England and Germany was symptomatic of the time, and it is well that their influence in Germany should have been made the object of a special study by Louise Wolf [304].

The earliest translation of *Friendship in death* was made by Johann Mattheson of Hamburg (1734) and dedicated to his circle of friends of whom Hagedorn was one. It does not seem to have attracted much attention. A French translation of 1740 appearing in Amsterdam caused more comment; and this translation was translated into German in 1745. The third and best German translation was that of Pastor Gustav von Bergmann of Livland 1770. Meanwhile the *Devout exercises* had appeared in three translations 1754, 1756, and 1761. The names of these works were sufficient guaranty of their popularity. The one fell in with the friendship cult and other-worldliness of the time and the other, or indeed both, with the pietistic tendency. The prevailing conception of the earlier work is that the dead take an interest in their living friends and serve them as guardian spirits. It purported to be a series of letters from the dead. Finally Professor Klausing of Leipzig translated Rowe's private correspondence in 1771 under the title *Freundschaft im Leben*, and Ebert her miscellaneous poetry in 1772. The knowledge of Elizabeth Rowe in Germany was further disseminated by the moral weeklies. Her influence was most evident on Klopstock and his wife Meta. Of less importance was the influence of Wieland. Any possible influence on Herder is of little significance.

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Klopstock's circle of friends in Leipzig (1747), Cramer, Giseke, and Ebert, celebrated Elizabeth Rowe almost as much

as Young. Klopstock himself was as yet unable to read English²⁷ but he read Rowe in translation. He was especially familiar with *Joseph*^{27a} and *Friendship in death*, which latter was a solace to him during his unhappy love affair with Fanny Schmidt. In a letter to Fanny he refers to the death of "die liebenswürdige Radikin" and calls her "unsere deutsche Rowe."²⁸ In the poem *Die künftige Geliebte* (1747) the picture of Fanny mingles with that of Rowe.

Wirst du Fanny genannt? Ist Cidly dein feyrlicher Name?
Singer, die Joseph und den, welchen sie liebte, besang.²⁹

In a later version of the same poem Petrarch's Laura is added to the composite picture:

Heizest du Laura, welche der liedervolle Petrark sich,
Königen und Weisen, sie zu bewundern, besang?
Laura! Fanny! ach Singer! Ja, Singer, nennet mein Lied dich.³⁰

In the poem *Petrarka und Laura* Klopstock begs "die göttliche Rowe" to plead for him with Fanny³¹ and in the poem *Der Abschied* he sees a vision, wherein "Singer" stands in a throng of the best loved poets and most beautiful women:

Ich sterbe, sehe nun bald um mich
Die groszen Seelen, Popen und Addison,
Den Sänger Adams, neben Adam,
Neben ihm Eva mit Palmenkränzen,
Der Schläfe Miltons heilig; die himmlische
Die fromme Singer, bei ihr die Radikin.³²

²⁷ See SURVEY, p. 223.

^{27a} Hamel, in DNL XLVII (1883?) 3.

²⁸ Cf. J. M. Lappenberg, *Briefe von und an Klopstock* (Braunschweig 1867), p. 1; quoted by Wolf [304] 62. Johanna Elisabeth Radikin was the betrothed of Klopstock's friend Cramer. She died in 1747. Cf. Klopstock's ode *Wingolf* l. 78.

²⁹ Quoted by Wolf [304] 62.

³⁰ Lappenberg, *Briefe von und an Klopstock*, p. 20. Letter to Hagedorn, April 19, 1749; quoted by Wolf [304] 63.

³¹ Op. cit., line 20ff.; quoted by Wolf [304] 63.

³² Op. cit., l. 17ff.; quoted by Wolf [304] 63.

In the ode *Die Braut* Elizabeth Rowe and Fanny already begin to assume the appearance of guardian angels:

Doch mit Blicken voll Ernst winket Urania
 Meine Muse mir zu, gleich der unsterblichen
 Tiefer denkenden Singer
 Oder göttliche Fanny dir!
 Singe, sprach sie zu mir, was die Natur dich lehrt.³³

Wolf surmizes with Muncker³⁴ that there were many references to Rowe in the correspondence of Klopstock with Meta, which he destroyed soon after the latter's death. At all events we find Meta soon after her marriage showing an enthusiasm as great as Klopstock's for Elizabeth Rowe, and expressing it in an English letter address to Richardson.³⁵ After the manner of Elizabeth Rowe, Meta wrote (1756) *Briefe der Verstorbenen an die Lebendigen*, which Klopstock edited and published in 1759, a year after her death.³⁶ Wolf adds: "Nach ihrem Tode wird Meta ihrem Gatten ganz im Sinne der Rowe zum Schutzgeist, und noch im Jahre 1762 lassen sich Spuren solcher Mystik in seiner Dichtung nachweisen. Auch die Schutzgeister in den *Oden* und im *Messias* sind auf den Einflusz der Rowe zurückzuführen."³⁷

The works of Elizabeth Rowe came to Wieland's attention during his pietistic years. Ermatinger surmizes³⁸ that Bodmer first made them known to him in 1751, but he overlooks, as Wolf points out,³⁹ Wieland's own testimony that he and Sophie Gutermann read Elizabeth Rowe's works together as early as 1750. Wieland admits Rowe's influence in his *Moralische Erzählungen* (1752):

³³ Op. cit., l. 21ff.; quoted by Wolf [304] 64.

³⁴ Wolf [304] 65; cf. Muncker [234] 318.

³⁵ *F. G. Klopstocks sämtliche Werke etc.* (Stuttgart 1839), I 244; quoted by Wolf [304] 65-66.

³⁶ *Hinterlassene Schriften von Margarethe Klopstock* (Hamburg 1759).

³⁷ Wolf [304] 66.

³⁸ Ermatinger [326] 80.

³⁹ Wolf [304] 67.

Die *Erzählungen* zu schreiben, faszte ich den Entschlusz, als ich Ihre aus Thomson übersetzte *Erzählungen* las;⁴⁰ doch hatte mir schon vorher *Pygmalion und Elisa*⁴¹ etwas dergleichen eingegeben. Die Briefe der allerliebsten Rowe belebten diesen Vorsatz noch mehr. Ihr gehören die schönsten Gedanken und Bilder der *Erzählungen*.⁴²

There are also allusions to passages in Rowe's private correspondence in certain of Wieland's odes of the same year, and in the *Briefe von Verstorbenen an hinterlassene Freunde* (Zürich 1753), while the *Devout exercises* ring thru Wieland's *Empfindungen eines Christen* (1755). The *Sympathien* (1755) show signs of the turning away from the pietistic tendency. There is much that reminds of Rowe in the earlier part, but at the conclusion Wieland assumes a critical attitude toward his earlier inspirer. Thus Wieland was one of the first to be cured of the unhealthy tendency inherent in Elizabeth Rowe's poetry as well as in that of Young.⁴³ Neither of these English poets bent German literature in a new direction, but the coming of their work to Germany provided a stimulus that brot out clearly the prevalent tendencies of the time in Germany.

⁴⁰ Cf. SURVEY, p. 217, footnote 17.

⁴¹ Written by Bodmer in 1747.

⁴² Wieland, *Ausgewählte Briefe* (Zürich 1815), I 95.

⁴³ Cf. SURVEY, p. 243.

CHAPTER 9

MACPHERSON'S *OSSIAN*

James Macpherson of Badenoch, county of Inverness, was born in the year 1736. He studied at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, intending to enter the ministry, but left college without having attained his degree and became for a time a private tutor. At about the age of twenty he wrote his first poetry. His productions consisted of mediocre imitations of Robert Blair, author of *The tomb*, and of Thomson's *Seasons*.

Macpherson's mother spoke Gaelic and James commanded it well enuf to converse in it with the people of the countryside and understand their tales and ballads. In 1758, when serving as a tutor in the country, he became acquainted with John Home, who was interested in highland poetry. Macpherson showed him a poem called *The death of Oscar*, which he said was literally translated from a Gaelic original. In reality it was an original poem of Macpherson's, the suggestion of which was derived from ancient Gaelic literature in oral tradition. Home showed the poem to Professor Blair of the University of Edinburgh, who urged Macpherson to publish more translations. Consequently there appeared in the year 1760 a volume entitled *Fragments of ancient poetry collected in the highlands of Scotland and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language*. Blair wrote the introduction to this volume and began later to use the poems as a basis for lectures at the university. A sum of money was collected wherewith to send Macpherson into the highlands to discover the ancient Gaelic epic, of whose existence Blair was convinced. Even David Hume contributed to the sum, saying that the authenticity of the poems of Macpherson was beyond all question. Macpherson accepted the money without scruple, made the journey, and returning published in 1762 *Fingal*, an ancient epic poem in six books, and in 1763 a simliar

epic called *Temora*. With *Temora* he reprinted the Gaelic original of the seventh book to meet the objections of skeptics. The "original" was, however, a falsification by his own hand. Hume now became suspicious and urged Blair to institute a thoro investigation, but Blair had already committed himself too far, and the investigation he made was a mere formality with foregone conclusions.

The publication of the poems helpt Macpherson to political advancement at the hands of Scotsmen who were at the head of affairs in London. Macpherson received an appointment to Florida just as things were becoming uncomfortable for him at home. On his return he was compelled to defend the authenticity of his originals against such critics as David Hume and Samuel Johnson. The latter had gone so far as to deny the existence of an Ossianic literature. He declared that Macpherson owed to the past only the name Ossian, the rest, he said, was pure invention. Macpherson was equally uncompromising. When confronted with fragments differing from the ones he had rendered he stoutly maintained that his alone were authentic. When the originals were demanded of him he offered to publish them if the funds were provided. To his great dismay some enthusiasts in 1784 brot together a thousand pounds for this purpose. He was now driven to the extremity of re-translating his English poems into Gaelic.¹ It was a painful task for he had forgotten much of his Gaelic, which was never too good. Macpherson never showed his originals to Gaelic scholars but he showed them to disinterested men of note, for example to Helferich Peter Sturz on his journey to England in 1768, who was readily convinced of the genuineness of the documents.² Macpherson died in 1796 with his task unfinisht after twelve years of labor. His friend Mackenzie continued the work and publisht it in 1807 under the auspices of the Highland society of London, but in an uncompleted form, for of twenty-two poems

¹ Stern, ZVL VIII (1895) 62, but cf. Cross, MPh XVI (1918) 447.

² Sturz, *Schriften* (Leipzig 1789) 6; cf. *Deutsches Museum* (1777) I 214-215. See also Koch [138] 120, note 13.

of Macpherson only eleven are represented. Meanwhile a committee of the Highland society of Edinburgh had published a report (1805) of an investigation which, however, went no farther than to show that ballads really existed of the type that Macpherson professed to have used.

The controversy, which had flared up several times in the eighteenth century,³ reached no more decisive phase in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth. Men continued to assume positions determined by national or political prejudices, to talk at cross purposes and in disregard of the evidences, but Celtic scholars of the last fifty years have arrived at decisive conclusions and we now know precisely how much basis there was for Macpherson's poetry. Of the ten or fifteen thousand verses in his "originals" of 1807 all are forged by Macpherson and his helpers except one. There never were any Gaelic epics either in Scotland or Ireland. There existed Gaelic ballads and these gave Macpherson his starting point, but no poem is a faithful reproduction of a Gaelic original. A few sentences here and there correspond to passages in the Gaelic literature. About four-fifths of the material is, however, without Gaelic connexion and is purely Macpherson's invention. The style corresponds in some rare instances to that of the genuine Gaelic ballads known to-day but more frequently is reminiscent of Homer, the Hebrew prophets, Milton, and certain more recent poets. It was this fact that occasioned suspicions from the outset.

³ The above summary of facts regarding the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian may not seem entirely germane to the present investigation but is included because it is by no means easy to find explicit statements in English works of reference. The following works treat of the question in a reliable form and are in substantial agreement one with another:

J. S. Smart, *James Macpherson* (London 1905); 224 pp.

L. C. Stern, *Die Ossianischen Heldenlieder* ZVL VIII (1895) 51-86 and 143-174.

H. R. D. Anders, *Ossian* PrJ CXXXI (1908) 1-36. Based largely on Stern.

Van Tieghem, *Ossian en France* (Paris 1917); 2 vols. The introduction pp. 7-99 includes a useful résumé of the entire controversy.

It is unfortunate that Tombo [243] did not include in his monograph a résumé similar to Van Tieghem's for it would be desirable to know to what extent the German protagonists and opponents of Macpherson were dependent on certain definite English authorities. Tombo's bibliography, pp. 3-63, however, notes German comment upon English controversial articles and translations thereof.

In spite of doubts at home Macpherson's *Ossian* was received with great favor abroad and was translated into German, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Russian, and modern Greek, in fact into more languages than any other English work except *Robinson Crusoe*. It constitutes, therefore, a fairly accurate measure of the taste of the time and it is worth while for this reason to analyze the quality of this poetry.

The content is characterized by hasty confused action. Numerous characters and numerous actions are referred to without further detail. As van Tieghem says: "Les personnages et les lieux, nommés pour la plupart plutôt que caractérisés, défilent devant le lecteur avec une rapidité cinématographique et fatigante."⁴ Another characteristic of the poems was monotony, due to an absence of local color and to a frequent repetition of the same adventures. The dispute between Ossian and St. Patrick, which might have lent local color, was omitted by Macpherson, as well as all references to the manner of life of his heroes. Love and war, the chief stock in trade of epic writing, are abundant in the poems, but the warriors fight to no particular purpose and one pair of lovers resembles another, the same episodes and adventures being repeated in a fashion that rarely varies. The lyric element appealed no doubt to the time; the admonitions of the spirits of dead heroes to their successors in arms, the mournful laments over the flight of time, the weakness of man, and the passage of the better days of the past, all in a setting of hazy moonlit atmosphere, of falling autumn leaves and mournful, beating sea-waves. Such was the poetry of "poor moaning, monotonous Macpherson," as Carlyle called him. Finally the new form of the poems made a strong appeal. Macpherson himself would have preferred a versification but his advisers persuaded him against it. The rithmic prose that was finally decided upon enabled him to avoid all the mechanical subterfuges of poetry and subordinate everything to the effective rendering of the thot; it had a melancholy charm of its own and was adapted to its theme.

⁴ Van Tieghem, *Ossian en France*, p. 44. The phrases following the quotation are also borrowed largely from Van Tieghem.

The response in Germany to the Ossianic poetry was almost immediate. The *Fragments* of 1760 were translated in part in 1762, *Fingal* (1761) was translated in part in 1763 and in its entirety in 1764. Denis began his complete translation into hexameters in 1768.⁴ Other translations were those of E. von Harold (1775), Peterson (1782), Rhode (1800), Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg (1806), Ahlwardt (1807), Jung (1808), Schubart (1808), de la Perière (1817–19), Förster (1826), Böttger (1847), and Brückmeier (1883).⁵ Needless to say there were also translations of individual poems, too numerous to mention. Among the translators were Goethe, Herder, Bürger, and Lenz.

The extraordinary vogue of Ossian, in Germany in particular, is not difficult to account for. The chief reason for his popularity lay in the state of literary development at the time. It was near the dawn of the era of originality and genius. Herder treated of Ossian, the Volkslieder, and Shakespeare in succession in his *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (1773). "Imitate the ancients" and "return to nature" were the two watchwords of the time. The latter precept was gaining ground on the former. The *Nouvelle Héloïse* (1759) and the Ossian fragments (1760) appearing at about the same time indicated the trend, not toward the genuinely primitive, but toward a certain civilized and refined "nature." Young's ideas in regard to originality were taking root. They seemed to give sanction to Ossian, who even more than Shakespeare was an original, for he had no models whatever before him. But Ossian not only caught the imagination of the new or genius-admiring age but also of the sentimental age that was just at its zenith. The moonlight, loneliness, and pathos of the Ossianic verses found a well developed taste to receive them. Finally the simple style of Ossian permitted of a fairly wide acquaintance with him in Germany in the original. The constructions were not difficult. The sentences were short and the repetitions were frequent. This endeared him to the beginner in English.

⁴ Cf. *infra* p. 260.

⁵ For further bibliographical data see Tombo [243] 1–63.

The controversy in regard to the genuineness of the poems was also followed closely in Germany. Such journals as the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, and *Der neue teutsche Merkur* reviewed the leading English works on the subject and the opinions of Blair, Johnson, Laing, and others were well known in Germany, the more important contributions being translated in their entirety. Most German critics believed fervently in the genuineness of Macpherson's *Ossian*. Bodmer, it is true, had his doubts, and Gerstenberg never believed but was silent at times out of prudence.

The favorable comments set in early. An anonymous writer in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* in 1762 was followed by Raspe in 1763.⁶ Raspe admired the poems on account of their originality and naturalness. The first translations into book form were of the *Fragments* by Engelbrecht and of *Fingal* by Wittenberg, both in 1764 and both in rithmic prose;⁷ neither of them was particularly successful. In the same year appeared in Paris an essay questioning the authenticity of the Ossianic poems. This suspicion was rejected positively by a writer in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1765) who commended Ossian as being less loquacious than Homer, and the Gaelic people as superior in character to the Homeric heroes. "Ossian's soul felt infinitely more," he added, "than Homer, his code of morals was better, he knew the human heart in its more delicate emotions." The reviewer characterized Macpherson's prose as a mixture made up of the holy scriptures, of Homer, and of the speeches of the Iroquois, yet nevertheless possessing something of its own. The anonymous author of this review appears to have been none other than Albrecht von Haller.⁸ Such comparisons to Homer's disadvantage soon became frequent. Vosz said explicitly: "Der Schotte Ossian ist ein grösserer Dichter als der Ionier Homer;"⁹ and Klopstock boldly confest: "Ich

⁶ *Hannoversches Magazin* I (1763-1764) 1457ff. Cf. Tombo [243] 4.

⁷ See Tombo [243] 3-4.

⁸ GGA (1765) I 129-131; cf. Tombo [243] 5 and 78.

⁹ Quoted by Flindt [79] 13.

liebe Ossian so sehr, dasz ich seine Werke über einige griechische der besten Zeit setze.’¹¹ Another early ardent defender of Ossian was Christian Felix Weisze, who wrote in the *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (1766) particularly condemning Cesarotti’s translation into verse.¹² Prose, he held, was the only proper rendering. This was a mild premonition of the storm that was to come when Denis in 1768¹³ translated Macpherson’s *Ossian* into hexameters and yet there was hardly a single imitation of Ossian in Germany before this translation appeared.

Ossian exerted his greatest influence in Germany not in a direct fashion but indirectly thru Klopstock. Ossian fell in with Klopstock’s desires and feelings; he was national and patriotic, and his dominant note was one of melancholy, which accorded well with Klopstock’s mood after the death of his Meta. The Ossianic melancholy was a fit sequel to Young’s; and the Ossianic pictures were, like Klopstock’s own in the *Messias*, heroic, grand, and hazy.

Klopstock arbitrarily combined facts in such a way as to permeate the Germanic past with the Ossianic atmosphere. In *Germania III* Tacitus told of the “barditus,” the singing of heroic songs before the battle, whereby the Germani inspired themselves for combat. Klopstock falsely understood the word to refer to the songs themselves and fancifully connected it with the Celtic loan word “Barde,” assuming that bards had been the writers of such songs. He regretted that none of the battle songs of the Germani were preserved, but the songs of Ossian compensated him in some degree, for according to common belief of the time there was no great distinction between Celt and Teuton. To quote Klopstock’s words in a letter to Gleim, June 31, 1769: “Ossian war deutscher Abkunft, weil er ein Kaledonier war.”¹⁴ He exprest the same belief in verse:

¹¹ Retzer, *Denis Literarischer Nachlasz* (Wien 1801–1802), II 116; quoted by Tombo [243] 91.

¹² Op. cit. I, 387; cf. Tombo [243] 6 and 79.

¹³ Cf. *infra* p. 260.

¹⁴ *Klopstock und seine Freunde* (Halberstadt 1810), II 214.

Sie, deren Enkel jetzt auf Schottlands Bergen wohnen,
 Die von den Römern nicht provinzten Kaledonen,
 Sind deutschen Stamms. Daher gehört auch uns mit an
 Der Bard und Krieger Ossian,
 Und mehr noch als den Engelländern an.¹⁵

Klopstock further complicated the past of northern Europe by causing all its heroes, Celtic and Germanic alike, to adopt the Norse mythology as transmitted in the *Edda*. This adjustment was accepted without protest by his contemporaries. Klopstock next felt called upon to revise his own poems, substituting the Norse mythology for the classic. This process he completed about 1767. His numerous adherents followed him in adopting this measure. Still later Klopstock seemed to feel that he had indulged too much in Ossianic decoration and in later revisions of his work did away with some of it.¹⁶

Tombo dates Klopstock's enthusiasm for Ossian about from the year 1762 to 1764. An earlier investigator, Julius Köster, had held that it could not have begun before 1770: "Ossian hat erst Ende der sechziger Jahre auf Klopstock wirken können, weil er in Deutschland erst um jene Zeit durch die Übersetzung von Denis bekannt wurde."¹⁷ But Tombo's bibliography shows that notices of Ossian were frequent before that date and that earlier translations also existed, particularly in North Germany. Moreover Klopstock had by 1762 enough proficiency to be able to read the simple stanzas of Ossian in Macpherson's English. In most cases it is not easy to isolate Macpherson's influence on Klopstock, for the Bible, Homer, Milton and certain Latin poets form to a large extent the basis of the style of both; but certain specifically Ossianic traits can be first distinguished in the odes written in 1764, 1765, and 1767 and in the first "Bardiet," *Die Hermannsschlacht*. The influence is less obvious in the later odes and *Bardiet*.¹⁸ Tombo thinks that a close examination of

¹⁵ Epigram 183 in *Hamburgische Neue Zeitung* 1771. Reprinted in 1st edition of *Gelehrtenrepublik* (Hamburg 1874); omitted in 2nd edition.

¹⁶ Tombo [243] 102.

¹⁷ Köster, *Über Klopstocks Gleichnisse* (Program, Iserholm 1878); quoted by Tombo [243] 92.

¹⁸ Tombo [243] 94.

the latter part of the *Messias* might also bring reminiscences of Ossian to light but he says:

Klopstock's unbounded admiration for Ossian really did not last much over a decade (i.e. 1765–1775), and the old bard's influence gradually diminished, just as Klopstock's fondness for Norse mythology grew less and less pronounced. By the time he began to turn his attention to the French Revolution both Ossian and the Norse divinities appeared like a memory of the days of old.¹⁸

As criteria of the Ossianic influence on Klopstock Tombo mentions the external use of the Ossianic machinery and decoration.²⁰ The "dark, dim, distant, far, misty, silent" atmosphere of Ossian begins to pervade Klopstock's poetry,²¹ the prophetic element appears, and spirits of the dead are conjured up.²² Klopstock's characterization of the songs of the bards, ll. 30–40 and ll. 77–84 of the ode *Der Hügel und der Hain*, is based largely upon his knowledge of the poems of Ossian.²³ Another Ossianic "trick" which Klopstock adopted was that of permitting several "as's" and "so's" to follow one another in his comparisons. This habit became pronounced among the Ossianic imitators. It was first noted by Köster that Klopstock's numerous comparisons to the oak are all found in his dramas (1769ff.), none in his *Messias*.²⁴ Klopstock also borrowed the name of the royal residence of Fingal and applied it to his lovers, using Selma as the feminine form and Selmar as the masculine, neither of which appeared in Germany before the middle of the eighteenth century. Selma became a popular name in Germany along with Malvine and Oskar.

The bards play an important rôle in the *Hermannsschlacht* and in *Hermann und die Fürsten*. They admonish the warriors: "Höret Taten der vorigen Zeit," and they relate the deeds of

²⁰ Cf. ode *Hermann* "Steine der alternden Moose": "the moss of years" that covers most of Ossian's stones. Tombo [243] 95.

²¹ Tombo [243] 95. Tombo compares Wingolf's "wallenden Opferrauch" with the "schweigende Dämmerung" in the new version.

²² Klopstock, *Thuisikon* (1764), *Hügel und Hain* (1767), *Rothschilds Gräber* (1766).

²³ Tombo [243] 97.

²⁴ Quoted by Tombo [243] 97.

ancient heroes in Ossianic manner. Ossianic similes are frequently encountered. Wind and breeze, blast and gale play a large part in these works, and warrior hosts are likened to roaring streams pouring down the hills, or to a ridge of mist.

Klopstock's ideas in regard to Ossian and the bards may provoke a smile to-day, but he certainly searched for accurate information about the old Germanic bards even to the end of his days. He communicated with Macpherson by letter inquiring about the meter of the Ossianic originals. The information received was unsatisfactory. He wrote to Denis, July 22, 1768: "Macpherson (mit dem ich correspondiere) versteht entweder Ossians Quantität oder das Sylbenmasz überhaupt nicht genug."²⁵ Direct efforts having proved unavailing, Klopstock tried to discover what he wisht to know thru Angelika Kauffmann, who was herself an enthusiast about Ossian. While she was in Scotland (1770) Klopstock wrote to her from Copenhagen: "Könnten Sie nicht in Edingburgh, oder auch weiter hinauf gegen Norden, durch Hülfe Ihrer Freunde, einen Musikus auf-treiben, der mir die Melodien solcher Stellen in Ossian, die vorzüglich lyrisch sind, in unsere Noten setzte?"²⁶ Klopstock's curiosity in regard to the versification of the poems was never satisfied. He did not even live to have the doubtful satisfaction of reading Ahlwardt's much heralded translation (1811) of the so-called originals.²⁷ Tho his enthusiasm for Ossian flagged after 1775, his historical interest remained keen and as late as 1797 we find him writing to Böttger: "Wissen Sie schon etwas von der Ausgabe von Ossian's Gesängen, die jetzt in seiner Sprache gemacht wird? Ist die Übersezung getreu? Sind Anmerkungen über das Zeltische dabey?"²⁸ It is apparent from his private correspondence in his final years that he lost faith in the genuineness of the Ossianic poems.²⁹

²⁵ Lappenberg, *Briefe von u. an Klopstock* (Braunschweig 1867), p. 211; quoted by Tombo [243] 90. Cf. also Lappenberg *ibid.*, p. 218.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 226-227; quoted by Tombo [243] 90.

²⁷ Ahlwardt, *Die Gedichte Ossians. Aus dem Gaelischen im Sylbenmasse des Originals* (Leipzig 1811), 3 volumes.

²⁸ Quoted by Tombo [243] 101 from AL III (1784) 398.

²⁹ See two letters quoted by Tombo [243] 102.

Herder espoused the cause of Ossian as early as 1769. In that year he reviewed the first volume of Denis's hexametric translation of Ossian.³⁰ In 1773 he reviewed the third volume which contained Blair's *Critical dissertation*.³¹ He also reviewed *Die Lieder Sineds des Barden* in 1773,³² but his most noteworthy contribution to the subject was his *Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker* published in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* in the same year.³³ The letters are addressed to an unnamed person, presumably Gerstenberg, who obstinately denies the genuineness of the Ossianic poetry but thinks Denis's version is a good rendering of Macpherson's poetry. Herder takes issue with him on both points. He declares in regard to the first: "So etwas kann Macpherson unmöglich gedichtet haben! So was lässt sich in unserem Jahrhundert nicht dichten."³⁴ In his *Volkslieder* (1779) he included translations of Ossian, some of them by himself, and he based his theories of popular poetry upon them to a large extent.³⁵

Gerstenberg, on the other hand, was from the outset skeptical regarding the Ossianic poems. In a letter written soon after reading them for the first time he says:

Dasz entweder Hr. Macpherson seinen Text auszerordentlich verfälscht, oder auch das untergeschobene Werk einer neuern Hand allzuleichtgläubig für ein genuines angenommen hätte, glaubten wir gleich aus den mancherley Spuren des Modernen sowol als aus den verschiedenen kleinen hints, die der Dichter sich aus dem Homer etc. gemerkt zu haben schien, wahrzunehmen.³⁶

³⁰ In *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* X (1769) 63-69. See Herder, *Werke* IV 320-325.

³¹ *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* XVII (1772) 437-477; cf. Tombo [243] 8.

³² In *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* (1773) 447-481; cf. Goethe, *Werke* I 37, 242-246. The review is, however, not by Goethe but by Herder. See Tombo [243] 11.

³³ DLD XL (1892) 3-50, 76-80; Herder, *Werke* V 159-207.

³⁴ DLD XL (1892) 6.

³⁵ Herder, *Werke* XI 297-300; XVI 323-333; XXV 423-430 and 549-551; cf. XXIV 301-311 and Waag [271].

³⁶ Gerstenberg, *Briefe über Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur* (1766), DLD XXIX (1890) 57.

Gerstenberg was one of the few German critics who held to this view. The contrary opinion of Herder and others may have influenced him slightly, for in the geographical and historical footnotes to his *Minona* (1795) he speaks of Ossian as an authority "dessen historische Data wenigstens itzt keinen Einwand mehr leiden, wenn gleich die Ächtheit seiner gegenwärtigen epischen und dramatischen Gestalt noch etwas zweideutig seyn möchte;"³⁷ but these notes are omitted in Gerstenberg's final edition of his works (1815-1816), a fact which would seem to indicate returning doubts. Gerstenberg no doubt followed closely the results of investigations in Britain, which were making men of critical judgment more and more skeptical.

Gerstenberg adopted the northern mythology in his poetry. The specialist alone is able to distinguish with certainty this decoration from the Ossianic, but Pfau [246] and Tombo [243] find some specifically Ossianic elements in Gerstenberg's *Skalde* (1766). In *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1765) there are but occasional reminiscences of Ossian, and while *Ugolino* (1767) owes its chief literary inspiration to Shakespeare, Ossianic traits are noticeable here also, as Tombo, following Jacobs, points out. They are much more numerous than in the earlier works. Jacobs publishes as an appendix to his treatise on *Ugolino* [502] a fragment written by Gerstenberg, *Der Waldjüngling* (1770). Rousseau's idea is fundamental here. The home of the primitive man described is Scandinavia, but the scenery is reminiscent of the Scottish Highlands and the characters still more so of Ossian's. Similarly there are Scandinavian elements in the background, history, and allusions of *Minona* (1785), whose scene is laid in Britain. In this work Gerstenberg's imitation of Ossian reaches its height. There are several faithful reproductions of Ossianic scenes and the names are also Ossianic.

Michael Denis (1729-1800) became more exclusively associated with Ossian than either Klopstock or Gerstenberg. Denis was a Jesuit, born in Bavaria and living in Vienna. His admir-

³⁷ Quoted by Tombo [243] 119.

ation for Klopstock's *Messias* led him to study English in order to read *Paradise lost*. He first read Ossian in an Italian translation by Cesarotti in 1763 and compared him in his mind with Virgil and Homer. Then he heard of Klopstock's approval of Ossian. "Wie froh war ich!" he exclaimed. "Ich fing zu übersetzen an." He was still sufficiently under the spell of Klopstock's *Messias* to translate Ossian into hexameters. The judgment of contemporaries coincides with that of later times: the translation was regarded as excellent, but the hexametric form was condemned. Herder in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* gave the most authoritative expression to this view.³⁸ Denis's translation (1768) is nevertheless to be esteemed as the best complete rendering of Ossian's works. The discussion regarding the ill-chosen meter only succeeded in calling the attention of more readers to the work. Denis's translation became the foundation of the whole bardic movement. Denis himself joined the imitators with his *Die Lieder Sineds des Barden* (1772),³⁹ the anagram Sined being his new bardic name. Similarly Klopstock's bardic pseudonym was "Werdomar," Gerstenberg's "Thorlang," Kretschmann's "Rhingulph," Dusch's "Ryno," etc. These poets and others laid aside the lyre and took up the harp of the bards; the laurel wreath was discarded for the crown of oak leaves, and the much ridiculed "Bardengebrüll," "Bardengeschrei," or "Bardengeheul" broke forth.

Tombo's treatise ends with a discussion of the minor bards, of whom Karl Friedrich Kretschmann⁴⁰ (1738-1809) was one of the most notable. Kretschmann's bardic phase begins in 1768 with *Der Gesang Rhingulphs des Barden als Varus geschlagen war*, which was followed by *Rhingulphs Klage* (1771). Ossianic influence is also noticeable in some of the shorter poems of the same period. Kretschmann in his *Gedicht eines Skalden* expresses thanks to Gerstenberg for the original impulse, but the influence of Klopstock is equally obvious. His bardic period

³⁸ Herder is quoted by Tombo [243] 122-123; cf. supra p. 259.

³⁹ For a comparison of parallel passages see Tombo [243] 126-138.

⁴⁰ See also BIBLIOGRAPHY [249] and [250].

ends a few years later, after the movement had made itself ridiculous and unpopular. In his later works nothing remains but the bard, the grove, and the oak, which had become permanent stage settings of German lyric poetry.

With the study of Kretschmann and the bards Tombo's work ends. The further course of the Ossianic influence in Germany is merely indicated in Tombo's general survey:

Goethe, inspired by Herder, took a passing but deep interest in the literary curiosity, which left its impress upon a portion of his work.⁴¹ Schiller's earliest dramas show traces of Ossian's influence.⁴² The "Storm and Stress" writers found nourishment in the writings of a genius who observed no rules. Merck edited an English edition of the poems. Lenz translated *Fingal*. The poets of the Göttinger Bund—Bürger, Hölty, Vosz, Friedrich Stolberg, Cramer—have all left testimony of their admiration for the Gaelic Homer. Then there were Claudius and Mathison and Kosegarten, all influenced by Ossian. Even Geszner shows his indebtedness in some of his later idylls. . . . Jacob Grimm was extremely anxious to appear as their champion. The melancholy of Novalis sought consolation in the Ossianic "joy of grief." Tieck produced several imitations in his youth. Hölderlin also read the poems with ardor. Freiligrath wrote a ballad *Ossian*. Schubert and Brahms, Zumsteeg and Dittersdorf, Seckendorff and Löwe, and other German composers have set portions of the poems to music.⁴³

⁴¹ Tombo suggests in a footnote, p. 67, that the picture of Ossian and Malvina finds a reflexion in that of the harper and Mignon in *Wilhelm Meister*.

⁴² See Fielitz [251] who refers also to the influence on Schiller's *Räuber* II, 2. Schiller's relation to Ossian seems not yet to have been comprehensively defined. The rhetorical element in Ossian doubtless appealed to Schiller very strongly. Schiller says, *Werke* XII 184, that he first became well acquainted with Homer's epics in his maturer years. Fielitz assumes that Schiller knew little of Homer at first hand at the time of writing *Hektors Abschied*, that the theme was derived from a general knowledge of the story, but that the phraseology is Ossianic. Fielitz then compares *Hektors Abschied* with a translation of Ossian's *Karrik Thura*, written by Hoven, which appeared in the first number of *Der Zustand der Wissenschaften und Künste in Schwaben*, April 15, 1781. He points out striking resemblances in meter, diction, and motifs, and he adds (p. 542): "Dasz Schiller früh Ossian las und verehrte, würden wir als sicher annehmen müssen, auch wenn er nicht selbst es später an Lotte ausspräche. In seinem Kreise war Ossian an der Tagesordnung. Lernen wir doch Hoven als Übersetzer einer Ossian-Stelle bestimmt kennen. Gab doch Peterson (1782) die Gedichte Ossians neu verteutschet bei Heerbrandt in Tübingen heraus."

⁴³ Tombo [243] 67.

Tombo unfortunately was never able to trace these connexions in detail, but it does not seem likely that the impressions he has left regarding Ossianic influence would have been in any important respect altered by the additional corroborative evidence. Ossian was accepted with fervor in Germany because he was the poet the generation was looking for. He was the unschooled singer of genius, who sang from an overflowing heart. The literary influence exerted itself chiefly upon the lesser poets and it soon degenerated into tawdry imitation and borrowing of his decoration. The healthy side of his influence consisted in the added impulse it lent to the new interest in the history of the race, an amateurish interest at first, but one which later developed into a sounder scientific knowledge.

Of the greater poets Goethe alone requires further discussion in this connexion. It might be inferred from the summary of Tombo quoted above that Herder first inspired Goethe with an admiration for Ossian, but that is not the case; Goethe's knowledge of Ossian as well as of Shakespeare dated from the Leipzig period.⁴⁵ In Straszburg, however, his interest was intensified. He translated some passages from Ossian and later he joined with Merck (1773) in publishing a reprint of the English text of Ossian's songs, for the title page of which he drew a design.⁴⁶ The work itself was never finished. About the same time that Goethe sent to Herder specimens of Alsatian folksong he sent him also translations of Ossian, in the preparation of which Goethe had painfully consulted the Gaelic original. Heuer has shown that these are the poems *Fillians Erscheinung und Fingals Schildklang* and *Erinnerung des Gesanges der Vorzeit*, which Herder included in his *Volkslieder* with the observation that the translations were not his own. He had amplified the poems and given them metrical form before publishing them, however. Heuer reproduces the earlier version of the lines as written by Goethe.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See letter to Friederike Oeser, Feb. 13, 1769. Goethe, *Werke* IV 1. 198.

⁴⁶ Ulrich [246a].

⁴⁷ Heuer [247] 269-270.

Goethe's enthusiasm for Ossian soon spent itself. It is known that he translated the *Songs of Selma* in Straszburg and gave a copy to Friederike Brion and that he embodied a similar translation in *Werther*; but as he recovered from the morbid frame of mind that had given rise to *Werther* he seemed to have lost at the same time his interest in Ossian, to judge from a conversation of 1829 reported by Henry Crabb Robinson:

Something led him to speak of Ossian with contempt. I remarked: "The taste for Ossian is to be ascribed to you in a great measure. It was *Werther* that set the fashion." He smiled and said: "That's partly true; but it was never perceived by the critics that *Werther* praised Homer while he retained his senses and Ossian when he was going mad. But reviewers do not notice such things." I reminded Goethe that Napoleon loved Ossian. "It was the contrast with his own nature," Goethe replied; "he loved soft and melancholy music. *Werther* was among his books at St. Helena."⁴⁸

Heuer calls attention to a similarly ironical comment of Goethe of a much earlier date. Goethe was planning with the help of Reichardt to write an opera with an Ossianic background: "schon habe ich in Gedanken Fingaln, Ossianen, Schwanen und einigen nordischen Heldinnen und Zauberinnen die Opern-Stelzen untergebunden und lasse sie vor mir auf und abspazirn. Um so etwas zu machen musz man alles poetische Gewissen, alle poetische Scham nach dem edeln Beyspiel der Italiäner ablegen."⁴⁹ More seriously Goethe made reference to Ossian in a review of *Volkslieder der Serben*. Here he distinguishes the genuine folk-poetry of the Serbs from the artificial poetry of Macpherson's Ossian: "Es ist nicht wie mit dem nordwestlichen Ossianischen Wolkengebilde, das als gestaltlos epidemisch und kontagiös in ein schwaches Jahrhundert sich herein senkte und sich mehr als billigen Anteil erwarb."⁵⁰

These words of Goethe characterize, as well as any sentence could, the nature of the Ossianic fever. Ossian's history in Ger-

⁴⁸ In *Diary, reminiscences and correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson* ed. Thomas Sadler (N. Y. 1877), II 106, under date of Aug. 2, 1829.

⁴⁹ Letter to J. P. Reichardt, Nov. 8, 1790. Goethe, *Werke* IV 18, 41; cf. letter to Reichardt, Dec. 10, 1789, *Werke*, IV 9, 165.

⁵⁰ Quoted by Heuer [247] 273, without reference.

many is a chapter of paradoxes. The Ossianic style, arbitrarily compounded out of "the styles of Homer, the Bible and the Iroquois," was seized upon as a classic example of spontaneity and naturalness. To doubt the genuineness of the poetry was to display one's lack of poetic feeling. Sentimental as the content of the poetry was, it gained for its supposed author a place beside that of Homer. The furor died down in time, but not without contradictory after-effects. It had helped arouse an interest in primitive man. The first effect of this was an indiscriminate jumbling of the Norse, Celtic, and Teutonic past, but this in time gave way to more accurate information. Thus after all German literature was not permanently impaired, perhaps it was even benefited, by the enigmatic influence of the shade from the north.

CHAPTER 10

PERCY AND THE GERMAN FOLK-SONG

Since the time his *Reliques* appeared Percy's name has been connected with the revival of interest in popular poetry in Germany as well as in England. His services were indeed great, but claims so extreme have been made in his behalf that certain reservations are called for as preliminaries to further discussion. It is necessary first to recall the fact that there had always been an active interest in the folk-song in England, and that the most esteemed men of letters of the various periods had expressed their admiration for these songs. It will be in order then in the second place to show that, while it is true that in Germany for a time the folk-song had fallen into a certain disrepute, there were, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, certain tendencies at work which would certainly have brought the "Volkslied" into prominence, even without the instrumentality of the *Reliques*. That the Percy collection provided a powerful impulse from without is not to be denied; but after the above reservations have been made, the task of this brief summary is rather a quantitative one, namely to estimate the weight of the force from without as compared with those from within.

Bishop Percy was a man of unusual talent, who during the course of his life displayed his gifts in various ways. He translated from a Portuguese manuscript a Chinese novel, he translated several poems from the Norse, *The song of songs* from the Hebrew, and the *Edda*. In 1770 he translated Mallet's *Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarc* and in his preface to the translation made, as no scholar had done before him, a distinction between the Germanic and the Celtic race. He has passed his name down to posterity, however, as the collector of the *Reliques of ancient poetry*. According to Percy's own account¹ he rescued

¹ Percy, *Reliques of ancient English poetry*, ed. H. B. Wheatley (London 1910), I lxxxii.

from the hands of a serving maid, who was about to use it to kindle a fire, a folio manuscript containing a collection of folk-songs; to these songs he added others from the Pepys collection at Cambridge, friends of note contributed still others, and he was thus enabled to publish a large body of verse in 1765, five years after the way had been paved for its reception by the appearance of Macpherson's *Ossian*.

Bishop Percy prefaced his collection with apologies which seem hardly called for in view of the sanction which such songs had usually enjoyed in the British Isles. In England Sir Philip Sidney was one of the first defenders of folk poetry. In his *Apologie for poetry* (1580) he said, as later Herder did, that the poetic feeling was universal and was to be found even among Turks and Indians. He said he never heard the old song *Percy and Douglas* (*Chevy Chase*), no matter how badly rendered by "some blinde crouder" without finding his heart "mooved more then with a trumpet,"^{1a} but he erred, as did Addison later, in using the classics as a standard of judgment and holding that the ballad would be still more powerful in a Pindaric measure. The Elizabethan age did not scorn popular poetry. Wandering singers told before Queen Elizabeth the tales of Robin Hood and Adam Bell, and Shakespeare met the taste of his time in preserving and creating so many folk-songs. The revolution and the restoration brot the folk-song into disrepute for a short time, but Addison opened up a new period of interest with his *Spectator*. He mentions *Chevy Chase*^{1b} as a fine example of such poetry and says that Lord Dorset and Dryden both shared his view in regard to popular poetry.^{1c} He also made the assertion that the ballad *Percy and Douglas* is not inferior to the poetry of Homer, Virgil, and Milton in majesty and simplicity.^{1d} Dr.

^{1a} *Spectator*, no. 70, the *Chevy Chase* which Addison quotes was not, however, the one which so deeply moved Sidney, but a greatly modified one of a much more recent date. Cf. *Percy Reliques* etc., ed. Wheatley, I 23 and I 252; re date of Spencer's *Apologie* see SURVEY, p. 127.

^{1b} *Ibid.*, no. 70.

^{1c} *Ibid.*, no. 85.

^{1d} *Ibid.*, no. 74.

Wagstaffe¹ ridiculed this statement by the counter assertion that there was much of the Virgilian spirit in *Tom Thumb*. In spite of such taunts some men agreed with Addison. Prior and other friends of Addison began to imitate the old ballads. In 1723 a collection of ballads appeared in London citing Addison's words as an apology for its existence, and in 1724 Ramsay produced his collection of old Scottish songs. In view of the appearance of this successful work it is remarkable that Bishop Percy should have assumed such an air of reluctance in regard to the publication of his *Reliques* so many years later. In the preface he says he would not have made the venture but for the encouragement of certain friends whose opinion he esteemed; among these friends he mentioned Addison, William Shenstone, Samuel Johnson, and others.²

In Germany also an interest in folk poetry began to manifest itself before the middle of the eighteenth century. In the earliest days the perpetuation of folk-songs was dependent entirely upon oral tradition. But from the fifteenth century on there were written collections and these became more numerous with the general introduction of printing;³ they were also taken up by literary and scholarly circles, whose interest in the history of Germanic peoples had been first aroused by the discovery of Tacitus's *Germania* (1460). About a hundred years after this a similar interest developed in the Scandinavian countries, which led to the discovery of the elder *Edda* in 1643. Among the most popular of the writers on Scandinavian folklore was the before-mentioned Mallet, Professor at Copenhagen, who in the year 1755 published his *Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarc* and, as an appendix to this, in the following year *Monuments de la mythologie et de la poésie des Celtes et particulièrement des anciens Scandinaves*. Translated into German in 1766 and into English by Percy in 1770 this work extended to wider circles the interest in northern antiquities. Mallet, like Klopstock, con-

¹ Re Wagstaffe see H. S. Hughes in JEGPh XVIII (1919) 465.

² Percy *Reliques* etc. (1910) 8, 12, and 14.

³ Cf Kircher [258x] 3.

fused races and made no distinction between the Cymbrian, Caledonian, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, and ancient German races.

Gerstenberg had approacht the subject of the folk-song from a scholar's point of departure. His Old Norse studies had toucht upon this theme before 1765 when he began his *Briefe über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur*.⁴ He first mentions Ossian in the eighth *Literaturbrief* in 1766.^{4a} In this letter he gives specimens of Danish songs, which Herder later included in his collection.

Herder's own interest in the folk-songs was doubtless first kindled by Hamann, who had heard the songs of the peasants of Kurland and Livonia and applied his observations to the study of the Homeric measure.⁵ Herder had learned from Hamann: "Poesie ist die Muttersprache des menschlichen Geschlechtes;" and even without the example of Percy^{5a} Herder would doubtless ultimately have supported this thesis with a collection of folk-songs. Indeed his collection seems to have been begun before 1765,⁶ but the appearance of the *Reliques* stirred him to activity. The *Reliques* were sent to him by Raspe on August 4, 1771, and in the same month he wrote the first draft of his essay *Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*,⁷ which, however, was not published until 1773. Thru this essay the concept "Volkslied" became to a certain extent standardized. Hitherto it had been used in the most divergent senses as Kircher [258x] has shown; but Herder's own idea of the "Volkslied" was by no means

⁴ See Pfau [246] 162ff. and Förster *Bemühungen um das Volkslied vor Herder* (Program, Marburg 1913-1914), p. 21-23 for Gerstenberg's scholarly predecessors.

^{4a} Quoted in SURVEY, p. 259.

⁵ Förster, *Bemühungen* etc., p. 19.

^{5a} Flindt [79] 15, however, says: "Jeder weisz, dasz Herders Liebe zur Volksdichtung durch die Schriften der Engländer erweckt und durch ihre Proben zu hellen Flammen angefacht worden ist." The latter assertion is tenable.

⁶ In 1764 there appeared in the *Königsberg'sche gelehrte und politische Zeitung*, *Ein esthnisches Lied als Beitrag zu unbekanntem anakreontischen Gesängen noch roher Leute*. Herder's authorship of this is disputed. See Lohre [258] 9; cf. ZDPh III (1871) 466, Anm. 3, and Herder, *Werke* XXV 545.

⁷ Kircher [258x] 21.

derived from Percy alone. In his essay the term is applied to the songs of barbaric peoples, to the songs of uncultivated people of his own day, to every poem that can be readily sung, and only occasionally to songs of antiquarian, historical, and nationalistic interest, which Percy had almost solely in view.

Bürger forms the crux of the discussion regarding the Percy influence in Germany. Previous to the year 1773 Bürger seems to have agreed with most of his contemporaries that the ballad was the product of the "Bänkelsänger," its theme usually some "Mordgeschichte" and its chief charm its grotesqueness. When Bürger had written ballads he had attempted to imitate these ruder qualities; but *Lenore* marks a turn to another style. The change generally has been attributed to the influence of Percy. To quote but one of the critics, Wagener [257]:

Die erste Frucht dieser . . . Beschäftigung mit Percy (war) die *Lenore*. . . Im ganzen Charakter und in der Anlage, aber auch in einzelnen Äusserungen ist Percys Einfluss unverkennbar. Wir brauchen nur die 1770 entstandene noch vollkommen im Ton der burlesken Romanze gehaltene Ballade *Prinzessin Europa* dagegen zu halten, um den ungeheuren Fortschritt zu erkennen, den Bürger unter Percys und Herders Einfluss gemacht hat, wenn auch hier dieser oder jener Ausdruck an die alte Manier lebhaft erinnert.^{7a}

Flindt expresses a view in accord with Wagener's when he says:

Auszerordentlich wirkungsvoll ist auch der Einfluss gewesen, den das Volkslied auf Bürgers Balladendichtung ausgeübt hat. Schon 1769-70⁸ ist nach Angabe seines Biographen Althof Percys Sammlung sein Handbuch gewesen, und eine Reihe seiner Balladen sind in der Tat Übertragungen englischer Dichtungen. Doch scheint es, als ob das englische Vorbild allein für unsern Dichter nicht genügte, denn erst nachdem er das Urteil Herders (in *Über Ossian usw.*) über die bisherige deutsche Balladenpoesie und dessen Vorschläge zur Hebung derselben kennen gelernt, wurden ihm die Augen geöffnet. Die Wirkung war gewaltig. Während Bürger in seinen bisherigen Balladen durch Zügellosigkeit, ja Roheit des Ausdrucks den rechten Volkston zu treffen vermeint, weist die erste Frucht seiner gereiften Erkenntnis, die *Lenore*, sogleich die höchsten Vorzüge auf, deren seine Muse überhaupt fähig ist.⁹

^{7a} Wagener [257] 28.

⁸ The incorrectness of this date will be shown presently.

⁹ Flindt [79] 15.

Thus Wagener and Flindt bring together for us here the two prevailing misconceptions regarding Bürger: first, that Percy's collection was his "Handbuch" from 1769 on; and second, that *Lenore* is the fruit of an inspiration derived from Percy.

Prior to 1905 all the leading critics proceeded upon this hypothesis.^{9a} Beyer [266] examines critically the evidence upon which such assertions are based and clearly shows wherein his predecessors were in error. Since the time of Althof (1798), he says, the impression has been given that Bürger owes his entire inclination toward folk poetry to the Percy collection. Althof¹⁰ derived this impression from Boie, who wrote to him Nov. 2, 1794: "Mein Handbuch waren damals Percys *Relicks*, und sie wurden auch das seinige, ohne noch auf seinen Geist zu wirken, wie sie nachher gethan haben." As the context shows the "damals" of the above quotation refers to the year 1771 not the year 1769-70; but even at that Boie's memory was at fault for until 1773 he himself did not possess a copy of Percy, as his letter to Merck, Jan. 26 of that year, indicates: "Ich besitze jetzt auch das *Tea table miscellany* und erwarte mit nächster Gelegenheit die *Reliques* aus England."¹¹

For further evidence of Bürger's relation to Percy we have the often quoted confession of Bürger himself: "Sie (i.e. die *Reliques*) sind meine Morgen- und Abendandacht." This passage has been past from writer to writer usually with no date attach,¹² the implication always being, however, that it describes Bürger's relation to Percy in the first period in Göttingen. In reality the passage appears in a letter written to Boie in the year 1777. The circumstances under which this letter was written are significant.¹³ At the end of the year 1776 Bürger was passing thru a period of discouragement. His relations with "Molly"

^{9a} See BIBLIOGRAPHY [262]-[265].

¹⁰ Althof was Bürger's earliest biographer. *Einige Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Lebensumständen G. A. Bürgers nebst einem Beitrage zur Charakteristik desselben* (Göttingen 1773).

¹¹ Quoted by Beyer [266] 3-4.

¹² Compare, however, Flindt [79] 15, quoted above.

¹³ According to Beyer [266] 12.

disturbed his peace of mind, he was beginning to doubt his dramatic talent, he had given up his Homer plans, and the plan of writing a national epic. Even for the ballad he found no strong impulse. In this frame of mind he visited Boie for a few weeks in Hannover at the end of February 1777, returning at the beginning of April. During this visit Boie called his attention quite particularly to the *Reliques* and Bürger thankd him for it on his return. It was now that Percy became his "Morgen- und Abendandacht." A little later Boie mailed to him his copy of the *Reliques*. On the 10th of June, 1777, Bürger wrote to Boie: "Deinen Brief mit den *Old ballads* habe ich erhalten und bin darüber hergefallen wie die Fliege auf die Milch. . . . Seit ich die *Reliques* lese, ist ein gewaltiges Chaos balladischer Ideen in mir entstanden." Previous to the year 1777 Bürger nowhere displays a greater familiarity with the collection than that which might have been obtained from Herder's essay and the extracts in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*. After his return from Hannover in 1777, on the other hand, he is active in giving German versions of English ballads, the first one being *Bruder Graurock*, May 1777.

The many ballads that Bürger had written before this period, *Lenore* included, Beyer would attribute chiefly to German impulses, English models being only secondary thereto. He says:

Die Neugeburt der deutschen Ballade ist in erster Linie eine von Bürgers eigener Individualität geforderte, dichterische Verernstigung der ironisierenden Romanze, eine Verernstigung sowohl in der allgemeinen poetischen Auffassung wie in der Auffassung des Volkstümlichen. Die Möglichkeit zu einer solchen Wendung war bei ihm durch seine von Kind auf vorhandene Vertrautheit mit dem populären Kirchenlied vorbereitet; bei der ersten engeren Bekanntschaft mit dem deutschen Volkslied musste sie zum Austrag kommen.

Beyer concedes, however, "dass das Bewusstsein der Existenz der englischen Balladen in etwas mitgewirkt hat."¹⁴

It is important to examine a little more closely the theory of Bürger's inspiration from Percy as applied to *Lenore*. Erich

¹⁴ Beyer [266] 33-34.

Schmidt begins his discussion of the origin of *Lenore* with the before-mentioned customary confusion of chronology: "In der ersten Göttinger Zeit studierte Bürger mit Boie den Percy und nannte ihn sein 'Handbuch,' ohne sogleich praktischen Nutzen für eigene Produktion aus diesen Balladen zu ziehen, die ihm Morgen- und Abendandacht waren."¹⁵ *Lenore* was not the fruit of any momentary inspiration. It was begun in April 1773, portions were sent from time to time to Boie for criticism, and the first draft was completed on the 12th of August. In the midst of its creation two works had appeared, both of which, according to Schmidt, affected its development: Herder's essay *Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker* and Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*.¹⁶ After the completion of the first draft Bürger polishes and altered stanzas and verses with the help of Boie and Cramer; then he declaimed the ballad in its final form before a gathering of the country aristocracy in September 1773. It was first published in Boie's *Göttinger Musenalmanach* at about the same time. The ballad was immediately popular in Germany and in a short time was made known in England. "Der Boden war vorbereitet," says Brandl, "durch die weitverzweigte Tradition verwandter Balladen wie *Sweet William's ghost*, durch moderne Balladen mit spukhaften Motiven, auch durch die ossianische Stimmung."¹⁷ The earliest translators of *Lenore* into English were William Taylor of Norwich, J. T. Stanley, Walter Scott, J. H. Pye, then poet laureate, and W. R. Spencer.¹⁸ The basis of *Lenore* was, according to Erich Schmidt, "ein mit plattdeutschen Versen untermischtes Märchen."¹⁹ Schmidt adds the suggestion that the hero in Bürger's ballad derives his name from the William

¹⁵ Schmidt [268] 204.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 244; as an appendix to Schmidt's essay Brandl (pp. 244-248) gives the bibliographical data regarding *Lenore* in England.

¹⁸ The translations of all of these appeared in 1796.

¹⁹ Schmidt [268] 218. The important fact is Schmidt's assertion (with Beyer it is also a certainty) that the theme of *Lenore* is derived from local tradition, not from Percy. Wisocki [267] takes a similar position in regard to the theme of Bürger's *Kaiser und Abt*.

in *Sweet William's ghost*.²⁰ Beyer rejects this belief, saying that Bürger had named him Wilhelm even before Herder's essay appeared which contained the translation of *Sweet William's ghost*. That Bürger then adopted certain notes from Herder's translation will scarcely be denied.

Beyer's investigations tend to show that the "Göttinger Bund" constituted a far less active group of Percy admirers than has been usually assumed. Boie was the first to possess Percy in the original. This was not before the year 1773, according to the passage in one of his letters already quoted.²¹ He could not have been deeply stirred at the outset, since he did not kindle Bürger's enthusiasm until four years later. It is true that a selection of the Percy songs, eleven in number, had appeared in Göttingen.²² Bonet-Maury [265] assumed that Bürger's first knowledge of Percy was derived from this collection. Holzhausen [264], Wagener [257], and Lohre [258] find no reason to agree with this. Finally, there was a copy of the *Reliques* in the Göttingen library. The investigators have been able to secure from the library authorities the interesting information that Hölty borrowed the work from the library Nov. 23, 1770, returning it on the 8th of December, and that Johann Martin Miller looked at the work at the library.²³ There is no evidence that it made an impression on either of them. Hölty indeed never laid much stress upon the Percy ballads.²⁴ The suggestion for his *Adelstan und Röschen* might have been received from several sources other than Percy.²⁵ Miller shows Percy's influence only to the extent of selecting *The passionate shepherd to his love*, one of the least natural and least popular of the Percy

²⁰ Schmidt [268] calls attention to the echoes of "she stretched out her lily white hands" and of "is there any room at your feet, Willie . . . wherein that I may creep." The phrase "den Hagedorn durchsaust der Wind," on the other hand, he traces back to the heath scene in *King Lear*.

²¹ See SURVEY, p. 271.

²² *Ancient and modern songs and ballads printed for Victorinus Bossiegel* (Göttingen 1765).

²³ See Beyer [266] 4-5.

²⁴ Rhoades also affirms this [122] 22 and 25.

²⁵ See Beyer [266] 4 and Rhoades [122] 26.

poems, for translation (1773). Vosz's first translation from the Percy collection did not appear until twenty-five years later. "So sind wir in keiner Weise berechtigt," says Beyer, "mit Lohre den Göttinger Dichterbund als 'vornehmste Pflegestätte eines warm betriebenen Studiums' (sc. of the *Reliques*) hinzustellen."²⁶

It is clear that in the light of Beyer's findings a large amount of the previous literature regarding Percy in Germany must be revised. Schlegel, Wagener, Lohre, Bonet-Maury, and Boyd all proceed on the false assumption that the Percy collection was known in Göttingen almost from the first. Wagener's dissertation [257] is nevertheless a valuable and useful work. Wagener has collected and listed in an annalistic form the German translations of the Percy ballads that appeared in remote and now nearly inaccessible magazines and has paid due regard to the critical opinions expressed at the time. For many purposes the chronological arrangement is the most useful one. If Wagener's views regarding Percy's influence have been proven false by Beyer, the evidence of general interest in Percy's ballads is nevertheless of significance.

The same remark applies to Lohre's work [258]. It is divided into two parts: (1) "Die Aufnahme der *Reliques* in Deutschland," and (2) "Die Wiedergeburt des deutschen Volksliedes." The false hypothesis is detrimental only to the first part. The work admirably supplements Wagener's, for while the latter is the best authority regarding individual renderings of Percy's ballads, Lohre gives the best information regarding the collections and also regarding the period between Herder's *Volkslieder* and the *Wunderhorn*. The facts he gives will be summarized presently. Bonet-Maury's monograph is devoted to the task of drawing the necessary conclusions from the false hypothesis concerning Bürger and proving that the German literary ballad owes its origin to the direct influence of the English popular ballad. It has only an incidental value today. Boyd's article [259] is interesting in that it shows the extreme views prevalent

²⁶ Beyer [266] 5; cf. Lohre [258] 2.

at the time of writing. Boyd professes merely to summarize the results of earlier investigators, adding only a few facts of his own, but he does not always correctly reproduce the opinions of his predecessors; for example, he quotes Schmidt [269] as saying *Lenore* loudly re-echoes, if it does not reproduce, *Sweet William's ghost*. Schmidt's opinion has already been quoted above to a different effect.²⁷ At the close of his article Boyd has a carefully arranged outline listing nearly a hundred Percy ballads and songs and showing which German authors have made use of them in one way or another. This portion of the work is most useful for ready reference.

Having accepted Beyer's demonstration that certain statements regarding the influence of Percy were exaggerated, it is now proper to emphasize the fact that the Percy collection was none the less an important factor in the German literary development. Granted that the love of the folk-song had a spontaneous origin, the Percy collection lent a strong sanction for the indulgence of the new taste and was, moreover, a model more or less consciously before the minds of the German collectors. In the earliest review of the *Reliques* in Germany, written by Raspe in the *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (1765), the desire is expressed for a German Percy. Boie planned a collection of English songs but did not desire to compete with Herder; whereupon Herder, in a private letter of June 3rd, 1776, gave him a free hand in respect to Percy. Under the name of Daniel Wunderlich, Bürger called for a German Percy in 1776; in his *Herzensausgusz über Volkspoesie* he hopes for a German collection in no respect inferior to the English.²⁸ In his Ossian essay (1773) Herder had said: "Glauben Sie nur, dasz, wenn wir in unseren Provinzialliedern, jeder in seiner Provinz nachsuchten, wir vielleicht noch Stücke zusammenbrächten, vielleicht die Hälfte der Dodslei'schen Sammlung von *Reliques*, aber die

²⁷ See SURVEY, p. 273.

²⁸ Beyer is aware of these expressions of Bürger but believes that they do not necessarily show a first-hand knowledge of Percy. Knowledge derived from Herder's essay could be an inadequate basis for the remarks.

derselben beinahe an Werth gleich käme."^{28a} In the same year Vosz was urging his friends to collect old songs such as he believed he had heard in Mecklenburg, and in 1775 he offered himself to the Margrave of Baden as a "Landdichter." The impulse to most of these efforts went out apparently from Herder, and the influence of Percy was at least indirectly active.

The history of the *Wiedergeburt des deutschen Volksliedes* as related by Lohre shows that the advance of the folk-song in Germany was not uncontested even after the appearance of Herder's essay and that the sanction of Percy's example often proved a support in the next following years.

One of the first to express opposition to the growing partiality for folk-song was Nicolai²⁹ with his *Feyner kleyner Almanach vol schönerr echterr liblicherr Volckslieder, lustigerr Reyen unndt kleglicherr Mordgeschichte* (1777-1778). Unintentionally Nicolai performed a service to the collectors by calling attention to new sources. Nicolai's collection was intended as a thrust especially at Bürger with his *Herzensausgusz* and against Herder with his Ossian essay. It deterred the collectors in no wise. In the same year an enthusiastic amateur collector, Ursinus, produced a volume of no great merit, entitled *Balladen und Lieder altenglischer und altschottischer Dichtart* (1777). Only two of the poems *Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor* and *King Leir* were especially translated for this collection; the others were reprints. As an introduction to the collection Eschenburg had translated Percy's essay on the ancient minstrels in England, which had appeared simultaneously with the *Reliques*. The romantic ideas here exprest had already been supplanted by more accurate ones in England. This moderately good work of Ursinus was received with great favor by the public and by critics like Boie and Bürger.

^{28a} Herder, *Werke* V 190.

²⁹ Lessing, on the other hand, had shown an interest in the folk-song in the 32. *Literaturbrief*. Nicolai tried in vain to secure Lessing's help in his campaign against the folk-song. Ramler joined with Nicolai, however; see *Lessings Briefwechsel mit Karl Wm. Ramler* (Berlin and Stettin 1794), pp. 372-373, 381, 387-391.

Herder's collection *Alte Volkslieder englisch und deutsch zusammen* was completed in 1773, was sent to the printer, and as a result of some difficulties was withdrawn. The second book of this collection was entitled "*Lieder aus Shakespear.*" It is noteworthy that this Shakespeare collection, in its original form of 1773, was based exclusively on Dodd's *Beauties of Shakespear*.^{29a} Early in 1779 Herder sent his collection again to the printer. The work appeared in four volumes. The plan was now broader in its scope. Many nations were included. The selections were different and, where the old were retained, revisions had been made in their rendering. The older form imitated the original poems more closely; the translations of this later form were more highly polished. In the later collection he also abandoned an ethnographic for an esthetic arrangement. The introductions to the first, third, and fourth volumes were later fused into an essay *Von Ähnlichkeiten der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtung* (1777), which constituted an inquiry into the origin and development of folk-song. During the years 1772-1774 Herder had sent some translations from the *Reliques* to the *Göttinger Musenalmanach*.³⁰ These were, however, not folk-songs. Into his *Volkslieder* of 1778 Herder took over some poems from Percy which were not folk-songs, but he did not fail to include the best of the popular ballads, such as *Edward*, *Patrick Spence*, and *Chevy Chase*. Herder continued his interest in the folk-song, added to his collection, and laid plans for a new edition of the collection "vermehrt, nach Ländern, Zeiten, Sprachen, Nationen geordnet und aus ihnen erklärt, eine lebendige Stimme der Völker, ja der Menschheit selbst."³¹ Thus he was returning to the ethnographic principle which he had abandoned in 1778. Herder died soon after sketching this plan (1803), but many others had begun to carry on the work he had started in 1773. The most important of these will now be mentioned.

^{29a} Leitzmann [515ax] 61.

³⁰ For a list see Lohre [258] 20.

³¹ Herder, *Werke* XXIV 263; quoted by Lohre [258] 23.

Shortly after the publication of Herder's *Volkslieder* appeared two of the most remarkable of the early collections, Bodmer's *Altenglische Balladen* (1780) and his *Altenglische und altschwäbische Balladen* (1781). Bodmer was led to this production by his interest in English literature and in the middle ages. Since Herder's collection included songs of many peoples it could include few from any one country. Bodmer gave German translations of Percy more abundantly than any other collector of the century. The first volume contained twenty-five numbers from Percy, and the next thirteen. Bodmer preferred ballads of knightly content, but he selected genuine folk-songs, avoiding the affected and artificial. The tinge of Swiss dialect does not impair the effectiveness of Bodmer's renderings, but they are deficient in musical quality. The meter is monotonous and the rimes clumsy. It would be remarkable if the staunch advocate of rimeless verse could here begin in his eighty-second year to rime effectively. When he did succeed, Bodmer seemed childishly pleased. Such was the case with the rime:

Über die Haide hinweg im Grunde
Sich schmiegend, wohin kein Auge kunnte,
Schnitten die Beiden sich fort à leur aise
Etliche Bissen von frischem Käse.

“Dieser Reim,” says Lohre, “gefiel Bodmer so gut, dasz er ihn an anderer Stelle wiederholte und mit behaglichem Schmunzeln auch in der Vorrede zum zweiten Band citierte.”³²

The next important collection did not appear until about fifteen years later. In Friedrich Heinrich Bothe's *Volkslieder nebst untermischten anderen Stücken* (1795) about half of the numbers were from Percy. In making his selections Bothe showed that he did not fear competition with Ursinus and Bodmer, but he avoided the pieces that Herder had translated, thereby excluding some of the best Percy ballads from his collection. Bothe's was the last German anthology of the century that drew to any extent from the *Reliques*. Kosegarten (1800ff.)

³² Lohre [258] 43.

in the *Göttinger Musenalmanach*, Haug in the second volume of *Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte* (Berlin 1805), and Seckendorf in his *Musenalmanach* (1807 and 1808) brot new translations from Percy of varying value; but from 1795 on interest in the German folk-song predominated and the desire for a German Percy became steadily stronger.

This interest in the German folk-song dated from the seventies or before and ran parallel with the interest in the English songs. Goethe had collected twelve German songs in Alsace, two of which Herder included in his *Volkslieder*. Goethe retained his interest in the folk-song always, believing that natural poetry could serve as a model for the poetry of culture. Jung-Stilling, Lenz, and Maler Müller were captivated by the new tone. Boie continued to publish folk-songs in his *Deutsches Museum*. Other periodicals were almost equally hospitable to popular poetry. One of the most active of the collectors and commentators was one Gräter, who in his *Bragur* (1791ff.) made many valuable contributions to the study of the folk-song and laid down a program for a collection of songs that should be really representative of the peoples of the various Germanic races and of the various classes among those peoples. In the nineties some of the enthusiasts began to complain of the falling off of the interest in the collecting of songs.³³ That the interest did not entirely die out, Lohre says,³⁴ is due to Gräter's *Bragur* which was one of the chief predecessors of the *Wunderhorn*. Gräter sent forth a call for the music of the folk-songs in an article founded upon a Scottish essay which he had discovered and translated. The essay had been written by William Tytler and read before the "Society of the antiquaries of Scotland."

Other men who helpt to prepare the way for Arnim and Brentano were E. J. Koch of Berlin with a valuable bibliography, Chr. Fr. Blankenburg with an essay in Sulzer's *Allgemeine*

³³ Lohre [258] 109 refers to Meiszner, who in *Apollo* (1794) I 287 said: "Man scheint des Aufsuchens von Volksliedern müde geworden zu sein. *Bragur* allein kümmert sich darum."

³⁴ Lohre [258] 109.

Theorie der schönen Künste (1792–1794), and Meiszner with his periodical *Apollo*,³⁵ but the further discussion of the origins of the *Wunderhorn* is not germane to the present subject.

The investigators here reviewed do not give an answer to the question of how much the Percy collection and other English collections affected German lyric poetry. It is possible to list the work of different collectors and translators as Wagener and Lohre have done. It is possible to show what particular German poets have written ballads upon themes from the Percy collection, as Boyd has done; but this shows only imitation, not influence in the higher sense. The genuine influence is evident in the new tone. Bielschowsky says: “Der Tau des Volksliedes entwickelte Goethes Lyrik über Nacht zu voller Blütenpracht. Duftigere Lieder als das *Maidied* und das *Heidenröslein* und stimmungsvollere als *Willkommen und Abschied* hat Goethe nicht mehr gedichtet.”³⁶ But this new quality had been common to the German and the English folk-song. Lohre emphasizes the fact that in Goethe’s earliest poetry written under the new inspiration native influences predominated:

Wenn auch Goethe im Herbst 1771 zu Herder sich über den Unterschied des Tones in den *Reliques* und im *Ossian* aussprach,³⁷ auch späterhin noch gelegentlich eigene Gedichte an Stücke der *Reliques* anlehnte, z. B. *Rastlose Liebe* an das schon im Ossianaufsatze angezogene *Love will find out the way*,³⁸ und noch 1816 seine Ballade *Die Kinder hören es gerne* an *The beggar’s daughter of Bednall Green*,^{38a} wenn auch Lenz Hamiltons Balladennachahmung *Braes of Yarrow* übersetzte,³⁹ so wehte doch die Luft am Rheine selbst zu liederreich, um einem Einspinnen in die fremde Balladenwelt günstig zu sein.⁴⁰

³⁵ See Lohre [258] 112.

³⁶ Bielschowsky, *Goethe, sein Leben und seine Werke*³ (München 1902), I 120.

³⁷ Goethe, *Werke* IV 2, 3.

³⁸ Percy, *Reliques* etc. no. 730.

^{38a} *Ibid.*, no. 364; cf. Biedermann, *Goethe-Forschungen* N. F. (Leipzig 1886) 310.

³⁹ Lenz, *Schriften* I 146 and 552.

⁴⁰ Lohre [258] 24.

Wagener, however, is more specific in regard to Goethe:

Auch Goethe konnte sich der Einwirkung der *Reliques* nicht entziehen. Man weisz unter anderem aus seinem Briefwechsel mit Zelter, wie hoch er sie schätzte. Zu eigentlichen Nachahmungen hat er sich zwar nicht verstanden. Dennoch ist sein *Erlkönig*, sein *König von Thule*, sein *Fischer* etc. in Ton und Haltung den altschottischen Balladen in jener Sammlung zu ähnlich, als dasz der Anstosz von anderswoher gekommen sein könnte.⁴¹

To distinguish the specific influence of the English folk-song from the general influence of the Germanic folk-song is a task requiring the subtlest criticism, and perhaps little would be gained thereby; but the Percy collection was none the less an important factor in the development of the newer and more natural poetry. The Percy collection had influence on account of its superiority, if not of its priority. The demand for a German collection was expressed in terms of a demand for a German Percy. When opposition arose to the enthusiasm for ancient poetry and poetry of the simpler type, the Percy collection served as sanction for the enthusiasts; and when later a more dangerous apathy set in, the English interest in the songs of Percy helped to keep alive the German interest until at length the German Percy arrived and the right of the folk-song to exist was settled apparently for all time.

⁴¹ Wagener [257] 9.

CHAPTER 11

RICHARDSON AND FIELDING

It has been demonstrated that Swift's novel *Gulliver's travels* scarcely became public property in Germany before the beginning of the nineteenth century and even then called forth little or no imitation;¹ and that Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, however much admired and imitated, scarcely represents the introduction of a new influence into German literature, but rather the prolongation of an older type. The quickening influence of the English novel upon German literature may therefore be said to have begun with Richardson's *Pamela*.

One should regard not Swift's and Defoe's novels but rather the moral weeklies as the predecessors of Richardson's novels.² The weeklies had dealt with the moral problems of the average man, sometimes even in brief narrative form. Soon the scale of treatment was magnified and the problems were transferred to the stage, first in England, then in Germany;³ but Richardson could analyze, in the capacious volumes of his novels, the motives of his heroines with a detail heretofore impossible. Moral weeklies, middle-class tragedies, and finally middle-class novels were all outgrowths of the prevailing democratic tendencies. It is entirely probable that Germany, had she been in a state of literary isolation, would have developed them all in course of time; but in all three instances the existence of English models hastened the development.

In his own country, however, Richardson never had a genuine following. Sterne shared his sentimentalism but was repugnant

¹ Philippovic [353]. Cf. SURVEY, p. 178.

² Schmidt [295] 8, professes not to know whether Richardson had read Marivaux's *Vie de Marianne*. The question has been much discussed by critics before and after him. For the affirmative see G. C. Macaulay in MLR VIII (1913) 464-467, Carola Schröers in ES XLIX (1916) 220-254, and H. S. Hughes in MPh XV (1917) 107-128; but cf. R. S. Crane in MPh XVI (1919) 159-163. Richardson was at all events looked upon as an innovator in France and was lauded by many, especially by Rousseau and Diderot. Richardson's influence thus passed into Germany not only directly from England but indirectly through France.

³ See SURVEY, chapter 13.

to him on the moral side. Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* has a like moral theme, the middle-class girl and her seducer, but the irony and humor of Goldsmith separate him from his predecessor by a broad temperamental gulf. Fielding and Smollett were his direct opponents; their novels were not family novels; they sent their heroes out into the world of adventure wherein they were never troubled by too finicky consciences. The close relation between their novel and the rogue novel of Spain has always been recognized. While Richardson glorified the prudent, prudish, middle class at the expense of the dissipated nobility, Fielding was tolerant of excesses if the heart was generous, and thus he became a fit model for the German "Stürmer und Dränger," who on the other hand shared with Richardson the reformatory tendency. In Lenz's *Soldaten* and *Hofmeister* and in Wagner's *Die Kindermörderin* middle-class representatives, usually girls, become the unprotected victims of the aristocratic and military classes.

Richardson wrote his first novel *Pamela* in 1740, when he was fifty-one years of age. The work shows his style in a yet undeveloped stage. He was at the height of his powers in 1748, when he wrote his *Clarissa*, while his *Grandison* (1753) already shows his waning strength. There were features in his novels which especially challenged the parodists. The tearfulness of his narratives, however, which is to-day so frequently commented upon, seems not to have impressed that more effusive age as a fault or even as an outstanding characteristic.

The enduring distinction of Richardson is his ability, by intense analysis, to reveal the subtlest thots and motives of his heroines. This virtue Goethe commented upon in a quite incidental way in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, yet a better appreciation of Richardson will scarcely be found even in the writings of those who consciously seek to do him honor. Goethe relates that at the time his sister died he planned to write a novel in which her personality should be sympathetically portrayed.

Da ich dieses geliebte, unbegreifliche Wesen nur zu bald verlor, fühlte ich genugsamen Anlaß, mir ihren Werth zu vergegenwärtigen, und so

entstand bei mir der Begriff eines dichterischen Ganzen, in welchem es möglich gewesen wäre, ihre Individualität darzustellen: allein es liesz sich dazu keine andere Form denken als die der Richardson'schen Romane. Nur durch das genaueste Detail, durch unendliche Einzelheiten, die lebendig alle den Charakter des Ganzen tragen und, indem sie aus einer wundersamen Tiefe hervorspringen, eine Ahnung von dieser Tiefe geben; nur auf solche Weise hätte es einigermaßen gelingen können, eine Vorstellung dieser merkwürdigen Persönlichkeit mitzuteilen: denn die Quelle kann nur gedacht werden, in sofern sie fließt. Aber von diesem schönen und frommen Vorsatz zog mich, wie von so vielen anderen, der Tumult der Welt zurück.⁵

Goethe seems to have admired Richardson the most uncritically in the Leipzig period. He wrote to his sister twice from there specifically "permitting" her to read Richardson's novels,^{5a} and in his poem *An die Unschuld* (ca. 1770)^{5b} he can think of no more virtuous names than Byron and Pamela, but in the thirteenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* he mentions the popularity, in the early seventies, of Richardson's novels along with Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson*, Lillo's *Kaufmann von London* and Diderot's *Hausvater* and similar works as a sign of the "Verweichlichung" of the public taste.^{5c}

Two years after the publication of *Pamela*, Fielding entered the lists against it with his *Joseph Andrews*. In the introduction and in the first chapter of the third book he takes issue with Richardson, while the novel as a whole is an indirect criticism, a parody, of Richardson's work; as the virtuous Pamela resists the intrigues of her vicious master, so Joseph Andrews resists the guile of his employer Lady Bawdy. In the introduction Fielding says that affectation is the sole source of the comic for him. Introduction and novel together exhibit the main cause of Fielding's antipathy to Richardson, namely the perfect characters of the latter's novels. Shaftesbury had already protested in theory against such characters; Fielding supported him with effective examples. In his later works, especially in *Tom Jones*, he showed how developing characters were to be substituted for perfect ones.

⁵ Goethe, *Werke* I 27, 23.
^{5a} *Ibid.*, IV 1, 20 and 27.

^{5b} *Ibid.*, I 1, 52.
^{5c} *Ibid.*, I 28, 193ff.

In England Fielding easily triumphed over his opponents, and a group of humorous novelists followed him, but in Germany it was otherwise; with the sanction of Shaftesbury and other English authorities Fielding won over most of the leading critics to his principles, but in practice he never succeeded in making school. This disparity between theory and practice is one of the outstanding features of the Richardson-Fielding contest in Germany. Before treating of this in detail, however, it may be of service to indicate the order of appearance in England of the chief novels in question together with the dates of their first translations into German:⁶

Richardson's <i>Pamela</i>	1740	1740
Fielding's <i>Joseph Andrews</i>	1742	1746 ⁷
Richardson's <i>Clarissa</i>	1748	1748ff. ^{7a}
Smollett's <i>Roderick Random</i>	1748	1754
Fielding's <i>Tom Jones</i>	1749	1750
Smollett's <i>Peregrine Pickle</i>	1751	1756
Fielding's <i>Amelia</i>	1752	1753 ⁸
Richardson's <i>Grandison</i>	1753	1754
Sterne's <i>Tristram Shandy</i>	1759ff.	1763ff. ⁹
Goldsmith's <i>Vicar of Wakefield</i>	1766	1767 ¹⁰
Sterne's <i>Sentimental journey</i>	1768	1768 ¹¹

⁶ The dates are according to Heine [89] except where otherwise indicated.

⁷ Wood [187] 20 gives 1745 as the date. Clarke [194] 2 gives 1746 co-inciding with Heine. The translation was from a French version. In the year 1765 appeared *Fieldings komischer Roman in vier Theilen* (Berlin); 472 pp. This was a version of *Joseph Andrews* with new names for the characters as well as for the work as a whole. These names and the character of the footnotes indicate that this German version goes back directly or indirectly to a French source. Cf. Kurrelmeyer [188a]. This might be the third translation of *Joseph Andrews* referred to by the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* LXIX 2, 404, which Clarke [194] 2 could not identify.

^{7a} The translator of this work was John David Michaelis. It appeared in Göttingen under the sponsorship of Haller, who preferred it to *Pamela*. He said: "Doch können wir nicht läugnen, dass wir der jüngeren Schwester einen Vorzug vor der älteren geben. Sie ist noch viel witziger, sie verfällt nicht in ernsthafte und trockene Regeln, sie hat insbesondere sich keine solche Fehler wieder die Schaamhaftigkeit vorzuwerfen, als wohl die Pamela bey ihrer sonst guten Absicht sich zur Last hat legen lassen müssen." *Göttingische gelehrte Zeitung* (1748) 274; quoted by Beam [86] 28.

⁸ Wood [187] 22 gives 1752 as the date.

⁹ According to Thayer [336] 14; Heine [89] 22 gives 1759-1767.

¹⁰ Sollas [200] 9.

¹¹ According to Thayer [336] 35.

While other critics were quick to array themselves on the side of Richardson or his opponents, Lessing and Herder remained non-partizan. Lessing's theoretic defence of the middle-class drama is known;¹² his levying of contributions on Richardson for motifs in *Miss Sara Sampson* is equally well known.¹³ Of Richardson he wrote in 1757:

Wer wird sich auch einkommen lassen, etwas für mittelmäßig zu halten, wobey der unsterbliche Verfasser der *Pamela*, der *Clarissa*, des *Grandisons* die Hand anlegt? Denn wer kann es besser wissen, was zur Bildung der Herzen, zur Einföszung der Menschenliebe, zur Beförderung jeder Tugend, das zutrüglichsste ist, als er? Oder wer kann es besser wissen, als er, wie viel die Wahrheit über menschliche Gemüther vermag, wenn sie sich, die bezaubernden Reize einer gefälligen Erdichtung zu borgen, herabläszt?¹⁴

But of Fielding he had written in still higher terms three years before. "Dieser Schriftsteller scheint an Erfindungen, an Schilderungen und Einfällen unerschöpflich zu seyn. Immer in einer Sphäre und dennoch immer neue zu bleiben, ist nur das Vorrecht eines sehr groszen Genies."¹⁵ A passage in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* referring to Partridge as a critic of Garrick and Quin quotes at length from the fifth chapter of the sixteenth book of *Tom Jones*.^{15a} There is but one passage apparently, and that a somewhat incidental one, in which Lessing directly compares Richardson and Fielding. On a loose sheet found after his death under the title "Delicatesse," he defends the use of the word "Hure" in *Minna von Barnhelm*: "So ist es mit Fildingen (sic) und Richardson gegangen," he writes,

¹² Lessing, *Schriften* VI 6-53.

¹³ Cf. Kettner [300].

¹⁴ Lessing, *Schriften* VII 75.

¹⁵ Review of *Miss Elizabeth Thoughtless*, a work falsely attributed to Fielding. See Lessing, *Schriften* V 431. Clarke [194] 13 comments: "Freilich will das hier gespendete Lob nicht viel sagen, wenn man bedenkt, dasz Lessing die echten und unechten Werke Fieldings nicht von einander zu unterscheiden vermochte." The misuse of Fielding's name in this fashion serves to emphasize his popularity. See list of imputed works in Wood [187] 18f. The author of *Miss Elizabeth Thoughtless* was Mrs. Eliza Haywood.

^{15a} Lessing, *Schriften* IX 212.

“die groben plumpen Ausdrücke in des erstern *Andrews* und *Tom Jones* sind so sehr gemiszbilliget worden, da die obscönen Gedanken, welche in der *Clarissa* nicht selten vorkommen, niemanden geärgert haben. So urtheilen Engländer selbst.”¹⁶ This observation serves at least to demonstrate Lessing’s familiarity with the English criticism of Richardson and Fielding.

That so successful a borrower as Lessing should have been able to adopt some motifs from Fielding seems quite natural. Clarke [191] is able to draw a close comparison between the tavern scenes of *Minna von Barnhelm* and the scenes in book ten, chapters two to seven, of *Tom Jones*.^{16a} Minna and Franziska have their counterparts in Sophie and Honour; their attitude toward the innkeeper is much the same, and they have the same difficulty with the servants of their lovers. Just and Partridge form another pair; both conceive an unflattering opinion of the women who ask for their masters, and fidelity is the outstanding characteristic of both. Clarke even finds, in chapter twelve of the seventh book, a counterpart of Riceault de la Marlinière. He compares the tavern scenes in *Miss Sara Sampson* also with these same scenes in *Tom Jones*, without taking into account other possible English models here; but the fact that the chambermaid in both works is called Betty may not be entirely without significance. Lady Bellaston is represented as the counterpart of Marwood; her disparaging comments in regard to her rival are verbally much like Marwood’s. Clarke makes no mention of Lillo’s Milwood in this connexion. It would seem, on the whole, that this was another of the several cases wherein Lessing had combined numerous old plots to make a new one. Yet the connexions, so far as asserted, are of a rather external nature and do not necessarily in themselves imply any considerable influence of Fielding on Lessing.

Herder seems likewise to have been able to reconcile his admiration for Fielding with that for Richardson. “Richardsons

¹⁶ Ibid., XV 62; Lessing quotes the *Monthly review* XX 132 in support of his statement.

^{16a} Clarke [191] 97f.

drei Romane haben in Deutschland ihre goldne Zeit erlebt;”¹⁷ “Youngs *Nachtgedanken*, *Tom Jones*, *Der Landpriester* haben in Deutschland Sekten gestiftet;”¹⁸ “Der poetische Himmel Britanniens hat mich erschreckt; wo sind unsere Shakespeare, unsere Swifts, Addisons, Fieldings, Sterne?”¹⁹ The names are used somewhat at random, and no conclusions are to be drawn from the omission of Richardson from the latter list, especially in view of the fact that Herder never became the advocate of the English novelists to the same degree as he did of Shakespeare and Ossian; but his praise of Fielding could, at any rate, serve as sanction to the “Stürmer und Dränger.”

The majority of the other critics of the time seem to have been unqualified adherents of Fielding. Among these Lichtenberg is perhaps best known with his assertion: “Sterne steht auf einer sehr hohen Staffel, nicht auf dem edelsten Wege. Fielding steht nicht ganz so hoch auf einem weit edleren Wege, den derjenige betreten wird, der einmal der gröszte Schriftsteller der Welt wird; und sein *Findling* (*Tom Jones*) ist gewisz eines der besten Werke, die je geschrieben worden sind.”²⁰ Lichtenberg’s projected but never completed satirical and realistic novel has already been referred to.^{20a} Because of this novel, and because of his steadfast advocacy of Fielding, Lichtenberg has sometimes been called the German Fielding. He himself, not once but several times,²¹ past the compliment on to a contemporary, Johann Gottwerth Müller (Müller von Itzehoe, 1743–1828), the author of *Siegfried von Lindenberg* (1779), who opposed both the “Genies” and the sentimentalists of the Richardson-Sterne type. Müller made clear his indebtedness to Fielding. He had determined, he said, “treulich auszumalen, was die Mutter Natur vorgezeichnet hatte,”²² and so had developept the method:

¹⁷ Herder, *Werke* XVIII 208.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XVIII 110.

²⁰ Lichtenberg, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Stuttgart 1893), 73; quoted by Clarke [194] 14.

^{20a} See SURVEY, p. 163f.

²¹ Lichtenberg, *Briefe* (Leipzig 1901–1904), I 364, II 167, III 123–125.

²² Müller, *Siegfried von Lindenberg* (Hamburg 1779), p. 263.

“Studiere den *Tom Jones* und schreib nicht eher, bis du den beurteilen und nahe an ihn dich emporschwingen kannst. Es ist eine Schande für einen Romandichter, nur mittelmäßig oder wenig mehr zu sein, seitdem dieses Meisterstück existieret.”²³ Lichtenberg even read the tedious continuation of Müller’s novel²⁴ and wrote as late as 1799: “Über die Unerschöpflichkeit Ihres Genies, teuerster Freund, musz ich in Wahrheit erstaunen. Sie tragen in dem kleinen Itzehoe ein ganzes London in Ihrem Kopf.”²⁵

Another theoretical defender of Fielding was less successful in avoiding the reef of sentimentality. This was Friedrich von Blankenburg (1744–1796), who wrote in 1774 his *Versuch über den Roman*. This essay was in reality an expansion of the few critical pages of Fielding in his novels, well supported by quotations from Shaftesbury and other writers on esthetics, as well as by excellent arguments. For Blankenburg *Agathon* is the supreme novel, while *Tom Jones* comes next to it. Richardson’s novels and the novel of Gellert serve as examples of all that is incorrect in novel writing. Blankenburg says:

Noch ehe ich daran dachte, diesen Versuch zu schreiben, las ich die Wielandschen und Fieldingschen Romane, den *Agathon* und den *Tom Jones*, zu meinem Unterricht und meinem Vergnügen, sah bey jedem Schritt, der darinn geschieht, zurück auf die menschliche Natur und fand bey ihnen das, was Pope von Homer sagt: “Nature and they were the same.” Und von den andern in dieser Gattung erschienenen Werken habe ich gewisz die wichtigsten, und überhaupt so viele davon gelesen, als nötig gewesen, um die Vortrefflichkeit jener einzusehen. Es ist nicht etwan mein Vorsatz, indem ich diese beyde mit einander nenne, sie einander gleich zu stellen und für einerley zu erklären; unstreitig hat Wieland einen Schritt zur Vollkommenheit voraus; aber Fielding verdient nächst ihm gestellt zu wreden.²⁶

Blankenburg seizes on the points of genuine strength in his chosen models. He emphasizes the importance of real characters

²³ Cf. Brand [192] 45f.

²⁴ Lichtenberg, *Briefe* II 168; quoted by Kleineibst [131] 48.

²⁵ Lichtenberg, *Briefe* III 125.

²⁶ Blankenburg [194a] in “Vorbericht,” a 4.

as against perfect characters, and insists above all that the author, however difficult the task, must show how the character came to be as it is:

Freilich mag die Aufsuchung, die Aufklärung dieses Wie, die Entwicklung einer Begebenheit auf diese Art ein schwerer Geschäft sein, als die bloße Erzählung derselben. Es erfordert einen aufmerksamen Beobachter der menschlichen Natur, einen Kenner des menschlichen Herzens. Aber diese Art von Behandlung einer Begebenheit ist es auch, die die Lessinge, Wielande, Fieldinge, Sterne und einige andere mehr so sehr über die gewöhnlichen erhebet.^{26a}

Of further interest in Blankenburg's *Versuch* is the great caution with which he criticizes Richardson: "Ich fürchte die Verwunderung vieler meiner Leser über meine Kühnheit, den Richardson zu tadeln;" but the criticism of Richardson in England gives him courage: "In England hat er unter dem wichtigsten Theil seines Volkes nie den Beyfall gehabt, den man ihm in Deutschland gegeben. Sie haben ihm den Fielding von jeher vorgezogen. . . . Dies habe ich von mehr als einem Engländer gehört. . . . Ich habe es in Deutschland nämlich von ihnen gehört."²⁷ This statement can be counterbalanced by the opinion of Gerstenberg: "Man kann kein schlimmeres Merkmaal von Mangel an Genie und an Herz geben, als wenn man Richardsons bewundernswürdige Meisterstücke tadelt oder gar kaltsinnig lobt."²⁸

If, however, we turn from the critics to the novelists, we find that Richardson had a goodly following of imitators, while Fielding's school developed but little strength. Gellert was the first notable imitator of Richardson in Germany.^{28a} Robertson's article [290] and Erich Schmidt's monograph [295] both contain summaries of Gellert's remarkable novel, *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.* Gellert's novel appeared in 1747, at least one

^{26a} Ibid., p. 272f.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 351.

²⁸ Quoted by von Weilen [501] lxxxii.

^{28a} As the earliest of the less notable imitations Clarke [194] 22 notes the anonymously published *Geschichte des Herrn von Hohenburg und des Fräuleins Sophie von Blumenberg nach dem Geschmack des Herrn Fielding* (Langensalza 1758).

year too soon to permit him to profit by the example of *Clarissa* in addition to the earlier *Pamela*.²⁹ The *Gräfin* is not a "Briefroman" of the pure type, altho there are many letters therein.³⁰ Gellert regarded Richardson as a preacher in the guise of a novelist. He sang of him later:

Dies ist der schöpferische Geist,
 Der uns durch lehrende Gedichte
 Den Reiz der Tugend fühlen heiszt,
 Der durch den Grandison selbst einem Bösewichte
 Den ersten Wunsch, auch fromm zu sein, entreizt.
 Die Werke, die er schuf, wird keine Zeit verwüsten,
 Sie sind Natur, Geschmack, Religion.
 Unsterblich ist Homer, unsterblicher bei Christen
 Der Britte Richardson.³¹

Gellert was the leading authority on good taste and morality in Germany. From his chair at Leipzig he had endeavored to standardize both these virtues and had personally conducted extensive correspondence courses on the same general topics. He thus seemed destined to become the German Richardson. But he fell far short of this distinction. In the first place the force of tradition was too great. His *Gräfin von G.* was essentially a seventeenth-century adventure novel, with a large amount of moralizing grafted upon it. The action of the novel almost belies its moral intent. The marital careers of Gellert's characters are as checkered as in the trashiest nineteenth-century novel. As indicative of this Erich Schmidt records the following anecdote which he attributes to Varnhagen: "Jemand erlaubt sich den Spasz, in einer Berliner Gesellschaft unseren Roman mit Verschweigung des Autors und des Titels, einiges auslassend oder

²⁹ A peculiar error has crept into Seidensticker's excellent essay [77] 66, which asserts that Gellert had originally intended to translate *Grandison* (published in 1753!) but changed his mind and wrote an original novel instead.

³⁰ E. Schmidt's statement [295] 71: "Während hier (i.e. in *Pamela*) alle Briefe von einer Person geschrieben und an eine Adresse gerichtet sind," is inaccurate.

³¹ *Sinngedicht über Richardsons Bildnisz*; quoted by Schmidt [295] 19. Gellert says elsewhere: "Ich habe ehemals über den siebenten Theil der *Clarissa* und den fünften des *Grandison* mit einer Art von süszer Wehmut eine der merkwürdigsten Stunden für mein Leben verweinet; dafür danke ich Dir noch jetzt, Richardson;" quoted by Flindt [79] 10.

ändernd, vorzulesen, und die Hörer hielten das Werk für eines der unsittlichsten Producte des jungen Deutschlands.”³²

Robertson accounts for the imperfect blend in Gellert's novel by referring to the deficiency of moral weeklies in Germany. Germany had no *Tatler* or *Spectator* to pave the way for the Richardsonian novel. Translations and mutilations did their best to supply the deficiency, yet not with the same success. In fact the English journalistic literature was only beginning to be assimilated on the continent when *Pamela* appeared.³³ Robertson evidently estimates the force of the “Wochenschrift-Richtung” lower than the German critics whose opinions have already been quoted.³⁴

Robertson says: “Richardson was the sole founder of the modern German novel, and Gellert was his prophet.”³⁵ It is not remarkable, then, that the earliest followers of Richardson, like Gellert, looked upon him as a moralist and imitated him with a total disregard of his excellences as a novelist. The earliest notable successor of Richardson and Gellert was the pastor Hermes with his *Miss Fanny Wilkes* (1766).³⁶ Regarding the progress of Richardson in Germany between 1747 and 1766 we are nowhere well informed. Hermes's indebtedness to his two predecessors was undisguised. Professor Arnold of Königsberg first put Richardson's *Grandison* into Hermes's hand and advised him to cloak his moralizings with a pleasing gown, and thus to become a German Richardson.

In his endeavor to gain the ear of the public Hermes was unscrupulous. His plan was to write something that would gain popularity; then he could write a second novel according to his own wishes. Even the name of his first novel, *Geschichte der Miss Fanny Wilkes*,³⁷ was chosen accordingly, a Wilkes

³² Schmidt [295] 32.

³³ Robertson [290] 185.

³⁴ See SURVEY, p. 189f.

³⁵ Robertson [290] 185.

³⁶ Pfeil's *Geschichte des Grafen von P.* (1755) is referred to by Schmidt [295] 42 and by Robertson [290] 187.

³⁷ Re this work see Schmidt [295] 35ff., Wood [187] 42ff., and BIBLIOGRAPHY [296]ff.

being an English political agitator well known at the time. Beneath the title was written "so gut als aus dem Englischen übersetzt," the words "so gut als" being printed so small as readily to escape attention. Knowing that Richardson and Gellert did not please every taste, Hermes was willing to intermingle a little of Fielding's humor;³⁸ but the attempt was rather unsuccessful. He left *Fanny Wilkes* uncompleted and proceeded to the realization of his desire, the writing of the second novel. *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* (1769-1773) is longer, more important, and more to the author's own taste. Blankenburg commended it in that it took place at least on German soil,³⁹ and it seems to-day to give a good picture of middle-class life in its time. The object of *Sophiens Reise* was still a moral one: "Manche Mütter und zwar die verehrungswürdigsten, manche Prediger haben mir zugerufen: 'Will denn kein Christ etwas schreiben, was so ausseh wie ein Roman und so meine Kinder fessele?' Das jammerte mich und ich schrieb."⁴⁰ Hermes wrote with an ostentatious deference to his two masters in ethics and literature. When he approaches a climax he is wont to exclaim: "What a situation! What could not Richardson or Gellert do with this!" But Hermes is compelled to leave the possibilities undeveloped.

Clarke does Hermes more than justice when he says: "Er steht noch auf halbem Wege zwischen Richardson und Fielding;"⁴¹ but Buchholz's more detailed study [297] at least shows that he developed toward Fielding. Handsom in *Fanny Wilkes* was an almost exact copy of Grandison. There is a Grandison in *Sophiens Reise*, and a pastor Karl Gros, whose name is reminiscent of Charles Grandison, and for whom Hermes developed a great attachment;⁴² but Hermes, as an orthodox protestant erkenntnislose, glaubenslose Römerin."

³⁸ *Fanny Wilkes*³ (Leipzig 1781) II 2; quoted by Wood [187] 44.

³⁹ Blankenburg [194a] 238.

⁴⁰ Quoted by Schmidt [295] 39 without reference.

⁴¹ Clarke [124] 22.

⁴² Buchholz [297] 28f.

theologian, feels compelled to protest against Clementina von Poretta's fidelity to her faith and calls her "ein Unding, eine

The later works of Hermes are still less Richardsonian than the *Reise*. The grudging imitation of Fielding's manner in his *Fanny Wilkes* may have been a good schooling for Hermes; for, as Schmidt, Wood, and Buchholz point out, his eyes are gradually opened to Richardson's shortcomings. He makes a feeble attempt at the reproduction of Fielding's humor. He adopts his style of chapter headings and his confidential talks to the reader, and what is more important, he denies the existence of perfect characters. He announced his intention of writing a novel in which a character should develop toward approximate perfection. Blankenburg speaks hopefully of this projected novel in his *Versuch über den Roman*,⁴³ but the plan failed like Blankenburg's own similar one.⁴⁴

Hermes is admittedly only a third-class novelist, yet he deserves the attention that has been bestowed upon him, first, because he is representative of a large class of imitators of Richardson, and second, because of his popularity. His 4000-page novel *Sophiens Reise* past into a second edition in 1778, two years after its appearance, and thus competed well with its contemporary, Goethe's *Werther*, which Hermes decried as immoral.⁴⁵ To the student of to-day it would seem that Hermes might most readily have reconciled his moral and artistic ideals by following in the footsteps of Goldsmith; but Buchholz's dissertation, the most thoro study available, mentions in addition to Richardson and Fielding only Young and Sterne as guiding stars to Hermes.

Hermes must stand here as representative of a large class of imitators. Heine [89] has listed all the German novel titles appearing between the years 1774 and 1778, 283 in number. Of these about fifty bear the title "Geschichte der" or "Geschichte des," and may be classified without hesitation as Richardson imitations. Others are Richardson imitations somewhat dis-

⁴³ Blankenburg [194a] in "Vorbericht" a 5,

⁴⁴ See SURVEY, p. 296.

⁴⁵ Buchholz [297] 2.

guised. Heine estimates that about one-third of the 283 novels were written primarily under Richardson's influence;⁴⁶ and dramatizations of Richardson's themes were no doubt numerous as well. Two instances of the latter may be mentioned: Wieland dramatized an episode in *Sir Charles Grandison*^{46a} and Karl Gotthelf Lessing's *Die Mätresse* (1780) is based largely on situations derived from *Pamela* and *Clarissa*.^{46b}

The spirit of opposition to Richardson did not make itself felt until twenty years after his entry into Germany, and even then no German Fielding arose.⁴⁷ Musäus was an opponent of Richardson both in theory and in practice. In his criticisms in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* he constantly held up *Tom Jones* to the public as the standard according to which contemporary German novels were to be judged. His chief antipathy was the novel which preacht, and this antipathy he shared with Fielding. Musäus was the author of *Grandison der Zweite* (1759), revised in 1781-1782 and re-named *Der deutsche Grandison*. As Fielding had parodied *Pamela* in 1740 with his *Joseph Andrews*, so Musäus parodied *Grandison*. Fielding, however, found himself soon creating an independent work. With Musäus this was not the case. Fielding's satire is indirect, while Musäus sometimes falls out of his rôle and makes a direct attack upon Richardson, or more precisely on his over-zealous admirers in Germany. He found but little support among his fellow-novelists in Germany. Lichtenberg's admiration for the novels of Müller von Itzehoe was far from justified. Blankenburg, it is true, in his *Versuch* of 1774 [194a] indicated his intention of

⁴⁶ Heine [89] 33.

^{46a} See SURVEY, p. 302.

^{46b} K. G. Lessing, *Die Mätresse*, ed. Wolff in DLD XXVIII (1887). Lessing received the first suggestion for certain other characters from Isaac Bickerstaff's comic opera *The maid of the mill* (1765); see Wolff's comment, p. xi.

⁴⁷ For the influence in Germany Wood [187] should be consulted. His work is badly printed, badly punctuated, full of errors, some of them even in regard to dates (e.g. 1890 for 1780 as the date of Schmidt's translation of *Tom Jones*), but the collection of material is rich. Large and valuable portions have been relegated to the footnotes. A promist supplementary pamphlet regarding Fielding and Goethe has apparently never seen the light.

writing a novel of the Fielding type, which he so much admired, but his *Beyträge zur Geschichte teutschen Reiches und teutscher Sitte, ein Roman*, which appeared the following year, proved to be a poor imitation of *Tristram Shandy*.

Nicolai's novel *Sebaldus Nothanker* exhibits at many points the conflicting novelistic tendencies of the time. It was planned at the outset as a literary criticism of Klotz and his coterie, but when religious conflicts began to overshadow the literary ones he changed it into a religious satire. He wrote to Lessing about this time: "Ich brüte seit einiger Zeit auch über einen Roman, der zwar kein *Buncle* werden wird, aber in Absicht auf die heterodoxen Sätze auch nichts besser."⁴⁸ Nicolai's novel began to appear in 1773, seven years after Wieland's *Agathon*, with which it was at the time favorably compared. Schwinger says: "Die gesunde Empfindung war vielfach der Unnatur Richardsons, seiner in Gefühl und Tugend schwelgenden Helden und Heldinnen überdrüszig geworden und hatte sich den ungeschminkten Lebensschilderungen Fieldings zugewendet. Dessen Einfluss ist aber im *Nothanker* eben so gut zu spüren als im *Agathon*."^{48a}

Contemporary readers and reviewers of Nicolai's novel compared it either favorably or unfavorably with the works of the English humorists. Prince Friedrich of Waldeck wrote to Nicolai, May 10, 1773: "Les Fielding et les Sterne Vous ont prêté leurs crayons."⁴⁹ Blankenburg regretted that *Sebaldus* was so unplausibly drawn and wisht that the author had profited more by the example of Fielding, Sterne, and Goldsmith;⁵⁰ while an anonymous critic in 1776 placed *Sebaldus* lower than

⁴⁸ Letter of March 8, 1771, published in Lessing, *Schriften* XX 24. The reference is to a novel by Thomas Amory, *John Buncl* (1756). This novel was well known to Nicolai, Lessing, Mendelssohn, Wieland, Uz, and Kästner. See Schwinger [133a] 162, 165, 213, 265. Lessing planned to write a translation of *John Buncl* in the summer of 1771. See Lessing, *Schriften* XV 491. He soon gave up the plan and Nicolai later engaged Pistorius to prepare a translation, which appeared in 1778.

^{48a} Schwinger [133a] 257.

⁴⁹ Quoted by Schwinger [133a] 190.

⁵⁰ *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* XVII, 2 (1775), 257ff.; quoted by Schwinger [133a] 201.

Humphry Clinker.⁵¹ This view is also express in a quip in the *Halberstadter Dichterbuch*:

Thom Jones, Don Quixot und Peregrine Pickel
Sahn sich nach ihres Gleichen um.
Nothanker kam; "wie dumm, wie dumm!"
Sprach Jones zu dem langen Nikkel,
"Das traurige Geschöpf in weichem Löschpapier,
Wäre ein Geschöpf wie wir?"⁵²

Resewitz had a simple explanation for the lack of a German Fielding:

Einen deutschen Fielding wünschten Sie einmahl zu sehen? der die Sitten der Deutschen eben so genau zeichnete, als jener die Sitten der Engelländer gezeichnet hat? Ja, wenn unsre Schriftsteller nur erst die Sitten der Deutschen kenneten; wenn sie nur wüssten, worinn sie überhaupt den Charakter ihrer Nation suchen sollten. Es ist noch einem Genie vorbehalten die charakteristischen Züge wodurch sich unsre Nation von anderen unterscheidet, nach dem Leben zu schildern, und die mannigfaltigen Schattirungen, darinn sie sich in den verschiedenen Provinzen dieses groszen Reichs abändern, treffend darzustellen. Dann und dann erst werden wir Fieldings haben. Sie dürfen sich also gar nicht wundern, dasz unsere allezeit fertige Nachahmerzunft von Schriftstellern sich noch nicht gewagt hat, weder Fielding's Romane selbst, noch einmal seiner häufigen englischen Nachahmer ihre nachzustümpfern. Es fehlt ihnen an Stoff dazu. Ohne Kenntniz der Welt, und ohne Kenntniz ihrer Nation, oft kaum mit ihrer kleinen Geburtsstadt recht bekannt, befinden sie sich gleich in einer dürren Wüste, sobald sie auch nur die Anlage zur Geschichte eines Romans machen sollen. Der Herr Schriftsteller hat auszer seines Vaters Hause eine Universität gesehen, ein paar Schulfreunde gekannt, ein paar Professoren in ihrer akademischen Würde von Ferne erblickt; und nun will er Sitten mahlen, und Charaktere schildern. Wo soll er sie hernehmen? Die Franzosen und Engelländer bestehlen? Recht gut; wenn man nur eine Geschichte dazu hätte, wo man sie anbringen könnte. Ver zweifelt, dasz keine aufzutreiben ist!⁵³

Imitation of the English authors other than Fielding, Resewitz goes on to say, was easier:

Ich ergötze mich oft mit dem Gedanken, dasz viele unsrer Empfindung- und Nachtgedanken-schreiber bei dem ersten Anfälle ihrer Schreibesucht

⁵¹ *Revision der deutschen Literatur* (1776) II 229ff. and III 204ff.; quoted by Schwinger [133a] 203.

⁵² Extracts from the manuscript contributions to the *Halberstadter Dichterbuch* were publisht by H. Pröhle in AL IV (1875) 323-371. The passage above appears on p. 344 and in Schwinger [133a] 211.

⁵³ Resewitz in the 294. *Literaturbrief* (1764); cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* I 2, 228; quoted by Wood [187] 15.

zuerst eine Lüsterheit zum Romanschreiben gehabt haben. Ein Roman geht gut ab; der Verleger nimmt ihn gern; solch ein *Thomas Jones* ist doch ein drolliges Ding, das sich bei müszigen Stunden bald hinschreiben lässt. Die Feder wird angesetzt; das kleine Schulleben, auf dessen Schwänke man noch mit so vielem Wohlwollen zurückblickt, wird beschrieben; der Held geht auf die Universität, verliebt sich, der Himmel weisz in wen, und nun—ja nun, geräth die Arbeit ins Stocken! Der arme Schriftsteller martert sich. Was sollen nun für Begebenheiten folgen? In welche Situationen soll er seinen Helden setzen, die die Geschichte verwickeln und den Leser interessieren. Er martert sich vergebens, endlich wirft er aus Verzweiflung die Feder hin, ergreift, mit zerknirschem Geiste über die miszlungene Arbeit, Youngs *Nachtgedanken*, wird wehmüthig, vermuthlich über den fehlgebohrnen Roman? Nicht doch; es sind moralische Empfindungen, hohe Begeisterungen! Sie durchwühlen Kopf und Herz; der Mann musz sich Luft schaffen. Die Feder wird ergriffen und die miszgebohrnen Wesen, die den Kopf verwirren und das Herz abdrücken wollten, flieszen stromweise in die Feder. Der liebe Mann! Nun ist ihm der Kopf ganz leichte; das Herz mit einmal leer. Was hat er denn zur Welt gebracht? Empfindungen! Was sonst. "Ich habe es recht überlegt, mein lieber Herr Verleger. Einen Roman zu schreiben ist eine eigene Sache. Die Welt ist böse im Urtheilen; Sie wissen wohl. Hier habe ich aber etwas, das meinem Charakter anständiger und der Welt nützlicher ist." "Was denn? Empfindungen? Gut, gut, Herr Autor, geben Sie nur her; solche Sachen gehen auch." Und so kommen denn Empfindungen zur Welt, und niemand lässt es sich träumen, daz es Nachgeburten von einem fehlgebohrnen Roman sind.⁵⁴

This testimony is the best explanation for the fact that so many authors approved of Fielding in theory and so few followed him in practice. It was not alone lack of genius that brot about this paradox. The conditions of German life were not conducive to a Fielding.

If Fielding's example was ineffectual as far as the German novel was concerned it may have been fruitful in other branches of German literature. Such is the opinion of Clarke [194], who seeks to establish a close connexion between the literary theories of Fielding and those of the "Sturm und Drang" critics. He supports his parallels, to a certain extent, by a comparison of motifs, which is not always convincing. Thus the theme of *mésalliance* is common to Fielding, Schiller (*Kabale und Liebe* 1784), Lenz (*Hofmeister* 1774 and *Soldaten* 1776), and Wagner

⁵⁴ Resewitz, *ibid.*; quoted by Wood [187] 17.

(*Kindermörderin* 1776); but admittedly Richardson was also influential in several of these instances. Much the same might be said of the duel as a dramatic episode. More peculiar to Fielding appears to be the encounter of the cultured man with the humane gypsy (*Tom Jones*, Bk. XII, chap. 12) which was imitated by Goethe in *Götz von Berlichingen*. The theme of the hostile brothers, with which Fielding dealt in *Tom Jones*, was also popular with the "Stürmer und Dränger." Its treatment by Leisewitz in *Julius von Tarent* (1776) and by Klinger in *Die Zwillinge* (1776) might be regarded as a mere coincidence, but in the case of Schiller's *Die Räuber* (1781) an indirect influence is demonstrable and has been pointed out by Clarke:

Die Hauptquelle von den *Räubern*, Schubarts Erzählung im *Schwäbischen Magazin* vom Jahre 1775, steht in directer Beziehung zum *Tom Jones*. Schon der Titel *Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens* scheint dem Nebentitel der ersten Übersetzung des *Tom Jones* von 1750 entnommen zu sein. Am Schlusz der Erzählung weist Schubart selbst auf den Fielding'schen Roman hin: "Die Geschichte, die aus glaubwürdigen Zeugnissen zusammengeschlossen, beweist, daz es auch deutsche Jones und deutsche Bliffl gebe."⁵⁵

Clarke's comparison of Fielding's poetic theories with those of the "Stürmer und Dränger" is interesting but inconclusive; for while he shows many parallels he establishes no causal relation. Thus Lenz in his *Anmerkungen über das Theater*⁵⁷ and Herder in his *Shakespeare* speak of "Mannigfaltigkeit der Charaktere" in much the same terms as Fielding in the opening chapter of *Tom Jones*. Yet it will scarcely be contended that it was Fielding who first called the attention of the German critics to this essential characteristic of the Shakespearean drama. Other critical parallels suggested by Clarke are as follows: Fielding was scornful of the dramatic unities; so were the "Stürmer und Dränger." Fielding wanted to retain Punch and Judy, as Goethe and Möser would have retained Hanswurst. Field-

⁵⁵ Clarke [194] 91. Schubart's *Erzählung* is reprinted in DNL CXX iv-vii. Clarke shows that the parallel between Schiller's and Fielding's hostile brothers may be carried out in much detail both in respect to character and action.

⁵⁷ Lenz, *Schriften* I 244.

ing was at one with the "Sturm und Drang" dramatists in his contempt for book-learning as a source for novels, holding observation of real life to be the foundation of all true character representation. His characters are contrasted by Lenz with Richardson's: "Was ist Grandison, der abstrahirte, geträumte, gegen einen Rebhuhn, der dasteht?"⁵⁹ Fielding was furthermore an individualist in his art. "I am the founder of a new province in writing," he says, "so I am at liberty to make what laws I please therein."⁶⁰ Herder likewise asserts the inapplicability of ancient rules to modern works in his *Shakespeare* (1773). The ideal state of Fielding and of the "Sturm und Drang" is neither a republic nor a constitutional monarchy, but an enlightened despotism in which the ruler is guided not so much by reason as by the dictates of a great and sympathetic heart. This leads to Clarke's last caption, "Betonung der Empfindung im Gegensatz zum Verstand." Under this head he is able to match an abundance of English quotations with German ones and thus make Fielding's works appear a nearly contemporary counterpart to the German "Sturm und Drang," but positive influence is not demonstrated thereby.

Most of the eighteenth century German critics quoted up to this point have revealed one-sided and imperfect estimates of the English novelists in question. There came at length, however, two German men of letters who were not only able justly to appraise the virtues and failings of Richardson and Fielding, but also to assimilate the best qualities of both and turn them to account in original works of their own. These writers were Wieland and Goethe.

The Richardson-Fielding contest is re-enacted in miniature in Wieland's person. Wieland learned French by reading *Pamela* in a French translation in Klosterbergen, 1747-1749. In 1754 he read *Grandison*. In 1757 he wrote to a friend that he was re-reading *Clarissa* and was endeavoring not to let Lovelace influence his *Araspes und Panthea* too greatly.⁶¹ In 1759 he

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I 235.

⁶⁰ *Tom Jones*, book II, chapter 2.

⁶¹ Letter quoted by Schmidt [295] 46.

planned *Briefe von Karl Grandison an seine Pupille Emilia Jervois*,⁶² and in 1760 he completed his tragedy *Clementina von Porretta*. There was a fragment of real experience in this drama. The friend of his youth, Sophie Gutermann, later Sophie La Roche, was engaged to a Catholic, Bianconi; but because an agreement could not be reached regarding the religion of the future children the engagement was broken off by her father, thus bringing about a situation comparable to that between Grandison and Clementina. Wieland's drama, based on this unpromising theme, proved a failure.

Erich Schmidt comments on Wieland's inconsistency in dealing with perfect characters, since he was already an admirer of Shaftesbury, who condemned such characters absolutely.^{62a} Wood holds, however,⁶³ that Wieland did not turn from Richardson to Fielding until the year 1761.⁶⁴ His *Agathon* (1766-1767), begun 1761, is consequently "auf einem Richardson-Fundament ein Fielding'scher Bau."⁶⁵ *Don Sylvio*, the published before *Agathon*, was begun after it and is consequently thoroughly anti-Richardsonian in tone. Wieland announced his *Don Sylvio* (1764) as an imitation of *Don Quixote*,⁶⁶ just as Fielding had announced his *Joseph Andrews* as an imitation of *Pamela*. However, as Wood points out,⁶⁷ Wieland knew *Don Quixote* long before he knew Fielding. Musäus said of *Don Sylvio*: "Es herrscht hier freilich keine Originalmanier, die Stellung ist von Cervantes und die Farbenmischung ist von Fielding."⁶⁸ Wood's criticism is similar: "Ein deutsches Buch, dessen Form spanisch

⁶² Schmidt [295] 47.

^{62a} *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁶³ Wood [187] 132.

⁶⁴ Elson [327] 17 says: "Wieland's study of Shaftesbury is especially prominent between 1755 and 1756, which is precisely the time when the change (sc. in his view of life) begins." The earliest reference of Wieland to Shaftesbury is in 1755 according to Elson, p. 6.

⁶⁵ Wood [187] 32.

⁶⁶ *Teutscher Merkur* VI-VII (1774) 344; quoted by Wood [187] 33.

⁶⁷ Wood [187] 33.

⁶⁸ *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* I 97 and XIX 258; quoted by Wood [187] 33.

und dessen Stoff englisch ist, kann schwerlich ein Kunstwerk sein." His further assertion: "Der Stil wurde auch nicht gerade verbessert durch die häufigen Nachahmungen Sternes," is, however, unjustified, as Wieland apparently did not know Sterne's works at that time.⁶⁹

Wood shows in detail what characteristics of Fielding are obvious in *Don Sylvio* and *Agathon*. Wieland, like Fielding, frequently breaks the course of his narration in order to address the reader directly. Both assert that they are telling history, not inventing stories, and must not improve upon the truth; that they are painting human character as it is, with its mixture of virtues and vices and its inconsistencies; that they do not want to create those monstrosities, perfect characters; and in truth their characters perform apparently laudable acts from base motives and apparently reprehensible ones from good motives. That Fielding opened Wieland's eyes to this inconsistency in human conduct, is suggested by the latter's review of Hermes's *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen*: "Fielding lehrt uns, dasz nicht alles Gold ist, was gleiszt, dasz man um einzelner Handlungen willen niemand ganz verdammen müsse."⁷⁰

Passing over an abundance of evidence presented by Wood and Clarke, it may be sufficient to bear in mind here that *Agathon* is to a large extent Wieland himself. Wieland, like *Agathon*, grew up in an atmosphere of austere virtue, suffered a change of heart, learned the attractions of a sensual existence, and was destined later, like *Agathon*, to strike the balance between these extremes. Tho he laid the scene in Greece, the conflict of ideas was the same as that between the Puritans and their opponents in England, and the adherents of Richardson and Fielding in Germany. Wieland himself admitted his indebtedness to Fielding in the introduction to his *Agathon*. He concedes, "dasz unser Held sich in einem sehr wesentlichen Stücke von dem Xenophontischen ebensoweit entfernt als er dem Fieldingschen

⁶⁹ See SURVEY, p. 319.

⁷⁰ *Teutscher Merkur* II Stück 2, p. 8; quoted by Clarke [194] 33-34.

näher kommt."⁷¹ References to Fielding are also to be found in the text of *Agathon*.

Low [303], without reference to earlier critics, expresses a view contrary to theirs. She holds that it was Richardson who really showed character development. Fielding tried to do so in *Tom Jones*, but was only partially successful. With these pre-suppositions it is natural that her treatment of the theme "Richardson and Wieland" should be different from that of the other critics. Low gives sufficient evidence to show that Wieland thruout his life regarded the pointing of a moral as the main object of a novel. He indicated this in the supplementary title of *Don Sylvio von Rosalva*, "*Der Sieg der Natur über die Schwärmerei*" and by the motto before *Agathon*, "quid virtus et quid sapientia possit, utile proposuit nobis exemplum"; and tho he privately protested against Sophie La Roche's perfect characters, as indicated below, nevertheless in the preface which he reluctantly consented to write for her, he spoke in high terms of the moralizing novels of the Richardson type. Furthermore, she says, it was not until 1770 that Wieland, in a letter to be quoted presently, called Richardson's characters too perfect. The weight of evidence is against Low on the question of Wieland's attitude toward perfect characters; but regarding his belief in the moralizing purpose of novels she seems to be in the right, and her denial that Richardson believed in perfect characters is not entirely isolated, a similar view having been early exprest by Gerstenberg.^{71a}

At all events Wieland had yet to pay a penalty for his early enthusiasm for Richardson. In the year 1769 the platonic friend of his youthful days, Sophie La Roche, let him know that she was about to write a novel, a Richardsonian novel, and askt Wieland to introduce it to the public. Wieland undertook the task, but with no good grace. He wrote in a letter to her March 20, 1770: "Je ne vous ai jamais caché que je ne pense

⁷¹ Wieland, *Werke* (Leipzig and Wien 1902), III 17.

^{71a} *Briefe über Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur* 12; in DLD XXIX (1890) 88.

pas tout à fait comme vous sur bien des choses relatives a la partie morale de notre être; p. e. que je n'aime pas les Clarisses, les Charles Grandison, les Henriettes Byron pour la seule raison, qu'ils sont trop parfaits pour moi."⁷² Wood very properly compares this with Wieland's statement in *Agathon*:

Vielleicht ist kein unfehlbareres Mittel, mit dem wenigsten Aufwand von Genie, Wissenschaft und Erfahrung ein gepriesener Schriftsteller zu werden, als wenn man sich damit abgiebt, Menschen (denn Menschen sollen es doch sein) ohne Leidenschaften, ohne Schwachheit, ohne allen Mangel und Gebrechen, durch etliche Bände voll wunderreicher Abenteuer, in der einförmigsten Gleichheit mit sich selbst herumzuführen.⁷³

Clearly enuf both of these assertions are to be associated with Shaftesbury's opinion: "In a poem (whether epic or dramatic) a compleat and perfect character is the greatest monster."^{73a}

A summary of the content of Sophie La Roche's *Fräulein von Sternheim* (1771) and a comparison thereof with Richardson's novels, especially with *Clarissa*, is to be found in Schmidt;⁷⁴ a detailed analysis of *Rosaliens Briefe an ihre Freundin Marianne von St.* (1779–1781), together with a passing mention of La Roche's other works, is in Ridderhoff's work [299]. It is generally agreed that Sophie La Roche was primarily a pupil of Richardson. So far as Goethe's influence was operative it tended only to direct her toward Rousseau rather than toward Richardson. Wieland was not able to influence her at all. As late as 1789 he wrote to her: "Nur wünsche ich, dasz Sie wenigstens . . . aus Ihrer idealistischen Vorstellungart von Menschen und menschlichen Dingen herauskommen und beyde möchten sehen können, wie sie sind, nicht wie Sie sich nun einmal zur anderen Natur gemacht haben, sie sehn zu wollen."⁷⁵ And Sophie La Roche finally was able to see her fundamental error, when it was too late. "Ach, was hätte ich nicht alles aufzeichnen können!—

⁷² Quoted from Schmidt [295] 49 and Wood [187] 33–34.

⁷³ Wieland, *Werke* (1902), III 159; in *Agathon* V 6 i.

^{73a} Quoted by Schmidt [295] 48, without reference.

⁷⁴ Schmidt [295] 50–57; cf. Ridderhoff [299] 14–28.

⁷⁵ Hassenkamp, *Briefe an Sophie La Roche* (Stuttgart 1824), p. 279; quoted by Ridderhoff [299] 108.

Aber ich sammelte nur die Züge und Auftritte, welche mir nach meinem Charakter die liebsten waren, und gewisz habe ich darüber vieles versäumt, das andern nützlich und angenehm gewesen wäre."^{75a}

Robertson and Ridderhoff are far apart in their estimates of the value of the Richardson-Rousseau mixture. Robertson regards *Fräulein von Sternheim* as the most satisfactory result of Richardson's immediate influence on German literature. He quotes the praise of Goethe that it was "not a book but a human soul," and of Herder that it stood above and far above *Clarissa*;⁷⁶ but he says it "was a striking example of the fatal facility with which the French sentimentalism could be grafted upon the Richardsonian novel." He asserts that by forswearing pietism in *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (1764) and *Agathon* (1767) Wieland hindered this tendency;

Wieland placed an effective barrier between the Richardsonian tendencies of the fifties and sixties and the Rousseauism which first asserted itself in the next decade. There was so strong an affinity between these two foreign movements—for, after all, Rousseauism was but a further development of what Richardson had initiated in England—that, had they been able to join forces in Germany the effect on the national literature would have been little short of disastrous.⁷⁷

Ridderhoff on the other hand says of Sophie La Roche: "Eine viel grözere Wirkung noch hätte sie ausüben können, wenn sie es vermocht hätte, sich von Richardson loszureissen, von Rousseau mehr anzunehmen als den Natur- und Humanitätskultus."⁷⁸

In Schmidt's monograph there is one passage that is susceptible of misconstruction. He says: "Unterscheidend (sc. from Richardson) ist, dasz die Handlung nicht in den mittleren, sondern in vornehmen, ja in den höchsten Kreisen spielt. Nicht ohne Kühnheit hält hier eine Frau den verderbten Höfflingen und dem Fürsten selbst das Ideal reiner Tugend entgegen."⁷⁹

^{75a} La Roche, *Briefe über Mannheim* (Mannheim 1791), p. 356; quoted by Ridderhoff [299] 108.

⁷⁶ Robertson [290] 188; cf. Schmidt [295] 63.

⁷⁷ Robertson [290] 189.

⁷⁸ Ridderhoff [299] 108.

⁷⁹ Schmidt [295] 57.

But here Sophie La Roche displayed precisely the same kind of boldness that Richardson had shown. Both authors have the same opinion in regard to the existing state of society; both stand on the side of the middle and lower classes as against the corrupt upper classes; the only difference is that La Roche is able to give a more intimate picture of the nobility.

It will always be a cause for regret that the author of *Richardson, Rousseau und Goethe* did not also write a "Fielding, Wieland und Goethe." The two triangles would not have been dissimilar. Apparently it was Jacob Minor [190] who first called attention to the latter inter-relations, tho Goethe himself acknowledged his indebtedness to the humorous novel of the English in a letter to Zelter, December 25, 1829:

Es wäre nicht nachzukommen, was Goldsmith und Sterne gerade im Hauptpunkt der Entwicklung auf mich gewirkt haben. Diese hohe wohlwollende Ironie, diese Billigkeit bei aller Uebersicht, die Gleichheit bei allem Wechsel, und wie alle verwandte Tugenden heissen mögen, erzogen mich aufs löblichste, und am Ende sind es doch diese Gesinnungen, die uns von allen Irrschritten des Lebens wieder zurückführen.^{79a}

Not too much stress is to be placed on the accidental omission of Fielding's name from a group to which he belongs. The important fact is that Goethe designates the acquisition of this benevolent irony as a turning point in his development, as a return from a mistaken path, and expresses his indebtedness to the English humorous novel for the healthful change.⁸⁰

In his autobiographical *Werther* Goethe is bound up in sympathy for his hero. *Wilhelm Meister* is his first autobiographical hero to be treated with a fine irony. There is no need to summarize here the intimate relations between Richardson and *Werther*. They have become accepted facts of literary history. It is the transition from the Richardsonian tendency to its

^{79a} Goethe, *Werke* IV 46, 193f.

⁸⁰ Elsewhere Goethe did associate Fielding with the others. Goethe inspired Jung-Stilling with enthusiasm for Ossian, Shakespeare, Fielding, and Sterne in 1771; cf. Stilling's *Wanderschaft* (Frankfurt and Leipzig 1780), p. 149. On Dec. 3, 1824 Goethe said to Eckermann: "Unsere Romane, unsere Trauerspiele, woher haben wir sie denn, als von Goldsmith, Fielding und Shakespeare?" Eckermann, *Gespräche*, p. 101.

opposite in Goethe that has hitherto been neglected. Goethe's contemporaries, great and mediocre, were struggling with such a development. Should Goethe remain unaffected? He, it is true, did not reproduce all the essentials of Richardson. It would never have occurred to him to attempt to represent perfect characters, but he reproduced the best in Richardson's novels, namely the pictures of the inner struggles of the heart. Unlike Richardson, Goethe lived himself into his novel and then out again. After he had written *Werther* he was freed from its burden and could look upon himself and his hero with a certain wholesome sense of humor. Thus he was prepared for the Fielding view of the world.

Jacob Minor says on this point:

Der *Werther* gilt als der Abschluss einer ganzen Richtung des europäischen Romans, welche mit den verstiegenen Tugendhelden Richardsons und den Rousseau'schen Märtyrern einer überstarken Empfindung beginnt: Der *Wilhelm Meister* ist aus der entgegengesetzten, einer feindlichen Strömung hervorgegangen. Sie folgte den Richardson'schen Romanen auf dem Fusse nach und schlug den überspannten Idealen gegenüber sofort den parodirenden Ton an, welchen wir kunstvoller und veredelt in *Wilhelm Meister* wiederfinden. . . . Auf dem Wege von Fielding zu Goethe liegen die Wielandschen Romane in der Mitte. Hatte Richardson Helden ohne Schwachheiten und Mängel, Tugendpuppen von staunenswerther Kaltblütigkeit geschildert, so lässt Wieland reizbare, empfindliche, bildungsfähige Jünglinge auf einer Reihe von Proben und Versuchungen mit ihren überspannten Idealen Schiffbruch leiden, durch die Erfahrungen kälter werden und den Bedingungen des wirklichen Lebens sich fügen.⁸¹

This same inter-relation of Fielding, Wieland, and Goethe is summed up by Kurt Jahn: "Scheint also die Abstammung (*Wilhelm Meisters*) väterlicherseits vom Bildungsroman gesichert (*Agathon* has just been specified), so möchte ich den Stammbaum mütterlicherseits vorlegen, der ins Ausland führt."⁸² Minor had already indicated a large number of characteristics which the novels of the three authors had in common, but Jahn's article has the added advantage of having been written after

⁸¹ Minor [190] 173.

⁸² Jahn [112] 225.

the publication of the *Theatralische Sendung*. For as the author remarks: "Es ist sehr bezeichnend, dasz die spätere Durchforstung des Werkes gerade in diesen Szenen englischer Herkunft Holz gemacht hat."⁸³ Jahn enumerates a convincing number of similarities in plot and character, but adds: "Doch beruht die Anschauung von der Abhängigkeit der *Theatralischen Sendung* von dem englischen Roman weit weniger in dem Nachweis der Verwendung einzelner Motive, als in der gesamten Anlage . . . und auf der Stellung des Schriftstellers zu dem Helden der Erzählung, auf jener überlegen ironischen Haltung, die die Romantiker entzückte und Spielhagen betäubte."⁸³ The title of the German Fielding belongs to Wieland rather than to Musäus or Lichtenberg, but to no one does it belong with so good a right as to Goethe.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 232.

CHAPTER 12

GOLDSMITH AND STERNE

Fielding and Richardson were followed in England by Goldsmith and Sterne. The two latter painted their pictures and produced their effects with a finer, defter stroke than did their predecessors; both of them combined, to some degree, the sentimentalism of Richardson with the humor of Fielding. That the humor of Goldsmith was, after all, fundamentally different from that of Sterne, was better recognized in Germany after nearly a century of imitation of both. At the outset Goldsmith and Sterne were not rivals for favor in Germany; each made a place for himself without crowding the other. Goldsmith was more popular with the reading public, as the large sale of his *Vicar of Wakefield* and of the subsequent German "Pfarrromane" show; while the flood of "empfindsame Reisen" in Germany attests rather to Sterne's popularity with the author class.

Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* appeared in London on the 27th of March, 1766. It found favor with the public but was entirely past over by the critics. Its experience in Germany was similar. Gellius's translation was published the following year¹ and promptly past into a second edition. Nine years later a translation appeared under Bode's name, which crowded out its predecessor,² and before 1871 there were at least twelve further translations.^{2a} As early as 1769 there appeared in Germany a reprint in English of the *Vicar* intended for those

¹ *Der Landprediger von Wakefield, ein Märchen, das er selbst soll geschrieben haben. Aus dem Englischen* (Leipzig 1767).

² *Der Dorfpfarrer von Wakefield, eine Geschichte, die er selbst geschrieben haben soll* (Leipzig 1776).

^{2a} According to Dobson in his edition of *The vicar of Wakefield* (London 1885), pp. xxxvi-xxxviii. For the same period Dobson lists 16 French, 2 Danish, 2 Dutch, 2 Hungarian, 2 Polish, 2 Spanish, 1 Bohemian, 1 Finnish, 1 Greek, 1 Italian, 1 Rumanian, and one Russian translation.

who were learning the English language. It might have been a copy of this edition that Goethe sent to Frau von Stein in 1776 with the admonition: "Lassen Sie sich's recht wohl mit seyn und lernen recht viel englisch."^{2b} Sollas summarizes as follows the German reviews of the *Vicar* which she found:

Einige Hauptverdienste Goldsmiths sind in diesen Rezensionen hervorgehoben; der Humor, die Charakterzeichnung, der Dialog und die Kunst, das Alltägliche interessant zu machen; zwei Punkte aber . . . sind entweder nur flüchtig oder gar nicht erwähnt: die Anmut und Leichtigkeit des Stils . . . und die Neuheit des Stoffes, die so viel zu seiner Popularität in Deutschland beitrug.³

Sollas's review of the criticism of Goldsmith in German journals is disappointingly meagre, and indeed its very inclusion seems to have been an afterthought. No doubt reviews were rare, but additional matter in the way of incidental references might have been found. For example Schwinger is able to refer to a review of Nicolai's *Sebalduß Nothanker* by Blankenburg.⁴ Schwinger says:

Alles in allem vermiszt der Recensent im Charakter des Helden die notwendige Wahrscheinlichkeit und Übereinstimmung. Er weist auf Fielding, Sterne und Goldsmith als Muster hin und meint, bei der an Originalen so reichen Nation der Engländer wäre vielleicht noch eher ein entferntes Urbild zu einem solchen Charakter zu finden gewesen, als in Deutschland.^{4a}

Any lack of appreciation on the part of critics, however, was more than offset by the ready sympathy the *Vicar* found among the German people. The most original and valuable portion of Sollas's study is her investigation of a large number

^{2b} Goethe *Werke* IV 3, 113.

³ Sollas [200] 44; the reviews are: (a) GGA no. 82, July 11, 1767. (b) *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 1768; page not given. (c) 1769; journal and page not given. (d) *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste* 1768; page not given. (e) *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* Bd. XXV; page not given. (f) *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* 1775; page not given. Omissions and inaccuracies in respect to references are unfortunately characteristic of Sollas's monograph.

⁴ *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste* XVII, 2 (1775) 275ff.

^{4a} See Schwinger [133a] 201.

of "Pfarromane" that followed in the wake of Goldsmith's novel. Her list includes the following:⁵

La Roche, *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*, Karlsruhe 1770.

Nicolai, *Sebaldu Nothanker*, Berlin and Stettin 1776.⁶

Lenz, *Der Landprediger*, 1777.^{6a}

Decker, *Geschichte eines Landpredigers in Westfalen*, Berlin 1780.

Lafontaine, *St. Julien*, Berlin 1798.

Lafontaine, *Das Leben eines armen Landpredigers*, Berlin 1801.⁷

Lafontaine, *Der arme Pfarrerssohn, ein Seitenstück zum Leben eines armen Landpredigers*, Erfurt 1804.

Anon, *Das Pfarrhaus zu Remsdorf oder der hohe Lohn der Geduld, eine wahre Geschichte von M.*, Hamburg 1807.

Lafontaine, *Die Pfarre an der See*, Halle 1816.

Zschokke, *Blätter aus dem Tagebuch eines armen Pfarr-Vikars von Wiltshire*, Aarau 1819.⁸

Kunze, *Der Landpfarrer von Schönberg*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig 1819.

Laun, *Des Pastors Liebesgeschichte*, Berlin 1820.^{8a}

Jördens, *Der Adjunktus des Pfarrers zu Friedau, ein Gemälde nach dem Leben*, Leipzig 1825.

It will be noted that the less slavish imitations by the better known writers fall within the first decade of imitation. Lafon-

⁵ Sollas also analyses a dramatization of the *Vicar, J. B. Jester's Der Landprediger zu Wakefield* (no place given, 1792). The dramatization completely excludes the essential spirit and atmosphere of Goldsmith's novel, tho reproducing the characters and general situation. Fr. Eckardt wrote, in 1778, a one act play *Der Landprediger, ein Nachspiel*.

⁶ Cf. Schwinger [133a].

^{6a} Sollas gives the date as 1778 but Blei states that the work was first published in *Deutsches Museum* in 1777 I 289f. Lenz, *Schriften* V 391.

⁷ This was translated into English and published by D. Longworth, N. Y. 1810; cf. Goodnight [4] no. 181.

⁸ First published in *Erheiterungen* IX (1819); translated into English by S(arah) A(ustin) in the *Southern literary messenger* IX (1843) 618ff., according to Goodnight [4] no. 1615. This work is based not on the *Vicar of Wakefield*, as has been asserted by Ziegert [199], but on a sketch appearing anonymously in the *British Magazine* in 1766. That Goldsmith himself was the author of this sketch has been shown, however, by Ames [216]. See Sollas [200] 27; cf. R. Fürst in *JbL* IX (1898) IV 3, 255.

^{8a} Laun was the pen name of Fr. Aug. Schulze (1770-1849).

taine monopolizes the period 1798 to 1807. Sollas does not attempt to account for the revival of interest about 1819, nor indeed does she indicate any chronological grouping whatsoever.⁹

The troubled career of the pastor is the central point in all these novels. As Sollas says: "In diesen Pfarromanen gibt es selten einen Pfarrer, dessen Haus nicht abbrennt."¹⁰ In Nicolai's *Sebaldus Nothanker* the family is not burned out, but is driven out by the bigotry of the orthodox. The pastor endures his calamity with the same submission as does Goldsmith's. The general atmosphere of the story and the attitude of the pastor to family and community is the same in both novels at the outset, but Nicolai's work becomes more and more a "Tendenzroman." Lenz's *Landprediger* is characterized as an imitation of Nicolai's novel rather than of Goldsmith's. Sollas makes it clear that the *Vicar* as well as *Clarissa* is one of the models for the *Fräulein von Sternheim* of Sophie La Roche. She is able to point out one rather questionable verbal parallel as well as several parallel situations. Of his four works Lafontaine's *St. Julien* imitates Goldsmith most closely in method of depicting character; his *Das Leben eines armen Predigers* follows its model slavishly in respect to motifs, situations, and even phraseology; but *Die Pfarre an der See* does not really belong to the group at all, its name merely serving as a decoy to the reader.

Sollas accounts for the especial popularity of Goldsmith in Germany by three considerations. First, Goldsmith appeared upon the scene at a time when critics and public were divided into two rival camps, made up of the adherents of the virtuous Richardson on the one hand and the realistic Fielding on the other. Goldsmith, she says, avoided both extremes; the sentimental and the realistic elements are so well balanced in his novel that neither literary party could claim him as exclusively its own. Secondly, the *Vicar of Wakefield* idealized the country pastor, who was a favorite figure in German life. Thirdly,

⁹ Sollas mentions also without giving date Anon., *Die Pfarrfamilie von Kansadendorf, eine sehr verwickelte doch natürliche Geschichte*.

¹⁰ Sollas [200] 24.

“die idyllische Stimmung, die ruhige, rein subjektive, doch von aller Schwärmerei freie Liebe zur Natur, und die einfache allgemein verständliche Lebensweisheit des Werkes konnten eine Nation wie die deutsche, welche von jeher zu ruhiger Betrachtung neigte, nur sympathisch berühren.”^{10a}

Appreciation of Goldsmith was not confined to the masses of the reading public, however; it was Herder who brot the classic German literature into contact with Goldsmith. He first refers to Goldsmith in a letter to Caroline, Nov. 1770; he calls the *Vicar* “eins der schönsten Bücher, die in irgend einer Sprache existieren.”¹¹ In his next letter he says: “Als Roman hat es viel Fehlerhaftes, als ein Buch menschlicher Gesichter, Launen, Charaktere und was am Schönsten ist, menschlicher Herzen und Herzenssprüche, will ich für jede Seite so viel geben, als das Buch kostet.”¹² He translated two songs from the *Vicar of Wakefield*, Olivia’s song¹³ and the elegy,¹⁴ as well as *The traveller* and *The deserted village*.¹⁵ He mentions Sterne and Goldsmith among the many authors who have played an important rôle in German literary history:

Von den Engländern selbst (sind) ihre treffichsten Schriftsteller kaum mit so reger treuer Wärme aufgenommen worden, als von uns Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Swift, Thomson, Sterne, Hume, Robertson, Gibbon, aufgenommen sind. Richardson’s drei Romane haben in Deutschland ihre goldne Zeit erlebet; Young’s *Nachtgedanken*, *Tom Jones*, *Der Landpriester*, haben in Deutschland Sekten gestiftet.¹⁶

Goethe’s first acquaintance with Goldsmith thru Herder and his later retrospective idealization of the Brion family in terms of the *Vicar*’s¹⁷ are matters of common information. Goethe’s

^{10a} *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹¹ Herder, *Herders Lebensbild* (Erlangen 1846), III 1, 276.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 280.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 364; cf. *Ein Liedchen zur Laute* in *Wandsbecker Bote* 1771, no. 168.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 364., cf. *Der gute Mann und der tolle Hund, eine rührende Elegie aus dem Landpriester von Wakefield*. *Wandsbecker Bote* 1771, no. 173 and *Almanach der deutschen Musen* 1773, p. 113.

¹⁵ According to Sollas [200] 31 who does not indicate the place in Herder’s works.

¹⁶ Herder, *Werke* XVIII 208.

¹⁷ Goethe, *Werke* I 27, 353.

enthusiasm for Goldsmith proved lasting. He expressed himself to Eckermann at least three times in regard to the importance of Goldsmith's influence. On December 3, 1824, he said: "Suchen Sie in der Literatur einer so tüchtigen Nation wie die Engländer einen Halt. Zudem ist unsere eigene Literatur größtentheils aus der ihrigen hergekommen. Unsere Romane, unsere Trauerspiele, woher haben wir sie, als von Goldsmith, Fielding, und Shakespeare?"¹⁸ On March 11, 1828, he said:

Wir haben in der Literatur Poeten, die für sehr produktiv gehalten werden, weil von ihnen ein Band Gedichte nach dem andern erschienen ist. Nach meinem Begriffe aber sind diese Leute durchaus unproduktiv zu nennen, denn was sie machten ist ohne Leben und Dauer. Goldsmith dagegen hat so wenig Gedichte gemacht, dass ihre Zahl nicht der Rede werth, allein dennoch musz ich ihn als Poeten produktiv erklären, und zwar eben deswegen, weil das Wenige, was er machte, ein inwohnendes hat, das sich zu erhalten weisz.¹⁹

And on December 26th of the same year: "Ich bin Shakespeare, Sterne und Goldsmith Unendliches schuldig geworden."²⁰

Goethe felt his relation to Goldsmith as a personal one. He wrote to Zelter in the last years of his life: "In diesen Tagen kam mir von Ungefähr der *Landprediger von Wakefield* zu Händen. Ich muszte das Werklein von Anfang bis zu Ende wieder durchlesen, nicht wenig gerührt von der lebhaften Erinnerung, wie viel ich dem Verfasser in den siebziger Jahren schuldig geworden." Then follows the already cited confession regarding Goldsmith's influence and Sterne's: "Es wäre nicht nachzukommen, was Goldsmith und Sterne gerade im Hauptpunkt der Entwicklung auf mich gewirkt haben."²¹

One can readily imagine with what emotion Goethe re-read the *Vicar* in his last years, for it was inseparably connected with the fondest memories of his youth, with Friederike Brion, with Charlotte Buff, with Lili Schönemann, with Frau von Stein. It is natural that we should hear at definite places in Goethe's life-confession echoes of the *Vicar*: Goldsmith's *Traveller* (1764)

¹⁸ Eckermann, *Gespräche*. p. 101.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 536. Sollas [200] 38 finds parallels in the *Vicar of Wakefield* to this remark. The parallels are not particularly striking.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

²¹ Goethe, *Werke* IV 46, 173; quoted in SURVEY, p. 307.

provided the theme of Goethe's *Wanderer* (1771); *The deserted village* contributed something, as Goethe admits, to the tone of *Werther*;²² the *Vicar* was one of Lotte's favorite books; while the Pfarrer von St— in *Werther* bears many traits of resemblance to Goldsmith's vicar. Goethe says: "Die Oper *Erwin und Elmire* war aus Goldsmiths liebenswürdiger, im *Landprediger von Wakefield* eingefügter Romanze entstanden, die uns in den besten Zeiten vergnügt hatte, wo wir nicht ahneten, dasz uns etwas ähnliches bevorstehe."²³ "Uns" refers here, as the connexion shows, to Lili Schönemann and Goethe;²⁴ Goldsmith's *Edwin and Angelina* and Goethe's *Erwin und Elmire* both treat of the fortunes of two lovers kept apart by the vanity of the world, as Goethe and Lili were soon to find themselves separated. The idyllic atmosphere of the *Vicar of Wakefield* is found again in *Hermann und Dorothea*. Goethe's "Prediger" is not unlike the Vicar, and Goethe seems to have taken up some of the thots of Goldsmith. The homely moralizing in *Hermann und Dorothea* often runs parallel with that in the *Vicar*.^{24a}

In the commendatory passages of Goethe quoted above, the name of Sterne is linkt with that of Goldsmith; but Goethe's opinion of Sterne was not always one of unqualified approval. It wavered, as did the opinion of his countrymen. It may be best to trace the general esteem in which Sterne was held in Germany, before discussing Goethe's opinion, which serves well as a conclusion; for Goethe was one of Sterne's most faithful and appreciative students in Germany, and his opinion past thru the successive phases of first enthusiasm, cooling ardor, and ripe conviction.

Laurence Sterne, like Richardson, proved to be a larger factor in German literary history than in English. The beginnings of his career as a man of letters, it is true, did not seem to portend this outcome. His *Tristram Shandy* began to appear just

²² *Ibid.*, I 28, 158.

²³ *Ibid.*, I 29, 160.

²⁴ Cf. Soffé [204].

^{24a} Sollas [200] 39 suggests some parallel passages. The best collection of Goldsmith parallels and reminiscences is that of Levy [201].

before the beginning of the year 1760. By March Sterne found himself lionized in London. Yet in spite of this he waited three years for a translator in Germany. Zückert's translation (Berlin and Stralsund 1763ff.) was a slipshod piece of work. Sterne was not mentioned as the author until the appearance of the seventh and eighth parts in 1765. A rendering of the spurious ninth part, which had meanwhile appeared in England, completed the whole in 1767. The work as translated must have met with some favor, for a second edition was begun in 1769; yet there were no signs of enthusiasm on the part of the literary journals. German readers were handicapped by their unfamiliarity with the background of English life, while the interminable digressions made the work difficult enough for anyone to read. There were a few who read and admired it, however, and commended it to their friends; among these were Hamann,²⁵ Herder, Wieland, and Lessing. Haym says that Sterne and Swift are mentioned oftener than any other foreign authors in Herder's writings of the Riga period²⁶ (1767–1769); Wieland commends Sterne in extravagant terms in a letter to Zimmermann, Nov. 13, 1767,²⁷ while Mendelssohn testifies to Lessing's early enthusiasm for Sterne.²⁸ The date of Wieland's letter marks approximately his first acquaintance with *Tristram Shandy*, for the preceding letters contain no reference to Sterne, the next following ones many. Wieland intended (1771) to translate *Tristram Shandy* and expected "jeder Mann von Verstand werde alle seine anderen Bücher nebst Mantel und Kragen verkaufen, um diese Übersetzung zu kaufen, und werde sie so aufmerksam lesen, dasz er bald ein neues Exemplar brauche;"²⁹ but apparently he was glad to yield to Bode on learning of his intention.³⁰ In spite of all this sanction, the Sterne cult would never have taken root in Germany had he not published in 1768, less than

²⁵ Hamann, *Schriften* III 372; quoted by Thayer [336] 29.

²⁶ Haym, *Herder* (Berlin 1880–1885), I 413.

²⁷ See over footnote 43 of this chapter.

²⁸ Mendelssohn, *Schriften* (Leipzig 1844), V 171; quoted by Thayer [336] 24.

²⁹ *Teutscher Merkur* (1774) 345; quoted by Wood [187] 34.

³⁰ Behmer [350] 18.

three weeks before his death, his *Sentimental journey*, which appealed so much more strongly to the Germans; for, as Thayer says, "*Shandy* is whimsicality toucht with sentiment, the *Sentimental journey* is a record of sentimental experience guided by the caprice of a whimsical will."³¹

The *Sentimental journey* found a translator almost immediately in Bode (1768). His friends Lessing and Ebert encouraged him in his work, and Lessing coined the new word "empfindsam" as a translation for sentimental.^{31a} Bode's *Empfindsame Reise* appeared in 1768 and past into the second edition the next year; at the same time Pastor Mittelstedt of Braunschweig publishes a translation, which also went thru two editions almost immediately.

In this way popular attention was again attracted to the neglected *Tristram Shandy*. Bode finishes a translation of this earlier work in 1774. At the same time the publishers of Zückert's translation competed with a new edition. The list of subscribers to Bode's translation contained upwards of 650 names; among them are Boie, Claudius, Gerstenberg, Gleim, Fr. von Göchhausen, Goethe, Hamann, Herder, Hippel, Jacobi, Klopstock, Schummel, Wieland (5 copies), and Zimmerman.³² Bode's merit as a translator rests upon the rendering of these works of Sterne.³³ He has been justly accused of translating *Tom Jones* after the manner of Sterne rather than Fielding.³⁴

³¹ Thayer [336] 33.

^{31a} Lessing, *Schriften* XVII 256; in a letter to Bode written in the summer of 1765.

³² Thayer [336] 59.

³³ Bode was apparently the most prolific translator from the English of his time. His translations, according to Wihan [87], are: Moore's *Gamester* (1753) in 1754; Hoadly, *The suspicious husband* (1747) in 1754; Colman, *The jealous wife* (1761) in 1762; Whitehead, *The school for lovers* (1762) in 1771; Cumberland, *The West Indian* (1771) in 1772; Congreve, *The way of the world* (1700) in 1787; Sterne, *Sentimental journey* (1768) in 1769; Sterne (?) *Yorick's Sentimental journey, continued by Eugenius* (1769), no date; Sterne, *Life and opinions of Tristram Shandy Gent.* (1759-1767) in 1774; Sterne, *Letters* (1775ff.) in 1775; Smollett, *Humphry Clinker* (1771) in 1772; Goldsmith, *Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) in 1776; Fielding, *Tom Jones* (1749) in 1786-1788.

³⁴ Hippel was one of the few critics who found fault with Bode's rendering of Sterne, justly holding that it did violence to the German language; cf. Czerny [346] 226.

Herder, Wieland, and Lessing retained their admiration for Sterne in later years, in spite of the mass of trashy imitations that had sprung up everywhere, and in spite of the consequent critical reaction against the original. Lessing declared on hearing of Sterne's death that he would gladly have resigned to him five years of his own life, even tho he had but ten left, on condition that he keep on writing no matter what, life and opinions, or sermons, or journeys.³⁵ Seven years later he expressed a similar sentiment.^{35a} It has not been shown, however, that Lessing was fundamentally influenced in his writings by Sterne. Chronology precludes any "Dosis Yorikscher Empfindsamkeit" in Lessing's *Tellheim*;³⁶ but Thayer presents external evidence showing a connexion between Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* and the incidents relating to Just and the Wirt ("Er ist doch ein Grobian") in *Minna von Barnhelm* I, 2.³⁷

Regarding Wieland's relation to Sterne the most complete information is to be found in Behmer's monograph [350],³⁸ altho Bauer's essay [351] contains some interesting quotations not found in Behmer's work. According to Behmer, Wieland first read Sterne in 1767,³⁹ which negatives Wood's supposition that *Don Sylvio* was influenced by Sterne.⁴⁰ Behmer shows first how similar by nature were the taste and inclinations of the two authors. Having past from pietism to the world of the flesh, Wieland never ridiculed religion and its professions, tho bigotry was distasteful to him; Sterne, rather more religious than Wieland, equally detested narrow-minded bigotry. Wie-

³⁵ Lessing is quoted to that effect by Bode in the introduction to his translation of the *Sentimental journey*; cf. Thayer [336] 40. See also Lessing, *Schriften* XVII 255.

^{35a} GJ XIV (1893) 51-52.

³⁶ As suggested by Schmidt [126]¹ I 174 and 465. The suggestion is withdrawn from the later editions.

³⁷ Thayer [336] 27; cf. SURVEY, p. 346.

³⁸ Behmer unfortunately accepts the *Koran* as a genuine work of Sterne. His statement that Sterne had a feeling for nature is also misleading, as Thayer [336] 96 has pointed out.

³⁹ See also Bauer [351] vi and vii and Wieland's letter to Zimmermann quoted over footnote 43 of this chapter.

⁴⁰ Wood [187] 34.

land lauded the "Evangelium Yoricks" as "lauter Naturalismus, Deismus und Pelagianismus, ja puren verfeinerten Epikurismus, Philosophie der Grazien und, mit einem Wort, puren Heidentum."⁴¹ Both authors were controlled by warm and sympathetic hearts; both were impressed by the weakness of human nature, but neither was rendered pessimistic thereby; both were piquant in their narrative and were aware of their fault of carrying suggestiveness often beyond the point of propriety, only making matters worse by their graceful apologies. When Wieland heard of Sterne's death he wrote to Riedel:

Was für ein Verlust ist sein Tod! Ich kann ihn nicht verschmerzen. Unter allen vom Weibe Gebornen ist kein Autor, dessen Gefühl, Humor und Art zu denken vollkommner mit dem meinigen sympathisiert, den ich besser verstehe, auch wo er andern dunkel ist; der mich mehr lehrt, der dasjenige so gut ausdrückt, was ich tausendmal empfunden habe, ohne es ausdrücken zu können oder zu wollen.⁴²

In the preceding year he had written to Zimmermann:

Ich gestehe Ihnen, mein Freund, dasz Sterne beynahe der einzige Autor in der Welt ist, den ich mit einer Art von ehrfurchtsvoller Bewunderung ansehe. Ich werde sein Buch studiren, so lange ich lebe, und es doch nicht genug studiert haben. Ich kenne keines, worin so viel ächte Socratiche Weisheit, eine so tiefe Kenntnis des Menschen, ein so feines Gefühl des Schönen und Guten, eine so grosze Menge neuer und feiner moralischer Bemerkungen, so viel gesunde Beurtheilung mit so viel Witz und Genie verbunden wäre.⁴³

Behmer goes on to show how completely Wieland was under Sterne's influence in the years that followed (1768-1775). His *Beyträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens* (1770) was a polemic against Rousseau. He had apparently determined upon the theme before reading Sterne, but the execution of the work shows the manner of Sterne. As Behmer says: "Er versäumt kein Mittelchen Sternes, seine Leser launig zu unterhalten und zu narren. Seine Nachahmung

⁴¹ Letter to Jacobi Nov. 15, 1770. Wieland, *Ausgewählte Briefe* (Zürich 1815), III 16.

⁴² *Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe* ed. Ludwig Wieland (Wien 1818), I 231.

⁴³ *Ausgewählte Briefe*, II 288.

Sterne sucht er durchaus nicht zu verbergen. Ausdrücke wie 'würde der alte Herr Schandy ausrufen,' oder 'mit Tristram zu reden' weisen genügend auf sein Muster hin, mit dessen Stil er seine Schreibweise geradezu vergleicht."⁴⁴ The same might be said of the *Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope*,⁴⁵ regarding which Wieland wrote to Gleim, October 2, 1769: "Vergangenen August den ganzen Monat hindurch hatte mich eine philosophische Laune angewandelt, welche mit der Yorickschen etwas ähnliches hat, ohne Nachahmung zu seyn. Da schrieb ich einen *Σωκράτης μαιώμενος* oder *Dialogen des Diogenes aus einer alten Handschrift*.⁴⁶ *Der neue Amadis* (written about 1770) resembles Sterne especially in its erotic tendency. *Der goldne Spiegel oder die Könige von Scheschian* (1772) imitates Sterne in style, in manner of characterizing, and in humor, while parallel passages are readily found. *Die Geschichte des Philosophen Danischmend*, a continuation of *Der goldne Spiegel* (1776), has as its theme the bigotry of the orthodox clergy, a subject to which Sterne devoted his longest chapter in *Tristram Shandy*.⁴⁷ *Die Geschichte der Abderiten* (1774), Behmer holds, may have been suggested by Sterne.⁴⁸ The first part is written in a style markedly like Sterne's, but in the latter part the resemblance is less obvious. In a later version (1778) many of the digressions à la Sterne are excluded or abbreviated, a fact which indicates the cooling off of Wieland's enthusiasm.

At this point Behmer concludes his comments for he finds, with one minor exception,⁴⁹ no further parallels of content or style worth noting. He seems to have proved his thesis "daz

⁴⁴ Behmer [350] 31. Behmer lists several parallels between the *Beyträge* and *Tristram Shandy*. Bauer [351] x-xxii deals with this relation yet more intensively.

⁴⁵ Mager [352]. Cf. Bauer [351] xxii-xxxi.

⁴⁶ Wieland, *Ausgewählte Briefe* II 329.

⁴⁷ Sterne, *Works* ed. W. L. Cross (London 1906), I 198-238.

⁴⁸ Behmer [350] 52.

⁴⁹ "Oberon verdankt das Leitmotiv der schwergeprüften Liebe einer Episode *Tristram Shandys*, der rührenden Liebesgeschichte von Amandus und Amanda;" Behmer [350] 58. According to Behmer certain earlier works of Wieland were also influenced by Sterne: *Chloe* (1768-1770), *Combabus* (1770), *Gedanken über eine alte Aufschrift* (1772).

Wieland trotz seiner mehrfachen Verwahrung dagegen dennoch in mehreren seiner Dichtungen sich jenem Schwarm beigesellt hat, der wie ein Kometenschweif sich in Deutschland an Sterne anschloss.'⁵⁰ But Wieland, he says, like Jean Paul, was not permanently influenced by Sterne, and even at the crest of his imitative period (1768–1775) he maintained his poetic individuality. This coincides approximately, it may be added, with the opinion of Lichtenberg:

Sternen hat er vielleicht nachgeahmt, das ist, er hat in Dingen Sternen gefolgt in welchen ein weit geringerer Geist als Wieland ihm auch hätte folgen können; da wo er Sternische Bemerkungen über die Dinge macht, da wollte ich nicht gerne sagen, dasz er ihm nachgeahmt habe; dieses zu tun, musz allemal Übereinstimmungen mit den ersten Grundkräften beider Seelen . . . sein.^{50a}

It may have been the excesses of the minor imitators, or it may have been the growing criticism of Sterne, that estranged Wieland from him. It would require a long list to include even the most frequently mentioned imitators. Among the works in question are:⁵¹

- 1768–1775 Wieland's works already mentioned.
- 1769 Jacobi, *Sommerreise* and *Winterreise*.
- 1770 Bock, *Die Geschichte eines empfundenen Tages*.
- 1771–1772 Schummel, *Empfindsame Reisen durch Deutschland*.
- 1772 von Göchhausen, *M R* (= *Meine Reisen*).
- 1773–1776 Nicolai, *Leben und Meinungen des Herrn Sebaldus Nothanker*.⁵²
- 1773–1776 Wezel, *Lebensgeschichte Tobias Knauts des Weisen sonst Stammeler genannt*.
- 1775 Blankenburg, *Beyträge zur Geschichte des teutschen Reiches und teutscher Sitten*.
- 1775 Schwager, *Leben und Schicksale des Martin Dickius*.
- 1775–1778 Wegener, *Raritäten, ein hinterlassenes Werk des Küsters von Rummelsberg*.⁵³

⁵⁰ Behmer [350] 62.

^{50a} Lichtenberg, *Schriften* ed. Herzog (Jena 1907) I 194.

⁵¹ The authority for the classification is Thayer [336] except where otherwise indicated; page references to Thayer are superfluous as he has an index of author names.

⁵² Czerny [346] 19. Flindt [79] 11 classifies Nicolai's *Freunden des jungen Werthers* (1775) also as an imitation of Sterne.

⁵³ Vacano [995] 18.

- 1778-1781 Hippel, *Lebensläufe in aufsteigender Linie*.⁵⁴
 1785-1786 Thümmel, *Reise in die mittäglichen Provinzen von Frankreich*.
 1788 Kotzebue, *Die Geschichte meines Vaters, oder wie es zugeing, dasz ich gebohren wurde*.
 1793 Göschen, *Reise von Johann*.
 1794 Schink, *Empfindsame Reisen durch Italien, die Schweiz und Frankreich*.⁵⁵
 1793-1805 Richter, *Unsichtbare Loge, Hesperus, Titan etc.*⁵⁵
 1796 Hedemann, *Empfindsame Reise von Oldenburg nach Bremen*.
 1801 Brentano, *Godwi*.⁵⁷
 1802-1803 Seume, *Spaziergang nach Syrakus*.⁵⁸
 1803 Hermes, *Verheimlichung und Eile oder Lottchens und ihrer Nachbarn Geschichte*.⁵⁹
 1824 Heine, *Harzreise*.⁶⁰
 1838-1839 Immermann, *Münchhausen*.⁶¹

Georg Jacobi was called by his literary friends "Toby" on account of his enthusiasm for Sterne. He had been particularly touched by the story of the snuff-box of Father Lorenzo. The father had asked Yorick for some money and was rudely refused. He returned so gentle an answer that a reconciliation ensued, as a sign of which the two exchanged snuff-boxes. The snuff-box that remained in Yorick's hands served as a constant reminder to self-control in moments of anger. Jacobi carried just such a snuff-box himself with the name of Lorenz upon it and gave similar ones to his friends with the admonition to proffer them to their friends as a sign of reconciliation.

Jacobi's first mention of Sterne's *Sentimental journey* was in a letter of April 3, 1769. On the tenth he reports that he is

⁵⁴ Czerny [346] 20-36.

⁵⁵ Kawerau [347] 295.

⁵⁶ Czerny [346] 47-86.

⁵⁷ Kerr [345].

⁵⁸ Kawerau [347] 151.

⁵⁹ Buchholz [297] 55-57. Most of the authorities, guided apparently by the name alone, have classified *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* as an imitation of Sterne. Buchholz shows that Hermes's *Verheimlichung* etc. is his first imitation.

⁶⁰ Vacano [995] and Ransmeier [996]. Kawerau includes also Stolberg's *Reise in Deutschland, der Schweiz, Italien und Sizilien* (1794). Scherer's suggestion of Goethe's *Briefe aus der Schweiz* is disparaged by Thayer [336] 100.

⁶¹ Bauer [997].

at work on a similar *Journey*.⁶³ The *Winterreise* was published in Düsseldorf in June of the same year. The *Sommerreise* (Sept. 1769) was of less importance and was not included in the later editions of Jacobi's works. Like its model the *Winterreise* is a book of sentiment rather than of travel. It outdoes Sterne on the sentimental side, but fails to equal him in whimsicality.

Among all the imitators Schummel seems to have attained the greatest notoriety. He wrote his *Empfindsame Reisen* when a student at the University. He relates: "Als ich Yoricks Schriften eins, zwei, drei, viermal gelesen hatte und zum Glück oder Unglück grade um diese Zeit von meinem Verleger eine Einladung zur Autorschaft empfang, so überfiel mich der Schreibenthusiasmus so heftig und ungestüm, dasz ich ihm allein nicht widerstehen konnte."⁶⁵ A peculiarity of Schummel's work is that it was based on Pastor Mittelstedt's translation rather than on Bode's.⁶⁶ At the conclusion Schummel says that his ardor for *Tristram* has been cooled by the critics; he mentions Sonnenfels and Riedel. He apologizes for his shameless description of his parents which, he says, he wrote under Sterne's influence, otherwise the faults of the book are his own. With the exception of a few passages which he mentions he holds his work to be beneath all criticism.⁶⁷

With equal severity Goethe had already reviewed Schummel's *Reise* in the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* March 3, 1772:

Alles hat er dem guten Yorick geraubt, Speer, Helm und Lanze, nur Schade! Inwendig steckt der Herr Präceptor S. zu Magdeburg. . . . Yorick empfand, und dieser setzt sich hin zu empfinden. Yorick wird von seiner Laune ergriffen, und weinte und lachte in einer Minute und durch die Magie der Sympathie lachen und weinen wir mit: hier aber steht einer und überlegt; wie lache und weine ich? was werden die Leute sagen, wenn ich lache und weine?⁶⁸

⁶³ Longo [343] was unable to ascertain positively the date of Jacobi's first acquaintance with Sterne.

⁶⁵ Quoted by Kawerau [347] 153.

⁶⁶ Thayer [336] 115. The plan of Schummel's work is to be found in Thayer 116-124.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

⁶⁸ In the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*, Mar. 3, 1771; cf. Goethe, *Werke* I 37, 214-215 and I 38, 317-319.

The passage just quoted may serve as a specimen of the ever-increasing antipathy to the Sterne imitators especially notable during the years 1775–1788. In England the vogue of Sterne had been short-lived, and the opposition that set in supported, if it did not produce, an anti-Sterne movement in Germany. Its leaders were Lichtenberg and Sturz, both of whom visited England soon after Sterne's death; Lichtenberg from 1774 to 1775 and Sturz from May 1768 to January 1769. Lichtenberg may have had much in common with Sterne, as Julian Schmidt says,⁶⁹ but he had more in common with Fielding, as already indicated.⁷⁰

That Richardson should disapprove of the free-thinking, undignified Sterne was natural. Smollett had condemned him in the *Critical review* and Goldsmith in the *Citizen of the world*.⁷¹ Lichtenberg tried to disillusionize his countrymen in regard to him. Sterne's simplicity, his tender heart and his warm sympathy were feigned; in reality, he said, Yorick was a crawling parasite, a flatterer of the great, an unendurable burr on the clothing of those upon whom he had determined to sponge,^{71a} . . . "ein scandalum ecclesiae."⁷² Sturz, like Lichtenberg, became acquainted with Garrick, who described Sterne to him as a lewd fellow and said that his moral nature declined under the ovations he received in London.^{72a} In some stanzas written in 1768 and printed in the *Deutsches Museum* (July 1777) Sturz also attacks the vogue of Sterne in Germany.

Most of the German opponents of sentimentalism attacked the imitations of Sterne rather than Sterne himself. Opposition took the form either of direct criticism or of satire. Goethe's *Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* might be mentioned as an

⁶⁹ J. Schmidt, *Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in Deutschland* (Leipzig 1862), II 585.

⁷⁰ See SURVEY, p. 289.

⁷¹ F. Heinrich, *Laurence Sterne und Edward Bulwer* (Diss. Leipzig 1903) p. 14.

^{71a} Lichtenberg, *Vermischte Schriften* (Göttingen 1844ff), I 184.

⁷² *Ibid.*, III 112.

^{72a} Quoted by Thayer [336] 161.

example of the latter, tho it was directed chiefly against the imitators of *Werther*. From 1775–1785 these satires of Sterne became so numerous as to prompt one critic to wish that they and their objects might rot together in a grave of oblivion.⁷³

Among the novelists who satirized or attacked Sterne, Thayer mentions Karl Philipp Moritz with his *Anton Reiser* (1785–1790), Christian Friedrich Thimme with his *Der Empfindsame* (1781–1783), Wezel with his *Wilhelmine Arend oder die Gefahren der Empfindsamkeit* (1782),⁷⁴ and others of less prominence. Wezel had already written, in 1773, a novel, *Tobias Knauth*, after the manner of *Tristram Shandy*, but with a distinct anti-sentimental tendency.⁷⁵

It will be noted that there is a markt falling off in the number of imitations during this same period, 1775–1785. Hippel's *Lebensläufe in aufsteigender Linie* occupies a somewhat isolated position during these years. It might be safe to hazard the guess that this successful work helpt the Sterne vogue to a new life at a moment when it seemed about to yield to the weight of adverse criticism. Hippel was, as Czerny shows, no mere imitator of Sterne, but was by nature susceptible to his influence. He was like Sterne but with a difference:

Hippel ist ein ebenso feiner Menschenkenner wie Sterne und auch bei ihm löst sich der Kontrast zwischen seinen Herzenswünschen und der Wirklichkeit in Humor aus. Doch ist dieser Humor bei dem deutschen Dichter wesentlich anderer Natur. Die Grazie und Eleganz des Sterneschen Witzes fehlt Hippel völlig, er vertritt mehr den Typus des "gebrochenen" Humors. Ein starker Zug von Melancholie weht durch das ganze Werk, selten ringt sich der Dichter zu einem freudigen Ton empor. Die lachende Satire Sternes war nicht seine Sache; wo Sterne satirisch wird, ist er bitter und sarkastisch.⁷⁶

In the *Lebensläufe*, as in Sterne's works, the action is of minor importance and there is thruout that mingling of wit and sentimentality which is so characteristic of Sterne. Sterne's influ-

⁷³ *Allgemeine deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Oct. 1785.

⁷⁴ Thayer [336] 179.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁷⁶ Czerny [346] 26–27.

ence is furthermore obvious in the general composition and style and the subjective manner of narration.⁷⁷ Hippel's style, however, is distinguished from Sterne's by its ponderosity, its moralizing tendency, and its serious purpose. Czerny says:

Diese tapfere Bejahung des Willens zum Leben unterscheidet Hippel vorteilhaft von der welterschmerzlichen Energielosigkeit manches seiner Mitstrebenden. Trotz ihrer Mängel, die teilweise auf die Nachahmung Sternes zurückgehen, sind die *Lebensläufe* für ihre Zeit ein bedeutendes Werk.⁷⁸

In the highly subjective style of Hippel's *Kreuz-und Querzüge des Ritters von A-Z* (1793-1794) Czerny also finds evidence of the influence of Sterne.

Kawerau cites an interesting instance of the recrudescence of Sterne imitations in the nineties. He quotes a fable published in the *Almanach der deutschen Musen* (1775) under the title *Der Affe als Autor*:

“Ich will doch ein Autor werden,” sagte der Affe, “die Welt empfangen die Kinder meines Geistes.” Er sagte es und machte Seifenblasen. “Sie sind ein Autor geworden?” fragte ich neulich einen jungen Herrn. “Womit haben Sie denn die Welt beschenkt?” “Mit empfindsamen Reisen,” antwortete er.⁷⁹

Kawerau adds that the author of this same fable, Johann Friedrich Schink, became some twenty years later the author of *Empfindsame Reisen durch Italien, die Schweiz und Frankreich: Nachtrag zu den Yorickschen* (1794).

Regarding the influence of Sterne on Thümmel's *Reise* (1785-1786) we have an opinion from two apparently independent investigators. Thayer [349] presents a most convincing amount of evidence of imitation, but adds: “To Sterne's sentimentalism have been added powers of sound observation and reflexion. It is a later sentimental journey modified by decades of more substantial thought and social theorizing. It is less humorous and essentially German.” Kyrieleis likewise concedes a large measure

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 32.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 33.

⁷⁹ Kawerau [347] 148.

of Sterne influence but also calls attention to the French author La Chapelle (1616–1686), whom Thayer barely mentions:

Vielleicht nicht ohne Absicht lässt er seinen Wilhelm mit dem La Chapelle in der Hand (Bd. 4, S. 103 f.) seine Reise machen. Thümmel hat vorübergehend wohl daran gedacht, wie Gruner nach des Dichters eigenem Zeugnis überliefert, sich der Manier dieses Franzosen anzuschließen. Zwischen ihm und dem Engländer Laurence Sterne schwankte er, um endlich doch seinen eigenen Weg zu gehen.⁸²

Elsewhere Kyrieleis says: "Wirklich künstlerische Bedeutung aber und anregenden Einfluss auch auf Thümmel hatte der Begründer der neuen Gattung, Henry Fielding."⁸³

Hippel's *Lebensläufe* and Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* were among the first works Jean Paul read (1780–1781) and their influence soon made itself felt within restrictions which Czerny defines:

Es ist klar, dass ein wirklicher Dichter wie Jean Paul nicht die Eigenheiten anderer nur äusserlich nachahmt, sondern mit Anschluss an die ihm geistesverwandten Muster dasjenige aus seiner eigenen Natur heraus entwickelt, was diese in ihm wachgerufen haben. . . . Es will also nichts gegen seine Originalität besagen, wenn man ihm nachweist, woher er die Anregung zu seiner Schreibweise erhalten hat. Doch haben wir auch hier zwischen literarischer Beeinflussung und direkter Nachahmung zu unterscheiden. Nicht zu allen Zeiten floss der Quell seiner Phantasie stark genug, und so lässt er sich zuweilen auch äusserlich anregen, wo die inneren Impulse fehlen.⁸⁴

Czerny notes the influence of Hippel and Sterne in Jean Paul's *Grönländische Prozesse* (1783–1784). These influences are equally marked in his first two novels *Die unsichtbare Loge* (1793) and *Hesperus* (1795). "Im *Titan* (1800–1803) emanzipiert er sich allmählig von Sterne's Einfluss, und in den *Flegeljahren* (1805) finden sich nur gelegentlich Spuren

⁸² Kyrieleis [348] 25. La Chapelle was the author of *Relation d'un voyage fait en France* (Paris 1662). Gruner was Thümmel's biographer. *Thümmel's Leben* (Stuttgart 1820) Bd. VII of Thümmel's *Sämmtliche Werke*.

⁸³ Kyrieleis [348] 29. The influences of Sterne, Fielding, and Smollett are there taken into account pp. 29–32.

⁸⁴ Czerny [346] 42.

Sterne's.'⁸⁵ Despite Jean Paul's inner harmony with Sterne and Hippel, Czerny finds his imitation in every respect detrimental, for when he left behind him his period of imitation he found he had lost some of his self-sufficiency as an author and was no longer able to produce as richly as before.⁸⁶

Sterne's influence on Goethe was a subtle one and cannot be determined by the somewhat random methods that have hitherto been employed. Several surmises have been made in regard to Goethe's indebtedness to Sterne for certain characters.: A contemporary journal⁸⁷ called *Martin*, in *Götz von Berlichingen*, a character of the Sterne type; Riemann made a similar statement in regard to Friedrich in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* and Mittler in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*;⁸⁸ Goebel associated some remarks of Sterne with Goethe's *Homunculus*;⁸⁹ and Brandl called Marie of Moulines a prototype of Mignon.⁹⁰ Goethe's acknowledgment of gratitude to Sterne is also well known and frequently quoted, but his opinion of Sterne fluctuated in the course of his life and no final definition is possible until his expressed views from first to last are culled from his entire writings. This preliminary work has now been accomplished and the results will soon be made accessible.⁹¹ Meanwhile an outline will suffice.

Goethe's acquaintance with Sterne's writings dates from his association with Herder in Straszburg. Goethe commended Sterne to Jung-Stilling at this time,⁹² and a year later Goethe is known to have read *Tristram Shandy* aloud to friends in Darmstadt.⁹³ His *Tagebücher* show that later in his life he read, or

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁸⁷ *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen*, Feb. 22, 1774.

⁸⁸ Riemann, *Goethes Romanteknik* (Leipzig 1902), 153 and 310.

⁸⁹ GJ XXI (1900) 208.

⁹⁰ *Euph* IV (1897) 437.

⁹¹ Cf. Pinger [342a].

⁹² Stilling, *Heinrich Stillings Wanderschaft* (Frankfurt and Leipzig 1780), p. 149.

⁹³ *Herders Briefwechsel mit seiner Braut* (Frankfurt 1858) 247ff.

rather studied, Sterne intensively at least twice, in 1817⁹⁴ and in 1826.⁹⁵ It is true there were times when he satirized sentimentality of the Sterne type, as in the *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit*,⁹⁶ or condemned it, as in the *Campagne in Frankreich*. In this work Goethe speaks of *Werther* and its morbid time and says that *Werther* did not cause the disease but was only one of its symptoms.⁹⁷ He adds that Yorick shared in preparing the ground-work of sentimentalism on which *Werther* was built. But, after all, the deliberate statements of Goethe in his last years must be accepted as his ripe judgment of Sterne, and these will presently be quoted.

First, however, must be mentioned a feature of the Goethe-Sterne relation that has attracted more attention than it deserves, namely the so-called plagiarism from the *Koran* in the collection *Aus Makariens Archiv* in the *Wanderjahre*. The *Koran* was written in 1770, two years after Sterne's death, by one Richard Griffith, who successfully wagered that he could so nearly reproduce Sterne's style as to deceive the public. It was generally accepted in Germany as a genuine work of Sterne's, and Springer [339] maintained its authenticity as late as 1885. It was Hédouin who first used the term plagiarism in connexion with the *Archiv*. He did so without harshness however:

Je me trouve avoir à signaler les curieux emprunts faits par Goethe au *Koran*,—emprunts qui ont échappé jusqu'ici, je pense, aux nombreux commentateurs du grand poète allemand,—et à restituer à Sterne les "pensées, maximes et réflexions" que Goethe s'était appropriées, sans le dire, et que l'Allemagne lui attribue encore aujourd'hui. La gloire de Goethe ne saurait souffrir du dévoilement de ces légers plagiats, qui, en prouvant irréfragablement que Goethe tenait le *Koran* en haute estime ne font que corroborer son admiration pour Sterne.⁹⁸

Springer's view is equally indulgent, but he asserts at the end of his essay that Goethe did not place the *Maximen und*

⁹⁴ Goethe, *Werke* III 6, 106-109.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, III 10, 144; I 41:2, 252-253; I 42:2, 66.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I 17, 14.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, I 33, 208-209.

⁹⁸ Hédouin [338] 292.

Reflexionen in the "Ausgabe letzter Hand" himself but that they are in that portion of the edition that was cared for by Goethe's editors after his death. Herein Springer is mistaken, however, for the *Maximen* were not only in the *Nachlasz*, where he found them, but also in the earlier portion of the edition which Goethe himself had helped prepare for the press.

Eckermann's explanation of how the *Maximen* came to be doubly printed in this edition has been accepted until recently. His account is as follows: When the *Wanderjahre* was being sent to the publisher in 1829, two of the volumes proved to be too thin. Goethe gave Eckermann instructions to fill out these volumes with the aid of a packet of notes that he placed in his hands. This Eckermann did promptly and to Goethe's satisfaction, but the arrangement, Eckermann says, failed to please the public, especially the women readers. Eckermann called Goethe's attention to this. Goethe made light of the matter but gave Eckermann instructions to segregate the aphorisms later.^{98a} Hence they appear at two places in the "Ausgabe letzter Hand": in the *Wanderjahre* (1830) and in volume XLIX with the *Nachgelassene Werke*.

Eckermann's account has been accepted until recently for it was recognized that he was in a position to know the facts, but the explanation was always felt to be unsatisfactory for it involved the admission that Goethe did violence to his own poetic creation by thus arbitrarily expanding it without inner compulsion. A recent investigator, Wundt [342], has brot relief from this theory. He points out that Eckermann's testimony, written down some years after the event, is at variance with Goethe's memoranda in his *Tagebücher* set down at the time. He shows, moreover, that it contradicts itself in several details and he concludes that it is colored by the two influences that most frequently affect the value of such evidence, namely "vorgefaszte Meinungen" and "Glaube an die eigene Wichtigkeit." He calls attention to the fact that the text itself of the *Wander-*

^{98a} Biedermann, *Gespräche* IV 336f.

jahre promises such a collection of aphorisms and demonstrates from the manuscript and from other papers of Goethe that it was Goethe's plan from the first to include these aphorisms in the work.

This is far from proving, however, that Goethe's use of Sterne's aphorisms constituted a wilful plagiarism. That term designates the attempt to reap unmerited literary honors by appropriating without acknowledgments the thoughts or phrases of another. It is plainly inapplicable in this instance. In Goethe's original manuscript the aphorisms were provided with some quotation marks; a few of these marks even appeared in the collection when it was first published, namely in the second edition of the *Wanderjahre* (1829).⁹⁹ Moreover the sayings were preceded by comments upon Sterne's position in literature and thus their origin was sufficiently acknowledged. The *Wanderjahre* was written largely for that small circle of Goethe's friends whose familiarity with Sterne's works could be taken for granted. The aphorisms bear witness to Goethe's renewed interest in Sterne at that period, and from the letters and conversations of about the same time we have what may be considered as Goethe's deliberate opinion of Sterne.

A passage from Goethe's correspondence has already been quoted in which he commends Goldsmith and Sterne for their equipoise under trying conditions and their benevolent irony and acknowledges the favorable influence these virtues had upon him "gerade im Hauptpunkt der Entwicklung."¹⁰⁰ If we mistake not, this refers to the transitional period between *Werther* and the beginnings of *Wilhelm Meister*. In a letter to Zelter Goethe said that Sterne was the first of literary men to treat humorously pedantry and philistinism,¹⁰¹ and in the *Maximen und Reflexionen* he says: "Yorik-Sterne war der schönste Geist, der

⁹⁹ See Goethe, *Werke* (Ausgabe letzter Hand) XXIII 273ff. and cf. XLIX 119ff. For the punctuation of the manuscript see Goethe, *Werke* I 42:2, 348.

¹⁰⁰ Goethe, *Werke* IV 46, 193-194; letter to Zelter, Dec. 25, 1829; cf. SURVEY, p. 307.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, IV 47, 274; letter to Zelter, Oct. 5, 1830.

je gewirkt hat: wer ihn liest, fühlt sich sogleich frei und schön, sein Humor ist unnachahmlich, und nicht jeder Humor befreit die Seele."¹⁰²

All in all Sterne was a mellowing and enriching influence on Goethe, and Goethe, speaking from a personal point of view, had no need to distinguish between the humor of Sterne and that of Goldsmith. As a matter of fact he did so but once. In the letter to Zelter of December 25, 1829, which has already been quoted, Goethe said: "Merkwürdig ist noch hiebey, dasz Yorick sich mehr in das Formlose neigt und Goldsmith ganz Form ist, der ich mich denn auch ergab, indessen die werthen Deutschen sich überzeugt hatten, die Eigenschaft des wahren Humors sey das Formlose."¹⁰⁰ Goethe recognized that the influence of Sterne in Germany had not been an unmixed blessing. He had joined with other critics in writing caustically of the servile imitations of the seventies. The sharp attacks of the critics were followed by the better example of Hippel and Thümmel. Thru the medium of Jean Paul, Brentano, and other romanticists, the influence of Sterne was past on to the nineteenth century, and, living on in the novels of the "young Germans" until the fifties, it represented one of the unsound elements from which German literature had to recover.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, I 42:2, 197.

CHAPTER 13

THE MIDDLE-CLASS DRAMA

Die Cömodie ist nichts anders, als eine Nachahmung einer lasterhaften Handlung, die durch ihr lächerliches Wesen den Zuschauer belustigen, aber auch zugleich erbauen kann.¹ . . . Die Personen, die zur Comödie gehören, sind ordentliche Bürger, oder doch Leute von mäßigem Stande, dergleichen auch wohl zur Noth Barons, Marquis und Grafen sind; nicht, als wenn die Groszen dieser Welt keine Thorheiten zu begehen pflegten, die lächerlich wären; nein, sondern weil es wider die Ehrerbietung läuft, die man ihnen schuldig ist, sie als auslachenswürdig vorzustellen.²

This aristocratic convention which confined tragedy to the great and comedy to the middle and lower classes Gottsched inherited, as is well known, from the French, from whom indeed he derived the greater part of his dramatic theory. The dramas of the Italians and Spaniards failed to receive his approval, while of the entire English drama he singles out Addison's *Cato* for favorable mention and for imitation.³

While Gottsched was exerting himself in Germany to perpetuate the traditional aristocratic distinction between comedy and tragedy, this distinction was already being broken up in France as a result of the democratic tendency of the time with its attendant enlightened ideas, and a similar movement was taking place in England.

¹ Gottsched, *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst*² (Leipzig 1742), 739f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 743.

³ Addison's *Cato* (1713) was rather favorably received in England, largely for political reasons. Deschamps's *Cato d'Utique* (1715) was in most respects inferior to Addison's work. Gottsched professed not to have seen Deschamps's work until he was familiar with Addison's. Practically the entire first four acts of Gottsched's *Cato* (1730), however, are translated from Deschamps. Gottsched had the judgment to prefer Addison's conclusion, which, however, naturally fitted the preceding portions less well than Deschamps's would have done. See further Türkheim [160]. Re the great success of this play see Hegnauer [162]. Its verse form set up a new standard for the German stage, eliminated vulgar improvisation on the part of the players, and so paved the way for the reforms of J. E. Schlegel, *Dido* (1739), *Hermann* (1741), and the work of Lessing. Cf. SURVEY, p. 195f.

This movement assumed slightly different courses in the two countries owing to the difference in social conditions. The new well-to-do middle class in France was made up largely of capable persons from the lower walks of life, chosen to fill executive or legal positions of state (*noblesse de robe*) and of individuals of wealth who were able to lend money to the crown or the nobility. Both of these classes had lost touch, to a certain extent, with their humble origins and were now associating, tho not quite on a footing of equality, with the nobility. The situation of the new middle class in England was more fortunate. This class had grown rich in trade, often in foren trade. It felt itself to be one of the most essential factors in England's strength, and far from seeking entrance into aristocratic circles it assumed toward them an attitude of dignified reserve, a position of equality, if not of superiority.

In the break-down of the aristocratic convention in literature it is little wonder then that a more conservative course was followed in France. The tragedy still remained there the exclusive terrain of the great; but for the benefit of the middle class the comedy was elevated in tone. As Kettner says:

Könnte die Bourgeoisie in Frankreich die Tragödie nicht in ihre Kreise hinabziehen, so hob sie dagegen die Komödie zu sich herauf. Hatte diese bisher nur die Laster und die Thorheiten, die Aufgeblasenheit und die Plumpheit der Bürger, die verschrobene Bildung und die Modenarrheiten des niederen Adels verspottet, so beginnt sie jetzt das bürgerliche Leben auch von seiner ernsten Seite wiederzuspiegeln, neben den Verkehrtheiten auch das ernste Streben sich davon zu befreien uns zu zeigen, und würdige Vertreter der Tugend neben die Beispiele des Lichtsinns zu stellen. Dann wagt es zuerst Nivelle de la Chaussée, der Handlung schwere sittliche Konflikte oder tragische Verwicklungen zu Grunde zu legen und, abgesehen von der glücklichen Lösung, das komische Element ganz auszuschneiden.^{3a}

The development of this type of comedy, the "comédie larmoyante," in France is connected with the names of Des-touches (1680-1767), Marivaux (1688-1763), and Nivelle de la Chaussée (1692-1754). Even Voltaire could not hold himself

^{3a} Kettner [128] 19.

aloof from the new tendency. The theoretic defender of the new type of drama was Diderot, the author of *Le fils naturel* (1757) and *Le père de famille* (1758).⁴

While the comedy in France was being elevated for the benefit of the middle classes, the corresponding class in England was boldly taking possession of the tragedy. The new type of tragedy there followed closely on the trail of the moral weeklies. Both were democratic in their tendencies, both set to impress the wisdom of sound morality upon the middle-class public. Lillo and Moore were the earliest and most notable producers of the new drama in England and they were most influential in Germany, far more influential than their frivolous predecessors of the restoration period.^{4a}

It must be admitted that the new tragedy moved on no exalted plane; cupidity was too frequently the cause of guilt, prosperity the sanction of virtue, and justice too often personified by the executioner. Such was the case with the earliest of the English middle-class dramas, Lillo's *George Barnwell, or the merchant of London* (1731), a dramatization of a well-known popular ballad. In it George Barnwell is led by the beguilements of a harlot, Millwood, to steal money from his excellent master Thorowgood and finally to slay his own uncle in order to rob him of his wealth. He dies repentant at the hands of the executioner;

⁴ Regarding these dramatists and the phases of their work that influenced the German drama see Kettner [128]. That Diderot, like Lessing, lookt to England for the reform of his own country's drama is shown by Schmidt [126]² 1 305, by Schmidt [295] 80, and by Rosenkranz, *Diderots Leben und Werke* (Leipzig 1866) p. 267ff. See also R. L. Cru, *Diderot as a disciple of English thought* (New York 1913) p. 287ff.

^{4a} The plays of the restoration period were comparatively little known in Germany. During the period 1737-1768 there were, according to Beam [86] 8, in all 168 comedies exclusive of Molière's, translated into German from foren languages. Of these 111 were from the French, 35 from the Danish, 9 from the Italian, 9 from the English, 3 from the Dutch, and 1 from the Polish language. The following English plays were translated in the years indicated: Ravenscroft's *The anatomist* 1748, Vanbrugh and Cibber's *The provoked husband* 1748, Cibber's *The careless husband* 1750, Vanbrugh's *The relapse or virtue in danger* 1750, Granville's *The she-gallants* 1751, Steele's *The conscious lovers* 1752, Hoadly's *The suspicious husband* 1754, Congreve's *Love for love* 1754, Congreve's *The way of the world* 1757. These translations and their reception by the German critics are discust by Beam [86].

Millwood dies unrepentant.⁵ As recently as fifty years ago apprentices in Manchester were allowed a free afternoon on Shrove Tuesday on condition that they attend the performance of *George Barnwell*. It is reported, however, that they usually preferred to remain at work.

There is an obvious correspondence of characters between this drama and *Miss Sara Sampson*. Millwood is comparable with Marwood, Mellefont with George Barnwell, Sir William Sampson with Thorowgood, Sara Sampson with Thorowgood's daughter, whom Barnwell might have married, but a still closer parallel may be drawn between *Miss Sara Sampson* and Richardson's *Clarissa*. Here too we have a virtuous-minded girl led astray by an attractive but irresponsible voluptuary, who pays for his wantonness with his life. Clarissa rather than Maria Thorowgood is the model of Miss Sara Sampson and the polished Lovelace rather than the crude George Barnwell the model of Mellefont. The names in Lessing's tragedy are also significant. Marwood seems to be a mere variation of Millwood; Mellefont was the name of a character in Congreve's *Double dealer*; Arabella, the daughter of Marwood, bears the name of a sister of Richardson's *Clarissa*; Marwood assumes the name of Lady Solmes to gain an audience with Sara, and a Solmes was a bridegroom selected by her parents for *Clarissa*; the name Sir William Sampson is remotely suggestive of Swift's unhappy connexion.⁶ It is clear that Lessing made no effort to conceal the sources of his inspiration.

Lessing saw his *Miss Sara Sampson* played in Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, July 10, 1755. Ramler was able to report by letter to Gleim: "Die Zuschauer haben drey und eine halbe Stunde zugehört, stille gesessen wie Statüen und geweint."^{6a} A similar recep-

⁵ See W. H. Hudson's *George Lillo and the London merchant*, pp. 93-163 in his volume *A quiet corner in a library* (Chicago 1915); also his forthcoming work Hudson [215x].

⁶ It has been asserted that Sir William Temple, Swift's patron, was the father of Hester Johnson, who paid for her attachment to Swift with her life. Caro [354] defends the thesis of Swift's influence on Lessing's dramas.

^{6a} *Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Ramler*, in *Bibliothek des Stuttgarter litterarischen Vereins* CXXIV (1907) 206. According to Schmidt [126]² II 286 Ramler accompanied Lessing on this occasion.

tion seems to have been accorded the new play in Gottsched's own Leipzig. The new drama took first place in public favor from the outset. Gottsched could only console himself with the reflexion that popularity signified no merit in a play.

The blow was a heavier one than Gottsched estimated. The secession of Lessing alone constituted a great loss, for Lessing had formerly written correct dramas of the French type, according to the Gottsched prescription. Danzel has characterized the period from 1753 to 1758 in Lessing's career as "Ausbildung eines eigenen Standpunkts mit Hilfe der englischen Literatur."⁷ In this period Lessing was reading English dramas extensively for his *Theatralische Bibliothek*. He gives an account of James Thomson in the first number of the *Bibliothek* (1754)⁸ and praises him somewhat extravagantly in an introduction to a German translation of his works published in 1756.⁹

As was his wont, Lessing had preceded the literary example with a theoretic exposition. His *Abhandlung von dem weinerlichen und rührenden Lustspiel* appeared in 1754. This treatise supported the new comedy of France as exemplified by Marivaux, Nivelle de la Chaussée, and others and defended by Diderot, and indicated agreement with the new tragedy developing in England. It is not difficult to reconcile this liberality of thought with a strict interpretation of Aristotle; for if to arouse fear and compassion is the chief object of tragedy, that end may be better attained when we see men and women like ourselves on the stage than when we see demi-gods or the heroes of history.

It was not, however, the theoretic defence but the practical success that opened up the flood-gates of imitation. The *Merchant of London* itself was presently translated from the English¹⁰ and its influence, mingling with that of *Miss Sara Sampson*, evoked a series of imitations that are not difficult to describe in general terms. The plays are family plays, and their characters

⁷ Danzel and Guhrauer, *Lessings Leben und Werke*² (Berlin 1880), I 256.

⁸ Lessing, *Schriften* VI 53ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VII 66.

have English names as a rule. There is a wise, enlightened, forgiving, unimpassioned character, the embodiment of the "Aufklärung." He is generally the father or guardian of one of the central figures. The wife or mother is usually not found necessary to the play. There is an attractive Lovelace or a Mellefont wavering between virtue and vice or between a good and a bad woman. There is an evil character, male or female, the cause of all the tragedy. There is usually a woman who suffers for the weakness of the unreliable hero. The characters are not complicated but are the embodiments of some particular virtue or failing.

It is not easy, perhaps it is not even particularly advantageous, to distinguish between the direct influence of the English middle-class tragedy and the indirect influence thru *Miss Sara Sampson*. Sauer has made an interesting contribution to such a study, however, in his *Joachim Wilhelm von Brawe, der Schüler Lessings* [104]. In the first chapter he gives an account of Brawe's life. The second treats of Brawe's *Freygeist* (1758), beginning with an account of the "Nicolaische Preis," which was the direct occasion for the writing of the play. After indicating then the content of the play and defining the term "Freigeisterei" as understood at the time, Sauer speaks of the "Vorbilder" of the *Freygeist*. He recognizes chiefly two: *Miss Sara Sampson* and Young's *Revenge*. The latter is in reality nothing more than a weak imitation of *Othello*. Alonzo has been persuaded by

¹⁰ According to Kunze [215] 11 the first appearance of *Der Kaufmann von London* in Germany was in 1749. The version used was based upon the free French translation of Clément. The last two acts were entirely omitted. A Frankfurt translation of 1774 is based upon a French version by Aulseaume, *L'école de la jeunesse ou le Barneveldt français*. The first version based on the English original was that of H. A. B. (assewitz) (Hamburg 1755). Stephanie the elder prepared from this a version for the Vienna stage (1767) in which the execution was omitted. Danzel, *Lessing*² (Berlin 1880), I 300 calls attention to a notice of the *Merchant of London* in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* I (1757). Kunze mentions also a Viennese version prepared by the actor Mayberg and discovered by A. von Weilen. Schröders version, *Die Gefahren der Verführung, ein Lustspiel in 4 Aufzügen*, was produced in Hamburg in 1778 and 1779, in Leipzig in 1782, and in Berlin in 1783. It is based on a French version by Mercier which was called *Jenneval, ou le Barneveldt français*.

Zanga, a captured Moorish prince, that his wife is untrue to him. Zanga leads Alonzo thus to slay Carlos, his best friend; then he reveals to Alonzo his deception. Alonzo kills Zanga and then himself. The content of Brawe's *Freygeist* is not dissimilar. Clerdon, a young Englishman, loves Amalia, the sister of his friend Granville. Henley, his rival, plans a slow revenge; he leads Clerdon into dissipation and crime, persuading him that there is no God and no future life. Granville tries to rescue Clerdon from his wild course of life, but by means of a falsified letter Henley brings about a duel between Clerdon and Granville in which the latter is killed. Henley then triumphantly reveals to Clerdon the entire intrigue, whereupon Clerdon kills first Henley, then himself.

The similarity of the two plays is striking enuf yet Sauer erred in recognizing no further models for the *Freygeist*. The greatest similarity subsists between Brawe's *Freygeist* and Moore's *Gamester* (1753), which Sauer seems entirely to have overlookt. Beverley, "the gamester," gambles away the property of his wife, the money of his sister, which has been placed in his charge, then the jewels of his wife, and finally the reversion of the estate of his uncle. He is led to all this by his enemy Stukely. After all has been lost, Beverley kills himself, but not until he has fathomed Stukely's plans and learned that he is to be punisht.

The influence of Moore's *Gamester*, thus past over by Sauer, has been duly considered by Eloesser [88] and has been made the subject of a special study by Fritz [239]. Fritz records that Moore's *Gamester* was translated into German in 1754 (the year after its appearance in England) by J. J. C. Bode. Between the years 1754 and 1791 there were eight or more translations and variations. The tragedy was first played in Breslau Oct. 1, 1754, by Ackermann's troupe. In 1756 it was played by Schöne-mann's troupe in Hamburg, with Ekhof as Beverley. It belonged also to the repertoire of Koch's troupe. In fact it appeared on every important stage in Germany, tho not in Berlin, it is true, until 1785. From 1768 on the German versions are

influenced by a French version of Saurin, *Béverlei, tragédie bourgeoise*, which appeared in Paris under Diderot's inspiration, 1768. Saurin improved the piece in several instances by better motivations. In the next year Saurin, led by Diderot's criticism, decided to propose a happy ending to the play and this plan met with some favor in Germany. From now on it was played in Germany sometimes as a tragedy and sometimes as a "Rührstück." The versions of the ensuing period Fritz shows to have been of the poorest sort. *Die verdüchtige Freundschaft* (München 1784) by an unknown writer, and J. G. Dyk's comedy *Das Spielerglück* (1773) are described. Maler Müller has a gamester scene in his *Fausts Leben* (1778). Klinger wrote a five-act comedy *Die falschen Spieler* (1780) and publishes it two years later. A. G. Meiszner wrote an inane one-act comedy *Der Schachspieler* (1782), and David Beil (1785) a five-act piece *Die Spieler*, later called *Die Gauner*. Iffland raised the theme to a mediocre height with his *Spieler* (1796). It sank to its former level in Kotzebue's *Blinde Liebe* (1806).

To return to Brawe, in his third chapter Sauer treats of his *Brutus* (1758), recognizing as its chief literary models Lessing's dramatic fragment *Kleonnis*, Voltaire's *Mahomet*, Young's *Revenge* and Addison's *Cato*. Young's *Revenge* appears to have been of more influence than the others. In his fourth chapter Sauer seems to depart slightly from his theme in order to re-approach it from another direction. The chapter deals with "Die litterarischen Wirkungen der *Miss Sara Sampson*." Here we have conveniently grouped together descriptions of a large number of middle-class dramas all bearing quite similar traits inherited from *Miss Sara Sampson*. The dramas described are *Rhynsolt und Sapphira* by Martini (1755), Pfeil's *Lucie Woodvil* (1756), Lieberkühn's *Die Lissaboner* (1758), Breithaupt's *Der Renegat* (1759), Wieland's *Clementina von Poretta* (1760), Dusch's *Der Bankerot* (1763), Steffens's *Clarissa* (1765), Baumgarten's *Carl von Drontheim* (1765), Brandes's *Miss Fanny* (1766), *Amalia*, a tragedy by an unknown writer (1766), Weisze's *Amalia* (1766), Sturz's *Julie* (1767), *Miss Jenny* by

an unknown writer (1771), Brandes's *Olivie* (1774), Weidmann's *Johann Faust* (1775), an unknown writer's *Eduard und Cecilie* (1776), and Jeger's *Eugenia und Amynt* (1777).

Of especial bearing on the present topic are Sauer's observations on the English names and localities predominating in these plays:

Mit wenigen Ausnahmen müssen die Personen Engländer sein; man kann nicht genug englisch, um neue Namen zu erfinden, daher combinirt man die vorhandenen in der wunderlichsten Weise; die beiden Namen Marwood und Waitwell veranlassen in der *Woodvil* die Namen Southwell und Woodvil; im *Renegaten* heiszt der Vertraute Welwood, und in *Miss Fanny* ist er bloz als Well zurückgeblieben; während ein bürgerliches Trauerspiel in einem Acte, das 1769 zu Gieszen erschien, den Titel *Breitwell* führt. Granville im *Freigeist*, Grandlove im *Renegaten* und Greville in *Miss Jenny* können die Ähnlichkeit nicht verläugnen; aus dem Granville im *Freigeist* scheinen auch die beiden Namen Grandfeld und Blackville im *Drontheim* entstanden. Clerdon im *Freigeist* klingt als Clarendon in *Eduard und Cecilie* wieder; Manley in Weiszes *Amalia*, ebenso in *Eduard und Cecilie*; der Stanley des letzteren Stückes mag mit dem Steely in *Miss Fanny* zusammengestellt werden. Schliesslich sei erwähnt, welche Rolle der Vorname Amalia spielt: Weiszes Drama und das zweite in demselben Jahre erschienene tragen diesen Titel; im *Freigeist*, in der *Woodvill* und *Miss Jenny* kehrt der Name wieder.¹¹

Regarding the scene of most of the dramas Sauer says:

Da das bürgerliche Trauerspiel von England nach Deutschland herübergekommen war, so verlegte man dahin auch die Handlung der Stücke; und wenn England nicht selbst der Schauplatz ist, sondern der Orient, wie im *Renegaten*, oder eine ferne Insel, wie in *Miss Fanny*, so sind doch die Träger des Interesses Engländer, aus der Heimat entflohen, durch Schiffbruch verunglückt; oder wenigstens musz der Intrigant aus Groszbrittanien stammen, wie in den *Lissabonern* der Schottlander Sir Carl. Auch der engere Schauplatz der *Miss Sara* wird in einigen dieser Stücke beibehalten, so wenn in Weiszes *Amalia* und im *Freigeist* die Handlung in einer kleinen Stadt Englands und in einem Gasthofe vor sich geht.¹²

Sauer then lists a large number of "verwandte Charaktere" and "verwandte Situationen und Motive" to be found in the group he has described. It would be of some interest to know whether in certain instances the source of inspiration of the German plays was *Miss Sara Sampson* or some English model

¹¹ Sauer [104] 92-93.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

or models. In two respects Lessing improves upon the *Merchant of London*. He does not let gold serve as a motive for crime, nor represent it as a means of bringing about well-being and he does not invoke the strong arm of the law to bring about poetic justice. It seems fairly certain that Lessing introduced this latter refinement under the influence of Richardson's *Clarissa* with the result that he produced a "Familientragödie" rather than a "bürgerliche Tragödie." Most of his successors were blind to this virtue in Lessing's tragedy and slavishly followed English dramatists, Lillo, Moore, or others, in all their crudities. Koch asserts that the influence of Richardson went beyond Lessing. "Motive aus diesem englischen Drama (i.e. *Barnwell*) mehr noch aus Richardsons folgenden Romanen, *Clarissa Harlowe* und *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753), kehren in den meisten bürgerlichen Trauerspielen der nächsten Jahre in Deutschland wieder."^{12a} This appears to be an overstatement; Koch mentions only the obvious instance of Wieland's *Clementina von Poretta* (1760).^{12b} Neither Sauer nor Eloesser takes up the question of Richardson motifs at all. The motif of "Verführung" found in Wagner's *Kindermörderin*, Lenz's *Soldaten*, and other plays of the time could hardly be adduced as evidence since *Miss Sara Sampson* contains it as well.

The German comedy was also connected with the English by certain strong ties. Goethe commended Schröder's versions of English comedies not only because of the technical skill they displayed but because they afforded a welcome relief from the prevailing sentimentality of the literature and drama of the time.

Indem nun das deutsche Theater sich völlig zur Verweichlichung hinneigte, stand Schröder als Schriftsteller und Schauspieler auf, und bearbeitete, durch die Verbindung Hamburgs mit England veranlaszt, englische Lustspiele. Er konnte dabei den Stoff derselben nur im Allgemeinen brauchen: denn die Originale sind meistens formlos, und wenn sie auch gut und planmässig anfangen, so verlieren sie sich doch zuletzt in's Weite. Es scheint ihren Verfassern nur darum zu thun, die wunderlichsten Szenen anzubringen, und wer an ein gehaltenes Kunstwerk gewöhnt ist, sieht sich zuletzt ungen in's Gränzenlose getrieben. Ueber-

^{12a} Koch [76] 24; cf. Marx [144].

^{12b} In 1765 appeared also a three-act tragedy *Clarissa* by J. H. Steffens; cf. Sauer [104] 25.

diesz geht ein wildes und unsittliches, gemeinwüestes Wesen bis zum Unerträglichem so entschieden durch, dasz es schwer sein möchte, dem Plan und den Charaktern alle ihre Unarten zu benehmen. Sie sind eine derbe und dabei gefährliche Speise, die bloz einer groszen und halbverdorbenen Volksmasse zu einer gewissen Zeit genieszbar und verdaulich gewesen sein mag. Schröder hat an diesen Dingen mehr gethan, als man gewöhnlich weisz; er hat sie von Grund aus verändert, dem deutschen Sinne angeähnlicht, und sie möglichst gemildert. Es bleibt ihnen aber immer ein derber Kern, weil der Scherz gar oft auf Miszhandlung von Personen beruht, sie mögen es verdienen oder nicht. In diesen Darstellungen, welche sich gleichfalls auf dem Theater verbreiteten, lag also ein heimliches Gegengewicht jener allzu zarten Sittlichkeit (i.e. of Richardson's novels and the plays of Lillo, Diderot, etc.) und die Wirkung beider Arten gegen einander hinderte glücklicherweise die Eintönigkeit, in die man sonst verfallen wäre.¹³

Hauffen [136] has treated more concretely the connexions of Schröder with English literature. He classifies certain plays of Schröder according to their degree of dependence upon an English original as follows:

I. Plays closely dependent on the original:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Der Arglistige</i> , 1771. | <i>Double dealer</i> . Congreve. |
| <i>Irrtum auf allen Ecken</i> , 1784. | <i>She stoops to conquer</i> . Goldsmith. |
| <i>Glück bessert Thorheit</i> , 1782. | <i>Chapter of accidents</i> . Miss Lees. |
| <i>Inkle und Jariko</i> (Oper), 1788. | <i>Inkle and Yarico</i> (opera). Colman. |

II. Plays abbreviated or concentrated:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Wer ist sie?</i> 1786. | <i>The foundling</i> . Moore. |
| <i>Die unglückliche Heirat</i> , 1784. | <i>Isabella or the fatal marriage</i> .
Southern. |
| <i>Die unmögliche Sache</i> , 1773. | <i>Sir Courtly Nice or it cannot be</i> .
Crown. |

III. Scene transferred to Germany:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>Das Blatt hat sich gewendet</i> ,
1775. | <i>The brothers</i> . Cumberland. |
| <i>Die Wankelmütige oder der weibliche Betrüger</i> , 1782. | <i>She would and she would not</i> . Cibber. |
| <i>Die Eifersüchtigen oder keiner hat Recht</i> , 1785. | <i>All in the wrong</i> . Murphy. |
| <i>Beverley oder der Spieler</i> ,
1785. | { <i>The Gamester</i> . Moore.
(<i>Béverlei</i> . Saurin.) |
| <i>Stille Wasser sind tief</i> , 1784. | <i>Rule a wife and have a wife</i> .
Beaumont and Fletcher. |
| <i>Victorine oder Wohlthun trägt Zinsen</i> , 1784. | <i>Evelyne</i> . A novel by Miss Burney. |

¹³ Goethe, *Werke* I 28, 194-195.

IV. Almost original:

<i>Der Ring</i> , 1783.	<i>The constant couple</i> . Farquhar.
<i>Die unglückliche Ehe durch Delikatesse</i> , 1788.	<i>Sir Harry Wildair</i> . Farquhar.
<i>Das Porträt der Mutter oder die Privatkomödie</i> , 1786.	<i>School for scandal</i> . Sheridan.

As Eloesser does not overrate the English influence in the development of the German middle-class drama, it is safe to adopt his judgment. A summary of his work would read somewhat as follows: Lillo and Moore gave a powerful impulse to the new drama, which became dynamic in Germany thru the instrumentality of *Miss Sara Sampson*. Side by side with the English influence, but less imposing, was the influence of the French "comédie larmoyante." Together these influences did away with the old French-Gottschedian prejudices in regard to tragedies and comedies, and thereafter playwrights like Schröder, Iffland, and Kotzebue, some of them frequently, some of them occasionally, came back to English sources for inspiration; but to a large extent, after the earliest days, the middle-class drama in Germany was self-quickening. There was a train of pathetic and military pieces in the wake of *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Emilia Galotti* led to a similar period of imitation, and some of the imitations of *Götz* might be classified as middle-class dramas. Schiller experienced all these influences and re-acted to them in his youthful dramas. Eloesser follows the middle-class drama thru the early part of the nineteenth century, the plays of Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, Bauernfeld, Benedix, and Gutzkow being mentioned. He very properly ends his discussion with Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena*, in which the middle-class opinions, once regarded as representing the ne plus ultra of good sense and enlightenment, have become the bane of contemporary life.

Before this time the influence of the English middle-class dramas had long ceased to be important, yet it is interesting to note that the very dramas which did most to free the German drama from foren influence have been recently drawn into a close association with the works of Farquhar, Richardson, Lillo, and Moore.

The reference here is respectively to *Minna von Barnhelm*, *Emilia Galotti*, *Götz von Berlichingen*, and *Die Räuber*.

In many respects *Minna von Barnhelm* may be classified with *Miss Sara Sampson* as a middle-class play. Its parallelisms with Farquhar's *The constant couple* have been commented on by Erich Schmidt and others.^{13a} Robertson [186] holds that the similarity between *Minna* and Farquhar's *The beaux' stratagem* is much more striking. The opening scene of Farquhar's play is also at an inn and the proprietor Boniface is a lover of gossip like Lessing's "Wirt." He is filled with curiosity regarding his guests and he praises his ale with no less unctiousness than the "Wirt" his Danziger."^{13a} In the second act Mrs. Sullen and Dorinda, if not counterparts of *Minna* and *Franciska*, have at any rate more grace than is usual in restoration dramas. There is also a Count Bellair in the play whose broken English corresponds to the "Chevalier's" German.

Robertson does not make of these correspondences a main issue but defends the paralleling of Farquhar and Lessing as dramatists. True, Farquhar was a restoration dramatist not of the type one usually associates with Lillo and Moore, but Farquhar like Lessing broke with the tradition of his time and introduced reforms into the drama. His characters are more modern and refined than those of his contemporaries. Farquhar could draw gentlemen who were not rakes and women whose conversation was above reproach. His boors, innkeepers, refugees, and Irishmen were drawn from real life. He drew pictures of real soldiers instead of the traditional "miles gloriosus." He made use of local color and local interest in his plays. It is by no means ill-considered to rank him as a predecessor of Lessing.

Kettner has demonstrated [300] the close relation between *Clarissa* and *Emilia Galotti*.¹⁴ We first hear of Lessing's

^{13a} Schmidt [126]² I 465; cf. Böhlingk [549] 103.

^{13b} See SURVEY, p. 319.

¹⁴ Block [301] brings nothing new, but incidentally overturns the chronology in the English development with his phrase (p. 230), "bis unter dem Einfluss von Richardsons Familienroman der *Kaufmann von London* entstand." *The merchant of London* appeared in 1731, *Pamela* in 1740.

being at work on the theme of the Roman Virginius in October 1757.¹⁵ At this time he had already broken with the Gottsched school and, two years before, had completed *Miss Sara Sampson*, the hero and heroines of which Kettner, like several other critics, holds to be mere reproductions of Lovelace and Clarissa: "Erst wenn man sich Lessings Verhältnis zu Richardson in jenen Jahren, wo er die Dramatisierung der Virginiafabel begann, klar vergegenwärtigt, versteht man, weshalb er einen solchen Stoff aufgriff und wie daraus eine *Emilia Galotti* wurde."¹⁶

Kettner points out that the story of Virginius needs only a little of the eighteenth-century atmosphere in order to become a typically Richardsonian narrative. He compares the characters of Hettore Gonzaga and of Lovelace, showing general and specific resemblances, and demonstrates similar parallels between Clarissa and Emilia. He lays especial stress upon the guilty consciousness of an admiration for the wanton heroes on the part of Clarissa as well as of Emilia, and he shows that pure accident plays a large part in Clarissa's undoing, even if it is not quite so conspicuous as in Emilia Galotti's. At the conclusion of her tragic experience Clarissa has outlived every trace of her former inclination toward Lovelace, while Emilia is still aware of the possibility of a guilty admiration on her part. Hence she can only preserve the purity of her heart by asking for death at her father's hand. Kettner even discovers a vestige of Richardson's style in *Emilia Galotti* despite the great progress that Lessing had made in dramatic technique since 1755. "Wie undramatisch jene Richardsonsche Manier war, hatte Lessing an seiner Miss Sara zur Genüge erkannt. Seitdem hatte er die Kunst des Schweigens gelernt . . . aber . . . die gelegentlichen

¹⁵ Lessing's fragment *Virginia* in *Schriften* III 359-360 was, until 1889, considered an original work. It was, however, merely a translation of the opening of Crisp's drama of 1754. By means of patronage Samuel Crisp (1707-1783) succeeded in having his drama played in the Drury Lane Theatre, Feb. 25, 1754. Garrick was applauded warmly for his interpretation of the Virginius rôle. Roethe [169] reproduces the original and the translation and discusses the extent to which Lessing was indebted to Crisp in *Emilia Galotti*.

¹⁶ Kettner [300] 445.

Äusserungen, in denen er seine Heldin (Emilia Galotti) ihr Innenleben enthüllen lässt, sind offenbar der Abschluss langer verschwiegener Gedankengänge."^{16a}

The additional parallels of detail drawn by Kettner are abundant and carry conviction by their weight; but they cannot be recapitulated here. They seem adequate to prove his assertion: "Lessings Drama wurzelt tief im Boden des Richardsonschen Romans." He recognizes the potency of various other influences but says: "Neben Richardson treten sie weit zurück. Er bestimmte den Grundcharakter des ganzen Werkes. Unter seiner Einwirkung wurde aus einer *Virginia* eine *Emilia Galotti*."^{16b}

Minor¹⁷ and Weizenfels¹⁸ have both pointed out that *Götz* is not a purely historical drama, but that it has elements of the middle-class drama as well. Supporting himself on these assertions Walz [219] has drawn a close parallel between a portion of *Götz* and Lillo's *Merchant of London*. Specifically he compares the Adelheid-Weiszlingen-Maria plot with its Millwood-Barnwell-Maria counterpart in Lillo's drama. Walz marshals a surprisingly large number of parallel passages; and the number would obviously be greater, as he points out, but for the fact that Goethe's superior technique enables him to express by the action or situation much that Lillo is compelled to let the characters say.

In *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Book III, Goethe relates that he and his father disputed regarding the moral value of the stage. The younger Goethe used *Miss Sara Sampson* and *The merchant of London* as his best arguments. Goethe saw the latter play apparently for the first time in Leipzig, for he wrote to his sister in 1765: "Dein Leibstück den *Kaufmann von London* habe ich spielen sehen. Beym grössten Theil des Stückes gegähnt, aber bey dem Ende geweint."¹⁹

^{16a} Ibid., p. 449.

^{16b} Ibid., p. 461.

¹⁷ Minor, *Schiller* (Berlin 1890), II 121.

¹⁸ Weizenfels, *Goethe im Sturm und Drang* (Halle 1894), I p. 371.

¹⁹ Goethe, *Werke* IV 1, 26.

It is generally agreed that Millwood was the original of the "Machtweib," who later became so familiar a figure especially in the "Sturm und Drang" drama. The situation of the hero wavering between such a being and a good woman of unequal influence is common enough. It would be easy to think, for example, that Goethe borrowed the situation from *Miss Sara Sampson* rather than from *Barnwell*; but in the course of his numerous quotations Walz indicates that such is not the case, that the Lillo influence is direct. Adelheid's death is an example in point. She might have committed suicide like Cleopatra, she might have been permitted to depart unmolested like Marwood, but Goethe let her end her course in middle-class English fashion, with a conviction before a court of justice.

With Schiller's *Räuber* the case is similar. Wihan [240] points out first that this drama represents a mingling of two distinct types. In some respects Karl Moor is a free individual responsible only to his own conscience, like a Shakespearean hero; but in other respects he bows to society and law, and in so far as he does so Schiller's *Räuber* is to be considered a "bürgerliche Tragödie." This gives justification to the comparison of Karl Moor with Beverley, of Franz Moor with Stukely and of the passive Amalia with Beverley's wife. Even some of the minor characters are drawn into the comparison, and parallel passages are quoted. Wihan finds also that *Die Räuber* has motifs in common with two other German middle-class dramas, Brawe's *Freygeist* and Christian Felix Weisze's *Amalia*, both of which, however, were in their turn dependent upon Moore's *Gamester*. Wihan agrees with Clarke [193] that Karl Moor has more in common with Fielding's Tom Jones than with Beverley; but he holds that Beverley owes many of his traits to Tom Jones. Wihan proposes to prove this assertion in a later treatise, which has not yet appeared.²⁰

While evidence of English influence on the German middle-class plays of the eighteenth century is gradually increasing, the

²⁰ Wihan [240] footnote to p. 96.

influence of Lillo on the German middle-class fate plays of the early nineteenth century, once taken for granted, has recently been called into question. Fath [216] and Minor²¹ are exponents of divergent views regarding the origin of the German fate dramas. Fath takes exception at the beginning of his monograph to Minor's view that fatalistic ideas were derived first by the learned classes from Greek literature and did not become prevalent among the people until about the year 1805, after a series of wars, pestilences, and famines had brot about a general depression. Fath holds, on the contrary, that fatalistic conceptions were always current in the Germanic race; that they manifested themselves in early literature, in the *Nibelungenlied* and in *Kudrun*, and maintained themselves in the superstitions of the people, and that they re-asserted themselves in full force when rationalism had cleared the way by dispelling faith:

Es bedurfte nur eines Anstoszes und die mit fatalistischen Ideen erfüllten Gemüther suchten sich durch poetische Darstellungen zu befreien. Dieser kam von England her durch das Drama *The fatal curiosity* von Lillo, das als Ausgangspunkt für die deutsche Schicksalstragödie betrachtet werden musz; denn seine Übersetzung und Nachahmung war die Vorbereitung zu den deutschen Hauptwerken, nicht, wie Koberstein meint, *Der Abschied* und *Karl von Pernack* (sic) von Tieck.²²

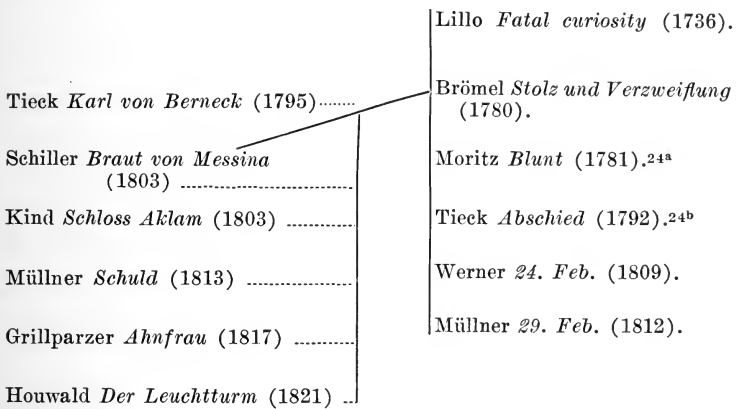
Lillo's *Fatal curiosity* was first presented in England in 1736 under the title *Guilt its own punishment*. The following year it was revived under its now familiar name but found little favor and soon disappeared from the boards to remain in retirement until 1782.²³ During the time that *George Barnwell* was so popular in Germany *The fatal curiosity* seems to have been entirely unknown there. The drama was translated into German in 1778 and shortly after that similar fate tragedies began to appear in Germany. Fath maintains that these German fate tragedies owe their existence to the impulse given by Lillo. The line of development according to Fath (see diagram, p. 351) passed thru Brömel

²¹ Minor, *Die Schicksalsidee in ihren Hauptvertretern* (Frankfurt 1883), p. 5; reviewed by Wendt in *LblGRPh* VII (1884) 270.

²² Fath [216] 9.

²³ Minor [217] 34.

and Moritz to Tieck, who wrote *Der Abschied* (1792) and *Karl von Berneck* (1795). From this point on Fath distinguishes two groups of fate tragedies in Germany: “Die ursprüngliche Schicksalsdichtung gehört dem bürgerlichen Drama an, und die Hauptvertreter sind Lillo, Brömel, Moritz, Werner und zum Teil Tieck und Müllner. Eine zweite Gruppe bilden diejenigen Dichter, welche fatalistische Gedanken in das historische Drama aufnahmen. Tieck ist Bahnbrecher, ihm folgen Kind, Schiller, Houwald, Grillparzer.”²⁴ Fath’s view of the development may accordingly be represented by the following scheme:



Fath assumes that Schiller had read the fate tragedies of Lillo, Moritz, and Tieck, and holds that three influences determined the *Braut von Messina* (1803): “Das antike Drama lieferte die formale Anlage, Sturm und Drang die Fabel und die moderne Schicksalstragödie die geistige Tendenz.”²⁵ That *Wallenstein* and *Maria Stuart* are “Schicksalsdramen” in any precise sense he does not concede. He believes that the influence of the *Braut von Messina* upon the German fate drama has been overestimated, and that the next following fate dramas, historical

²⁴ Fath [216] 11.

^{24a} *Ibid.*, p. 11; but cf. Abrahamson [219ax] 217.

^{24b} See, however, Fath [216] 13, footnote 2.

²⁵ Fath [216] 18.

and "bürgerlich" alike, derive their essential characteristics from Tieck's *Karl von Berneck* rather than from the *Braut von Messina*.

Plausible as this genealogy may seem it will not bear scrutiny, and Minor [217] attacks it at nearly every point: The German dramatists had no need to look to England for the story of the parents who unwittingly killed their own son. Chronicles and folk-books as far back as the seventeenth century told frequently of such incidents, usually stating a definite time and place. This theme was later taken up by the folk-song. There is an Italian tale and a Corsican folk-song having the same motif; and Lillo, as is well known, based his drama on an English folk-song.

Comparison shows that Moritz's *Blunt* and Brömel's *Stolz und Verzweiflung* (1780) did not arise independently of each other but in reality it was Brömel's work that was inspired by Moritz's and not vice versa as has been claimed. In the preface to a later edition of his play Moritz claims to have written the tragedy quite independently:

Ohne zu wissen, dass Lillo den Stoff zu diesem Stücke schon bearbeitet hat und ohne einmal die Ballade zu kennen, woraus dieselbe (sic) genommen ist, veranlaszte mich eine dunkle Erinnerung aus den Jahren meiner Kindheit, wo ich diese Geschichte hatte erzählen hören, sie dramatisch zu bearbeiten.'

This statement is cited by Minor, who adds: "Mit diesen Worten sinkt der Stammbaum unserer Schicksalstragödie zusammen."²⁶

But there are weak points in the later portions of the genealogy as well.

"Schiller, der auf das Talent des Verfassers des *Georg Barnwell* grosse Stücke hielt, musste sich von Crabb Robinson die Fabel der *verhängnisvollen Neugierde* erzählen lassen, die er für einen guten Stoff erklärte, ohne des Moritzschen *Blunt* zu gedenken, der ihm also auch gewisz unbekannt war. Tieck obwohl persönlich mit Moritz in Verbindung, hat den *Blunt* sicher nicht gekannt. . . . Kennt Tieck das Drama von Moritz nicht, so kann es nicht auf seinen *Abschied* eingewirkt haben."²⁷

²⁶ Minor [217] 37.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51; cf. *Diary, reminiscences, and correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson* ed. Sadler (N. Y. 1877) I 137.

This does not exclude the possibility of a direct influence of Lillo on Tieck; but Minor clearly does not believe in this possibility either. Folk-book and folk-song might well have formed the basis of Tieck's *Karl von Berneck*. In this drama the motifs of the fatal sword and the fatal day are first employed.

Finally Minor shows that Werner's *24. Februar* also originated independently of all literary predecessors. In a social gathering at which Werner and Goethe were present a criminal novel was read aloud. Goethe and Werner undertook to make use of two different phases of this tale in competition with each other. Werner's drama was played in Weimar later and there were many comments upon it, but no one seems to have thought of Lillo's tragedy in connexion with it, and no one mentioned Moritz.

Minor's evidence is conclusive. The German fate drama owes little specifically to its English predecessor. The rationalistic, middle-class drama of the English, on the other hand, was quite as influential in Germany as the English moral essay, English ballad, and the English novel. All of them helped break down old forms and substitute new ones. The English middle-class drama counteracted the strict theory of the unities and the aristocratic dramatic conventions of French origin, which were more firmly established in Germany than in France itself. In conjunction with the English moral weeklies the English moral dramas incidentally helped pave the way for an appreciation of Shakespeare in Germany. For evidence of this we do not need to look farther than to the early works of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller.

PART II

SHAKESPEARE IN GERMANY

CHAPTER 14

DRYDEN, LESSING, AND THE RATIONALISTIC CRITICS

Almost two hundred years ago the return of Voltaire from England (1729) first brot to the continent a definite if incorrect impression of Shakespeare. Voltaire's views were soon known not only to the French but to the learned in Germany. About the year 1740 Shakespeare became a subject of dispute in Germany; by the year 1770 he was acknowledged as the supreme dramatic poet; thru the Schlegel translation (1797-1801) his dramas were incorporated into German literature. Not long after that his influence in Germany began to be lookt upon as an historical fact, and became a theme for essays and a subject for detailed investigation. The Shakespeare literature in Germany is so voluminous that it would be uncontrollable but for the efforts of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, founded in 1865, which has publisht periodic bibliographies of the world's Shakespeare literature. Other attempts to render such account have been relatively unsuccessful.¹

Naturally the larger number of investigations of Shakespeare's influence concern special phases, but from time to time more comprehensive treatizes have appeared, such as those of Cohn, Creizenach, and Herz, already reviewed,² and of Genée [427] and Dege [479], which lay stress upon the eighteenth century. In the work of Gundolf, *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist* [416], the theme has been treated so admirably that a similar work will not need to be attempted again until a new

¹ See Northup's review of Jaggard [404].

² See SURVEY, chapter 2.

age brings a new appreciation of Shakespeare. Gundolf's work has as yet received little attention in America; in Germany it has been reviewed adequately on the esthetic side only by Walzel in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* for 1912 and by Herrmann in the *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik*.³ It has other aspects as well: a philosophical, a philological, and an historical one. It is summarized in a separate chapter, number seventeen of this survey, where it serves as a much needed general view; for most of the special investigators whose works are here reviewed have held their eyes too close to their subject and have seen certain parts too large and the whole not at all. Gundolf's book is a work of cultural history as surely as Scherer's or Francke's history of German literature. It lays no stress on the mere collection of parallel passages and discovery of similar motifs, but seeks to define more sharply the characteristics of successive periods of that in Germany, by showing how variously they responded to the world that is revealed in Shakespeare's works. It displays to the fullest degree the advantages of the comparative method in the study of literature.

Despite the fact that "Shakespeare in Germany" is the oldest and most intensely studied topic within the field of English-German literary relations, misconception is precisely here most prevalent. Two fundamental misimpressions in particular tenaciously hold their sway: the one that Lessing was the first to recognize Shakespeare's genius in Germany, and the other that English appreciation of Shakespeare followed tardily in the wake of German interpretation. Meisnest [547] has shown how Coleridge, Furness, A. W. von Schlegel, Heine, Gervinus, Robertson, and with the notable exception of Erich Schmidt, the leading biographers of Lessing, namely Danzel, Guhrauer, Sime, Strodtmann, Rolleston, Stahr, and Düntzer, have varied one or both of these assertions,⁴ which the inquiries of recent years have modified, if not fully refuted.

³ See BIBLIOGRAPHY under [416].

⁴ Meisnest [547] 234-236. Riedel's article [472] is also representative of this long prevalent opinion.

It is natural then that Lessing, as the crux of the question, should recently have formed the chief subject of discussion. Böhltlingk [549] and Baumgartner [182] emphasize Lessing's dependence upon English criticism, especially the fact that Dryden's *Essay of dramattick poesie* gave stimulus to the 17. *Literaturbrief*, while Richter [480] and Meisnest [547] have been led to conclude that Lessing did not lead but rather followed his friends Nicolai and Mendelssohn⁵ and other contemporary critics in his appreciation of Shakespeare. The *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* is equally a subject of contention. Witkowski [545] inquires why Lessing evades the impossible task of reconciling Shakespeare and Aristotle in his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. Meisnest points out that the references to Shakespeare in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* are far from showing a comprehensive first-hand knowledge of Shakespeare on the part of Lessing, while the precise extent of Lessing's first-hand acquaintance with Aristotle has recently been called into question by Robertson⁶ as never before.

These writers and others have recently shown, moreover, that the German criticism of Shakespeare before Lessing was largely influenced by Voltaire and Pope, and especially by the moral weeklies of Addison and Steele, while after Lessing the criticism of Gerstenberg and Herder is to no small extent inspired by Young's *Conjectures on original composition*.⁷ In order to establish the primacy of the English criticism over the German during the period before Lessing it is necessary to review the course of appreciation of Shakespeare from the time of his death up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

When the Puritans gained control of the government in England in 1642 they closed the theaters; but with the beginning of the restoration (1660) the theaters were re-opened, and from that time on Shakespeare's dramas have a continuous history on the English stage. Hamlet was played in 1662 by

⁵ But compare footnote 53 of this chapter.

⁶ Robertson, MLR XII (1917) 157-168, 319-339.

⁷ See especially Kind [365]. Cf. Steinke [366] and SURVEY, chapter 15.

Betterton, who had his instruction at third hand from Shakespeare himself. The successor to Betterton was Barton Booth (1700ca),^{7a} and a pupil of his was Anthony Boehme, who gained renown by a new interpretation of the part of King Lear.⁸ It is therefore vain to cling to the theory that Garrick revived the forgotten Shakespeare plays on account of their thankful rôles. What Garrick actually did was to substitute for the traditional rendering of the parts an original interpretation that pleased the people.

Shakespeare was appreciated, moreover, during the entire seventeenth century, not only as a playwright but as a poet. Partly to contradict the legend of the forgotten Shakespeare the work of Ingleby and Smith was compiled, *A century of praise; allusions to Shakespeare 1592-1693*,⁹ while the prevailing opinion of Shakespeare in the following century is reflected in Nichol Smith's *Eighteenth century essays on Shakespeare* (Glasgow 1903). The latter work consists chiefly of the prefaces of the several editions of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century: Rowe's (1709), Pope's (1725), Theobald's (1733), Hanmer's (1744), Warburton's (1747), and Johnson's (1765). Of these Pope's edition played the largest rôle in German literary history, tho his criticism is outrivalled in importance by that of Addison, Dryden, and Young. Much of Pope's influence upon Germany was exerted indirectly thru Voltaire and other French critics. The problem of the classicists of England and elsewhere was to account for their admiration of Shakespeare and yet maintain their literary orthodoxy. In view of the difficulty of this task it must be admitted that they were, on the whole, remarkably liberal in the views they express.

^{7a} Booth accompanied Betterton to London in 1705, and in 1708 he played the ghost to Wilks's Hamlet at the Haymarket Theater.

⁸ The items are taken from the article of Lily B. Campbell, *Stage presentation in England in the eighteenth century* PMLA XXXII (1917) 163-200.

⁹ Now included in Munro, *The Shakespeare allusion book, a collection of allusions to Shakespeare from 1591-1700* (new edition, 2 vols. London 1909); cf. review by Levin Schücking, ShJ XLVI (1910) 282-283.

The introduction of Dryden's *Essay of dramattick poesie* (1684) relates that four friends, Eugenius, Crites, Lisideius, and Neander, are driven from London by the plague, and in their retreat fall to talking about the drama. Eugenius and Crites discuss the question whether the modern dramatists are the equal of the ancient dramatists, after which Neander contends against Lisideius, and asserts that the English dramatists are in many respects superior to the French.

Neander obviously expresses the opinion held by Dryden at the time of writing. He bases his argument largely upon the theory that the English people are of a hardier and less refined race than the French and therefore demand for their entertainment a more vigorous type of drama. This, by the way, was just what Lessing later asserted of the Germans in the 17. *Literatur-brief*.¹⁰ Neander-Dryden begins with a weighing of virtues against faults in the typical manner of the classicistic critic:

I acknowledge that the French contrive their plots more regularly, and observe the laws of comedy, and the decorum of the stage . . . with more exactness than the English; . . . yet, after all, I am of opinion that neither our faults nor their virtues are considerable enough to place them above us. For a lively imitation of nature being in the definition of a play, those which best fulfill that law ought to be esteemed superior to the others. 'Tis true, those beauties of the French poesie are such as will raise perfection higher where it is, but are not sufficient to give it where it is not: they are indeed the beauties of a statue, but not of a man, because not animated with the soul of poesie, which is imitation of humor and passions.¹¹

Neander then goes on to show the disadvantages that attend upon a strict adherence to the unities. The simple plot with a central important character is tedious. The English want to see strength pitted against strength, even in a physical fashion, and here he protests against the French decorum saying: "Whether custom has so insinuated itself into our countrymen, or nature has so formed them to fierceness, I know not; but they will scarcely suffer combats and other objects of horror to be

¹⁰ Lessing, *Schriften* VIII 42; letter of Feb. 16, 1759; quoted on p. 368 of SURVEY.

¹¹ Dryden, *An essay of dramattick poesie* (London 1684) 26.

taken from them.”¹² Lessing said much the same later of the Germans. Gottsched should have perceived, he wrote, “dasz das Grosze, das Schreckliche, das Melancholische, besser auf uns wirkt als das Artige, das Zärtliche, das Verliebte.”¹⁰

Thruout his discourse Neander bases his arguments chiefly on Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, and Shakespeare. Toward the conclusion he is askt to make distinction between the dramatists he has mentioned. After a discriminating criticism of the merits of Jonson he says: “If I would compare him with Shakespeare, I must acknowledge him the more correct poet, but Shakespeare the greater wit. Shakespeare was the Homer, or father of our dramattick poets; Jonson was the Virgil, the pattern of elaborate writing; I admire him, but I love Shakespeare.”¹³ From this advanced position Dryden in his later years receded, and his further connexion with Shakespeare consisted in revising Shakespeare’s plays according to the taste of the classicists. In this manner he produced such versions as *Troilus and Cressida or Truth found too late* and *Antony and Cleopatra or All for love or the world well lost*.

The second important critic of Shakespeare was Nicholas Rowe. Rowe edited in 1709 the first complete collection of Shakespeare’s dramas. The dramas had been hitherto preserved in the original quartos and folios. Rowe modernized the spelling and the language, corrected the meter, and sot to improve the obscure passages. All this was done without comment. These corrections were of doubtful service, but the sketch of Shakespeare which preceded the dramas was distinctly meritorious for it constitutes the earliest scientific account existing. Incidentally Rowe quotes some of the laudatory phrases of Dryden and defends Shakespeare against the too violent attacks of Thomas Rymer, a strict classicist.¹⁴

The work of editing the dramas of Shakespeare was not especially to Pope’s taste. He later exprest regret over the

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁴ Rymer was the author of *The tragedies of the last age, considered and examined by the practice of the ancients and the common-sense of all ages* (1678) and *A short view of tragedy* (1692).

"ten years to comment and translate,"¹⁵ but Pope was a professional man of letters and the honorarium offered by the publishers was a sufficient incentive. There is no especial indication that Pope's study of Shakespeare ever influenced him as a writer. In his introduction he takes up: (1) the question of textual criticism, (2) the extent of Shakespeare's knowledge, (3) Shakespeare's relation to the classic authors and to the Aristotelian rules as interpreted by the French, and (4) Shakespeare as a depicter of characters. In much of his criticism he merely echoes Dryden, but on the whole he is less captivated by Shakespeare than Dryden was when he wrote the *Essay of dramattick poesie*.

Pope reprints also Rowe's account of Shakespeare, but with a significant omission, namely that of Rowe's defence of Shakespeare mentioned above, thus indicating that he agreed with Rymer as to the necessity of adhering to the rules. Pope is, however, inspired to his most liberal statements by Rowe, as for example to his assertion: "To judge therefore of Shakespeare by Aristotle's rules is like trying a man by the laws of one country who acted under those of another."¹⁶ This assertion has been paralleled with later expressions of Herder, but without sufficient ground, for Herder consistently denied the authority of the rules, while Pope took the authority for granted but condoned Shakespeare's shortcomings, as is apparent from the context.¹⁷ Pope criticized Shakespeare not only in the introduction but in the text. He made use of asterisks and crosses, the former to point out passages he considered beautiful, the latter to indicate those that were not according to his taste. To weigh successful passages against unsuccessful ones was held to be a correct method by the classicist critics; it was the form of criticism generally applied to Shakespeare by Gottsched and his contemporaries. The stars and crosses are retained as symbols in the later Pope-Warburton edition of Shakespeare (1747).

¹⁵ Pope, *Dunciad* III 332, note 4, and IV 184 (ed. of Elwin and Courtope 1871-1889). The translation of Homer is here referred to.

¹⁶ Cf. Nichol Smith, *Eighteenth century essays on Shakespeare* (Glasgow 1903), p. 50.

¹⁷ For a further analysis of Pope's view of Shakespeare see Margarete Rothbarth in *Anglia* XXXIX (1915) 75-100.

Of the classicists in England Addison was the most liberal in his admiration of Shakespeare. He frequently called his readers' attention to Shakespeare by a quotation from him or by a eulogistic phrase. His literary views were disseminated by the German moral weeklies,¹⁸ and his references to Shakespeare, as Richter [480] has pointed out,¹⁹ were thus among the earliest and most consequential to receive circulation in Germany in the first half of the eighteenth century.

During the seventeenth century, as we have seen, Shakespeare's works served Germany as a storehouse of dramatic material, but his name was almost unknown. During the first four decades of the eighteenth century his name was frequently heard but his works were unknown. The earliest known comment is that of Daniel Morhof in his *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache* (1682). Morhof says: "Der John Dryden hat gar wohl gelehrt von der Dramatiä Poesie geschrieben. Die Engelländer, die er hierinnen anführt, sind Shakespeare, Fletcher, Beaumont, von welchen ich nichts gesehen habe."²⁰ Next follow two references by other writers in 1695 and 1708, both of them based upon Temple. The second of these is in Barthold Feind's *Gedanken von der Opera*. It reads: "M. le Chevalier Temple in seinem *Essai de la Poësie* erzehlet, p. 374, dasz etliche, wenn sie des renommierten Englischen Tragici Shakespear Trauerspiele verlesen hören, oft lautes Halses an zu schreyen gefangen und häuffige Thränen vergossen."²⁰ That there should be passing references to Shakespeare in the first moral weekly *Der Hamburger Vernünftler* is not remarkable in view of its confessed dependence on the *Tatler* and *Spectator*.^{20a} Meneke in his *Compendiöses Gelehrtenlexicon* (1715) mentions Shakespeare as follows:²⁰

¹⁸ See SURVEY, chapter 4.

¹⁹ Richter's chronological list of references in Germany to Shakespeare is more extensive than that of Genée [427], Joachimi-Dege [479], or Robertson [478], but Robertson gives the English sources of the earliest German references.

²⁰ Quoted by Richter [480] I 4.

^{20a} See BIBLIOGRAPHY [156]; cf. footnote 25 of this chapter.

Shakespeare (Wilh.) ein englischer Dramaticus, geboren zu Stratford 1564, ward schlecht auferzogen und verstund kein Latein, jedoch brachte er es in der Poesie sehr hoch. Er hatte ein scherzhafftes Gemüthe, kunte aber doch auch sehr ernsthaft seyn, und excellirte in Tragödien. Er hatte viel sinnreiche und subtile Streitigkeiten mit Ben Jonson wiewohl keiner von Beyden viel damit gewann. Er starb zu Stratford 1616, 23 April im 53. Jahre. Seine Schau- und Trauer-Spiele, deren er sehr viel geschrieben, sind in VI Theilen 1709 zu London zusammen gedruckt und werden sehr hoch gehalten.²¹

This item of Mencke's was paraphrased in other German cyclopedias of the time and approximately represents the sum total of German information in regard to Shakespeare a hundred years after his death and even down to the year 1739, when by a literary coincidence both the Leipzig and Swiss groups chanced upon him in Addison's works.

In the preface to his *Kritische Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie* (1740) Bodmer made an incidental reference to Shakespeare:

Sie (die Deutschen) sind noch in dem Zustand, in welchem die Engländer viele Jahre gestanden, eh ihnen geschickte Kunstrichter die Schönheiten in Miltons Gedichte nach und nach wahrzunehmen gegeben und sie damit bekannt gemacht hatten, ungeachtet diese Nation an ihrem Saspar²² und anderen den Geschmack zu diesem höhern und feinem Ergetzen zu schärfen eine Gelegenheit gehabt hatte, der unsere Nation beinahe beraubt ist.

This assertion did not imply an extensive acquaintance with Shakespeare on Bodmer's part. The "geschickte Kunstrichter"

²¹ Robertson [478] shows that the source of Mencke, Benthaim, and others was Thomas Fuller's *History of the worthies in England* (1662).

²² The form "Saspar" has been the subject of much comment. Elze [488] 338 regards it as an attempt to germanize the name. Vetter [102] holds that it was intended as a phonetic reproduction of the name as Bodmer conceived it. He calls attention to the fact (p. 17) that Bodmer had already referred twice to "Shakespeare der engelländische Sophokles" in the introduction to his translation of *Paradise lost* in 1732. Vetter further informs us that Bodmer later disapproved of his own change, for in his personal copy of the *Kritische Abhandlungen von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie* (1740) the form Shakespeare is substituted "wie man fast sicher behaupten darf" by Bodmer's own hand. Vetter mentions as corroborative evidence for his theory the fact that Bodmer rendered the name Chaucer as Schaser. Robertson [478] has another theory. He holds that Bodmer had presumably been reading the criticism of the Italian, Conti, who spelt the word in this way. This also seems a not unplausible explanation.

here referred to were undoubtedly Addison and Steele, whose weeklies Bodmer had recently been reading.²³ Frau Gottsched began in the same year unwittingly to undermine the authority of her lord and master by translating the *Spectator* papers into German, thus rendering Addison's ideas accessible to the wide circles which could not read the English original or even the incomplete French translation of 1719. In the *Spectator*, it is true, we find merely passing references to Shakespeare and not formal discussions as in the case of Milton.²⁵ Yet these references are so frequent that they make an impression by their insistence. The German *Spectator* was evidently widely read, for a second edition appeared a few years later (1749–1751).

The critical debate regarding Shakespeare was actually precipitated, however, by the first translation of a Shakespearean drama into German, *Versuch einer gebundenen Übersetzung des Trauer-Spiels von dem Tode des Julius Cäsar aus den englischen Wercken des Shakespeare* (Berlin 1741) by Caspar Wilhelm von Borek.^{25a} The drama was done into hexameters and for that reason gives a distorted picture of the original. The translation appeared, as the author says in the preface, "nacket und bloß, ohne Beschirmung und Vertheydigung. Ein jeder mag davon urtheilen, was ihm beliebt." Since Borek was the Prussian ambassador in London Riedel suggests that he may have been first inspired by the brilliant début of Garrick as a player of Shakespearean rôles in Goodman's Field Theatre in London;²⁶ but this theory is untenable, for Paetow has shown²⁷ that Borek was in

²³ Elze [488] 340 holds that Bodmer knew Shakespeare as early as 1740, "keineswegs bloß aus Anführungen Addisons im englischen *Zuschauer*." Vetter [102] 17f., on the other hand, finds no evidence of this.

²⁵ Richter [480] finds references to Shakespeare in *Spectator* papers nos. 36, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 47, 116, 141, 154, 160, 161, 206, 208, 210, 235, 245, 279, 285, 396, 397, 400, 419, 468, 485, 521, 541, 592, 599, 636, 658, 660, 670, 672, 673, and 681.

^{25a} Von Borek also translated Otway's *Don Carlos, prince of Spain* in *Neue Erweiterungen des Erkenntnisses und des Vergnügens IX* (1757) and Coffey's *The devil to pay*; cf. footnote 46 of this chapter.

²⁶ Riedel [472] 19.

²⁷ Paetow [490] 25.

London only from 1735-1738, and Garrick made his first appearance in London, October 19, 1741.^{27a}

The translation was commented upon in several quarters. It became the occasion for the first extensive treatise upon Shakespeare in Germany, Johann Elias Schlegel's *Vergleichung Shakespeares und Andreas Gryphs* [464]. Like most classicists Schlegel was at pains to reconcile the strong impression Shakespeare had made upon him with that poet's ignorance of the rules. He holds that Gryphius's works are imitations of actions, while Shakespeare's are imitations of character. Gryphius's dramas were thus admittedly more correct, for Aristotle's rules do not recognize character imitation as an object of tragedy; they were laid down on the assumption that imitation of action was all-important. In recognizing the existence of a character tragedy Schlegel acknowledged a realm where Aristotle did not hold sway. At the point where Schlegel formally takes up the comparison he mentions the *Spectator*: "Die Engelländer haben schon durch viele Jahre den Shakespear für einen groszen Geist gehalten, und die scharfsichtigsten unter ihnen, worunter sich auch der Zuschauer befindet, haben ihm diesen Ruhm zugestehen müssen."²⁸ Schlegel maintains the attitude of Addison generally, that the rules must be recognized but that the "Fehler" are partly made up for by the "Tugenden." At the time of writing Schlegel was an adherent of Gottsched. Gundolf²⁹ surmizes that Gottsched commissioned Schlegel³⁰ to write the *Vergleichung* thinking to discredit Shakespeare by a parallel with Gryphius which should turn out in the latter's favor. In view of the opposite result it is remarkable that Gottsched accepted it for his organ.

^{27a} See Gaehe, *David Garrick als Shakespeare-Darsteller etc., Schriften der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* (Berlin 1904), p. 3.

²⁸ Schlegel [464] 77; Wolff, *Johann Elias Schlegel* (Berlin 1889), p. 139, regards *Julius Caesar* as the source of Schlegel's *Canut*, 1746.

²⁹ Gundolf [416] 112-113.

³⁰ Joh. Elias Schlegel died in the year 1749 at the age of thirty, ten years too soon to see Shakespeare finally justified before the court of rationalistic criticism. His brother Joh. Adolf Schlegel contributed directly to a new conception of Shakespeare in the introduction to his translation (1751) of the treatise of Batteux, *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe* (Paris 1746).

Gottsched had expressed himself against the translation of Borek in the preceding number of the *Beyträge*:

Man bringt ohne Unterschied Gutes und Böses in unsere Sprache: gerade als ob wir nicht selbst schon bessere Sachen aus den eigenen Köpfen unserer Landsleute aufzuweisen hätten. Die elendste Haupt- und Staatsaktion unserer gemeinen Comödianten ist kaum so voll Schnitzer und Fehler wider die Regeln der Schaubühne und gesunden Vernunft als dieses Stück Shakespeares ist.^{30a}

Gottsched seemed to be aware that he had to combat English liberal opinion in his insistence upon obedience to the letter of dramatic law. In the 592nd number of the *Spectator* there was a passage which caused him unusual distress. It reads as follows:

I have a great esteem for a true critic, such as Aristotle and Longinus among the Greeks, Horace and Quintilian among the Romans, Boileau and Dacier among the French. But it is our misfortune, that some who set up for professed critics among us criticize upon old authors only at second hand. . . . They judge of them by what others have written, not by any notions they have of the authors themselves. The words, unity, action, sentiment, and diction, pronounced with an air of authority, give them a figure among unlearned readers, who are apt to believe they are deep because they are unintelligible. . . . Our inimitable Shakespeare is a stumbling block to the whole tribe of these rigid critics. Who would not rather read one of his plays, where there is not a single rule of art observed, than any production of a modern critic where there is not one of them violated?

Gottsched was loath to believe that this number was written by Addison or Steele and maintained "dasz alles, was die Feinde der strengen theatralischen Regeln darinnen zu ihrem Vortheile finden möchten, ungereimt und falsch sey."^{30b} Referring to the attack upon the false critics who judge solely by the rule he answered:

Diesz klingt nun recht hoch, und wer von Shakespeares Sachen nichts gelesen hat, der sollte fast denken: es müszte doch wohl recht was schönes seyn, welches den Abgang aller Regeln so leichtlich ersetzen kann. Allein man irret sehr. Die Unordnung und Unwahrscheinlichkeit, welche aus

^{30a} *Beyträge zur kritischen Historie der deutschen Sprache* etc. VII (1741) 516f.

^{30b} *Ibid.*, VIII 143-172; quoted by Richter [480] I 21.

dieser Hindansetzung der Regeln entspringen, die sind auch bey dem Shakespear so handgreiflich und ekelhaft, dasz wohl niemand, der nur je etwas vernünftiges gelesen, daran ein Belieben tragen wird. Sein *Julius Cäsar*, der noch dazu von den meisten für sein bestes Stück gehalten wird, hat so viel niederträchtiges an sich, dasz ihm kein Mensch ohne Ekel lesen kann.^{30b}

During the years 1739 to 1741, then, it must be admitted that Shakespeare was prominently under discussion, when Bodmer's references to Shakespeare, Frau Gottsched's translation of the *Spectator*, Borek's translation of *Julius Caesar*, Schlegel's *Vergleichung* and Gottsched's attack on the irregular English plays and the English critics are taken into account. During this brief span of time Addison's *Spectator* had played an important rôle, being the original inspiration of Bodmer's assertion and the subject of contention between Gottsched and his opponents.

Between the years 1741 and 1749 there was comparatively little discussion of Shakespeare in Germany. Gottsched seemed still to hold the public in leading strings, altho the Swiss critics did not cease to taunt him with an occasional mention of Addison's reference to the whole tribe of rigid critics. But during this time the French were devoting much attention to Shakespeare. The French criticism had begun early in the century. Destouches had visited England in 1717, and Shakespeare's *Tempest* made so great an impression on him that he translated portions of it on his return. Abbé Prévost, a later visitor (1728 and 1733), gave in his magazine *Pour et contre* the contents of several of Shakespeare's dramas (1738) and retailed the criticism of Rymer, Rowe, Gildon and other English classicists.^{30c} Voltaire, who had visited England 1726-1729, discuss Shakespeare in his *Lettres philosophiques sur les Anglais* 1732f. Agreeing with Pope in theory regarding Shakespeare, in practice he was more influenced by Shakespeare than was Pope. Altho the comments of the other French critics were noted in the German journals

^{30c} The Abbé Prévost has formerly been spoken of as one of the enthusiastic heralds of Shakespeare in France. It has recently been shown that this was far from the case. See G. R. Havens in *MPH* XVII (1919) 177-198.

as Richter indicates,³¹ it appears that Voltaire's views alone were dynamic. Lookt upon in Germany as the foremost critic of the time his description of the English barbarian Shakespeare must surely have aroused curiosity, which was heightened when it was later bruited about that Voltaire was imitating Shakespeare.³²

Shakespearean criticism takes a fresh start in Germany in 1749 after the translation of the *Guardian* of Addison and Steele by Frau Gottsched appeared. This translation contained many opinions about Shakespeare hitherto little heard of in Germany. The reference to the peasant play of *Midsummer night's dream* in the 118th number led Frau Gottsched to compare Gryphius's *Peter Squenz* (1657) with the original, whereupon she was able to affirm in a footnote that Shakespeare's piece "ein sehr angenehmes Stück ist."

Lessing's first mention of Shakespeare occurs the following year, 1750. In the introduction to the *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters* he says it is the intention to translate ancient plays and modern dramas of England and Spain little known in Germany. He mentions the same English dramatists that Voltaire discuss in his *Lettres* and generalizes on them in the same way:³³ "Diese sind alle Männer, die zwar eben so grosze Fehler als Schönheiten haben, von denen aber ein vernünftiger Nachahmer sich sehr vieles zu Nutze machen kann."³⁴ Lessing³⁵ shows in the preface to this work, moreover,

³¹ In his *Neuer Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste* VIII (1749) Gottsched quotes an English opinion in regard to Abbé Le Blanc's *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François*; this is quoted by Richter [480] I 27-28.

³² See Lounsbury, *Shakespeare and Voltaire* (New York 1902) and review of the same by Wechssler ShJ XLI (1905) 259-260. Voltaire is said to have borrowed from Shakespeare in his *Brutus* (1731), *Eriphyle* (1732), *Mort de César* (1735), and *Sémiramis* (1748). That *Zaire* (1733) is an imitation of *Othello* is denied by Doubetout in MPh III (1905) 305-316.

³³ Cf. Baumgartner [182] 33. Erich Schmidt had already held that it was Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglois* (1733) which had first called Lessing's attention to Shakespeare. Schmidt [126]¹ I 116. Some of Voltaire's letters are contained in the *Beyträge*; cf. Lessing, *Schriften* IV 82.

³⁴ Lessing, *Schriften* IV 52.

³⁵ The *Beyträge* were by Lessing and Mylius but the preface, signed "die Verfasser" and dated Oct. 1749, was no doubt written by Lessing.

that he does not approve of Gottsched's attempt to pattern the German drama solely after the French:

Dadurch hat man unser Theater zu einer Einförmigkeit gebracht, die man auf alle mögliche Art zu vermeiden sich hätte bestreben sollen.³⁶ . . . Shakespeare, Dryden, Wicherley, (sic) Vanbrugh, Cibber, Congreve sind Dichter, die man fast bey uns nur dem Namen nach kennet, und gleichwohl verdienen sie unsere Hochachtung sowohl als die gepriesenen französischen Dichter.³⁷ . . . Das ist gewisz, wollte der Deutsche in der dramatischen Poesie seinem eigenen Naturelle folgen, so würde unsre Schaubühne mehr der englischen als französischen gleichen.³⁸

After the publication of this preface there is scarcely another significant reference to Shakespeare in Lessing's works until the year 1759,³⁹ when on the 16th of February the famous *17. Literaturbrief* appeared with its ruthless denunciation of Gottsched:

“Niemand,” sagen die Verfasser der *Bibliothek*, “wird leugnen, dasz die deutsche Schaubühne einen groszen Teil ihrer ersten Verbesserung dem Herrn Professor Gottsched zu danken habe.” Ich bin dieser Niemand; ich leugne es gerade zu. Es wäre zu wünschen, dasz sich Herr Gottsched niemals mit dem Theater vermengt hätte. Seine vermeinten Verbesserungen betreffen entweder entbehrliche Kleinigkeiten, oder sind wahre Verschlimmerungen.⁴⁰

After some defence of this unfair attack Lessing repeats his earlier assertion that Gottsched has misguided the German drama by his exclusive insistence upon the French models:

Er hätte aus unsern alten dramatischen Stücken, welche er vertrieb, hinlänglich abmerken können, dasz wir mehr in den Geschmack der Engländer, als der Franzosen einschlagen; dasz wir in unsern Trauerspielen mehr sehen und denken wollen, als uns das furchtsame französische Trauerspiel zu sehen und zu denken giebt; dasz das Grosze, das Schreckliche, das Melancholische besser auf uns wirkt als das Artige, das Zärtliche, das Verliebte; dasz uns die zu grosze Einfalt mehr ermüde als die zu grosze Verwickelung. Er hätte also auf dieser Spur bleiben sollen und sie würde ihn geraden Weges auf das englische Theater geführt haben.

³⁶ Lessing, *Schriften* IV 50.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³⁹ In 1757 a commendation of Mendelssohn's translation of “To be or not to be;” cf. Jacoby [550] and Fresenius [551]; in 1758 a matter of fact reference; in 1759 a philological reference.

⁴⁰ Lessing, *Schriften* VIII 41ff.

A thot in Dryden's *Essay of dramattick poesie* parallel to this idea has already been noted.⁴¹ Such comments were prevalent at the time; Kettner⁴² quotes several similar statements from Voltaire,⁴³ and the latter, he shows, was merely applying ideas he had received from Shaftesbury and Addison.⁴⁴

Lessing continues:

Sagen Sie ja nicht, dasz er (Gottsched) auch dieses (das englische Theater) zu nutzen gesucht, wie sein *Cato* es beweise. Denn eben dieses, dasz er den Addisonischen *Cato* für das beste englische Trauerspiel hält, zeigt deutlich, dasz er hier nur mit den Augen der Franzosen gesehen, und damals keinen Shakespeare, keinen Johnson,^{44a} keinen Beaumont und Fletcher &c. gekannt hat, die er hernach aus Stolz auch nicht hat wollen kennen lernen.

Then after asserting the greater power of Shakespeare to stir his hearers and inspire later dramatists, Lessing finally states his thesis:

Auch nach den Mustern der Alten die Sache zu entscheiden, ist Shakespeare ein weit grösserer tragischer Dichter als Corneille, obgleich dieser die Alten sehr wohl, und jener fast gar nicht gekannt hat. Corneille kommt ihnen in der mechanischen Einrichtung, und Shakespeare in dem Wesentlichen näher. Der Engländer erreicht den Zweck der Tragödie fast immer, so sonderbare und ihm eigene Wege er auch wählet; und der Franzose erreicht ihn fast niemals, ob er gleich die gebahnten Wege der Alten betritt.

It is evident that this thesis introduces no new type of criticism but merely a new phase of the long predominating old rationalistic criticism. That the rules of Aristotle were universal in their application, Lessing did not doubt for a moment; but

⁴¹ Cf. SURVEY, p. 358.

⁴² Kettner [548] 270.

⁴³ "Vos pièces les plus irrégulières ont un grand mérite, c'est celui de l'action. . . . Nous craignons de hasarder sur la scène des spectacles nouveaux devant une nation accoutumée à tourner en ridicule tout ce qui n'est pas d'usage." From the *Discours sur la tragédie*, introduction to *Brutus* (1730).

⁴⁴ "For the English are naturally fanciful, and very often disposed by that gloominess and melancholy of temper, which is so frequent in our nation, to many wild notions and visions, to which others are not liable. . . . Among the English Shakespeare has incomparably excelled all others." Addison, *Spectator* no. 419.

^{44a} Not Johnson but Ben Jonson is obviously meant.

while previous rationalistic critics had contented themselves with the condoning assertion that Shakespeare was great in spite of his irregularities, Lessing asserted that Shakespeare actually observed the laws in their essentials. Of the two defences Lessing's was by far the more difficult to maintain, as he was soon to discover.

That Lessing's 17. *Literaturbrief* stands in close relation to his translation of Dryden's *Essay of dramattick poesie* (end of 1758) is now generally recognized.⁴⁵ The close sequence is significant when the internal evidence is taken into account. Lessing offers the same arguments as Dryden for the superiority of the English drama, commends the same English dramatists as Neander-Dryden, namely Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, and Shakespeare, and contends that German taste resembles the English rather than the French in just those particulars that Dryden had emphasized.

The publication of the 17. *Literaturbrief* signalizes the fact, then, that Dryden has taken a place in Lessing's mind beside Voltaire, as a chief authority in regard to Shakespeare. It is Baumgartner's special service to have pointed out precisely how Lessing came to study Dryden's views.^{45a} His first information regarding Dryden came probably from Voltaire. In one of the letters which Lessing included in his *Beyträge* (1750) Voltaire characterizes Dryden as an "auteur plus fécond que judicieux qui aurait une réputation sans mélange, s'il n'avait fait que la dixième partie de ses ouvrages."

⁴⁵ Erich Schmidt [126]² I 383 merely calls attention to the close sequence. Böhlingk [549] 53ff. considers the question in detail. Richter [480] II 13, however, misrepresents him as asserting, "dasz Lessing einzig und allein durch seine Übersetzung von Drydens *Essay* auf Shakespeares Werke aufmerksam geworden ist." Baumgartner [182] 32 is apparently unaware of Böhlingk's findings. Kettner [548] 272 says that the immediate impulse was derived from Warton's *Essay on the genius and writings of Pope*, which Mendelssohn had just reviewed in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* IV (1758) 500ff. Kettner's discussion of the theme *Lessing und Shakespeare* is by far the most satisfactory, for he has taken into account most fully the contemporary and earlier criticism of Shakespeare in England, France, and Germany.

^{45a} Böhlingk's statements [549] 86 regarding Lessing's indebtedness are more extreme but less well-founded; see SURVEY, chapter 16.

In the year 1752 or thereabouts Lessing's attention was attracted to Dryden by an event in Leipzig. In that year Koch and his company played Weisze's translation of Coffey's operetta *The devil to pay* (*Der Teufel ist los*),⁴⁶ in spite of the opposition of Gottsched, who had hitherto controlled theatrical affairs in Leipzig. Translations of similar irregular and nonsensical plays were appearing everywhere. So Gottsched attacked in his journal (1753)^{46a} all English plays as well as all translators or players of English plays, because of the depraving effect they had upon the German taste. A bitter controversy arose in which, however, Lessing did not take an active part. In a review of the discussion in 1758 he repeats the thought already expressed in the *Beyträge* "dass es vielleicht nicht allzu wohl gethan sei, wenn wir unsere Bühne, die noch in der Bildung ist, auf das Einfache des französischen Geschmacks einschränken wollen."^{46b}

It chanced that Bocage, a French critic, had published the previous year a partial French translation of Dryden's essay in his *Lettres sur le théâtre anglais*. He had translated that portion of it in which Lisideius asserted the superior merits of the French drama, but had arbitrarily excluded the part in which Neander-Dryden refutes his arguments. Gottsched eagerly seized the opportunity to translate Bocage's translation into German.⁴⁷ Baumgartner makes it seem highly probable that

⁴⁶ The history of this play has been related by Richards in two articles, [305] and [306]. In the year 1686 Thomas Shadwell and his brother-in-law Jevon wrote a farce *The devil of a wife*, which was extremely popular. It contained a few musical numbers. Charles Coffey changed this in 1730 into a three-act opera with forty-two popular airs and called it *The devil to pay*. Coffey was impelled to do this by the recent success of Gay's *The beggar's opera* (1728). Caspar Wilhelm von Borek (see SURVEY, p. 363) made in 1742, under the pseudonym "Buschmann," a translation of Coffey's play, and this version, as produced by the Schoenemann troupe, proved a success. In 1752 Christian Felix Weisze was asked to retranslate the play for the Koch troupe. In doing so he substituted new melodies for the English airs that Borek had retained. Weisze's version was given in Leipzig, Oct. 6, 1752. Weisze later saw a French stage version by Sedaine (1756) and in a later remodeling of his operetta (1766) he adopted many suggestions derived from Sedaine. Weisze's later version appeared in 1768. Sedaine's version, *Le diable à quatre* appeared in print in 1770.

^{46a} *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit* III (1753) 128.

^{46b} Lessing, *Schriften* V 184-185, also in DNL LXI 1, 175.

⁴⁷ *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit* III (1753) 212ff.

Gottsched's translation, or perhaps Bocage's led Lessing to consult the original and publish the essential part of it in his *Theatralische Bibliothek* (1758).

In establishing this connexion Baumgartner overlooks another equally interesting one already touched upon by Böhlingk and Kettner.⁴⁸ Both mention Lessing's *Vorrede zu des Herrn Jacob Thomson Trauerspiele* (1756) as showing also Dryden's influence, and tho neither of them goes into the evidence in the case, the view seems justified. Like Neander-Dryden Lessing is ready to admit the chief contention of Lisideius, that the French plays adhered to the unities and subordinated the minor characters to the main ones without, however, neglecting them. He says of the French plays: "Die Handlung ist heroisch, sie ist einfach, sie ist ganz, sie streitet weder mit der Einheit der Zeit, noch mit der Einheit des Orts; jede der Personen hat ihren besonderen Charakter; jede spricht ihrem besonderen Charakter gemäsz." But this, he says, is not enuf, and here he agrees with Neander: "Aber du, der du diese Wunder geleistet, darfst du dich nunmehr rühmen, ein Trauerspiel gemacht zu haben? Ja, aber nicht anders, als sich der, der eine menschliche Bildseule

⁴⁸ Kettner in a footnote to [548] 268; Böhlingk in [549] 64. In [184] I made a somewhat detailed comparison of the two essays, finding much in common, and proposed a still earlier date for Lessing's first acquaintance with the Dryden essay, namely 1754. Lessing would very likely have seen Bocage's translation and would by then have had time to secure the original and read the yet untranslated parts. In the year 1754 he wrote for the first number of the *Theatralische Bibliothek* an account of James Thomson's life together with a criticism of his works. This essay shows some signs of the influence of Dryden. Lessing criticizes chiefly the length of the speeches in Thomson's plays, closely approximating in abbreviated form two points that Dryden had brot out: (1) "Seine Reden sind oft zu lang, besonders für ein englisches Auditorium." (2) "Es ist angenehmer für das Ohr, wenn die Unterredung öftrer unterbrochen wird," Lessing, *Schriften* VI 64. Compare with this the two assertions of Dryden: (1) "Since that time (i.e. of Richelieu) it is grown into a custom to hold long discourses and their actors speak by the Hour glass like our Parsons. . . . I deny not that this may suit well enough with the French; for as we, who are a more sullen people, come to be diverted at our plays so they, who are of an aiery and gay temper, come thither to make themselves more serious." (2) "But to speak generally it cannot be denied that short speeches and replies are more apt to move the passions and beget concernment than the other." Dryden's *Essay of dramattick poesie* (London 1684), p. 29.

gemacht hat, rühmen kann, einen Menschen gemacht zu haben. Seine Bildseule ist ein Mensch, und es fehlt ihr nur eine Kleinigkeit: die Seele."⁴⁹

The soul is lacking because the author has neglected the primary rule of tragic composition, the rule that the heart of the spectator must be toucht. Lessing uses here the same figure that Neander-Dryden had used regarding the dramas of the French, that their beauties were "the beauties of a statue but not of a man, because not animated with the soul of Poesie, which is imitation of humor and passions."⁵⁰ He, however, does not classify Corneille with the statue makers but with the real poets. Thomson, he says, possesses the magic art of showing the birth, development, and releasing of a passion, an art which neither Aristotle nor Corneille could teach him, altho the latter possest it himself. Lessing carries out the figure of the statue farther when he says: "So wie ich unendlich lieber den allerngestaltesten Menschen, mit krummen Beinen, mit Buckeln hinten und vorne, erschaffen, als die schönste Bildseule eines Praxiteles gemacht haben wollte; so wollte ich auch unendlich lieber der Urheber des *Kaufmanns von London*, als des *Sterbenden Cato* seyn."⁴⁹

Dryden's influence is the more to be suspected in this introduction to the Thomson translation, because the ideas referred to are dragged in by the heels. It was quite unnecessary to defend the irregular plays by way of introduction to Thomson; Lessing recognized this himself, for he distinctly states that Thomson's plays are as regular as they are strong, and regular not merely in the French but even in the Greek sense.

Several recent investigators are imprest by the fact that Lessing, even within his own circle of friends, was not the leader in the appreciation of Shakespeare. Böhtlingk regards Nicolai as the pioneer in the study,⁵² while Meisnest and Richter lay stress

⁴⁹ Lessing, *Schriften* VII 68.

⁵⁰ Dryden, *Essay of dramattick poesie*, p. 26.

⁵² Böhtlingk [549] 40.

upon Mendelssohn as well.⁵³ Richter quotes passages from the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* (1756–1758)⁵⁴ showing that Mendelssohn had at that time an intimate first-hand acquaintance with *Hamlet* and some knowledge of other tragedies of Shakespeare. Furthermore, Lessing's belated interest was of short duration; in the subsequent *Literaturbriefe* he scarcely mentions Shakespeare.⁵⁵ From 1760–1765 he served as secretary to General Tauenzien, and the onerous duties of his new office interrupted his interest in the theory of the drama. On Feb. 1, 1761, before taking up his new duties at the Hamburg theatre, he wrote to Gleim referring to his "erloschene Liebe zum Theater."⁵⁶

The heraldic note in the 17. *Literaturbrief* is somewhat suppressed in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that Young's *Conjectures on original composition*, which had appeared the same year as Lessing's famous letter, had meanwhile been translated and commented upon and had affected the thought of the leading critics. Shakespeare was now being studied in several quarters. Gerstenberg's *Schleswigsche Literaturbriefe* had appeared (1766–1770), and altho Herder had as yet not written his *Shakespeare*, he had read *Hamlet* under Hamann's tutelage in Königsberg,

⁵³ Meisnest's only significant quotation from Nicolai is as follows: "Wir haben schon mehr als einmal gewünscht, dass sich ein guter Übersetzer an die englische Schaubühne wagen, und seine Landsleute hauptsächlich mit den vortrefflichen alten Stücken des Shakespeare, Beaumont und Fletcher, Otway und anderen bekannt machen möchte. Es würde vielleicht für die deutsche Schaubühne weit vortheilhafter gewesen seyn, wenn sie jenen nachgeahmt hätte, als dass sie sich die französische Galanterie hinreizen lassen und uns mit einer Menge höchst elender, obgleich höchst regelmässiger Stücke bereichert hat. . . . Wir empfehlen hauptsächlich dem Übersetzer die Shakespearischen Stücke: sie sind die schönsten, und auch die schwersten, aber um desto eher zu übersetzen, wenn man nützlich seyn will." *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, VI (1760) pp. 60–74. Meisnest gives the date as 1758; in reality it appeared in 1760 and hence followed, not preceded, Lessing's similar declaration in the 17. *Literaturbrief*. In [616] 14 Meisnest tacitly acknowledges his earlier error, at the same time giving reasons for attributing the quotation to Joh. Nic. Meinhard.

⁵⁴ Richter [480] II 5–10.

⁵⁵ There is a passing reference in the 51st letter and in the 103rd.

⁵⁶ Lessing, *Schriften* XVII 228; cf. Robertson in *MLR* XII (1917) 160.

while Wieland had translated twenty-two of Shakespeare's dramas (1762–1766), and six of them had been played at Biberach.^{56a}

Shakespeare is mentioned in about eleven of the numbers of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. Of these references only three are of importance: the one in the eleventh and twelfth numbers which compares the ghost of *Hamlet* with Voltaire's unconvincing ghost in *Sémiramis*; the one in the fifteenth, in which love is designated as the theme of *Romeo and Juliet* and sentiment as the theme of Voltaire's *Zaïre*; and the one in the seventy-third, wherein Weisze's *Richard III* is compared with Shakespeare's.⁵⁷

Witkowski [545] in commenting on the paucity of Shakespeare criticism in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* offers this explanation of it: With the Greeks the will of the gods is supreme, and revolt against this higher moral order is the sin that is dramatized only to be condemned. The chastening effect of the Greek drama was based upon this. The modern drama since the reformation has emphasized the freedom of the will and the moral responsibility of the individual. With Shakespeare the expression of the individual determination was no longer sin but nature, and out of the conflict of natures the drama arose. Its ethical system was different from that of the Greeks, so purification thru the drama must come in a different form. Witkowski then asks why Lessing, clearly perceiving this issue, did not declare it.⁵⁸ For an answer he directs attention to Lessing's theory in the *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*. To every age is revealed not the whole truth but such portion of

^{56a} See SURVEY, p. 384.

⁵⁷ The other references are in nos. 5, 7, 12, 59, 74, 80, 81, 93. Shakespeare is also mentioned once in *Laokoon*, chap. XXIII and there is an occasional mention elsewhere; cf. Meisnest [547] 236–242. In all Lessing's works only six tragedies are referred to: *Caesar*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Richard III*; the comedies are barely mentioned; see Meisnest [547] 240. This seems to justify Erich Schmidt's statement [126]² I 597: "Überhaupt ist Lessings Stellung zu Shakespeare unmittelbar nur aus Gelegenheitsäusserungen, die sich auf einige hervorragendste Trauerspiele, doch auf kein einziges Lustspiel beziehen, zu erschliessen."

the truth as is needful and good for it. Fearing the tendency toward a disregard of all rules that was showing itself in prevalent criticism, Lessing hesitated to disestablish the remnant of Aristotle's authority. He preferred to compromise the matter by assuming that Shakespeare too had much in common with Aristotle. The most striking illustration of the embarrassment in which Lessing found himself is presented by numbers 73 and 74. Lessing refers here to Weisze's statement that he had not read Shakespeare's *Richard III* until he had completed his own.^{58a} Lessing wishes that Weisze had read Shakespeare and profited thereby. Taking up Weisze's chief character Lessing says:

Aristotle würde ihn schlechterdings verworfen haben. . . . Die Tragödie . . . soll Mitleid und Schrecken erregen: und daraus folgert er, dasz der Held derselben weder ein ganz tugendhafter Mann, noch ein völliger Bösewicht seyn müsse. Denn weder mit des einen noch mit des andern Unglücke, lasse sich jener Zweck erreichen. . . . Richard der Dritte, so wie ihn Herr Weisz (sic) geschildert hat, ist unstreitig das gröszte, abscheulichste Ungeheuer, das jemals die Bühne getragen. . . . Was für Mitleid kann der Untergang dieses Ungeheuers erwecken?⁵⁹

Here Lessing is attacking Weisze for a leading feature of his drama, yet one which it shares with Shakespeare's. It is not remarkable, Witkowski holds, that in the further application of the rules of Aristotle to Weisze there is no reference to Shakespeare. Lessing distinctly wishes to evade the issue.

Meisnest is not satisfied with this explanation, objecting that it tends to conceal an essential fact, namely, that "Lessing did not comprehend the true nature of Shakespeare's romantic drama, however well he may have understood the classic."⁶⁰ Here Meisnest agrees with Hettner: "In das innerste Compositionsgeheimnis Shakespeares ist Lessing doch niemals gedrungen. . . . Dieses innerste Wesen der Shakespearschen Charaktertragödie hat sich Lessing niemals zu klarer Erkenntnis ge-

⁵⁸ Witkowski [545] 527.

^{58a} Regarding the truth of Weisze's assertion see Meisnest [606].

⁵⁹ Lessing, *Schriften* X 97-98.

⁶⁰ Meisnest [547] 241.

bracht."⁶¹ A few years later Gustav Kettner analyzed Lessing's comments on Shakespeare and arrived at much the same opinion as Meisnest:

Auch in der Dramaturgie hat er die Gelegenheit, ja die Notwendigkeit, auf einzelne Dramen tiefer einzugehen, mehr gemieden als benutzt. Er, der einem so unbedeutenden Drama wie Banks' *Essex* volle sieben Nummern widmet, findet keine Zeit, auch nur eine der groszen Tragödien Shakespeares, so wie sie vor seinem Geiste stand, den Lesern nahe zu bringen, und im Zusammenhang zu besprechen. Er begnügt sich durchweg mit gelegentlichen Hinweisen. Meist betreffen sie nur Einzelheiten; wo sie aber an grözere Fragen, wie z. B. die Komposition und die Tragik, rühren, da werden sie abgebrochen, ehe die Erörterung zu einem klaren Abschluss gebracht ist.⁶²

Meisnest makes the assertion in this connexion that "the purpose of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* was to enthrone Aristotle, not Shakespeare, and dethrone Voltaire, Corneille and Racine."^{62a} Very recently Robertson, after a most exhaustive analysis of Lessing's theory, has found that "not the interpretation of Aristotle but the confutation of the French dramatic theory and practice stands in the foreground of the *Dramaturgie*. The fulcrum round which it turns is not Aristotle but Voltaire."^{62b} In fact, in opposition to earlier critics, Robertson maintains that Lessing did not resume his earlier studies in Aristotle again until the year 1768 when his work on the *Dramaturgie* was approaching a conclusion.^{62c} Robertson does not agree with Witkowski's interpretation of Lessing's indecision before the *Richard III* problem. He believes that Lessing had as yet chosen neither horn of the dilemma for himself. More than once, when he arrives at a critical Aristotle question, he postpones the solution, promising a more extensive treatment in a commentary on Aristotle which he planned but never completed.

⁶¹ Hettner [75]³ II 554. Sendel [543] 82 disagrees with Hettner.

⁶² Kettner [548] 290-291.

^{62a} Meisnest [547] 240.

^{62b} Robertson, MLR XIV (1919) 85.

^{62c} *Ibid.*, p. 74. Robertson admits that Lessing devoted himself to the study of Aristotle, tho somewhat less intensively, from 1757-1758.

Lessing's relation toward Shakespeare cannot of course be fully defined without taking also into account his own dramatic works; but this is a phase of the question which is more conveniently postponed to a later chapter.

With Lessing, the pragmatic Shakespeare critic, it is convenient to group two other early Shakespearean advocates, Wieland and Schröder, the pioneer translator and the pioneer manager; for the achievements of all three were practical rather than artistic. They were all sufficiently rationalistic, sufficiently conservative, sufficiently regardful of public opinion to attempt only what it was possible to accomplish at the time; all of them tempered their Shakespeare to some extent to the prevailing taste.

After having echoed for over a century the polemics of the "Stürmer und Dränger," criticism is beginning to form a milder judgment of Wieland's translation of Shakespeare. Wieland first studied English literature in French translations in Klosterbergen; Richardson's *Pamela* and the moral weeklies were among his earliest readings. He indicated the letters of Rowe and episodes in Thomson's *Seasons* as sources of his *Moralische Erzählungen*. He also borrowed from the *Tatler* and *Spectator* for these tales.^{62d} He was enthusiastic for Milton and Young, and he hated the French. All these authors he knew at this time only in German or French translations. In Zürich, while associating with Bodmer, he began to study the English language and became interested in Shakespeare (about 1755), especially in those plays in which the "Wunderbare" found its best expression, *Midsummer night's dream* and *The tempest*. It was these that Bodmer made use of in his *Noah*.^{62e} There are indications of a close study of Shakespeare in Wieland's correspondence of the years 1757-1758. His judgment was more liberal than that generally prevailing,⁶³ altho there are echoes of Pope

^{62d} Seuffert in ADA XII (1886) 89; cf. SURVEY, p. 248.

^{62e} Stadler [613] 5; but cf. Ibershoff [183].

⁶³ See Schmidt [612] and Wieland's letter to Zimmermann, April 24, 1758; *Ausgewählte Briefe* (Zürich 1815) I 271-272; quoted by Meisnest [616] 13.

therein. The first suggestion of a Shakespeare translation seems to have come from Sulzer,^{63a} Jan. 14, 1759. Young's essay and Lessing's *17. Literaturbrief* may have added force to the suggestion.⁶⁴ At the beginning of the year 1761 Shakespeare's *Sturm oder der erstaunliche Schiffbruch* in Wieland's translation was played in the Biberach theater. It was the first dramatic production of a Shakespearean play announced under Shakespeare's name in Germany. This version, however, was not retained in Wieland's published translation of Shakespeare. By the first of March Wieland had begun his "literary adventure," as he called it. The first volume containing *Midsummer night's dream* and *Lear* appeared at the end of August, 1762. It contained also Pope's "Preface," which Wieland reproduced without comment, thus justifying the supposition that he approved of it. By May of the following year there are signs of weariness:

Ich habe, als ich vor mehr als einem Jahr mich zur Übersetzung des Shakespeare entschloz, zwar eine ziemliche Vorstellung von der Schwierigkeit gehabt, aber in der That mir nicht den zehnten Theil der Mühe vorgestellt, die ich nunmehr erfahre. Ich glaube nicht, dasz irgend eine Arbeit der Galeeren-Sclaven-Arbeit ähnlicher sey als diese, und obgleich das Vergnügen, womit sie von Zeit zu Zeit begleitet ist, die Mühe versüzt, so ist doch immer richtig, dasz ich eine Menge Zeit mit diesem Autor verschleudre, die ich nützlicher anwenden könnte.^{64a}

By September 1766 eight volumes had been completed, containing twenty-two dramas; and at this point work was discontinued. *Richard III* and *Cymbeline* constituted the most important omissions. Wieland had entered upon his task with an incomplete admiration for Shakespeare, an incomplete knowledge of English, and inadequate helps. His works of reference were

^{63a} *Briefe von W. D. Sulzer* ed. G. Geilfusz (1866) 8; quoted by Stadler [613] 9.

⁶⁴ Meisnest [547] 248 denies the latter influence. Wieland was ill disposed toward Lessing at the time. Meisnest quotes Wieland's declaration (1760): "Der Misachtungen meiner *Clementina* von Lessing und und Compagnie achte ich nicht mehr als des Summens der Sommermücken oder des Quäkens der Laubfrösche." Meisnest [616] 14 refers to other journals, whose demands for Shakespeare translations would have been more influential with Wieland than Lessing's was.

^{64a} Letter to Geszner, May 24, 1762; quoted by Stadler [613] 14.

Boyer's *Dictionnaire royal français et anglais*, edition of 1756, and a dictionary of Shakespeare's words and phrases, the author of which he later forgot.⁶⁵ The basis of his translation was the latest and worst of the Shakespeare editions, the Pope-Warburton edition of 1747.⁶⁶

The prose form used in all but one of the dramas was chosen deliberately by Wieland, who laid too great stress upon form to proceed otherwise. He condemned Pope's falsification of the Homeric form, and he himself rendered Aristophanes with the closest adherence to his model in respect to trochaic, anapaestic, and iambic verse; but it was his mature conviction that Shakespeare's dramas were nothing but "geistvolle Impromptus," that the form was purely accidental and often hid rather than brot out the real meaning. In the case of *Midsummer night's dream* alone Wieland recognized the verse form as indispensable and retained it. He also translated the lyric passages of the dramas into verse, wherever possible; when this proved impracticable he usually omitted them; prose renderings of lyric passages are rare.

Since Wieland was not a creative genius as to either form or language, but rather the foremost of imitators, his success is a just measure of the ability of the German language at that time to cope with Elizabethan concepts. There is something of the Addison-Voltaire-Lessing tendency toward simplification and omission of irrational passages, tho the net gains of the Miltonic influence are obvious, particularly in his successful rendering of the fanciful *Midsummer night's dream*. But preceding, as his translation did, the "Sturm und Drang" period, the language of passion was not sufficiently developept to cope with Shakespeare's greatest tragedies, and preceding Goethe's Italian journey, it could not attempt, like the Schlegel version, to give Shake-

⁶⁵ Stadler [613] and Meisnest [616] could not ascertain what this work was.

⁶⁶ Meisnest [616] 19ff. demonstrates that he also used Theobald's edition of Shakespeare, and for *Hamlet* and *Winter's tale* Johnson's edition. Meisnest adds that he also knew La Place's *Le théâtre anglois* (1746-1748) in eight volumes, the first four of which were devoted to Shakespeare.

speare some of the austere perfection of *Iphigenia*. Stadler classifies Wieland's individual faults of translation in detail, as well as the peculiarities in his method of procedure, the latter under such captions as "Verwechslung des metaphorischen Ausdruckes," "Auslassung der Vergleiche," "Vermeidung der Wortspiele."^{66a}

The reception of the translation by the critics is treated comprehensively in Stadler's second chapter. It is interesting to note how Gerstenberg's attack in the *Schleswigsche Literaturbriefe* swings previously favorable opinion to a different view. Herder's opinion, as exprest to Caroline, is sufficiently interesting on its own account: "Wie lange wird man Popen in waserichter Prose, und Shakespeare im ungleichsten fast nie getroffenen Ton übersetzen?"⁶⁷ Herder called *Romeo und Julie* the least successful of Wieland's translations, and surmized the reason to be that Wieland "nie selbst eine Romeo-Liebe gefühlt hat; sondern sich nur immer mit seinen Sympathien und Pantheen und Seraphins den Kopf vollgewehet, statt das Herz je menschlich gewärmt hat."⁶⁸ For the translation of certain monologs in *Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Midsummer night's dream* Herder would like to scratch out Wieland's eyes,⁶⁹ yet when he undertook to translate for himself several lyric passages of Shakespeare he borrowed, as Stadler points out, phrases and entire verses from Wieland.⁷⁰

This criticism of Herder is in line with that of Gerstenberg. At the time Wieland began his translation it was the general sentiment that some one should turn the choicest passages of Shakespeare into German, summarizing the less noble parts. This was the way Brumoy had treated the Greek drama in

^{66a} Stadler [613] 37-42; cf. Meisnest [616] 30-37 and C. W. Jordan, *Plays on words in Wieland's translation of Shakespeare*, typewritten manuscript (M.A. thesis) Univ. of California, 1908.

⁶⁷ Herder, *Werke* I 217; cf. Stadler [613] 87.

⁶⁸ Herder, *Herders Lebensbild* (Erlangen 1846) III 1, 238; quoted by Stadler [613] 88.

⁶⁹ K. Wagner, *Briefe an J. H. Merck* etc. (Darmstadt 1835) 15; quoted by Stadler [613] 89.

⁷⁰ Stadler [613] 90.

1730, La Place the English drama in 1746, Pope Homer in 1715, and Bodmer Milton's *Paradise Lost* in 1732. Weisze, Eschenburg, Lessing, Nicolai, and other German critics urged that Shakespeare be translated in the same way; but Wieland stated: "Mein Vorsatz war, meinen Autor mit allen seinen Fehlern zu übersetzen; und dies um so mehr, weil mir däuchte, dasz sehr oft seine Fehler selbst eine Art von Schönheiten sind."⁷¹ Gerstenberg, however, held that Wieland should not have undertaken the task because he was too little Shakespearean by nature. This view was adopted by the "Sturm and Drang" critics and has served to cover up the fact that Wieland was in reality an advanced appreciator of Shakespeare, and that he eliminated far less than was expected by the prevailing criticism of the time. It is the special service of Meisnest in his two articles on Wieland, [547] and [616], to have represented him in a fairer light.

Wieland's personal attitude toward Shakespeare must be determined on the basis of much contradictory evidence. His footnotes express impatience with his author or else apologize for his shortcomings; but in his personal correspondence he usually wrote in a tone of unalloyed enthusiasm, and the same is true of his expressions of opinion in the *Teutscher Merkur*. In the year 1784 an event in Vienna led to Wieland's expressing himself finally and fully regarding Shakespeare. The playwright C. H. von Ayrenhoff,⁷² a strict French classicist, wrote a play *Kleopatra und Antonius* with a distinctly anti-Shakespearean tendency. In his preface he misinterpreted some statements of Wieland in the *Merkur*, making Wieland appear as an adherent of the French school. He made the matter worse by dedicating his drama to Wieland. Wieland hastened to set the public right regarding his opinion of Shakespeare. He said Shakespeare was for him

der erste dramatische Dichter aller Zeiten und Völker . . . weil ihn in Allem, was das Wesentlichste eines groszen Dichters überhaupt und

⁷¹ *Teutscher Merkur* III (1773) 187.

⁷² Cf. Horner [482].

eines dramatischen insonderheit ausmacht, an Stärke aller Seelenkräfte, an innigem Gefühl der Natur, an Feuer der Einbildungskraft und der Gabe, sich in jeden Charakter zu verwandeln, sich in jede Situation und Leidenschaft zu setzen, weder Corneille noch Racine, weder Crébillon noch Voltaire . . . bei Weitem . . . erreicht haben. Wer von Spuren eines grossen Genies spricht, die man oft in seinen Werken finde, erweckt den Verdacht, sie nie gelesen zu haben. Nicht Spuren sondern immerwährende Ausstrahlungen und volle Ergießungen des mächtigsten, reichsten, erhabensten Genius, der jemals einen Dichter begeistert hat, sind es, die mich bei Lesung seiner Werke überwältigen, mich für seine Fehler und Unregelmäßigkeiten unempfindlich machen.^{72a}

Shakespeare's influence on Wieland has been discust throughout the nineteenth century. In the malicious *Citatio edictalis* of the Schlegels (1799) Shakespeare was represented as one of the authors who tried to establish a claim upon property found in Wieland's hands. Goethe disagreed with the Schlegels, and in his speech in memory of Wieland he said:

Diese Übersetzung (i.e. Wieland's Shakespeare), so eine groze Wirkung sie in Deutschland hervorgebracht, scheint auf Wieland selbst wenig Einfluss gehabt zu haben. Er stand mit seinem Autor allzusehr in Widerstreit, wie man genugsam erkennt aus den übergangenen und ausgelassenen Stellen, mehr noch aus den hinzugefügten Noten, aus welchen die französische Sinnesart hervorblickt.^{72b}

Stadler, however, finds a considerable number of passages in *Don Sylvio von Rosalva*, *Agathon*, *Komische Erzählungen*, *Musarion*, and *Oberon* in which "kleine Züge, gelegentliche Motive, sprachliche Wendungen, Bilder, und Vergleiche," derived from Shakespeare, have past into Wieland's works.⁷³ Max Koch has already made a similar study as far as *Oberon* was concerned.⁷⁴ Gundolf, finally, disparages evidence of this type, yet holds Wieland to be the first German poet to give evidence of Shakespearean influence, the first one to reproduce in his works some suggestion of the Shakespearean atmosphere.⁷⁵

^{72a} The passage is quoted from Stadler [613] 96 and Horner [482] 788. There are slight verbal discrepancies in the two versions. Horner indicates, without page reference, *Teutscher Merkur*, March 1784, as the source.

^{72b} Quoted by Stadler [613] 96, without reference.

⁷³ See Stadler [613] 96-112.

⁷⁴ Koch [622].

⁷⁵ Gundolf [416] 179 quoted in SURVEY, p. 430.

To Wieland belongs the distinction of having brot Shakespeare not only to the reader, but also to the theater-attending public. Soon after his appointment as director of the amateur stage at Biberach he caused to be presented Shakespeare's *Tempest* (1761) in his own translation. This play was frequently repeated. During the years 1771-1772 his version of *Macbeth* was presented four times in Biberach, and in the next year *Hamlet* four times, with the grave-digger scene included, which even the naturalistic Garrick had always omitted. *Romeo and Juliet* was played four times (1774-1775) in Biberach, *Othello* (1775) three times, *As you like it* (1775) three times, and *Two gentlemen of Verona* (1782) three times. These plays were all presented, to be sure, after Wieland had left Biberach in 1769.

The influence of these productions past beyond the confines of Biberach, for Karl Fr. Abt of the Biberach players and his wife joined a traveling troupe and brot the report of the productions to northern and central Germany. With Madame Schröder they organized a German company at the Hague and later (1780) at Bremen. Frau Abt distinguisht herself in the rôle of Hamlet in Gotha, May 1779.⁷⁶ As early as 1773 the Heufeld version of *Hamlet* was played in Vienna; it was based on Wieland's edition.⁷⁷

Up to the time of the collapse of the Hamburger National-theater in 1768 and the conclusion of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* no attempt had been made to introduce the plays of Shakespeare into the repertory at Hamburg. When Schröder succeeded Ackermann as director there, foren dramas predominated; the French character comedy, the Italian impromptu, and the English middle-class play. To these Schröder added *Emilia Galotti* and with little success *Götz von Berlichingen*. He made conscientious efforts to adapt the dramas of Klinger, Lenz, and Wagner to the stage, but the slight favor that the best of the

⁷⁶ Meisnest [616] 39.

⁷⁷ For other versions of Shakespeare before Schröder's time see Genée [427] 203ff.

pieces found scarcely encouraged him in an attempt to introduce Shakespeare.

In 1776 Schröder went out on a journey with the avowed purpose of enriching the repertory of his theater. In Prag he saw the Wieland-Heufeld version of *Hamlet* and on September 20, 1776, he presented a modification of this version at Hamburg,⁷⁹ so popular that we find Zelter protesting against it in Berlin as late as 1812 and Börne in Frankfurt in 1820.⁸⁰ Schröder took similar liberties with *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and other Shakespearean plays, softening the effect to suit the taste of his audience. On the occasion of the second performance Schröder let Desdemona live, and Juliet's death too, in his version, was only an apparent one. Such concessions were regularly made by Schröder. Whether Shakespeare's cause was much advanced by presentations such as these is questionable. Dege seems to rate them highly; Gundolf scorns them as he does all popular literary movements.

⁷⁹ Regarding the success of this performance see Litzmann [593] 198, Dege [479] 85ff., and Merschberger [590].

⁸⁰ See von Weilen [484x]; cf. ShJ LV (1919) 147 and Genée [716] 9.

CHAPTER 15

YOUNG, HERDER, AND THE "STURM UND DRANG" CRITICS

While the Lessing legend was gradually being disposed of, an ever greater importance was being conceded to Young in connexion with the history of Shakespeare in Germany, an importance that has remained unchallenged until the most recent time. About the same time that Lessing wrote his *17. Literaturbrief* the poet Edward Young was persuaded by his friends to publish his *Conjectures on original composition*.¹ In the long protracted debate that had been waged in England between the ancients and the moderns the *Conjectures* summed up the case of the latter. Young distinguished two kinds of imitators: imitators of other authors, and of nature. The latter he designated as originals or geniuses, but these were also of two kinds: infantine and adult. Swift was an infantine genius, who had to train himself by study, Shakespeare was an adult genius, born in full possession of his powers. Young protested against all copying of other authors. The imitation of the ancients was harmful, he said. They produced great works because they imitated nature. We should imitate nature, not the ancients. Thus he arrived at the paradox: the less we imitate the ancients, the more we shall be like them. Before Young's utterance on the subject Jonson, Dryden, Addison, and Pope had termed Shakespeare a genius, and Addison and Shaftesbury had made similar distinctions between adult and infantine geniuses. Young drew from these distinctions a practical conclusion of his own. He held that true genius suffers from the spirit of imitation, which destroys the will to surpass, counteracts nature's will, and leads to much writing and little thinking.

¹ For the influence of the *Conjectures* in Germany see Kind [365] and compare Steinke [366], who holds that Kind exaggerated this influence.

Because the ideas were not essentially new the *Conjectures* made only a moderate stir in England; but in Germany, it has been asserted, they heralded the new literary epoch. It is true the glorification of Shakespeare and originality and the abjuring of literary traditions, so roundly proclaimed in Young's manifesto, were fundamental to "Sturm und Drang" esthetics, but did the one give the initial or essential impulse to the other or is this merely an instance of "post hoc ergo propter hoc" argument? This is a question that deserves some attention.

The *Conjectures*, it must be conceded, were early and widely known. Publisht in England in 1759, they were translated into German in February 1760 by v. T. (=Hans Erich von Teubern). A second translation appeared the same year signed G. Von Teubern's translation was publisht in Leipzig, G's in Hamburg. In 1787 a new translation appeared over the signature C. The translator believed that he had discovered something quite unknown. The error was remarkable, for Gottsched had condemned Young's ideas in a notice of the von Teubern translation contained in *Das Neueste aus der anmüthigen Gelehrsamkeit*, and Nicolai had made a counter attack upon Gottsched in the *Literaturbriefe*, 172-173. There were additional reviews in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* and the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*.² Nor was Young forgotten in the succeeding years. An article in the *Beytrag zur Litteratur und zum Vergnügen* (1766) comments favorably on the *Conjectures*, and Schmidt's *Theorie der Poesie* (1767) agrees with Young in regard to originality. A critic by the name of Rambach joined issue with Young in a school program of 1765; thereupon Herder espoused the cause of Young in a review in the *Königsbergische gelehrte und politische Zeitung*.^{2a} The debate was carried on by other journals from 1765 to 1768. In 1770 Cramer publisht a synopsis of the *Conjectures* in *Der nordische Aufseher*. After that, it is true, little is heard of them until the new translation of 1787 becomes the subject of comment.

² For more definite references see Kind [365] 145ff.

^{2a} Herder, *Werke* I 121f.

The outer history of the *Conjectures* in Germany then, from 1760 to 1770, would give some support to the theory of widespread influence, but it would appear that this theory is of comparatively recent origin. In his treatise on the *Schleswigsche Literaturbriefe* [138] Koch merely states that Young's *Conjectures* lent the "Storm and stress" critics a valuable weapon; in his summary of 1883, *Über die Beziehungen etc.* [76], he makes no comment whatever on the subject. In his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* he says:

Dennoch steht die Sturm- und Drangzeit vielfach unter fremden Einflüssen. Von Rousseau hat sie die Forderung nach Natur, von zwei englischen Schriften, Edward Youngs *Conjectures usw.* und Woods *Essay über den Originalgenius Homers* (1769) die Forderung nach Ursprünglichkeit überkommen.³

This last statement sums up in a sentence the results of von Weilen's investigations of 1890 [501] which presented a goodly array of evidence in point. Kind [365] in 1906 went further and showed that not only Gerstenberg but also Hamann, Herder, Nicolai, Mendelssohn, Resewitz, and even Lessing were influenced by the *Conjectures*. Kind recognizes such influence in the 73rd number of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, in which Lessing says that not Shakespeare but Shakespeare's method should be studied; that we should learn to see thru his medium as thru a camera obscura, but that we must not borrow from him. Lessing, like Young, gives to genius a rank superior to learning and says that a genius is not bound by rule. But here the agreement with Young is more verbal than actual, for a genius was to Lessing a being born with a sure instinct for form. That there were certain canons of form, he did not doubt. Lessing did not approve of Young's definition of genius, and later fought against its application. As a matter of fact Lessing drops the subject of Shakespeare almost completely after issuing the 17. *Literaturbrief*; and even when he takes it up again in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* he neither seeks the support of Young nor joins issue with him.

³ Vogt und Koch, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*² (Leipzig and Wien 1904), II 227.

Since the leading theorists of the "Storm and stress" movement were Hamann, Herder, and Gerstenberg, it is their indebtedness to Young that comes chiefly into question. Hamann visited England in a commercial capacity (1757–1758) and thus improved his command of the language. He did not become interested enough in the literature to read extensively until about 1761. Meanwhile he had undergone a deep experience of a religious nature. In Young Hamann recognized a kindred soul, a preacher of Christian morality, and a man interested in inspiration as a source of authorship. For almost every fundamental thought expressed by Young in his *Conjectures* Kind is able to find a corresponding passage in Hamann.⁴ Hamann said once that nearly all his ideas were taken from Young's *Night thoughts*.^{4a} Kind thinks the statement would be truer if Young's *Conjectures* were substituted. Hamann's ideas, however, first become a power when passed on to his pupils, Gerstenberg and Herder.

Gerstenberg had already shown himself a liberal critic echoing the opinions of J. A. Schlegel and Hamann. His moral weekly, the *Hypochondrist*, gave further emphasis to Hamann's ideas, and in the introduction to his translation of Fletcher's *Bride* (1764) there were traces of Young and of Home;⁵ but the full force of Young's ideas was not operative on Gerstenberg before the publication of the *Briefe über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur* (1766). These letters began just about at the moment when the letters of Lessing and his colleagues were discontinued. In them Gerstenberg shows that it is unjustifiable to judge one genius by the laws of another. Rather he makes such comparisons as that between Shakespeare's *Othello* and the imitative tragedy of Young, *The revenge*. With Young, Gerstenberg wages war against imitative literature; like Young he esteems genius more highly than learning; and Shakespeare is his standing example of the poet of genius.

⁴ For the parallel passages see Kind [365] 27–40.

^{4a} Hamann, *Schriften* III 393.

⁵ Henry Home, the author of *Elements of criticism* (1760), translated into German by J. N. Meinhardt (1763–1766). This work also influenced Herder in his *Shakespeare* as von Weilen [501] shows. Cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY [210] and [211].

Kind has collected an abundance of material on the subject of the co-occurrence of Herder's views with Young's, admitting, however, that it is not always possible to tell whether Herder derived his suggestions directly from Young or indirectly through Hamann.⁶ He counts it as Herder's great service that he went beyond his predecessors and set to exemplify these ideas and principles and "to apply them for the purpose of arousing national pride in German letters. Thus he helped to free Germany from the servility of imitation and prepared the way for the literature that has made Germany famous."⁷

Kind has apparently marshalled the most imposing array of evidence anywhere gathered together regarding the influence of the *Conjectures* on the "Storm and stress" critics. But he has done so in a guarded way. He admits in advance that the time was ripe for Young's theory. The public was tired of listening to Gottsched's praise of French literature, to Bodmer's praise of English literature, and even to Lessing's commendation of the classic literature. It was ready to listen to a doctrine of originality. He admits that Young's ideas were not entirely new in Germany. He reviews the history of Shakespeare in Germany up to 1760 and specifically mentions the liberal views of Johann Elias and Johann Adolf Schlegel in regard to the proper attitude toward the ancients.⁸ Steinke [366] nevertheless mentions Kind, along with Stein,⁹ Thomas [364a], and Unger,¹⁰ as one of the critics who have concluded that the *Conjectures* exerted a profound and decisive influence on German literature.¹¹

The quarrel of the ancients and the moderns in England and in Germany is reviewed by Steinke, who, basing his statements on a rather imposing mass of data, arrives at the conclusion, that all the important ideas of Young were present and current

⁶ Kind [365] 40-57.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40; cf. von Weilen [501] xv.

⁹ Stein, K. H., *Die Entstehung der neueren Aesthetik* (Stuttgart 1886), p. 136ff.

¹⁰ Unger, R., *Hamann und die Aufklärung* (Jena 1911), p. 275ff.

¹¹ Steinke [366] 20.

in Germany before they arrived anew in the form of the *Conjectures*. He says at one place:

The *Conjectures* contain ideas which, although often in a different form, were of the greatest importance in the development of Germany's literature, and they contributed something to the prevalence and force of these ideas. Germany, however, does not owe these ideas or their momentum in any decisive measure to Young's essay. The literature of Germany would not have been poorer as to content, nor would it have developed along different lines, without Young's *Conjectures on original composition*.¹²

Conservativeness is a virtue in estimating influences, and not every parallel passage is proof conclusive of borrowing; but there is such a fault as over-cautiousness, and Steinke's work is a good example of this exaggerated virtue. He is unwilling to admit the significance of any parallel passage unless the secondary author specifically acknowledges his debt to his predecessor. In spite of the cumulative effect of the large number of parallel passages found in Hamann and Young, and in spite of Hamann's well-known admiration for Young, Steinke only concedes three passages of Hamann as certainly borrowed from the *Conjectures*. In the case of Herder he is similarly cautious. In short, Steinke has erred on the side of understatement far more widely than Kind on the side of exaggeration.

* * * * *

The conception of Herder as a typical "Sturm und Drang" critic is widely prevalent; but it has recently been sharply challenged by Marie von Joachimi-Dege [479]. After carefully weighing evidence presented by previous investigators, she comes to the conclusion that Herder wavered from one standpoint to the other, but eventually took his position with Lessing. In 1764 Herder, with Hamann and Gerstenberg, was enthusiastic for "den groszen Wilden (Shakespeare), der wie ein Gott Menschen-

¹² Ibid., p. 40.

¹³ Steinke's work undertakes to deal with the history of the *Conjectures* in England. The portion of the work dealing therewith falls outside the scope of this SURVEY. Omissions and inaccuracies have been pointed out in the review by Kaufman noted in the BIBLIOGRAPHY.

herzen schafft und sie zur Höllenglut erschüttert; dessen Schöpferstab hier ein Feenreich, dort heulende Wildnisse hervorzaubert."¹⁴ In 1766 he is near to Lessing's point of view. "Könnte ich's doch laut ruffen, dasz, so wie ein regelmäsiziges Aubignacsches Theaterstück ein elendes Werk seyn kann, dagegen ein Shakespearscher *Lear* oder *Hamlet* ohne alle Anlage den Zweck des Trauerspiels erreicht, dramatisch zu rühren."¹⁵ Lessing would have taken exception only to the phrase "ohne alle Anlage." Yet Herder has his secret doubts after all, for in an unpublished fragment of the same year he asks "ob die Engländer und Shakespeare wirklich die Grundlage unserer Bühne sein können" and answers Lessing:

Ja, sie geben sehr viel zu sehen, aber uns Deutschen wirklich zu viel. Man gebe doch nur auf sich acht, was man bei Shakespeare siehet; immer zu viel, als nicht betäubt zu werden, zu fremde Phänomene, als an ihnen teilzunehmen; zu unwahrscheinliche, als sie auch mit einem starken theatralischen Glauben ansehen zu können.¹⁶

After the publication of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* Herder declares himself explicitly as in accord with Lessing's view. He calls Shakespeare "ein Genie, voll Einbildungskraft, die immer ins Grosze geht, die einen Plan ersinnen kann, über dem uns beim blossen Ansehen schwindelt: ein Genie, das in den einzelnen Verzierungen nichts, im groszen, weiten Bau der Fabel alles ist."¹⁷ And in 1769 he longs for a theatrical genius "das auch nur einen Funken von Shakespeares Geist hätte, ihm aber nicht seine Untereinandermischung, sein Übereinanderwerfen der Scenen liesze und sich keine Episoden erlaubte—was wäre dies für eine schöne Mäszigung des Briten!"¹⁸

At this time two events occurred that deepened Herder's understanding of Shakespeare; a conversation with Lessing in Hamburg (1770),^{18a} and then his journey to Darmstadt and his

¹⁴ Quoted by Dege [479] 108, without reference.

¹⁵ Herder, *Werke* I 436 quoted by Dege [479] 108.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II 233; quoted by Dege [479] 109.

¹⁷ Quoted by Dege [479] 110, without reference.

¹⁸ Herder, *Werke* IV 312; quoted by Dege [479] 110.

^{18a} Haym, *Herder* (Berlin 1880), I 357.

sojourn in Straszburg, where he first met Goethe. The change of surrounding was the more important factor. What wonder, Dege asks, that Shakespeare assumes a new meaning for Herder now, here in Straszburg "wo er in peinlichsten körperlichen Leiden, bald in lebhaftester Geselligkeit, bald in vollständiger Abgeschlossenheit seine Tage verbringt, wo Leidenschaft und Freundschaft, Krankheit und Not, Hoffnung und Enttäuschungen sein Leben von Grund aus erschüttern."¹⁹ Shakespeare has now become Herder's guide, philosopher, and friend: "Erst in dieser Epoche, wird Herder zu einem mächtigen, eigentümlichen Faktor in der deutschen Shakespeare-Literatur, wird er zu dem über alle anderen hervorragenden Anreger Goethes, wird er der Verkündiger von Shakespeares historischer, ästhetischer und philosophisch-ethischer Bedeutung."¹⁹

This brings us to the second of the problems defined; the question to what extent Herder was Goethe's mentor in regard to Shakespeare. Minor and Sauer [507] and Suphan [530] defend the theory of Herder's tutorship and their views seem to have been generally accepted, but it seems advantageous here to give heed to objections therto.

Minor and Sauer argue as follows: Herder's views regarding Shakespeare were, in the Straszburg period, much the same as they were later when he finally publishes his essay, *Shakespeare* (1773). They arrive at that conclusion by a comparison of the essay with Herder's letters to Caroline previous to 1771. Now there are four documents, they say, which give us an insight into the opinions prevailing in Straszburg regarding Shakespeare. These are Herder's *Shakespeare*,²⁰ already begun in 1771, Goethe's *Shakespeare-Rede*, purporting to have been delivered in Frankfurt in 1771, a speech delivered by Lersé in Straszburg on the same day, and Lenz's *Anmerkungen über das Theater*, published later as an introduction to his *Amor vincit omnia*, a translation of Shakespeare's *Love's labor's lost*. There are similar ideas expressed in all these documents, altho Lenz's

¹⁹ Dege [479] 112.

²⁰ Herder, *Werke* V 208-257; cf. Lambel [531].

viewpoint regarding the drama was admittedly different from that of the others. They contend that Shakespeare's drama is greater than the French drama in that it has an historical justification, like the Greek drama. Lenz condemns the Greek drama as well as the French and justifies Shakespeare alone. The various manifestos have in common the historical standpoint, the polemic tone directed against the French, and much of their phraseology. On the basis of these facts Minor and Sauer ignore other possibilities and hold that Herder taught the Straszburg group to appreciate Shakespeare in his way. Suphan's statements in [476] and [530] are still more extreme. In the latter article he says that Goethe practically applied in his *Götz* the principles he had learned from Herder, particularly the ideas:

1. Nicht Drama, sondern Geschichte haben wir bei Shakespeare, nicht die überlieferte Kunstform, sondern freie Darstellung eines groszen 'Geschehnisses' in seinem ganzen Verlauf. 2. Alles entspringt bei Shakespeare aus den Charakteren ('aus Sitte,' Ethos). 3. Die Tragödie schildert das Walten des Schicksals, den Kampf einer nur im Wahne des Menschen bestehenden Selbstbestimmung mit der Macht der Nothwendigkeit.²¹

Against this the following considerations may be urged: It is admitted that Goethe did not first read Shakespeare under Herder's influence. From *Dichtung und Wahrheit* we learn that he read Dodd's *Beauties of Shakespeare* in Leipzig in 1766;^{21a} several quotations from that collection and references to Shakespeare are to be found in his letters to Cornelia from Easter 1766 to May 1777.^{21b} He does not make it clear just when he first read Wieland's translation,^{21c} but with his admiration for Wieland it is scarcely conceivable that he did not read it in Leipzig, especially as the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* had called attention to it. Despite Goethe's own testimony, "die erste Seite, die ich in ihm las, machte mich auf Zeitlebens ihm eigen,"^{21d} it does not appear that his appreciation of Shake-

²¹ Suphan [530] 464.

^{21a} Goethe, *Werke* I 28, 72.

^{21b} Leitzmann [515ax] 60f.

^{21c} Goethe, *Werke* I 28, 73.

^{21d} *Ibid.*, I 37, 130.

speare was as yet very deep. It was when Goethe returned, broken in health, to Frankfurt and began the slow process of recovery that he began to have a fuller understanding of Shakespeare. On February 20, 1770, he wrote to the book-dealer Reich: "Nach Oeser und Shakespeare ist Wieland noch der einzige, den ich für meinen echten Lehrer erkennen kann; andere hatten mir gezeigt, dasz ich fehlte, diese zeigten mir, wie ich's besser machen sollte."²² There are also passages in Goethe's *Ephemeres* which show that Goethe in the earliest Straszburger days was reading Shakespeare thotfully.^{22a}

In the tenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe speaks of his association with Herder without referring either to Shakespeare or to Ossian. In the eleventh book he tells of a new influence that began to affect him and his circle of friends and turn them away from French literature. He mentions his earlier acquaintance with Shakespeare and with Wieland's translation. He tells how he and his Strassburg friends now read Shakespeare in whole and in part, in the original and in translation, and how they imitated the manner of life of Shakespeare's time and even his quibbles. Here Lenz distinguishes himself especially. Herder is not mentioned as a leader. It is not conceivable that he participated in these absurdities. Goethe was apparently himself the leader of the younger circle. "Hiezu trug nicht wenig bei, dasz ich ihn (Shakespeare) vor allen mit groszem Enthusiasmus ergriffen hatte. Ein freudiges Bekennen, dasz etwas Höheres über mir schwebte, war ansteckend für meine Freunde, die sich alle dieser Sinnesart hingaben." Thereupon Goethe does indeed mention Herder: "Will jemand unmittelbar erfahren, was damals in dieser lebendigen Gesellschaft gedacht, gesprochen und verhandelt worden, der lese den Aufsatz Herders über Shakespeare in dem Hefte *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*; ferner Lenzens *Anmerkungen übers Theater*."²³

²² Ibid., IV, 1.

^{22a} Ibid., I 37, 94 and 95.

²³ Ibid., I 28, 75.

No broad conclusions, Düntzer holds, are to be drawn from this observation:

Keines von beiden (Herder's and Lenz's essays) stellt die Ansicht der damaligen Gesellschaft dar. Herder stand nur mit Goethe und Jung in Verbindung, wenn er auch Salzmann einmal, wahrscheinlich in der letzten Zeit, besuchte; sein Aufsatz ist erst in Bückeburg verfasst. Zu Straszburg hat er sich in dieser eingehenden Weise weder gegen Goethe noch gegen einen seiner Bekannten ausgelassen. Lenz lief erst später in dieser Weise gegen das bestehende Theater Sturm, obgleich er sich das Ansehen gab, sein Aufsatz sei zwei Jahre vor dem *Götz* in einer Gesellschaft guter Freunde vorgelesen worden. Lenz und Herder standen, wie es Goethe ausführt, ganz anders gegen Shakespeare, und sie haben sich in Straszburg gar nicht gekannt. Die Wahrheit ist, dass Goethe Lense und Jung für Shakespeare gewonnen hatte, letzteren, wie dieser selbst berichtet, auch für Ossian, Fielding und Sterne; von einer Erleuchtung Goethes über Shakespeare durch Herder findet sich keine einzige Spur, ja er brauchte ihn nicht erst für diesen zu begeistern, er hätte ihn in seinem Enthusiasmus eher zügeln als spornen müssen. Vor ihm wurde dieser Enthusiasmus verheimlicht, er loderte frei auf in dem Umgange mit seinen jüngeren Freunden, besonders nach Herders Abreise, und am ausschweifendsten, als der tolle Lenz zu ihnen trat.²⁴

If Herder was not Goethe's inspirer in regard to Shakespeare, still less was he his teacher in the manner suggested by Suphan. Methodical instruction from the point of view of comparative literary history would not have helped Goethe, who wanted to read and appreciate, deferring systematic study. Moreover such a procedure was not natural to Herder. "Wäre Herder methodischer gewesen," Goethe says in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, "so hätte ich auch für eine dauerhafte Richtung meiner Bildung die köstlichste Anleitung gefunden; aber er war mehr geneigt zu prüfen und anzuregen als zu führen und zu leiten."²⁵

In spite of all these facts, which Düntzer very properly emphasizes, most readers of Herder and Goethe will probably feel that there is in Goethe's "Rede" enough of Herder's thought and enough of his characteristic form of expression to justify the belief that when better disposed he was accustomed to talk to

²⁴ Düntzer [510] 386.

²⁵ Goethe, *Werke* I 27, 314.

Goethe about Shakespeare or at least to think aloud when Goethe was present and so to communicate to him in a fragmentary way some of the ideas that later found their final form in Herder's *Shakespeare*. Stadler at least seems to agree in general with Minor and Sauer:

Herders überlegene Kennerschaft weist Goethe von dem Steifen, Nüchternen, Miszlungenen der (Wielandschen) Übersetzung auf die jugendfrische Schönheit des Originals und lässt blitzartig die ungeheure Kluft aufschimmern, die Shakespeare von seinem deutschen Übersetzer trennt. Nun erwächst aus leidenschaftlichem Einleben in den Urtext und im Gedankenaustausch mit gleichgesinnten Freunden eine ganz neue Begeisterung (für Shakespeare).²⁶

Yet he contradicts his own statement a page or two later, when he quotes Goethe's remark to Fölk on January 25, 1813, the day of Wieland's burial: "Eben diese hohe Natürlichkeit ist der Grund warum ich den Shakespeare, wenn ich mich wahrhaft ergetzen will, jedesmal in der Wielandschen Übersetzung lese."²⁷

It would thus appear that the extent of Herder's influence on Goethe's views is still an unsettled question, but Friedrich [541] gives a definite answer to the question regarding the degree of Lenz's indebtedness to his Straszburg contemporaries. Lenz prefixt to his *Anmerkungen über das Theater* (1774) the assertion: "Diese Schrift ward zwey Jahre vor Erscheinung der *Deutschen Art und Kunst* und des *Götz von Berlichingen* in einer Gesellschaft guter Freunde vorgelesen." Goethe was one of the first to call the statement into question. Some forty years after the event he observed in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* that the assertion was "einigermaßen auffallend" and that the existence of any such society as Lenz spoke of was unknown to him.²⁸ Naturally enuf most later commentators have shared Goethe's doubts for, in the first place, Goethe's ignorance of the society was good negative evidence, secondly, passages in the *Anmerkungen* were obviously called out by Herder's essay, and finally

²⁶ Stadler [613] 91.

²⁷ Biedermann, *Gespräche* II 166.

²⁸ Goethe, *Werke* I 28, 251. Cf. Winkler in *MLN* IX (1894) 66-78.

Lenz's assertions were considered none too trustworthy where his own personal vanity was involved. In recent years it has been shown, however, that such a society did exist, that Lenz was its leading spirit, and that he read papers before it as early as 1771.

These facts taken in connexion with the internal evidence have enabled Friedrich [541] to retrace the steps in the development of Lenz's work. It is now admitted that the treatise, as it finally appeared, was made up of several separate "Anmerkungen," written at various times between 1771 and 1774²⁹ as follows: "1. *Über die Theorie von den drei Einheiten im Drama*, read before the Straszburg 'Société de philosophie et de belles lettres' in the winter of 1771. 2. *Über das Wesen des Dramas*, read before the same society probably a short time after. 3. *Über das Handwerksmässige in der dramatischen Literatur der Franzosen*, written not earlier than 1773 as is shown by its echoes of Herder's *Shakespeare*. 4. *Über den Unterschied des antiken und modernen Dramas*, which was added to the others in 1774 just before the publication. Friedrich has republished the whole essay in variorum type even indicating such details as "erste Bearbeitung," "Flickstellen der ersten Bearbeitung," and "zweite Überarbeitung." The inconsistencies of Lenz's treatise have been frequently pointed out. In Friedrich's reprint it is clear that these exist only in parts that originated at different times.

Lenz's prefatory remark in regard to the priority of his *Anmerkungen* over Herder's *Shakespeare* and Goethe's *Götz* is justified, but only when applied to the first two parts. Internal evidence also supports this view. Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* is the only necessary presupposition to the earlier portions. Friedrich shows how in the *Shakespeare-Aufsatz*, the *Shakespeare-Rede*, and the earliest *Anmerkungen* Herder, Goethe, and Lenz develop, each in his own way, the fundamental idea of Lessing's 17. *Literaturbrief* and forty-sixth number of the *Ham-*

²⁹ Cf. Keckeis [600] 28.

burgische Dramaturgie regarding the unities. The second of Lenz's *Anmerkungen* shows its author's familiarity with the writings of Batteux, Leibniz, and Baumgarten.³⁰ The third of the *Anmerkungen* shows the stimulating effect of Herder's *Shakespeare*, and the "erste Redaktion" gives back verbal echoes of Goethe's *Shakespeare-Rede*, when the subject of genius is touched upon. "Diese Gedanken," Friedrich says, "haben für Deutschland ihren letzten Ausgangspunkt in Youngs *Gedanken über die Originalwerke*."³¹

This brings up a question which apparently has never been answered as yet, whether Lenz knew Young's essay at first hand during the period 1771-1773. A priori one would surmise that he did. The work was sufficiently well known and Lenz, even as a student in Königsberg (1768-1771), was an admirer and imitator of Young's *Night thoughts*. It has even been suggested that he may have known Hamann personally while there,³³ yet he left Königsberg quite unaffected by the new trend of literary criticisms. Passing thru Berlin in 1771 on the way to Straszburg he set to find a publisher for so antiquated a product as a translation into alexandrines of Pope's *Essay on criticism*. Rosanov is justified in saying that if Lenz read Young's treatise in Königsberg it made no impression on him.³⁴ Soon after his arrival in Straszburg Lenz developed a new taste in poetry, but neither Kind, Friedrich, Keckeis, Rosanov, nor Rauch suggests the direct influence of Young in this transition, and Schmidt's oracular and undocumented statement regarding Lenz in 1771 throws no further light on the question: "Er warf den bisherigen Ballast von sich und schwur begeistert über dem neuen Youngschen Testamenten des Dichters, dem Buch der Natur und dem Buch des Menschen, auf die Namen Homers, Ossians, Shakespeares."³⁵

³⁰ For the relation of Lenz to Mercier see Keckeis [600] 88-95; for Diderot > Lenz, *ibid.*, p. 80-88.

³¹ Friedrich [541] 79.

³³ Cf. Warda in *Euph XIV* (1907) 613; cf. Rosanov [539] 55 and 464.

³⁴ Rosanov [539] 77.

³⁵ Schmidt [536] 6.

Lenz came into three distinct relations to Shakespeare; those of commentator, translator, and imitator. As an appendix to his *Anmerkungen* he publishes his *Amor vincit omnia*, a translation of *Love's labor's lost*, in order to present what he regarded as an unbeautified and unfalsified picture of the poet's work, which, according to the opinion of Lenz and his fellow radicals, could best be done by a prose rendering. In his choice of a drama, however, Lenz was singularly unfortunate since the essential beauty of *Love's labor's lost* is in its verse and rime. Lenz was also unfortunate in his choice of his English basis. Clarke [124] has shown that it was from Pope's edition of Shakespeare that he translated. The passages which Pope omitted from the text and included only in the notes Lenz omitted entirely. In 1776 Lenz translated some fragments from *Coriolanus* which, however, were not published during his life.^{35a}

The influence of Shakespeare upon Lenz's technique is exhibited chiefly in his comedies *Der Hofmeister* (1774) and *Die Soldaten* (1776). Rauch [537] has analyzed it under the captions "Die drei Einheiten," "Shakespeares Historienstil," and "Streben nach Natur." This is followed by a study of Shakespeare's influence on Lenz's diction. The concluding portion is entitled "Shakespeares Einfluß auf Charakteristik und Motive in Lenzens Dichtungen: Anklänge, Parallelstellen und Reminiscenzen." Rauch finds that Lenz's borrowings from Shakespeare take by no means so concrete and obvious a form as in the case of the less gifted and original Klinger.

Während Klinger Shakespeare oft geradezu zu plündern erscheint, . . . ist es bei Lenz schwer, die direkte Einwirkung Shakespeares auf Motive und Charakteristik zu fixieren. Es finden sich meistens nur Reminiscenzen unbedeutenderer Art, Anklänge und Parallelstellen. Der Einfluß Shakespeares auf Lenz ist mehr verarbeitet, ist innerlicher und zeigt sich auch verborgener als bei Klinger.³⁶

That *Hamlet* should have made a deep impression upon him was to be expected in view of Lenz's own foreshadowed fate.

^{35a} Lenz, *Schriften* III 414f.

³⁶ Rauch [537] 85.

Rauch discovers several *Hamlet* reminiscences in Lenz's Prinz Tandi in *Der neue Menoza*, Strephon in *Die Freunde machen den Philosophen* and Robert Hot in *Der Engländer*. Between Lenz and Romeo Rauch also finds a certain similarity, with corresponding reminiscences in Lenz's work. Echoes of *King Lear*, *Othello*, and other plays are less numerous.

On the whole Rauch finds, as most other critics have done, that Shakespeare's influence was detrimental to Lenz: "Seine Fähigkeiten wiesen ihm einen andern Weg, und so musste die Einwirkung der Shakespeareschen Dichtung ihm immer etwas Fremdes bleiben." Herder's words "Shakespeare hat euch ganz verdorben" fitted Lenz better than Goethe. "Es ist dies um so mehr zu bedauern, als Lenz ein wahrer Dichter war, von Originalität und unerschöpflicher Produktivität. . . . So aber trug er Waffen, die für seinen Körper zu schwer waren und fiel als das beklagenswerteste Opfer der Shakespearomanie der Sturm- und Drangperiode."³⁷

Most of the investigators have taken subject-matter rather than form as their criterion in judging the influence of Shakespeare upon the "Storm and stress" movement. Gundolf, as will be shown in a later chapter, lays emphasis on form. He proceeds on the assumption that not Shakespeare in the original but Shakespeare as he appeared in the guise of Wieland's translation was the basis of the new form which the "Sturm und Drang" introduced. This assumption, as far as Goethe is concerned, is supported by the studies which have just been past in review. Nor is it likely that many of Goethe's revolutionary colleags, Lenz excepted, read Shakespeare in the English with greater ease than Goethe. The "Originalgenies" were all quite dependent on the translation of Wieland, whose view of Shakespeare they held to be so narrow. Lenz's *Amor vincit omnia*, his *Coriolanus* fragment, and a few fragments by Herder comprize almost their entire effort to present a picture of Shakespeare's art compatible with the "Sturm und Drang" conception of it.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 101.

CHAPTER 16

BÖHTLINGK'S *SHAKESPEARE UND UNSERE KLASSIKER*

At the first glance (see BIBLIOGRAPHY, part II) it appears as if the literature regarding Shakespeare's influence on Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller were extensive enough to satisfy the most zealous inquirer; but on nearer inspection much of the discussion proves to have dealt with abstractions and the greater part of the remainder with details. So there was undoubtedly a need for such a series of works as that of Böhrling [549], [514], [565], which should systematically define the relations of the German classic dramatists to Shakespeare.

Böhrling's works failed to find favor with the critics, and this not without good reason. In the first place he has evidently been trained in the journalistic rather than the scientific school. Except when he pillories some notable predecessor such as Erich Schmidt, he proceeds with a high disregard of earlier investigators and doubtless sincerely believes himself the first discoverer of every truth he proclaims. Secondly, he is an unqualified admirer of Shakespeare and is inclined to commend the achievements of the later dramatists according to the degree with which they have yielded themselves up to their great predecessor. Thirdly, he has an aggressive way of stating extreme theses and defending them at all costs, that does not commend him as a safe critic. Finally, his conception of influence is a far cruder one than that which prevails among his fellow critics. Nothing can be more fruitless than to recount for page after page how later dramatists have copied or varied the themes, characters, and situations of Shakespearean dramas. In spite of all these objections Böhrling's trilogy of books is useful, for it brings compactly together a great mass of concrete matter, elsewhere widely scattered.

Of his three monographs on the classic German literature the first one [549], which deals with Lessing, has found the least favor. It is divided into two parts. The first is entitled: "Wann und wie ist Lessing zu Shakespeare gekommen?" and the second: "Wie hat Shakespeare auf Lessing eingewirkt und dieser ihn genutzt?" Böhlingk's answer to the first question is that Dryden's *Essay of dramattick poesie* directed Lessing's attention to the Elizabethan literature and to Shakespeare: "Dryden war die Brücke, die unsern Lessing, indem er ihn über die Köpfe der nach-Shakespearschen Dichter hinweg, diesem zuführte."¹ His answer to the second question is the sweeping assertion:

Lessing hat, von dem Tage an, da ihm der englische Dichterkönig in seiner ganzen Tragweite für unsere deutsche Dichtung, zumal für sein eigenes Schaffen, aufgegangen war, selbstverständlich kein Bühnenstück entworfen, keine Szene gestaltet, kaum eine Person charakterisiert, ohne ihn zu Rate zu ziehen, Shakespeares Meisterwerke, so viel als irgend möglich, als Goldgrube zu nutzen.²

This latter thesis, since it offends the soul of poetry, is far more objectionable than the former, which is merely a slight exaggeration. In an earlier chapter it has been conceded that Dryden's *Essay of dramattick poesie* was at least an important element in Lessing's theoretic conversion to Shakespeare, tho the views of Addison and the studies of Nicolai and Mendelssohn also played a large rôle therein. When Böhlingk further asserts, "als Lessing den 17. *Literaturbrief* mit der Probe aus seinem *Faust* hinaus-schickt, hat er den Shakespeare-Gipfel glücklich erstiegen,"³ this is still greater exaggeration, as has already been shown.

Böhlingk is rather fond of striking and extreme statements, which by later reservations are reduced to tenable theses. He admits that Lessing's conversion was not a sudden one, that he came upon Shakespeare's drama by way of the post-Elizabethan English drama. This preliminary schooling in the English

¹ Böhlingk [549] 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

drama has been described in fuller detail by Caro [127], who has subjected Lessing's early dramas and dramatic fragments to a close comparison with their English relatives, known and surmized. Lessing constructed his dramas previously to 1755 according to correct French principles, but he had already begun reading English dramas, and these served him as his best source for motifs. Caro finds that the fragment *Der Leichtgläubige* (1748) contains reminiscences of Wycherley's *The country wife* and *Der Freygeist* (1749) of Wycherley's *Gentleman dancing master*. *Der gute Mann* (1753) contains a modification of the main action of Congreve's *Double dealer* and *Der Vater ein Affe, der Sohn ein Geck* (1753) contains a character drawn from the same drama. Danzel and Boxberger had both asserted the influence of *Julius Caesar*, as translated by Borck, in Lessing's *Henzi* (written 1749, published 1753). Caro joins with Hettner⁴ and Erich Schmidt⁵ in denying this relation. The main model of *Henzi*, Caro says, was Otway's *Venice preserved or a plot discovered*. In *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755) the names Marwood and Mellefont come from Congreve's *The way of the world*, but the relation of the two characters to each other is different from that of their "Paten." Even after the writing of the *17. Literaturbrief* Lessing still makes use for a time of minor English dramas. *Philotas* (1759) displays a combination of the Shakespearian and the classic form and *Alcibiades* (ca. 1760) is purely classic, but Scherer has surmized that Otway's *Soldier's fortune* suggested the fragment *Die Witzlinge* (1759).^{5a} Shakespearian influence is generally recognized in *Minna von Barnhelm* (1763); but the presence of motifs from Farquhar's *Constant couple or a trip to the jubilee* is undeniable, and there is also a suggestion of Farquhar's *Sir Harry Wildair* in the comedy.

The question of Lessing's actual indebtedness to Shakespeare in his three greater dramas is the main theme of Böhntlingk, who has assembled a most imposing array of parallel characters,

⁴ Hettner [75]⁵ II 457.

⁵ Schmidt [126]² 215.

^{5a} DR XXI (1881) 286.

motifs, and passages. He finds sanction for such a procedure in Lessing's confession in the last number of his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*:

Ich fühle die lebendige Quelle nicht in mir, die durch eigene Kraft sich emporarbeitet, durch eigene Kraft in so reichen, so frischen, so reinen Strahlen aufschieszt: ich musz alles durch Druckwerk und Röhren aus mir herauf pressen. Ich würde so arm, so kalt, so kurzsichtig seyn, wenn ich nicht einigermaszen gelernt hätte, fremde Schätze bescheiden zu borgen, an fremdem Feuer mich zu wärmen, und durch die Gläser der Kunst mein Auge zu stärken.⁶

Otto Ludwig was one of the earliest critics to find concrete evidence of Lessing's dependence on Shakespeare. He called *Minna von Barnhelm* "das erste Stück, welches den Shakespeare bewuszt und unmittelbar sich zum Muster nahm;"⁷ Minna and Franziska were Portia and Nerissa, and the ring episode had had its influence on Lessing's drama. It goes without saying that Böttlingk agrees with Ludwig here and finds additional similarities in the two dramas: first in the dramatic genre, the mingling of comedy and tragedy; second in the characters, where he parallels Just and the Wirt with Lancelot and Gobbo; third in motifs, *Minna von Barnhelm* having the motif of the good deed in common with *The merchant of Venice*, the determination for truth in common with *Hamlet*, the love motif, mature love, in common with *Othello*. Internal evidence can be adduced to support the parallel between Tellheim and Othello: "O ja! Aber sagen Sie mir doch, mein Fräulein: wie kam der Mohr in Venetianische Dienste?"^{7a} That Kleist also served as a model for Tellheim, and that there is something of Lessing himself in the unyielding major, Böttlingk readily concedes.

In *Emilia Galotti* Böttlingk sees some remarkable combinations of influence. Galotti and Othello, Emilia and Desdemona are paralleled and the deaths of the latter two are compared in detail. In Emilia's relations with the prince, however, Böttlingk sees a love relation between hostile houses comparable to

⁶ Lessing, *Schriften* X 209.

⁷ Ludwig, *Schriften* V 330.

^{7a} *Minna von Barnhelm* IV 6.

that between Juliet and Romeo. Marinelli is a planning Iago with the subservience of Polonius; while Orsina, in addition to being a new version of Marwood, is also a Hamlet.

In the *Merchant of Venice* friendship is the fundamental notion, but Böhntlingk finds a strong plea for religious toleration in the character of Shylock. In *Nathan* religious toleration as a motif comes first and friendship second. Böhntlingk seems to imply that Lessing followed Shakespeare's guidance when in his *Nathan* he borrowed from Boccaccio the ring story, just as Shakespeare borrowed the story of the three caskets from the *Gesta Romanorum*, that is to say likewise from Italy.

Some of the material presented by Böhntlingk is sufficient to bring conviction without argument and some is well supported by argument, but other parallels seem forced. Yet it is by no means easy to see what use can be made of such evidence. It does not in itself prove influence. Böhntlingk does not seek to prove that Lessing made Shakespeare's art his own. True, he quotes Otto Ludwig's opinion: "dasz der Dramatiker Lessing der Kunst Shakespeares, von allen unsern deutschen Dramatikern, Goethe, Schiller und Kleist nicht ausgenommen, am nächsten gekommen sei."^{7b} But just previously he had summarized Ludwig's criticism: "der Verstand herrscht (i.e. in Lessing's case), die Verstandesarbeit überwiegt." Ludwig was aware that the preponderance of "Reflexion" had been fatal to himself as a dramatist. On the whole Ludwig contrasted rather than compared Shakespeare and Lessing, and his conclusions do not greatly differ from those of Gundolf, which will be quoted later.⁸ Böhntlingk puts an incomparably higher estimate upon the concrete similarities of motifs and characters than Ludwig and Gundolf. The impression of Lessing which Böhntlingk leaves with us is that of an artizan painfully patching together a mosaic out of divers fragments from the workshop of an artist.

When Böhntlingk turns to the theme *Goethe und Shakespeare* [514] he finds himself confronted with a problem that obviously

^{7b} Böhntlingk [549] 264.

⁸ See SURVEY, p. 427.

will yield to no such method as that employed in his earlier monograph. For, in the first place, Goethe was not given to borrowing characters and situations from other poets; he turned into poetry, drama, or novel chiefly that which he had personally experienced or seen. Furthermore Goethe could not rely on Shakespeare for examples in dramatic technique, for he labored under the delusion that Shakespeare's dramas were essentially undramatic. This did not prevent him from using Shakespearean technique in *Götz von Berlichingen*, but he did not write *Götz* primarily for the stage.

Böhlingk's frank admission of these difficulties inspires some confidence. He does not expect to be able to prove direct borrowings of Goethe from Shakespeare. He holds rather that *Götz* is Shakespearean "durch die ganze Grundstimmung, die darin zum Ausdruck kommende Gesinnung."⁹ It is incomparably more Shakespearean than Lessing's dramas, "und dies zwar durch die Ursprünglichkeit, das Naturwüchsige, die schöpferische Freiheit, durch eben das, was Lessing, nach eigenem Geständnis, abging."^{9a} This liberal principle reminds one of Young's paradox: "The less we imitate the ancients the more we shall be like them;" and yet we find that after all Böhlingk is planning to compare Goethe's work with Shakespeare's and to appraise their value by paralleling the two.

True, there is sanction for such a procedure. Herder was the first to draw *Götz* into a comparison with the Shakespearean drama, when he wrote to Goethe the sharp criticism: "Shakespeare hat euch ganz verdorben."¹⁰ Goethe himself regarded

⁹ Böhlingk [514] 45.

^{9a} Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁰ Herder's letter containing this phrase has been lost. The phrase is preserved only in Goethe's reply. Hence the connexion is not clear, nor is the general tone of the letter a matter of certainty. Düntzer [510] 420 notes the long time that Goethe had to wait for the letter of acknowledgment and criticism from Herder, i.e. from Nov. 20, to the beginning of July. He believes that envy partly accounts for the tardy reply and surmizes that the letter was "stark gepfeffert" (p. 422). Harnack [511], who agrees with Düntzer on these points, justifies Herder by interpreting the sentence as meaning that Goethe was not fitted to be an imitator, that he could receive an impulse without but must needs proceed in his own way.

his *Götz* as Shakespearean because it presented an historical event in all its complications and ramifications, because it pictured the entire age as well as the entire life of an historical character, and because he had developed his characters out of their milieu. It was the power to do this that Goethe most admired in Shakespeare. Minor and Sauer had made an extreme assertion in regard to the relation of *Götz* to Shakespeare's plays: "Gehen wir den Übereinstimmungen des *Götz* mit Shakespeareschen Stücken bis ins einzelne nach und sehen zu, was Goethe an Motiven der Handlung und der Darstellung von Shakespeare entlehnt haben kann, so begleitet uns der englische Dichter mit geringen Pausen fast durch das ganze Stück."¹¹ They then proceeded to make comparisons of *Götz* with *Romeo and Juliet*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Hamlet*, while for the lighter elements of *Götz* they found models in Shakespeare's comedies. Böttlingk discredits such comparisons as these and holds that *Götz* should be compared not with any of the major plays of Shakespeare but rather with the historical ones.¹² It is well at this point to refer to the opinion of Gundolf, who says that the chief influence of Shakespeare on Goethe as far as *Götz* was concerned was to lead Goethe to treat in a dramatic form a theme of an essentially epic nature.¹³

When he takes up the subjects of *Faust* and *Werther* Böttlingk reverts to the method he employed in his Lessing monograph. Goethe's *Faust* as originally conceived was comparable, Böttlingk says, with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.¹⁴ Both these students came to the appreciation of the fact that there were things in heaven and earth not fathomed by the philosophy of the schools and set to penetrate the secrets of life by other means. The ghost of *Hamlet's* father, however, Böttlingk refrains from comparing with the spirits summoned up by *Faust*: "Hamlets

¹¹ Minor and Sauer [507] 263.

¹² Böttlingk [514] 47.

¹³ See SURVEY, p. 432.

¹⁴ Böttlingk's chapter on *Hamlet* and *Werther* may be here past over, as Gundolf has brought out the connexion in more striking terms. See SURVEY, p. 433f.

Gespenst ist weiter nichts als das Erzeugnis der Gemütsaufregung der Dänen überhaupt, der dänischen Volksseele, und Hamlets, als des durch den Hingang des Vaters zunächst betroffenen.'¹⁵ In the case of *Faust* Goethe went to Shakespeare for actual assistance, just as Lessing was accustomed to do, and this is evident, Böttlingk says, at many points. When Gretchen's mind, like Ophelia's, becomes clouded as a result of her sufferings she too sings a rude song that else had not crossed her lips:

Meine Mutter, die Hur,
Die mich umgebracht hat!

Yet Gretchen is still conscious of her misdeeds and in phrases that remind of Lady Macbeth she releases Faust's hand with the exclamation:

Ach! aber sie ist feucht.
Wische sie ab! Wie mich deucht,
Ist Blut daran.
Ach Gott! Was hast du getan!

The brothers of these victims cross blades with the recreant lovers. The song that draws forth Valentine's sword is borrowed from Shakespeare. Goethe demanded of Eckermann why he should invent a new song when Shakespeare had provided him with one so fitting.^{15a} Böttlingk adds that the St. Valentine's song of Ophelia apparently gave Gretchen's brother his name. Böttlingk is able elsewhere as well to connect Shakespearean songs with songs, scenes, and characters in *Faust*. Yet this influence was entirely lacking on one most important side:

Hat derart der Einfluss des grossen Briten einzelnen Szenen dramatisches, theatralisch wirksames Gepräge gegeben, so hat doch der Anschluss an Shakespeare, wie beim *Götz* und *Werther*, auch bei der Konzeption des *Faust* Goethen, wie er nun einmal zum grossen Briten stand, dem Theater nicht zugeführt, sondern von demselben abgekehrt.¹⁶

¹⁵ Böttlingk [514] 63.

^{15a} Eckermann, *Gespräche*, p. 111, under date of Jan. 18, 1825.

¹⁶ Böttlingk [514] 67.

Böhtlingk finds *Egmont* rather more closely related to Shakespeare than *Götz*.¹⁷ Schiller had called it a character tragedy and compared it with *Macbeth* and *Richard III*. All the other events and actions are chiefly there to throw a stronger light upon the main character. Shakespeare was the first to produce such plays, and Goethe with his *Götz* and *Egmont* was the next. For *Richard III* and *Macbeth* Böhtlingk would substitute *Hamlet*, to which the description tragedy is more applicable. *Hamlet* is related to *Egmont*, he says, in form, soul, and substance. The Netherlands are *Egmont's* Denmark, but both *Hamlet* and *Egmont* perish at the dawn of their country's better day. Böhtlingk finds *Egmont's* sleep especially Shakespearean: "Durch nichts wird Macbeth schwerer gestraft, als dasz er durch seine Untat um den Schlaf gekommen ist."¹⁸ Shakespeare contrasts the troubled dreams of Richard with the fair dreams of Richmond. There is sanction, too, in Shakespeare for the musical accompaniment which Schiller so severely criticized. Above all Shakespearean was "die einzigartige Verschmelzung echtester Volks- und höchster Kunstdichtung."¹⁹

Böhtlingk goes so far as to say that Goethe's attitude toward Shakespeare is the theme of *Wilhelm Meisters theatralische Sendung*. Wilhelm identifies himself with *Hamlet*, whose rôle he later assumes. A *Laertes* is also in the company. The work grew in the years 1776-1786, when Goethe was occupied with the drama and theater in every capacity. *Miedings Tod* (1782) is another fruit of this occupation, a "*Sendung in Quintessenz*." The *Theatralische Sendung* shows at least that Goethe was possessed of the impulse to present Shakespeare in some form upon the stage. This was a bold desire for one who had never seen a Shakespearean play. The Weimar stage was, moreover, consecrated to the French taste. With Goethe's proposed adaptation of *Hamlet* Böhtlingk is not at all in sympathy; he holds that

¹⁷ Harnack [511] in his comparison passes over *Egmont* without a reference.

¹⁸ Böhtlingk [514] 74

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

the blond, phlegmatic prince who was possess of no passion for Ophelia is contrary to Shakespeare's intention and that Goethe misconceived the whole theme of *Hamlet*. It was not that Hamlet lacked the boldness to execute revenge, but rather that he scorned any but poetic and effective revenge. With Goethe's proposed simplification of the historical background Böhlingk is no better pleased: "Goethe hat, indem er dessen 'unvergleichlichen' *Hamlet* seinem eigenen Naturell und seiner Bühnenauffassung entsprechend,—umzudichten unternahm, nur noch einmal bewiesen, wie wenig er den Dramatiker und vollends den Bühnendichter Shakespeare erfasst hatte."²⁰

Iphigenie and *Tasso* co-incide with the Hamlet plan in date and tendency and show that Goethe was turning his back upon the Shakespearean stage. *Iphigenie* is a Graeco-French drama, while *Tasso* is, according to Böhlingk, simply a French conventional piece such as Racine might have written. Yet Shakespeare was not forgotten during this period. In fact he was looked upon by Goethe as a guiding star. As such he is referred to in the poem *Ilmenau*, dated the third of September 1783, and it was of this period Goethe was thinking when he wrote in 1820 of Shakespeare and Frau von Stein:

Einer Einzigen angehören,
Einen Einzigen verehren,
Wie vereint es Herz und Sinn!
Lida! Glück der nächsten Nähe,
William! Stern der schönsten Höhe,
Euch verdank'ich, was ich bin;
Tag' und Jahre sind verschwunden,
Und doch ruht auf jenen Stunden
Meines Werthes Vollgewinn.^{20a}

Goethe's Italian journey produced at least one northern fruit, the "Hexenküche" scene in *Faust*. Goethe had brot with him to Italy some roughly written, long untouched pages of *Faust*. In

²⁰ Ibid., p. 120. Böhlingk quotes Tieck's introduction to Lenz's *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin 1828), I lxii in support of his opinion.

^{20a} Goethe, *Werke* I 3, 45.

Italy he took them again in hand and they suggested to him again Shakespeare, this time *Macbeth*. *Macbeth* is, like Hamlet and Prospero, a Faust nature. He too sold himself to the devil, tho for a different purpose. Substitute the witch for Hekate, likewise the Meerkater and Kätzin for the witches, and the *Macbeth* scene is closely reproduced in *Faust*: "So sehr das 'tolle Zauberwesen' Fausten widerstrebt, er gibt sich demselben nicht weniger willig hin, als Macbeth, der Mörder. . . . Viel schlimmer, als der durch die Hexenküche hindurchgegangene Faust, hat es auch Macbeth nicht treiben können."²¹

On his return from Italy Goethe took up the task of directing the theater at Weimar. Schiller at this time was not especially interested in the drama; since the writing of *Don Carlos* he had turned away from the theater. Classic antiquity was the common ground of the two poets in the earliest days of their association, and their preferred form of poetry was the epic and the lyric. Goethe was writing on his *Wilhelm Meister*. He produced his *Alexis und Dora* and his *Hermann und Dorothea*, and Schiller was planning to write *Wallenstein* as an epic.

But Schiller soon changed his plan. While at work on his *Wallenstein* epic he was studying Greek literature and he chanced to take up Shakespeare again. This led him to give *Wallenstein* dramatic form. Goethe proposed (Jan. 6, 1798): "Lassen Sie uns sowohl während der Arbeit (i.e. the dramatization of *Wallenstein*), als auch hinterdrein die dramatischen Forderungen nochmals recht durcharbeiten!"²² In the course of their studies they re-discovered what Lessing had proclaimed before, that Aristotle and Shakespeare could be readily harmonized. They determined "mit aller Besonnenheit" to present Shakespeare on the Weimar stage, a stage that had clung conservatively to the French-Aristotelian traditions. This involved great sacrifices of the specifically Shakespearean.

Independently of Schiller, Goethe had already presented *King John* on the stage. The form of presentation is not known.

²¹ Böhrling [514] 185.

²² Goethe, *Werke* IV 13, 9.

The chief record of it is Goethe's elegy *Euphrosyne* (1798).²³ Schiller's version of *Macbeth*, which was presented on May 14, 1800, showed only too clearly what was meant by Schiller's phrase "mit aller Besonnenheit." *Julius Caesar* was presented by Goethe, apparently without essential deviation from the original.²⁴ Regarding the form in which *Othello* (1805) and *King Lear* (1810) were staged nothing definite is known. It is to be feared that no very great piety was shown toward the original form, if one may draw inferences from Goethe's views in regard to *King Lear*^{24a} and his version of *Romeo and Juliet* (1812).²⁵ Moreover Goethe had to take into account his audience and the talent of his theatrical company. Iffland as *King Lear* does not inspire confidence.

Meanwhile Shakespeare's hold upon the public was being undermined in another way. As a good antidote against the prevailing naturalism of dramatic representation Goethe and Schiller determined in 1800 to present Voltaire's *Mahomet*, not

²³ The rôle of Prince Arthur was played by the fourteen-year-old orphan daughter of the player Neumann. Goethe trained her personally for the part, and she made a deep impression upon the Weimar circle. Her death at the age of twenty-one was the occasion of Goethe's *Elegie* (1823), in which the days of the rehearsal for *King John* are touchingly recalled; cf. Goethe *Werke* I 1:1, 281.

²⁴ Böhntlingk [514] 201 says: "Im August 1803 wagte es Goethe auch mit dem *Julius Cäsar*. Wie es scheint ohne wesentliche Abänderungen. . . . Schiller ward von der Aufführung ganz bewältigt. Er nehme, schreibt er an Goethe, da er am folgenden Tag nach Jena ging, einen groszen Eindruck mit." Böhntlingk's dating is erroneous here. The letter of Schiller which he quotes is dated Oct. 2, 1803; *Schillers Briefe* ed. Jonas (Stuttgart 1896), VII 80. *Julius Cäsar* in Schlegel's translation first went over the boards in Weimar, Oct. 1, 1803. See Goethe, *Werke* IV 16, 314; cf. Burkhardt [515] 49. The nature of the changes made is indicated by Goethe in a letter to Schlegel dated Oct. 27, 1803; cf. Goethe, *Werke* IV 16, 335-338.

^{24a} Goethe [707] 69 says that Schröder did right to omit the introductory scene in *King Lear*: "Er hat damit zwar den Charakter des ganzen Stücks aufgehoben. Aber er hatte doch recht. Denn in dieser Szene erscheint Lear so absurd, dasz man seinen Töchtern in der Folge nicht ganz unrecht geben kann. Der Alte jammert einen, aber Mitleid hat man nicht mit ihm, und Mitleid wollte Schröder erregen, sowie Abscheu gegen die zwei unnatürlichen, aber doch nicht durchaus zu seheltenden Töchter." Goethe's failure to grasp the fundamental idea of the tragedy doubtless throws some light on the version as presented on the Weimar stage.

²⁵ Goethe, *Werke* I 9, 169ff.

so much for the sake of its content as its form. The two poets knew that the public would be astonished at such a course on their part since they, not many years ago, had helped Lessing dethrone Voltaire and establish Shakespeare.^{25a} Schiller determined, as he expressed it, to wait for the public "mit geladener Flinte." Hence arose his *Geharnischte Stenzen* address to Goethe:

Du selbst, der uns von falschem Regelzwange
Zu Wahrheit und Natur zurückgeführt,
Der, in der Wiege schon ein Held, die Schlange
Erstickt, die unsern Genius umschnürt,
Du, den die Kunst, die göttliche, schon lange
Mit ihrer reinen Priesterbinde ziert—
Du opferst auf zertrümmerten Altären
Der Aftermuse, die wir nicht mehr ehren?²⁶

However commendable the purpose, the means chosen were ill-advised and A. W. Schlegel was justified in characterizing Goethe's translation of *Mahomet* as a work that ought never to have been undertaken.²⁷

Böttlingk presents Goethe's *Die natürliche Tochter* as an impressive example of the weakening of Goethe's dramatic talent as a result of his turning away from Shakespeare:

Dahin, in solche gestaltlose "höfische" Leere, war der Dichter des *Götz*, des *Faust* und des *Egmont* geraten, indem er sich den Klassikern der französischen Hofdichtung wieder zuwandte und dadurch immer weiter von jenem Shakespeare abkam, der ihm einst alles gewesen war, den er indes in seiner Eigenschaft als Meister der Bühnendichtkunst nie erfasst hat.^{27a}

An equally striking example of Goethe's inability to feel with Shakespeare at this time is his version of *Romeo and Juliet*. In Straszburg, under the influence of Herder, he admired nothing more in Shakespeare than "die urwüchsige, naturgemäße, unauf löbliche Verwachsung der vorgeführten Begebenheit mit der

^{25a} But cf. SURVEY, p. 377.

²⁶ Schiller, *Werke* I 199.

²⁷ A. W. Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*² (Heidelberg 1817), IV 177; quoted by Böttlingk [514] 208.

^{27a} Böttlingk [514] 219.

sie bedingenden Atmosphäre und Lokalität,"²⁸ but now in his *Romeo and Juliet* he omits the street scenes as irrelevant, and weakens the psychology of Romeo as a character by casting aside his "Vorgeschichte." The further variations may be found in Böhlingk and elsewhere.²⁹ The version was first presented Jan. 30, 1812, on the birthday of Herzogin Luise. It was received with favor and often repeated. Goethe was quite satisfied with his work: "Diese Arbeit war ein groszes Studium für mich, und ich habe wohl niemals dem Shakespeare tiefer in sein Talent hineingeblickt. Aber er, wie alles Letzte, bleibt denn doch unergründlich."³⁰ Goethe nevertheless declined to have his version printed. He wrote to Cotta, Feb. 21, 1812: "Für den Druck ist das Stück nicht geeignet, auch möchte ich denen abgöttischen Übersetzern und Conservatoren Shakespeares nicht gerne einen Gegenstand hingeben, an dem sie ihren Dünkel auslassen können."³¹ But Schlegel, who was here alluded to, was able to judge of the version perhaps on the basis of a presentation which he had seen in Weimar, and he spoke with fitting severity:

Es ist überhaupt nur einem so groszen Dichter wie Goethe zu vergeben, wenn er das Meisterwerk eines anderen so grausam behandelt, wie mit diesem Trauerspiel wirklich geschehen ist, wo man vom Original so wenig wiederfindet und selbst das, was noch dasteht, durch die sonderbare Umstellung in einem ganz andern Lichte erscheint und seine wahre Bedeutung verloren hat.³²

²⁸ Ibid., p. 221.

²⁹ See especially BIBLIOGRAPHY nos. [524]–[527]. Hauschild's program [526] is a work of textual criticism; it compares Goethe's *Romeo and Julia* with the original and the Schlegel translation and shows that Goethe has improved on Schlegel at many points. Wendling's treatise [527] deals with the esthetic problems and confirms the generally accepted belief that Goethe's chief aim in his versions was to diminish the number of minor plots and reduce the drama to what he took to be its essentials. Daffis [520] relates that the Weimar version of *Hamlet* was destroyed by fire in 1829. He supposes that the theater copy of *Hamlet*, arranged soon after the fire and still in use, represents the older form. If this be true Goethe did not actually carry out the proposals made in *Wilhelm Meister*.

³⁰ Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe* (Berlin 1841), II 655f.

³¹ Goethe, *Werke* IV 22, 2. Goethe's version of *Romeo and Juliet* was published apparently for the first time in the Weimar edition, I 9, 169ff.

³² Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, quoted by Böhlingk [514] 228 without page reference.

When Goethe at the end of the century took up his *Faust* again to complete the first part and then later proceeded to the second, the theme once more brot with it Shakespeare. This time it was *The tempest* that provided him with the needed aid if not inspiration. Böhrlingk, like many other critics, interprets *The tempest* allegorically. Prospero is Shakespeare, Ariel his inspiration, Miranda his dramatic work. Ferdinand is the talent of the player, that must be taught to serve the master faithfully ere it can participate in his work. Caliban is his rude public and at the same time the ruder themes that serve to entertain the public. The King of Naples with his retainers and the usurping Duke of Milan are the opponents of the poet.

In this drama, presumably his last, Shakespeare has made his own work his theme. This is what Goethe did in the second part of *Faust*. The marriage of Faust with Helena is the most striking proof of this purpose. Goethe also freed his mind in regard to theater director and clown³³ just as Shakespeare had regarding his opponents and the public. Böhrlingk reinforces these general comparisons by many parallels in detail. The scenic backgrounds of the two plays are equally indefinite and romantic: "Goethes Arkadien, die griechische Halbinsel, ist so wenig reell wie Prosperos Insel eine wirklich vorhandene."³⁴

Böhrlingk admits one essential difference between the two works. Goethe associates his drama with classic antiquity, with Homer and the epic. *Faust II* is, as a whole, epic and lyric rather than dramatic. Yet he says: "Goethes dichterischer Genius hat sich nie unmittelbarer mit dem Shakespeareschen berührt, als da ihm für seinen Faust als Dichter-Priester dessen *Sturm* vorbildlich wurde."³⁵

The views of Goethe regarding Shakespeare need not be derived from his dramas alone; they are clearly express in his theoretic works, especially in his *Shakespeare und kein Ende*

³³ The *Vorspiel auf dem Theater*, tho placed before the first part, was not written before 1797.

³⁴ Böhrlingk [514] 284.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[707]. The work was called out in 1813 by the attacks of the romanticists upon his version of *Romeo and Juliet*. The last part was not completed until 1823. The essay appeared in *Über Kunst und Altertum* and consists of three parts: 1. Shakespeare als Dichter überhaupt; 2. Shakespeare, verglichen mit den Alten und den Neuesten; 3. Shakespeare als Theaterdichter.

In the first part Goethe emphasized Shakespeare's insight into the human soul but said his works were not intended for the bodily eye: "Shakespeare spricht durchaus an unsern inneren Sinn."³⁶ Hamlet's ghost and Macbeth's witches were better so perceived than on the stage. There was no higher pleasure than that of listening with closed eyes to Shakespeare's plays well read.

The second part particularly is directed against the romanticists, for here Goethe emphasizes the fact that Shakespeare's interest was for the actualities of this world and not for the hidden mysteries behind it, as the romanticists held:

Denn wenn auch Wahrsagung und Wahnsinn, Träume, Ahnungen, Wunderzeichen, Feen und Gnomen, Gespenster, Unholde und Zauberer ein magisches Element bilden, das zur rechten Zeit seine Dichtungen durchschwebt, so sind doch jene Truggestalten keineswegs Hauptingredienzien seiner Werke, sondern die Wahrheit und Tüchtigkeit seines Lebens ist die grosze Base, worauf sie ruhen; deshalb uns alles, was sich von ihm herschreibt, so echt und kernhaft erscheint.³⁷

The third part directly confirms Böhtlingk's main thesis, that Goethe regarded Shakespeare as a great poet but not as a practical model for the theatrical writer: "Sein (Shakespeares) groszes Talent ist das eines Epitomators, und da der Dichter überhaupt als Epitomator der Natur erscheint, so müssen wir auch hier Shakespeares groszes Verdienst anerkennen, nur läugnen wir dabei und zwar zu seinen Ehren, dasz die Bühne ein würdiger Raum für sein Genie gewesen."³⁸

³⁶ Goethe [707] 54.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 57f.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 67. To Eckermann Goethe said (Dec. 25, 1825) of Shakespeare: "An die Bühne hat er nie gedacht, sie war seinem groszen Geiste viel zu enge, ja selbst die ganze sichtbare Welt war ihm zu enge." Eckermann, *Gespräche*, p. 133.

In his last years Goethe spoke apologetically of his Shakespearean adaptations: In his discussion of Tieck's *Dramaturgische Blätter* (1829) he said:

Wo ich Tieck ferner auch sehr gerne antreffe, ist, wenn er als Eiferer für die Einheit, Untheilbarkeit, Unantastbarkeit Shakespeares auftritt und ihn ohne Redaktion und Modifikation von Anfang bis zu Ende auf das Theater gebracht wissen will. Wenn ich vor zehn Jahren der entgegengesetzten Meinung war und mehr als einen Versuch machte, nur das eigentlich Wirkende aus den Shakespeareschen Stücken auszuwählen, das Störende aber und Umherschweifende abzulehnen, so hatte ich, als einem Theater vorgesetzt, ganz recht. . . . Nun (aber) sind Schauspieler so gut wie Dichter und Leser in dem Falle, nach Shakespeare hinzublicken und durch ein Bemühen nach dem Unerreichbaren ihre eigenen inneren, wahrhaft natürlichen Fähigkeiten aufzuschlieszen.³⁹

The romanticists were at one time inclined to rate Tieck as a greater poet than Goethe. Goethe frankly expressed to Eckermann a contrary opinion: "Ich kann dies gerade herausagen, denn was geht es mich an, ich habe mich nicht gemacht. Es wäre ebenso, wenn ich mich mit Shakespeare vergleichen wollte, der sich auch nicht gemacht hat und der doch ein Wesen höherer Art ist, zu dem ich hinaufblicke, und das ich zu verehren habe."⁴⁰ Byron, Goethe said, could rival Shakespeare in poetic power: "In Auffassung des Äusseren und klarem Durchblick vergangener Zustände ist er so grosz als Shakespeare, aber Shakespeare ist als reines Individuum überwiegend." It was for this reason, Goethe held, that Byron made no attempt to rival Shakespeare⁴¹ and it had been imprudent for Goethe himself to do so: "Er (Shakespeare) ist gar zu reich und zu gewaltig. Eine produktive Natur darf alle Jahre nur ein Stück von ihm lesen, wenn sie nicht an ihm zugrunde gehen will. Ich that wohl, dasz ich durch meinen *Götz von Berlichingen* und *Egmont* ihn mir vom Halse schaffte."⁴² Goethe is here speaking only of his conscious imitation of Shakespeare, and the statement in no wise contradicts the acknowledgment to Frau von Stein and Shakespeare: "Euch verdank ich, was ich bin."

³⁹ Quoted by Böhlingk [514] 302 without page reference.

⁴⁰ Eckermann, *Gespräche*, p. 85, under date of Mar. 30, 1824.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 118 and 119, under date of Feb. 24, 1825.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

Böhtlingk's conclusion is as follows:

Je höher wir Goethes Weltanschauung und Dichtung werten, desto mehr haben wir Ursache, nicht zu vergessen, dasz er, nach seinem eigenen Geständnisse, auf der Höhe seines Greisenalters, im Rückblick auf den Werdegang und die Ernte seines ganzen Lebens, William Shakespeare verdankte, was er geworden war. Die ganze Tragweite dieses seines Bekenntnisses haben wir deutlich ermessen können an dem Gewichte seiner einzelnen Dichterwerke: erst seitdem er mit dem englischen Dichterkönige in engste Fühlung gekommen und nur soweit und so lange dies der Fall war, ist er jener Goethe, in welchem wir Deutsche unsern Dichturfürsten verehren.

With this judgment many admirers of Goethe will disagree, particularly with the implied disparagement of *Tasso* and *Iphigenie*. Böhtlingk treatize will not be construed otherwise than as a maximum statement of the case. He has isolated Goethe and Shakespeare too much in his picture. Thus the influence of *Hamlet* and *The tempest* on *Faust* are treated exhaustively, but there is no mention of Marlowe's *Faust*.⁴³ In some cases Böhtlingk has new interpretations of Shakespeare's plays upon which he bases his discoveries of resemblances. Of these discoveries in regard to Goethe not so much is new as Böhtlingk seems to think. He has not read all the previous literature on the subject.⁴⁴ Nevertheless his work is a convenient one to take in hand because it presents clearly if somewhat one-sidedly the facts in the case. Gundolf's judgment, on the other hand,⁴⁵ is founded on a total view of the subject but presupposes a knowledge of most of the essential facts.⁴⁶

⁴³ Goethe did not know Marlowe's *Faust* in the original but in the translation of Wilhelm Müller (1818) according to Koch, ES XVII (1892) 242. Against this view see Heller [221].

⁴⁴ See the valuable review of Jahn, in ShJ XLVI (1910) 279-282.

⁴⁵ See next chapter of SURVEY.

⁴⁶ Chubb's essay [513] contains little that has not been included in some form in this SURVEY. Leo's article [508] has two purposes: 1. to correct a common belief that Goethe regarded Shakespeare as a rival and was jealous of his popularity; 2. to show that Goethe had a deep understanding of Shakespeare's work. His interpretation of *Hamlet* in *Wilhelm Meister* is the leading evidence presented. The article does not increase our knowledge regarding the relation of Goethe to Shakespeare, but quotations are brot together in a convenient fashion. Wagener's dissertation [509], as shown by Koch's review, does not advance knowledge on its theme but confuses the whole matter by inaccurate and misleading statements. Green's article [512] was not at my command.

Böhtlingk's *Schiller und Shakespeare* [565] is the most extensive and perhaps the least stimulating of his three monographs.⁴⁷ He mentions specifically as his predecessors in this theme only Kühnemann and Otto Ludwig, defending the latter against Kühnemann's criticism. When Ludwig constantly compares Schiller with Shakespeare to Schiller's disadvantage he is in reality echoing Schiller's own avowal that Shakespeare was a naive, himself a sentimental poet.

The greater part of his discoveries Böhtlingk seems to claim as new. Schiller had himself acknowledged his indebtedness to Shakespeare in his *Räuber* and specifically to *Hamlet* in his *Don Carlos*. Echoes of Shakespeare had been noted in *Fiesco*, *Wallenstein*, and *Wilhelm Tell*, and that was all. But the findings even here could be supplemented. Böhtlingk goes beyond Kühnemann when he shows that not only *Lear* and *Richard III* but also *Othello* and *Hamlet* have left their traces in the *Räuber*. The relation of *Titus Andronicus* to *Fiesco*, *Hamlet* and *Othello* to *Kabale und Liebe*, and of *The tempest*, *King Lear*, and *Hamlet* to the *Menschenfeind* had also past unnoticed. The relation of Schiller's historical plays to Shakespeare's had never been thoroly discust:

Was werden die Herren vom "Fach" vollends für Augen machen bei dem Nachweis, dasz der *Maria Stuart* Shakespeares *König Johann* zugrunde liegt? Oder dazu, dasz Schillers *Jungfrau* geradezu einer Nachbildung gleichkommt von Shakespeares *Pucelle*, wie man den ersten Teil *Heinrich VI.* überschreiben könnte, und dabei zugleich den Aufbau von Shakespeares *König Lear* zur Grundlage hat?⁴⁸

It will be seen that the greater part of this work of Böhtlingk is made up of parallel passages, parallel motifs, and other asserted borrowings and therefore cannot be reduced to a formula. Elsewhere in this SURVEY Gundolf is quoted, who defines the essential difference between Schiller and Shakespeare and shows the dynamic effect of Schiller's interpretation of Shakespeare in

⁴⁷ BIBLIOGRAPHY [514], [549], [565].

⁴⁸ Böhtlingk [565] xiii.

Germany.⁴⁹ It will be sufficient here to indicate the degree of Schiller's adhesion to Shakespeare at various stages in his career, as defined by Böhlingk.

It was Professor Abel of the Karlsschule who first made Shakespeare known to Schiller, and this same teacher has left a record of the event:

Noch immer erinnere ich mich jener Szene. Ich war gewohnt bei Erklärung psychologischer Begriffe Stellen aus Dichtern vorzulesen, um das Vorgelesene anschaulicher und interessanter zu machen; dieses tat ich insbesondere auch, als ich den Kampf der Pflicht mit der Leidenschaft oder einer Leidenschaft mit einer andern Leidenschaft erklärte, welchen anschaulicher zu machen ich einige der schönsten, hierher passenden Stellen aus Shakespeares *Othello* nach der Wielandschen Übersetzung vorlas. Schiller war ganz Ohr. Alle Züge seines Geistes drückten die Gefühle aus, von denen er durchdrungen war, und kaum war die Verlesung vollendet, so begehrte er das Buch von mir und von nun an las und studierte er dasselbe mit ununterbrochenem Eifer.⁵⁰

One is loath to discredit that other anecdote according to which Schiller purchast Wieland's Shakespeare from a boarding-school companion, relinquishing to him his share of certain favorite dishes in return; but this story is contradicted by the fact that Schiller, after his appointment as regimental surgeon at the monthly salary of 18 florins, bot the Wieland translation for the sum of 14 florins. Regarding his early attitude toward Shakespeare Schiller has given testimony in his essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*:

Als ich in einem sehr frühen Alter (Shakespeare) zuerst kennen lernte, empörte mich seine Kälte, seine Unempfindlichkeit, die ihm erlaubte, im höchsten Pathos zu scherzen, die herzzersehneidenden Auftritte im *Hamlet*, im *König Lear*, im *Macbeth* u. s. f. durch einen Narren zu stören, der ihn bald da festhielt, wo meine Empfindung forteilte, bald da kaltherzig fortrisz, wo das Herz so gern still gestanden wäre. Durch die Bekanntschaft mit neueren Poeten verleitet, in dem Werke den Dichter zuerst aufzusuchen, seinem Herzen zu begegnen, mit ihm gemeinschaftlich über seinen Gegenstand zu reflektieren, kurz, das Objekt in dem Subjekt anzuschauen, war es mir unerträglich, dass der Poet sich hier gar nirgends fassen liesz und mir nirgends Rede stehen wollte. Mehrere Jahre hatte

⁴⁹ See SURVEY, p. 438f.

⁵⁰ Quoted by Böhlingk [565] 2 without reference.

er schon meine ganze Verehrung und war mein Studium, ehe ich sein Individuum lieb gewinnen lernte. Ich war noch nicht fähig, die Natur aus der ersten Hand zu verstehen. Nur ihr durch den Verstand reflektiertes und durch die Regel zurechtgelegtes Bild konnte ich ertragen, und dazu waren die sentimentalischen Dichter der Franzosen und auch der Deutschen, von den Jahren 1750 bis etwa 1780, gerade die rechten Subjekte. Übrigens schäme ich mich dieses Kinderurteils nicht, da die bejahrte Kritik ein ähnliches fällte und naiv genug war, es in die Welt hinauszuschreiben.⁵¹

Schiller's first opportunity to see Shakespæare on the stage came in the year 1778, when the actor Schikaneder came to Stuttgart with his troupe and played *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Lear*. All other models dropt into the background, and Schiller thot only of Shakespæare. *Die Räuber* shows the Shakespæarean influence rather more completely than Lessing's *Minna* and with rather less affectation than Goethe's *Götz* for the reason that Schiller had no previously acquired French technik to overcome. In an introduction to *Die Räuber* (1781) Schiller calls his work "einen dramatischen Roman," thus freeing himself from certain restrictions, as Goethe had with his dramatized story of *Götz*. Schiller thus claims Goethe's sanction for the form he adopted, yet in reality he no doubt thot of *Die Räuber* as a play when he declaimed it to his companions.

Fiesco's supposed borrowings from Shakespæare have been referred to. In general it marks a turning away from Shakespæare as far as form is concerned, and a turning toward Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* to much the same extent as *Die Räuber* turned toward *Götz*; while for *Kabale und Liebe*, *Miss Sara Sampson* and *Emilia Galotti* with their Shakespæarean predecessors served as models. When Schiller left the sphere of the middle-class drama and with his *Don Carlos* attempted the high historical tragedy, he naturally adopted a nobler diction and a verse form, thus approaching the French classicists, whom he then began to study for the first time.⁵² This corresponds to the change that Goethe past thru when he wrote *Iphigenie* and *Tasso*,

⁵¹ Schiller, *Werke* XII 184.

⁵² See Böhlingk [565] 138.

and Lessing when he wrote his *Nathan*. Böhntlingk accounts for the long pause after *Don Carlos* by Schiller's feeling that Shakespeare was for him unattainable. The uncompleted *Menschenfeind* serves to confirm Böhntlingk in this view. Then came the period of his historical studies with Goethe, his study of the Greeks, Aristotle among them, his plan of the Wallenstein epic, his reading of the Shakespeare histories at the same time, and the communication to Goethe of the discovery that Shakespeare after all followed Aristotle in the essentials.⁵³ The *Wallenstein* plan was too far advanced to be much affected by the re-discovered Shakespeare, but Böhntlingk finds *Maria Stuart* and *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* predominantly Shakespearean in subject-matter.

Having concluded *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* Schiller contemplated a *Warbeck*, which would have been a continuation of Shakespeare's histories, particularly of *Richard III*; but his interest in classic subjects led him instead to his *Braut von Messina*, in which only the most general Shakespearean traits are discoverable. Böhntlingk calls Schiller's *Tell* "von seinen Dramen nach Grundriss, Aufbau, Zusammenspiel weitaus das schwächste, flüchtigste, unhaltbarste."⁵⁴ Nevertheless it was an historical drama, and as such it brot Schiller into contact with Shakespeare. It happened that just as Schiller was at work upon his *Tell* he witness Goethe's production of *Julius Caesar*. Referring to this in a letter to Goethe (Oct. 2, 1803) Schiller wrote: "Für meinen *Tell* ist mir das Stück von unschätzbarem Werth, mein Schiffein wird auch dadurch gehoben. Es hat mich gleich gestern in die thätigste Stimmung gesetzt."^{54a} This would seem to verify the echoes of *Caesar* which Böhntlingk and others have thot to hear.⁵⁵

It may be well finally to propose some reservations with which the findings of Böhntlingk in regard to Lessing, Goethe,

⁵³ See supra, p. 412.

⁵⁴ Böhntlingk [565] 446.

^{54a} See footnote 24 of this chapter.

⁵⁵ Cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY [568]–[570].

and Schiller may be accepted. Lessing never accepted the form of Shakespeare's drama without modification. He always emphasized the intellectual element in poetic creation. His own dramas were created to a certain extent to demonstrate theses. He was a liberal borrower of motifs, and Shakespeare was a principal source with him, but his actual poetic indebtedness to Shakespeare went little further than this. The prime source of Goethe's poetry was his experience. The experiences of life were the more important ones, but he had literary experiences as well, and among these the most important was Shakespeare. Shakespeare became a part of Goethe's life before he became a part of his poetry. In other words, Shakespeare influenced Goethe and influenced him deeply and by this influence Goethe gained rather than lost literary independence. Schiller looked upon Shakespeare as a master, and there is sufficient evidence that he used him as a model, but there is little evidence that Schiller was ever made more Shakespearean by his contact with Shakespeare. The utterly opposite philosophies of life precluded such a possibility. The opposition between Schiller and Shakespeare has been generally felt but has nowhere been better defined than by Gundolf in his *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*, the next work to come under discussion.

CHAPTER 17

GUNDOLF'S *SHAKESPEARE UND DER DEUTSCHE GEIST*

Of the hundreds of contributions dealing with Shakespeare in Germany the larger number discuss borrowings of material, theme, or character. Even the more extensive works devote an undue share of attention to these definite phases; but a literary influence must be, to some extent, the communication of a personality thru the written word, and a personality is something indefinite. There was need of such a work as Gundolf's *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*, which should direct attention to that more essential and less tangible concept, Shakespeare's literary personality, and should attempt to show how certain German periods and certain German personalities responded to the vibrations that were set in motion by Shakespeare. The figure used here is one of Gundolf's own. Such a work must necessarily result in a close characterization not only of the subject but also of the object in question.

In Gundolf's hands the study of literary influences gains a finer precision. He divides his subject matter into three parts: "Shakespeare als Stoff," "Shakespeare als Form," and "Shakespeare als Gehalt."¹ The first part deals especially with the seventeenth century, during which time Shakespeare's works were used as a store-house of dramatic character, scene, and incident. The body of his works was plundered systematically, and no part of the soul necessarily accompanied it. This period has already been discust in the chapter on the English comedians (chapter two) and need not concern us again here, the less so in view of the fact that Gundolf does not consider such plundering as any sign of influence.

¹ See introduction to SURVEY, p. 121.

The rationalists were the first in Germany to reason about Shakespeare's works in their entirety and to bring them into contact with their own preconceptions of dramatic form. Some of them, like Gottsched, condemned Shakespeare's dramas utterly, others condoned their shortcomings, while it was reserved for Lessing to try to reconcile them with the rationalistic dramatic theory.

Regarding Lessing's services in this direction Gundolf says little that is new, tho he often gives a new value to accepted facts by his pictorial clarity of statement. If Shakespeare were to be fully accepted in Germany it was necessary that "breaches should be made in the wall of rationalism from the inside." And this is what Lessing accomplished by his reconsideration of the Aristotelian rules.

Alle überlieferten Gesetze wurden ihm zunächst einmal zu Problemen, alle Muster zu Materialien. . . . Er ging den ganzen Weg vom Überlieferten bis zu seiner Entstehung zurück, überraschte das Denken in seinem Werden, verwandelte überkommene Zustände in Handlung. Alle seine Gedanken sind Aktionen, wie die seiner Vorgänger Inhalte waren. So ist er der Gründer der historischen Aesthetik geworden, und es schmälert sein Verdienst nicht, dass er aus den historisch gewonnenen Einsichten neue Dogmatik bauen wollte. Er hat gelehrt, wie Regeln entstehen, wo man bisher nur Regeln befolgen gelehrt hatte.^{1a}

As a counter model to the masters of the pseudo-classic school of the French and of Gottsched it was an absolute necessity to Lessing to find a Shakespeare.

Die Entdeckung Shakespeares durch die Schweizer war zunächst ein Zufall, von der durch Lessing unterschieden wie die erste Entdeckung Amerikas durch verschlagene Seefahrer vom planmäßigen Zug des Kolumbus. Wie Kolumbus auszog, um das altersehnte Indien zu suchen, und einen neuen Weltteil fand, so ging es Lessing. Er zog aus, um einen vernünftigen Dichter, um die wahre Theatervernunft zu entdecken, und fand einen neuen Komplex von Leben—und wie Kolumbus starb er, ohne die ganze Tragweite seiner Entdeckung zu ahnen.²

Some suspicion of the revolutionary effect of his discovery certainly cast its shadow on Lessing's mind, as Gundolf elsewhere

^{1a} Gundolf [416] 124f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

concedes. In testing Shakespeare by the real rules, as against the conventionally accepted ones, and finding him not wanting, Lessing unintentionally aroused a suspicion of all rules founded on "Wirkung" and "Mittel": "Es ging ihm ähnlich wie dem verwandten Revolutionär Luther, der durch den Sturz der damaligen Autorität den Sturz aller Autoritäten vorbereitete."³ Gundolf here seems to express an opinion harmonizing with that of Witkowski.⁴

That Shakespeare actually influenced Lessing in his dramas Gundolf holds to be impossible. Some knowledge of the English drama and its freedom from all assumption, its "Familiarität," was the necessary presupposition to his dramas; but "eine Parallele zwischen Lessings und Shakespeares Dramen müsste ins Bodenlose führen, denn sie haben überhaupt nichts Gemeinsames. Sie haben so wenig miteinander zu tun, wie eine Maschine, wo ein Rad klüglich ins andere greift, mit einem lebendigen Gewächs. Lessings Dramen sind gemacht. Shakespeares Werke sind Geburten."⁵

Lessing recognized fully his own limitations and therefore, Gundolf says, intentionally refrained from imitation of Shakespeare in *Minna von Barnhelm* and *Emilia Galotti*. By its verse form and foren coloring *Nathan* challenges to comparison. These similarities, however, are entirely superficial. Local color in Lessing's dramas is a mere matter of convenience, in Shakespeare it is a necessity. The southern background of *Othello* forms a part of the dramatic atmosphere, and the wintry heath heightens the tragedy of *King Lear*. *Nathan*, on the other hand, would lose nothing essential if it were placed in Berlin; but the ring fable was oriental, and in Jerusalem three religions could be readily brot together, so it seemed fitting to let Nathan don the turban, tho he says nothing but what Mendelssohn might have said.

The romantic background, once determined on, tended to bring with it the verse form, but Gundolf contrasts in a striking

³ Ibid., p. 140.

⁴ Cf. SURVEY, p. 376.

⁵ Gundolf [416] 143.

fashion the verse of the two dramatists. In the monolog "To be or not to be" each successive *thot* bears with it a suggestion that rolls into the next wave of *thot*, yet all of them heighten the effect of the ground swell of emotion. For Lessing the monolog of the Tempelherr is characteristic. He seems to dissect each *thot* into its parts and rejoin their parts in the fashion of one debating with himself or an opponent.

Lessing's tendency to reason about the laws of art had led him to Shakespeare; Wieland's impressionability exposed him to Shakespeare's influence. Lessing found Shakespeare because he needed him; Wieland happened upon Shakespeare and was delighted with his find, but he would have missed nothing in life if he had never found him. Having found Shakespeare, Lessing felt compelled to reconcile him with the Greeks; Wieland was content, in dilettante fashion, to enjoy both without troubling himself as to apparent contradictions. Wieland began by translating the dramas that pleased him most, *Midsummer night's dream* and *The tempest*. The work became burdensome to him and he was content to let another finish it. He never understood Shakespeare as an author. He did not translate him as an author but as a "complex of passages,"⁶ and the passages that appealed to him most were those least essentially Shakespearean:

Wenn wir Shakespeares sprachliche Welt unter dem Bilde einer Kugel sehen, worin vom innersten Herzen die Sprachkräfte ausstrahlen, so werden wir dem Zentrum zunächst die Sphäre der eigentlichen Leidenschaft, der Tragödien finden, wo die Sprache noch ganz glüht, wallt und zittert von der innersten Erschütterung des Werdens; das ist die Sprache des *Hamlet* und des *Othello*, des *Macbeth* und *Coriolanus*, des *Lear* und *Antonius*, der *Sonette*. Dieser zentralen Schicht, der Shakespeare heute seinen höchsten Ruhm dankt, vorgelagert ist die, welche wir die rhetorische nennen möchten. Immer noch angestrahlt und gespeist von den Glutten der Mitte, aber schon gelockert und mehr gemischt mit Elementen, die nicht Shakespeares Erschütterung angehören, sondern den Sprachkonventionen der Zeit, freilich auch sie völlig umgeschmolzen und verarbeitet in dem Shakespeareschen Pathos zum Shakespeareschen Rythmus gezwungen. Die Hauptzeugnisse dieser Schicht sind die Historien. Die äusserste, gewissermassen schon abgekühlte, minder kernhafte, lok-

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

kerste, spielende, flimmernde Schicht bildet die Diktion der Komödien, die wohl noch immer das innere Feuer ahnen lässt, aber nur in leichten, lichten Schwingungen, in farbige Luft verwandelt . . . Von den drei dichterischen Sphären Shakespeares, die sich sprachlich äuszerten, war dem Empfinden Wielands eine einzige zugänglich, die oberste, dünnste, die Sphäre der Laune, des Spiels, der Romantik. In sie drang er ein, sie zu erleben war er vorbereitet, einmal durch sein eigenes, spielendes, launisches Temperament und dann auch durch die Theorie der Schweizer, von denen er herkam, die Aesthetik des Wunderbaren, die sich wesentlich auf die romantischen Stücke bezog.^{6a}

Wieland's opinions of Shakespeare are often self-contradictory. His notes to the translation especially contradict opinions privately expressed in his correspondence. Wieland's critical notes have been unjustly compared with the notes in Pope's edition, in which faults are criticized and beauties commented upon. In reality the notes of Wieland are, as one critic says, "Stimmungsausbrüche" showing Wieland's impatience over the fact that Shakespeare yields himself so incompletely to a rendering. But when not in the midst of his labors, Wieland appreciated Shakespeare more broadly, "wie ein Bergsteiger während der mühseligen Erkletterung eines Gipfels ein minder freundliches Verhältnis zu ihm hat, als wenn er nach überstandener Mühsal ihn vom Tale aus wieder ragen sieht."⁷ Yet even granting that these notes were not portions of a total critical view of Shakespeare as a whole, they nevertheless represent the limitation of Wieland's taste, as do also the passages that he omitted or glossed over. Wieland's omissions have a different significance from Schlegel's: "Wenn Schlegel Shakespear-Stellen schwächte oder wegliesz, so war dies ein stillschweigendes Geständnis, dasz das Publikum zu dumm dafür sei. Wenn Wieland weglässt oder kommentiert . . . so gibt er immer zu, dasz Shakespeare zu schlecht sei für das Publikum."⁸

Tho Wieland was susceptible only to an external phase of Shakespeare's world, his *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* is the first German piece of literature in which Shakespeare is genuinely

^{6a} Ibid., p. 176.

⁷ Ibid., p. 178.

⁸ Ibid., p. 170.

effective, "die erste Dichtung, in die er nicht nur als Rohstoff übernommen ist, sondern als seelische Substanz spürbar bis in Tonfälle hinein. Die Sprache schleppt nicht mehr ihre Inhalte, sondern wird von ihnen getragen. . . . Die Sätze sind leicht und gleitend, wie das wovon sie reden."⁹ A Shakespearean atmosphere prevails, altho Gundolf is forced to admit: "In die Sonnenstäubchen ist mancher Puderstaub und Stubenstaub gemischt."⁹

In *Oberon*, too, the influence of Shakespeare is to be found in the atmosphere and not in the motifs.¹⁰ "Nicht Feenmotive sondern Feenluft, Elfenspiel, Mondscheinlandschaft und die sinnige Verknüpfung von Schicksal und Stimmung, von Sinnlichkeit und Schicksal, die sprachliche Lockerheit, die sich den sinnlichen Eindrücken anschmiegt und sie wiedergibt, . . . kurz die Eroberung der deutschen Sprache als Klang und Ton für die Sinnlichkeit und für die Phantasie; das ist hier Shakespeares Einfluss."¹¹

Thru the translation of Wieland, Shakespeare, or rather Wieland's Shakespeare, became the common property of Germany. His Shakespeare was a power while the genuine Shakespeare was as yet practically unknown. His prose Shakespeare is the one that influenced *Götz* and the other dramas of the "Sturm und Drang" period, including even so late a work as Schiller's *Räuber*. The Shakespeare constructed by Wieland was as much a reality, that is to say a force, in German literature as the Ossian invented by Macpherson.¹²

In Herder were united the characteristics of his predecessors. He possessed sensibility to a larger extent than Wieland and Gertenberg. Like Lessing he laid stress upon the historical circumstances in which art develops. The determining influence for Herder was, however, Hamann, who held that poetry was an emanation of God's revelation, of which the poet was the unconscious medium. According to that the poet must have no ends

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹⁰ Cf. Koch [284].

¹¹ Gundolf [416] 181.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 188.

of his own, must lay no restraint upon himself but write as it was given him to do. Thus every age might have the revelation intended for it.

With a little infusion of Lessing's logic, which harmonized ill with the prevailing dithyrambic tone, Herder gave expression to Hamann's feeling for the identity of poetry and the creative process. His essay on Shakespeare in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* is the most impressive portrait we have to-day of Shakespeare against the background of his age.

Lessing had held that since audiences of different races were different they must be appealed to in different ways in order that their elevation might be brot about. Herder ignored the audience and denied that its elevation was an object: "Er hat den entscheidenden Schritt getan: die Grundlagen der Aesthetik, den Schwerpunkt des Schaffens, in den Schöpfer zu legen statt in den Aufnehmenden."¹³ Where Lessing and Herder seemed to write of the same ideas they were most at variance. For Lessing poetry was a means to an end (Zweek). With Herder poetry was itself "Zweek." "Wenn sie von Genie reden, meint Lessing überlegene Einsicht in die Normen der Welt, Herder die Fähigkeit Leben zu schaffen und zu fühlen. Wenn sie von Natur reden, meint Lessing ein Komplex werdender Dinge und bewegter Kräfte."¹⁴

To describe Shakespeare was for Herder not to give an account of his plots and the problems supposed to be involved, nor to show how he produced certain effects. Herder described Shakespeare by reproducing the very atmosphere, life, and rithm of *King Lear* and *Macbeth*.¹⁵ It was Herder who first presented Shakespeare in his totality to the German people after Lessing, Gerstenberg, and Wieland had presented certain sides: "Er hat der Zentralsonne die Ausstrahlung nach allen Seiten ermöglicht. Dies hatte die völlige Umwandlung der Atmosphäre zur Folge."¹⁶

¹³ Ibid., p. 205.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 200 and 106f.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 209.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 213.

It was Herder's susceptibility to emotion that brot him into contact with Shakespeare. With Wieland it was his sense of the beautiful; with Lessing it was his constructive criticism; with Goethe finally it was his creative instinct. "Was fruchtbar allein ist wahr" was Goethe's view, and Shakespeare was such a verity to Goethe. Goethe's feeling toward Shakespeare was always a personal one. Herder's *Shakespeare-Aufsatz* was an attempt to estimate Shakespeare's importance; Goethe's *Shakespeare-Rede* was a personal confession. Gundolf holds that Goethe read his own thots into Shakespeare from the first. When Goethe says: "Seine Stücke drehen sich alle um den geheimen Punkt, . . . in dem das Eigenthümliche unseres Ichs, die prätedirte Freiheit unsres Willens mit dem nothwendigen Gang des Ganzen zusammenstößt,"^{16a} he is thinking of his own Götzt, his Cäsar, Sokrates, Mahomet, and Prometheus. The dramatic form in which these heroes are treated was perhaps due to Shakespeare's influence, or, as Gundolf says, "Verführung." Götzt should have been treated in an epic, Prometheus and Mahomet in a dithyrambic style. Not the real Shakespeare but rather the Wieland version of Shakespeare could give sanction to Goethe's *Götzt*. There were three characteristics of Shakespeare's style as transmitted by Wieland that made an impression on the young "Stürmer und Dränger:" first, the rudeness in the scenes in which the common people appear; second, the puns and play with the language; third, the pictorial language. The first of these was not especially Shakespearean, the second was merely a fad of the Elizabethan age, the third feature alone was important, but its influence was limited. Especially in his riper years Shakespeare thot unconsciously in figures, while Goethe uses figures consciously in order to express an idea more clearly. In the structure and in the language, then, of Goethe's early dramas Gundolf finds little Shakespearean influence. With concrete motifs he does not concern himself. They would not be significant, he says, even if found.

^{16a} Goethe, *Werke* I 37, 133.

Yet Goethe was after all indebted to Shakespeare for something elusive but essential: he was indebted to him for atmosphere.

Shakespeare lehrte ihn die ganze äuszere Welt, vor allem die Menschenwelt als ein beseeltes, bewegtes und unerschöpfliches Ganze, dichterisch sehen und durchfühlen. Die Ideen von Mensch, Schicksal, Schaffen, Zeugen, Leidenschaft, die der Rationalismus beseitigt und Herder wieder in die Betrachtung eingeführt hatte, waren für Goethe als Ersten produktive Mächte des eigenen Lebens und Schaffens geworden. . . . Diese allgemeine Atmosphäre durchdrang Goethes Schaffen, je weniger er daran dachte.¹⁷

Gundolf regards Goethe's lyric poetry of the Straszburg period as the first product of his new feeling for human fate, for his own soul, and for external nature.

Werther is the second product in which Shakespeare's influence became conspicuous. *Hamlet* was the first work which made full use of the poetic possibilities of the renaissance, "das erste Werk, worin der Einzelmensch als sein eigener Inhalt, sein eigener Sinn und sein eigenes Schicksal der Welt gegenüber tritt."¹⁸ *Werther* was its immediate successor for *Werther* too was a being who because of over-sensitiveness and too great fullness of the inner life was destined to be unhappy in his relations with the world. "Zwischen *Hamlet* und *Werther*," Gundolf says, "ist kein Werk geschrieben worden mit diesem spezifischen Problem und diesem spezifischem Menschengefühl."¹⁸

Werther is not a mere love story. Love is but the occasion for *Werther*'s inner conflict, as revenge is for *Hamlet*'s. In both cases it is the struggle with self that is essential. In breadth and depth *Werther* is not comparable with *Hamlet* for the ample renaissance is the stage of *Hamlet*, the narrow middle-class society that of *Werther*; but Gundolf counts it as a merit that Goethe was able to introduce such pathos into the middle-class sphere. Gundolf groups *Tasso* and *Iphigenie* with *Werther*: "An *Tasso* ist nichts Shakespearisches, als was daran gesteigerter

¹⁷ Gundolf [416] 243.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 245f.

Werther ist. Das gleiche gilt von Orest in der *Iphigenie*."¹⁹ *Werther*, *Iphigenie*, *Tasso*, *Faust* form, according to Gundolf, a series of works in which Goethe, always more or less unconsciously under the influence of Shakespeare, set to give form to the conflicts of the inner life. *Faust* is a work which occupies the same position in the "Bildungszeitalter" as *Hamlet* did in the renaissance. The tragic element in *Faust* arises accordingly out of striving, in *Hamlet* out of simple being; for the aim of the "Bildungszeitalter" was to realize an ideal, the aim of the renaissance was to be in control of the realities. *Hamlet* was the product of court life, *Faust* of pulpit and study. This Gundolf attributes to differences of nationality rather than of age. *Faust* has a pedagogic tendency lacking in *Hamlet*. Gundolf reckons this to Shakespeare's advantage. Goethe was the teacher his age needed, but "Shakespeare steht zu hoch über den Menschen, um in eine pädagogische Beziehung zu ihnen zu treten."²⁰

As *Werther*, *Tasso*, *Iphigenie*, *Faust* represent man's inner conflicts, so *Götz*, *Egmont*, *Wilhelm Meister*, *Faust* represent man in his conflict with the outer world. To this latter series Shakespeare's historical plays were related. The first two were less successful than Shakespeare's histories: "Die Geschichte ist bei Goethe Zufall, bei Shakespeare Notwendigkeit. Darum hat die eine Tendenz Goethes: die äuszere Weltbreite in symbolische Bilder zu formen (*Götz*, *Egmont*), ihre Erfüllung nicht in geschichtlichen Symbolen finden können, sondern erst im groszen Bildungsroman, im *Wilhelm Meister*."²¹

In the history of Shakespeare in Germany Gundolf attributes a particular significance to *Wilhelm Meister*. Here *Hamlet* is treated as a mythical personage existing quite independently of Shakespeare. He is a being who can be discussed for his own sake. This fact is a symbol that the struggle regarding the justification of Shakespeare is over. As *Wilhelm Meister* was a self-confession on Goethe's part, the prominence of Shakespeare is also justified, for there had been four main elements in Goethe's

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

education: middle-class society, aristocratic society, women, and the theater; and the last was not the least important.

In spite of all these apparent concessions Gundolf is not inclined to recognize any fundamental enduring influence of Shakespeare on Goethe. Shakespeare did not stand as model for the form of *Egmont*; Lessing's *Nathan* and Schiller's *Don Carlos* were written in prose and later recast in verse, but in the case of *Egmont* the verse and rithm forced themselves in. Shakespeare's influence is not evident in Goethe's conception of men; there is almost nothing specifically Shakespearean in Tasso and Orestes for Goethe's aim was not to depict mankind on his canvas but a simple event. Nature in Goethe was not the same as in Shakespeare: "Die Natur als Chaos, Element, Atmosphäre, wie sie noch im *Götz* waltet, Zeit und Raum kühn aufhebend oder mischend, die Shakespearische Natur, ist in *Tasso* und *Iphigenie* verschwunden. Die Kultur, ja die Gesittung, der Hof hat sich den Raum geschaffen, Hain und Garten."^{21a} Goethe's representation of the people is different from Shakespeare's: "die einzelnen Bürger (in *Egmont*) wirken nicht als Masse: sie repräsentieren, jeder für sich, eine bestimmte Sorte Mensch, die massenweise vorkommt."^{21b} "Das Individuum, das Shakespeare auf die Bühne stellt, ist eben nicht der einzelne Sprecher, sondern der Pöbel, das Volk."^{21b} Finally, as already indicated, history is for Goethe a matter of accident, for Shakespeare a matter of necessity.

The thread of the Goethe discussion may be dropt for a moment here in order that we may heed chronology and give a résumé of Gundolf's views in regard to Goethe's colleags of the "Sturm und Drang" period and also in regard to Schiller. As usual without reference to previous literature on the subject and without statement of conerete facts Gundolf renders a well-considered judgment of the relation of these writers to Shakespeare, or rather to Wieland's Shakespeare, for the latter he regards as their model.

^{21a} Ibid., p. 313.

^{21b} Ibid., p. 314.

Leisewitz^{21c} was rather loosely connected with the group. Lessing was his starting point rather than Herder's theory and Goethe's practice, but even so he learned to bid defiance to rule almost as much as Herder's pupils and to give heed alone to the dictates of nature, life, and freedom.

Most of the "Stürmer und Dränger" in their attempt to imitate Shakespeare only succeeded in vulgarizing him. Such was the case with Wagner:²² "Er sah als Plebejer vor allem das 'Natürliche' und verstand darunter das Gemeine. Seine *Kindsmörderin* . . . hat von Goethe und Shakespeare nichts geholt, als die Erlaubnis, sich nicht zu genieren. Was in Goethes Drama Symbol ist (die Gretchen-Tragödie), das benutzt Wagner als Rohstoff."²³

Lenz²⁴ resembled Wagner in his imitation of Goethe and in his conception of "Natürlichkeit." Sex problems offered him the best opportunity to express the latter. Gundolf distinguishes between Natur and Natürlichkeit. "Von Lillo und Diderot über Lenz und Wagner zu Schröder, Iffland, Kotzebue bis Sudermann und Hauptmann: immer hielt man das für Natur und Wirklichkeit, was gerade die Zeitgenossen am meisten beschäftigte. . . . Ein Literat hält das für das Natürlichste, was ihm am leichtesten fällt, das für das Wirklichste, was er zuerst sieht, und das für das Lebendigste, was am meisten Lärm macht, eben die Aktualitäten."^{24a}

Lenz did not become acquainted with Shakespeare without intermediaries. This is clearly shown by the confusion of ideas in his *Anmerkungen über das Theater*, some of them derived from

^{21c} Leisewitz, Joh. Anton (1752-1806); *Julius von Tarent, ein Trauerspiel* (Leipzig 1776); also in *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Braunschweig 1838), in DLD XXXII (1889) with an introduction by R. M. Werner, and in DNL LXXIX (1883).

²² Wagner, Heinrich Leopold (1747-1779); *Die Kindsmörderin, ein Trauerspiel* (Leipzig 1776). Also in DLD XIII (1883), and in DNL LXXX (1883) with bibliography of Wagner by Sauer, p. 282.

²³ Gundolf [416] 253.

²⁴ Lenz, Joh. Mich. Reinhold (1751-1792); his works were first collected by Tieck, Berlin 1828, and most recently by Blei, München 1910. Cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY [536]-[541].

Lessing, some of them from Herder, others quite his own. It was the misunderstood Shakespeare, Wieland's Shakespeare, "der Dichter, der sich gehen liesz, der Shakespeare, in dem Derbheiten, Gemeinheiten und Pöbel vorkamen"^{24a} who stood as Lenz's model. The misunderstood Shakespeare may also have strengthened him in his eccentricity and arbitrariness, otherwise there is scarcely any sign of direct influence. Reference to parallel passages and motifs Gundolf avoids as usual.

Characteristic of Klinger²⁵ is the determination to work himself into a passion at whatever cost. The various characters in *Sturm und Drang* (1776) represent different stages of madness: "Schwermut, Gröszenwahn, Verfolgungswahn, Hysterie usw."^{25a} His attempts to fasten Shakespearean passion upon his little heroes would correspond to an artist's attempt to endow his life-sized figures with the muscles of a statue of Michael Angelo.

Maler Müller²⁶ was advantageously affected by Shakespeare. As he was an artist by nature, it was Shakespeare's coloring that appealed to him. In *Götz* this was but a means to an end, for Maler Müller it was an end in itself. He further extended Wieland's supremacy over the romantic element of the forest, over the realm of elves and fairies. In his case it is not a mere appreciation of the supernatural; he succeeds in giving a soul to nature: "Dieser Teil von Shakespeares Welt, Sturm und Sommernachstraum, hat vor allem auf Müller gewirkt, und zwar als Luft, nicht als Muster."²⁷

Between the adherents of Schiller and of Shakespeare there has always been a line of demarcation in Germany.²⁸ Gundolf

^{24a} Gundolf [416] 255.

²⁵ Klinger, Friedrich Maximilian (1752-1831): *Theater* (Riga 1786-1787), (Königsberg 1809-1816), (Stuttgart 1842). The dramas *Sturm und Drang*, *Die Zwillinge*, and others are in DNL LXXIX (1883). Regarding Shakespeare's influence on Klinger see Jacobowski [535].

^{25a} Gundolf [416] 259.

²⁶ Müller, Friedrich (1749-1825); *Werke* (Heidelberg 1811). Selections in DNL LXXXI (1884?) with bibliography and in *Bibliothek der deutschen Nationallit. d. 18. u. 19. Jh.* X-XI (Leipzig 1868).

²⁷ Gundolf [416] 267.

²⁸ Cf. Ludwig [564]. The rivalry of Schiller and Shakespeare for public favor in the nineteenth century is the main theme of this work.

shows himself clearly to be an adherent of Shakespeare. "Er," (Schiller) he says, "verwandelte alles, was (bei Shakespeare) Urkraft oder Gestalt war, in Ideen, in ein Mittelding zwischen Leben und Denken."^{28a} It was this which brot Shakespeare part way down to the level of the people and elevated the people part way up to Shakespeare's height:

Was Goethes *Götz* nicht vermocht, geschweige Herders Werben, noch Lessings Fackel noch Wielands und Eschenburgs Dolmetschung noch Schröders entgegenkommende Verstümmelung: das haben Schillers Dramen vermocht. Durch Schiller haben erst die Deutschen in ihrer Gesamtheit Licht und Wärme der dramatischen Zentralsonne empfangen.²⁹

The great German dramatists interpreted Shakespeare in accordance with their own personalities. Lessing interpreted him as "ein Vernunftganzes," Goethe as "ein Naturganzes," and Schiller as "ein Moralganzes."³⁰ For Schiller the world was primarily an arena in which the moral forces strove to assert themselves. Schiller's interpretation of Shakespeare was fundamentally incorrect, and it had the most wide-reaching and unfortunate effects upon German esthetics, dramatics, ethics, and philosophy of life.

Gundolf feels called upon to define in summary Shakespeare's view of the world and Schiller's interpretation of that view. Shakespeare accepts the world as it is. Its meaning lies within itself. Schiller understands Shakespeare to agree with him that the things of this earth are but the counterparts of a higher world-order. Herein he was in error:

Shakespeares Menschen sind . . . Geschöpfe, die aus ihrer Wirklichkeit heraus leidenschaftlich wollen . . . und dadurch mit andern Teilen der Wirklichkeit in Widerstreit geraten. Dieser Widerstreit ist ihr Schicksal. Die Menschen von Schillers Shakespeare sind isolierte Geschöpfe, die entweder gegen oder für jene moralische Weltordnung . . . wollen und handeln und dadurch in Schuld oder Unschuld treten . . . Bei Shakespeare ist die Weltgeschichte ein Komplex der Taten, Leiden und Geschieke. Nach Schiller wäre sie das Weltgericht³¹

^{28a} Gundolf [416] 286.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

The latter was not the case with Shakespeare.

Shakespeare sah im Untergang keinen Richterspruch, auch kannte er kein Gut und Böse für alle Fälle. . . . Die Moral ist für Shakespeare eine der Wirklichkeiten der Welt wie andere auch, und nicht immer siegreich. Dummheit, Bosheit, Genie, Schönheit, Kraft usw. sind oft gerade so mächtig oder mächtiger. . . . Seine Figuren siegen oder fallen nie, um dem oder jenem Sittengesetz zu genügen, sondern weil der Kampf zwischen Wirklichkeiten ein erschütterndes, erhebendes oder erheiterndes Schauspiel ist für den Gott. . . . Man musz schon völlig durch Schillerische Aesthetik verbildet, unbefangenen Gefühls beraubt sein, wenn man am Schluß des *Cäsar*, des *Antonius*, des *Lear* statt der tragischen Erhebung oder Erschütterung über die Groszheit, Gewalt und Furehtbarkeit des Weltgeschehens ein moralisches Behagen empfindet über die göttliche Gerechtigkeit. . . . Doch Schiller las alle diese Stücke in dem Sinn als handle es sich um einen Prozess zwischen Gut und Böse, der vor dem Richterstuhl der sittlichen Nemesis sich abspiele.³²

Actual borrowings by Schiller from Shakespeare are apparently in Gundolf's opinion comparatively rare. He borrowed the colors for his moral pictures from his misunderstood Shakespeare; not the characters themselves, but their actions and demeanors. To this extent he made use of Iago, Richard, Macbeth, Regan, and Edmund. Schiller's language was as unlike Shakespeare's as possible. Schiller's comparisons are not disburdenings of the fancy, they are conscious endeavors to make clearer the moral lesson. As a striking example of Schiller's moral interpretation of Shakespeare Gundolf cites his *Macbeth* "Bearbeitung:

Mit welcher Meisterschaft hat es Schiller fertig gebracht, durch kleine Drücker die gesamte Diktion des Stückes zu versittlichen. Es ist eine Mustersammlung geworden, um die wesentlichen Unterschiede zwischen Schillers und Shakespeares Sprache zu vergegenwärtigen. Nirgends ergeht sich Schillers Trieb, alles was bei Shakespeare Leidenschaft ist, als Moral zu lesen, was Ausdruck von Wesen ist, zur Beziehung auf das Ideal umzumünzen, freier und wohlgefälliger.³³

Having suffered a varied fate in Germany at the hands of opponents (Gottsched and his school), apologists (Schlegel and

³² Ibid., p. 293f.

³³ Ibid., p. 308; cf. [574]ff., especially Köster [580].

Bodmer), defenders (Lessing and Nicolai), panegyricists (Herder and Gerstenberg), and enthusiasts (Stürmer und Dränger), Shakespeare was now an accepted fact in German literature; but even so he was interpreted in two distinct fashions by two groups, the classicists and the romanticists. These two schools were at bottom allies. They represented the forces that had overcome rationalism. For the romanticists Shakespeare was the typical romantic poet. He appealed to them in three ways: to use Gundolf's terms, "als der universale Phantast, als der universale Denker und Ironiker, als der Sprachmeister schlechthin." In the first rôle he appealed to Tieck, in the second to Friedrich Schlegel, in the third to August Wilhelm Schlegel.

Tieck completed the work begun by Wieland and continued by Maler Müller. His predecessors had pointed out the existence of the realm of fancy. Tieck brot it home to a generation of his countrymen.

It was as a thinker that Shakespeare appealed to Lessing as well as to Friedrich Schlegel, but Schlegel was the first to interpret Shakespeare's dramas as a portion of cosmic thot: "Shakespeares Werke sind für Schlegel in dem Sinn fleischgewordenes Denken, wie die Welt selbst Gottes Gedanke ist. Wenn Gott denkt, entsteht Schöpfung. Wenn Shakespeare denkt, entsteht Dichtung."³⁴ It was this that brot Goethe to the point of taking issue with the romanticists, practically in his version of *Romeo and Juliet*, theoretically in his *Shakespeare und kein Ende*. The issue is not clearly shown in his *Romeo und Julia*, for here he was acting not only as a commentator but also as a theater director.

To the Grecian-minded Goethe, man could not be subordinated to cosmic thot. Man was himself the measure of all things: "Von welcher Seite man den Aufsatz (*Shakespeare und kein Ende*) liest, sein Zweck ist, Grenzen aufzurichten gegen das Grenzenlose, Gestalt zu schaffen gegenüber dem nur Bewegten, Masz zu setzen wider das Maszlose."³⁵

³⁴ Ibid., p. 340.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 350.

Gundolf's explanation of August Wilhelm Schlegel's success as a translator is to such an extent a summary of his monograph that it can scarcely be omitted here. According to him, in order that an approximately adequate translation could come into being certain conditions had first to be fulfilled:

1. Der deutsche Geist musste genug erlebt haben, genug Schicksale haben, um in seiner Sprache die Seelenwerte auszubilden, welche denen Shakespeares nach Tiefe und Umfang entsprachen. Wir haben diesen Prozess von Lessing her verfolgt, wie hauptsächlich an Shakespeare selber solche Seelenwerte sich ausbildeten und Sprachwerte wurden durch unsere Klassiker und ihre Gesellen, wie Sinnlichkeit, Leidenschaft, Natur usw. Schritt für Schritt erlebbar und sprachfähig wurden. In Goethe endlich war eine so umfassende Seele erstanden, dass sie die ganze Breite und Tiefe der deutschen Sprache mit ihrem Leben durchdrang, ihre starre Vergangenheit wieder lebendig machte und ihr eine grenzenlose Zukunft verbürgte. Jetzt erst hatte der deutsche Geist einen Dichter, dessen Sprache mit der Shakespeares wetteifern konnte und den ganzen Umfang der Seelenwerte des Briten wenn nicht nachschaffen so doch nachleben. Doch diese Sprache verbrauchte Goethe zum Ausdruck seiner eigenen weltweiten und welt tiefen Erlebnisse und Erkenntnisse. Damit die durch ihn geschaffenen Sprachmöglichkeiten, das durch ihn gehobene Sprachwissen frei werde, bedurfte es also

2. eines Geschlechts, das die Sprache (d. h. eben den ausdrückgewordenen Geist), die Goethe ganz in Gestaltungen gebannt hatte, rein als Bewegung erlebte und als Bewegung verwertete. Dies war die Romantik. Kam nun

3. ein Mensch dazu, der mit dieser umfassenden Sprachbewegung weder eigenes Erleben zu gestalten und auszudrücken suchte, wie Goethe, noch sie rein als Spiel und Funktion ungestalt walten liesz, wie Tieck, sondern mit ihr dem umfassendsten, in einer anderen Sprache d. h. einem andern Seelenstoff verkörperten Lebenskomplex nachging, ihn in deutsche Sprachbewegung verwandelte und ihm dadurch zugleich eine deutsche Sprachgestalt gab, so ward die Möglichkeit einer deutschen Shakespeare-Übertragung verwirklicht, worin der deutsche Geist und die Seele Shakespeares durch ein gemeinsames Medium sich ausdrückten, worin Shakespeare wirklich deutsche Sprache geworden war. Dieser Mann ist August Wilhelm Schlegel. Durch Goethe ward die deutsche Sprache erst reich genug, Shakespeare auszudrücken, durch die romantische Bewegung frei genug, durch Schlegel entsagend genug.^{35a}

Gundolf does not believe, however, that the Schlegel translation of Shakespeare will always be unsurpassable, and he points

^{35a} *Ibid.*, p. 352.

out Schlegel colored his translation a little with "das Gute" (Schiller), "das Schöne" (griechische), "das Wahre" (Bildungselemente). "Das alles fällt bei Schlegel nicht so auf wie bei seinen Epigonen."³⁶

Gundolf excuses himself from continuing his history into the nineteenth century. He admits that the influence of Shakespeare continues:

Die Produktion im neunzehnten Jahrhundert wird fast völlig beherrscht von Schlegels Shakespeare, von Schillers Ideal, von Goethes Natur und Bildung, wozu später noch Byrons und Heines seelische und soziale Aktualitäten kamen.³⁸

But new interpretations of Shakespeare were entirely absent:

Man schämt sich für den deutschen Geist, wenn man nach Herders *Shakespeare* nach Goethes *Shakespeare und kein Ende*, nach Schlegels *Vorlesungen* auch die besten, etwa Vischer oder gar Gervinus, zur Hand nimmt. Welche Verflachung, welche Verengung nicht nur der Personen sondern des Zeitgeistes!³⁹

Nietzsche appears to have been the first whose coming, according to Gundolf's opinion, heralded the dawn of a new reality with new organs for its appreciation, bringing with it the necessity of a new interpretation of Shakespeare. Doubtless Gundolf feels that his own Shakespeare translation³⁷ and interpretation is in accord with this new conception.

As for Kleist and Hebbel, Gundolf only mentions them in passing. They were "heroische Käuze," but "Shakespeare hat in ihnen nicht Geschichte gemacht."³⁸ Shakespeare was merely a part of their biography. "In Kleist allein hat vielleicht die durch Schlegel gehobene Verssprache Shakespeares einen produktiven Nachfolger gefunden."³⁸ This parallels in a weakened form the assertion already made by Wetz: "Dank Heinrich von Kleist hatten unsere Dichtersprache und unser dramatischer Vers eine weitere Ausbildung erfahren und konnten nun

³⁶ Ibid., p. 358f.

³⁷ Reviewed in *ShJ* XLV (1909) 364-369.

³⁸ Gundolf [416] 357.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 356.

als ein adäquateres Ausdrucksmittel für Shakespeare gelten als im Beginn der neunziger Jahre.’’⁴⁰

* * * * *

If any one work has demonstrated by means of literary phenomena fundamental differences between the English and the German intellect it is this work of Gundolf's. In it he makes many comparisons which generally fall to the disadvantage of the German side: Shakespeare's dramas are living organisms, Lessing's are well-fabricated machines; Shakespeare's atmosphere is that of the free out-of-doors, Wieland mingles salon atmosphere therewith; *Hamlet* is filled with the invigorating life of the renaissance, *Faust* with the study-atmosphere of the "Bildungszeitalter;" Shakespeare's theme is the fullness of human life, Schiller's the moral that can be read into life; and finally the German spirit has grappled with Shakespeare for centuries and has as yet encompassed him but partially. Yet on maturer deliberation it would be clearly unsafe to generalize as to national traits from such comparisons as these, for while successive German periods form one part of the inequation it is always Shakespeare who forms the other; thus we have a comparison of age with age rather than of race with race.⁴¹ At one point, to be sure, Gundolf verges on a contrast. In justification of his disregard of the average view that led to such productions as Schröder's dramatic versions and Eschenburg's translation he says:

Die Schöpfer der Bewegung haben in Deutschland nie etwas vom Publikum geistig empfangen und im Theater nie etwas anderes denn ein Mittel gesehen. . . . (Werke wie) *Werther*, *Götz*, *Die Räuber* entstanden in einer ahnungslosen Einsamkeit. . . . Deutsches Publikum ist bestenfalls geschaffen worden, Groszes hat es niemals schaffen helfen. Es muszte zu allem gezwungen, behext oder überredet werden. So wie Racine von der französischen Gesellschaft, Sophokles von der Polis, selbst Shakespeare von der agonalen Luft seines elizabethanischen Englands ist nie ein neuerer deutscher Autor von der aktuellen deutschen Umwelt im guten Sinne beeinflusst worden.^{41a}

⁴⁰ Wetz [713] 345.

⁴¹ An apparent exception occurs in Gundolf's comparison of *Hamlet* with *Faust* (see above).

^{41a} Gundolf [416] 280f.

Whether this harsh criticism is true or not may be left undecided, but it is a striking fact that several German critics have found the gulf between author and public wider in Germany than elsewhere. Some, like Resewitz in the eighteenth century⁴² and Schmidt and Freytag in the nineteenth,⁴³ blame the author for not seeking contact with the people thru labor, while a few, no doubt, like Gundolf blame the public; for the Nietzschean Gundolf believes in an aristocracy of intellect and despises the sheep-like passivity of the average man. If the public in reality is to the poet less stimulating in Germany than elsewhere it might be argued that the remedy is not some impossible rebirth of the German soul but rather a thoro reorganization of the German literary republic. Gundolf's strictures seek to prove no actual qualitative difference as to "Geist" between the average German and the average Englishman and no such difference can be deduced from them.

⁴² Quoted in SURVEY, p. 298.

⁴³ Quoted in SURVEY, p. 514.

CHAPTER 18

SHAKESPEARE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In Chapter 14 is recorded the fact that those best informed in regard to the matter no longer attribute Shakespeare's recognition in the eighteenth century to the Germans rather than the English. It is in order here to emphasize the real service of the Germans in regard to Shakespeare. Since the middle of the eighteenth century they have probably done more than any other nation to preserve Shakespeare as a vital factor of modern life. In Germany the study of Shakespeare is most ardently prosecuted. There his dramas are most widely read by people of varying degrees of education. There his plays are most frequently produced, and generally before appreciative and critical spectators. Scarcely another race has produced such notable adherents of Shakespeare as Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, nor has Shakespeare at any time or place more nearly established a cult than with the "Stürmer und Dränger" and the romanticists. The influence of the efforts of the German appreciators of Shakespeare have extended beyond the confines of Germany. It has been said for example that the Italians have seen Shakespeare thru German rather than English eyes,¹ and perhaps the same is true of the Hungarians.² The passion for Shakespeare has always glowed in Germany with a fervor unaffected by any nationalistic considerations. This was shown most clearly by the dramatic presentations, the commemorative addresses, and the mass of scientific, critical, and ephemeral literature called out in 1916 by the three hundredth anniversary of his death.

The course of Shakespearean interpretation in the nineteenth century has been largely dominated by the program of the romanticists. Their program has been amply set forth by Joachimi-

¹ See Robertson in *MLR* XVI (1919) 436.

² See Rózsa in *ShJ* LII (1917) 127.

Dege [479] in the second and more valuable half of her study. The greater part of the work of the romanticists, she reminds us, was intended for the élite, but the Shakespeare effort formed a notable exception. Shakespeare was to be rendered accessible to the entire people, who were thus to be lifted out of the commonplaceness that characterized the life of the time. The efforts of the romanticists were successful: Shakespeare's sayings have become proverbs in Germany as in England;³ his words and themes have been utilized by German composers;⁴ and especially since the time of the romanticists he has appeared as a figure in German novels, stories, and dramas.⁵

In order to establish their views regarding Shakespeare, the romanticists were compelled to fight a battle simultaneously on three fronts: against the rationalists, who saw in Shakespeare the typification of formlessness, against the adherents of the "Sturm und Drang" movement, who declined to recognize Shakespeare as a conscious artist, and against the classicists. The last named contest was the important one, for in the two former cases the romanticists were fighting tendencies already on the way to extinction.

Joachimi-Dege points out that the translation of Shakespeare was but the foundation of a great work, part of which the romanticists completed and part of which occupied the attention of their successors thruout the nineteenth century. They planned a philological and critical edition of Shakespeare anticipating Delius, and a literary-historical edition anticipating Ulrici; they planned a study of Shakespeare's time in order to understand him better, and they undertook a study of his life in order to

³ See Leo [419a].

⁴ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [423], [424], [424x], [528x], [529].

⁵ Ludwig [419ax] mentions only five dramatists who attempted to bring Shakespeare in person on the stage before the appearance of Tieck's two "Novellen," *Ein Dichterleben* (1825) and *Der Dichter und sein Freund* (1829). He notes over thirty attempts since then, chiefly by less known dramatists. Among the dramas by better known dramatists were *Die Sommernacht*, a fragment by Tieck (1789), first published in 1853; *Shakespeare in der Heimat oder die Freunde* by Holtei (1840); *William Shakespeare* by Lindner (1864); *Christoph Marlow* by Wildenbruch (1884); and *Shakespeare* by Bleibtreu (1907).

derive therefrom a picture of his development as an artist and to determine, if possible, the sequence of his works. Still more important to them was the esthetic interpretation of Shakespeare. As an ultimate goal they set to arrive at conclusions in regard to his philosophy.

They neglected no means to carry out their program. In the journals they conducted a campaign against their German opponents and against the incapable English commentators and editors. They set to control Shakespearean production on the stage in order that the stage should be adapted to Shakespeare, not Shakespeare to the stage. They criticized stage decoration, actors, and costumes, not withholding praise where it was due. They gained the universities for their cause, without much effort, but with the stage and the people they were only partially successful. To compensate for this they held Shakespeare evenings in which Shakespeare was read to the people in unabbreviated, unrevised form.

Before considering the result of their endeavors it may be well to set forth the external history of the Schlegel-Tieck-Baudissin translation⁶ and of its more notable successors. Between the completion of the Wieland prose translation in 1766 and the beginning of the Schlegel translation in 1797 much had occurred to render a poetic translation of Shakespeare possible. Wetz has pointed out:

Wie namentlich der Blankvers durch den *Don Carlos*, durch *Iphigenie* und *Tasso* geschmeidigt worden war. Herder hatte auch für seine *Stimmen der Völker* einiges aus Shakespeare metrisch übertragen, darunter manches wie den grossen Monolog Othellos und die Worte Lorenzos aus dem *Kaufmann von Venedig* über die Harmonie der Sphären, äusserst glücklich.⁷

The beginnings of Schlegel's translation of Shakespeare date back to 1789, when Schlegel as a student at Göttingen was a close friend of Bürger, then a professor there. The two met

⁶ The more accurate designation is here substituted for the traditional one. The justification appears in the course of the discussion; it is more generally conceded.

⁷ Wetz [713] 344.

often and workt together upon a metrical translation of Shakespeare's *Midsummer night's dream*. Bürger's actual contributions to the translation seem to have been small, but they served as a model for Schlegel.⁸ In the introduction to the first volume of his translation (1797) Schlegel specifically states that no part of Bürger's translation was carried into the present one.⁹ Furthermore, Schlegel discarded his own previous work as well, for he had formed independent ideas since then of the nature of Shakespeare and the proper form of translation.

The first volume of Schlegel's translation (1797) contained *Sommernachtstraum* and *Romeo und Julia*, the second (1797) *Julius Cäsar* and *Was ihr wollt*, the third (1798) *Sturm* and *Hamlet*, the fourth and fifth (1799) *Der Kaufmann von Venedig*, *Wie es euch gefällt*, *König Johann*, and *Richard II*, the sixth (1800) *Heinrich IV*, and the seventh and eighth (1801) *Heinrich V* and *Heinrich VI*. Schlegel then let eight years pass before the next half volume was completed with *Richard III*. He informed his publisher by letter, about eight years later, that a continuation of the work was not to be expected from him. In this letter he refers to the unpleasant fact that competitors had entered the lists:

Unterdessen erfahre ich durch meinen Bruder, . . . der alte Vosz wolle mit seinem Sohn (sic) Johann Hinrich und Abraham, vermuthlich auch mit seinen Schwiegersöhnen, Enkeln, gebohrnen und ungebohrnen, mit Einem Worte der ganzen Übersetzungs-Schmiede-Sippchaft, auch die von mir schon übersetzten Stücke neu übersetzen. Dies ist freylich eine grosze Impertinenz: allein wir haben kein ausschliessendes Privilegium; es kommt darauf an, wie das Publicum die Sache nimmt.¹⁰

As early as 1806 Vosz and his son had translated *Othello* and *King Lear*. Schiller encouraged them to the former work, as he wisht to see it produced in Weimar. It was the first intention to translate only such works as Schlegel had left untouched, but during the years 1818 to 1829 the translation grew

⁸ von Wurzbach, *G. A. Bürger* (Leipzig 1900), p. 265f.

⁹ Bernays [493] 111.

¹⁰ Genée [716] 12-14 reproduces this interesting letter.

to completion. It was not, however, received with any great favor by the public.

Schlegel had reason to be gratified when Tieck in the year 1819 indicated his readiness to take up the work where his associates had dropt it.¹¹ Tieck called to his assistance almost immediately his daughter Dorothea, who set herself to work on *Macbeth*. When the work of translation a few years later lagged again and came to a standstill another helper was called in, Graf Wolf von Baudissin, who had already translated *Henry VIII* in 1818. In the division of the work *Coriolanus*, *Two gentlemen of Verona*, *Timon of Athens*, *The winter's tale*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth* fell to the share of Dorothea Tieck, who also translated the lyric passages in *Love's labor's lost* and some of the other plays. To Graf Baudissin's lot fell *Love's labor's lost*, *Much ado about nothing*, *Taming of the shrew*, *Henry VIII*, *Measure for measure*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Comedy of errors*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *The merry wives of Windsor*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*. These translations appeared 1830–1833.

In a concluding word to the edition Tieck conveyed the impression that his share in the work of translation was an onerous one; but from the manuscripts and correspondence still extant it is evident that Graf Baudissin prepared the original draft of all plays assigned to him and that Tieck's participation consisted in criticizing afterwards, making a few improvements, and in some cases imposing upon Baudissin, against the latter's better judgment, a less desirable rendering of a passage.¹² Only in one place do we find the actual phrasing of Tieck. This is in the beginning of *Love's labor's lost*. It had been planned as early as 1800 that Tieck should help Schlegel to the extent of translating this drama.¹³ Some time during the years 1800–1809 he translated the first three acts of the play, but they were never published. Now they served Baudissin as the foundation for the

¹¹ Re the details of this transaction see Lüdeke [730bx] 2.

¹² Wetz [713] 322. Genée [716] 17, on the other hand, rates Tieck's services highly. Bernays [711] 551 gives many examples of Tieck's unfortunate attempts to better the Baudissin translations.

¹³ See letter of Tieck to Schlegel, March 26, 1825; in Lüdeke [730bx] 3.

corresponding portions of his translation. He adopted a large part without any revision and much of the rest with but minor changes.^{13a}

Gustav Freytag compared the Baudissin renderings favorably with Schlegel's. Wetz finds that Heyse, Heyne, Herwegh, Kaufmann, Kurz, Simrock, and Wilbrandt frequently surpass Baudissin,¹² and he quotes with approval the opinion of Vischer regarding the latter's translations: "Sie behandeln die Sprache so hart, dasz es ein richtig organisiertes Ohr kaum verträgt. Die Konsonantenhäufungen sind ungenieszbar. Vieles ist überdies ganz dunkel ausgedrückt, und es kommen auch Verstöße gegen den Bau der deutsche Sprache vor."^{13b}

Of Dorothea Tieck's translation Wetz says: "Als sie die Arbeit begann, war sie in die Sprache, aus der sie übersetzte, und die sie hauptsächlich zum Zwecke dieser Übersetzung gelernt hatte, noch nicht sehr tief eingedrungen." He quotes from a letter of Dorothea Tieck to a friend describing the hours of joint labor. She wrote: "Auch bei den Stücken, die Baudissin übersetzt hat, habe ich fast immer den Korrigierstunden beige-wohnt und dadurch viel Englisch gelernt, besonders Shakespeares Sprache."^{13c} Genée maintains, however: "Dorothea Tieck besasz für fremde Sprachen, wie auch für poetische Formen, eine hervorragende Begabung."^{13d} Conceding this, it is none the less clear that her *Macbeth* translation has notably failed to satisfy the demands of readers, editors, critics, or actors. Many translators have undertaken to compete against her with a new version of this tragedy.

Ludwig Tieck fully deserves to be mentioned as one of the producers of the Shakespeare translation even tho his share of actual creative work thereon was small. Lüdeke summarizes his services as follows:

Der jüngere Dichter (Tieck) brachte von Anfang an dem Werke des älteren eine Anteilnahme und fördernde Begeisterung entgegen, die der-

^{13a} Lüdeke [730bx] 28.

^{13b} Vischer [414] I 205.

^{13c} Wetz [713] 353.

^{13d} Genée [716] 16.

jenigen Schlegels kaum je nachstand und sie um viele Jahre überlebte. Dieser treuen und neidlosen Hingabe Tiecks an eine grosse Sache haben wir es zu verdanken, dass das grösste Werk der Romantik überhaupt fertig wurde. Nachdem Schlegel ihm mit seinem *Romeo und Julie* zuvorkam, brachte ihm Tieck bereitwillig seine Hilfe dar, beriet mit ihm einzelne Stellen schriftlich und mündlich, plante als paralleles Werk eine Übersetzung Ben Jonsons, übernahm später die Übersetzung der zweifelhaften Dramen, die Schlegel auf Tiecks Rat in den Rahmen des ganzen Werkes einbezogen hatte, und ging dann schliesslich, als er merkte, dass Schlegel alle Lust an der Arbeit verloren und die Absicht, sie zu vollenden, aufgegeben hatte, so weit, dem Unger'schen Verlag seine eigenen Dienste zu diesem Zwecke anzubieten.^{13°}

Some of the more notable revisions of the Schlegel-Tieck-Baudissin translations and some of the new translations may be here mentioned. About the year 1865 three new German Shakespeares were published. Ulrici published for the newly founded "Shakespeare-Gesellschaft" a Schlegel edition in which obvious errors were removed and omissions made good. The Baudissin-Tieck portion of the translation was improved in part and partly supplanted by entirely new rendering. Simultaneously Bodendstedt was preparing a new German Shakespeare for Brockhaus with the aid of Gildemeister, Paul Heyse, Hermann Kurz, and Adolf Wilbrandt; and Dingelstedt was preparing a similar edition for the "Bibliographisches Institut" with the help of W. Jordan, L. Seeger, K. Simrock, H. Viehoff, and F. A. Gelbeke. Had all these forces united in a single endeavor a better edition than any previous one might have been produced. As it was, the Schlegel-Tieck-Baudissin translation maintained its place in public favor, the superiority of the Schlegel portions more than counterbalancing the deficiencies of the continuation. At that time the Schlegel translation was still protected by copyright and competitors were compelled to avoid Schlegel's way of translating, even when it was the most obvious and best. Since 1865 this restriction has been removed, but on the other hand the cheapness of the Schlegel edition in reprint makes it difficult for later rivals to compete with it in popularity. Under these conditions, past and present, it is obvious that comparative book sales are

^{13°} Lüdeke [730bx] 2f.

an inadequate test of the popularity of the translation of Schlegel, to say nothing of his less successful co-workers.

In his edition of Shakespeare prepared for the *Cottasche Bibliothek der Weltliteratur* Max Koch supplemented Schlegel with Kaufmann, and, in case of necessity, with Abraham and Heinrich Vosz. Koch at the same time revised Schlegel rather freely. The eclectic plan is still in favor, combined sometimes, as by Gundolf, with some entirely new translation.

An earnest debate has been carried on in Germany regarding the justification of revision. To some scholars Schlegel's Shakespeare is an inviolable classic, whose phraseology has become a part of the common cultural possessions of the Germans, and which should be as little exposed to meddlers as the works of Homer or of Goethe. This extreme position can be maintained only with the greatest difficulty in view of what has been learned in regard to the history of the Schlegel translation. A large number of manuscripts came to light about 1870 which afford an insight into the history of the Schlegel translation; they are now preserved in the Königl. Bibliothek in Dresden. They have been studied and interpreted by Bernays [709] and [711], Genée [710] and [716], and Conrad [717], the interpretations varying, however, according to the predilections of the investigators. Even Bernays and Genée, who hold that the original form must be treated with piety, must admit frequent errors on the part of the printer and some actual errors on Schlegel's part.^{13f} Schlegel engaged himself to correct these in the new edition of 1838, but had hardly begun the work of revision before he dropt it. The latest and apparently the best grounded study of the Dresden manuscripts by Conrad makes one skeptical regarding the sacredness of the original print. It is generally agreed that these sheets, mostly in Schlegel's handwriting, represent neither the first draft nor the last. They were not the ones sent to the printer. After having written the ruf draft Schlegel copied it on these sheets. Thereon are suggested in several

^{13f} Tieck undertook in 1824 the embarrassing task of making the needful corrections in Schlegel's translation. See letter of Tieck to Schlegel, March 26, 1825, reproduced in Lüdeke [730bx] 2f.

instances many possible translations, the preferred one frequently not being indicated. Karoline Schlegel prepared the printer's copy from this. Schlegel left her free to choose, as she often did, the worst of his proposed translations or to alter whatever did not please her. Schlegel never even corrected the printer's proofs. Conrad records that in the printed dramas, *Cäsar* and *Was ihr wollt* (1797), *Sturm* and *Hamlet* (1798), there are hundreds of renderings not found in Schlegel's manuscript. Only in the case of *Henry VI* and *Richard III* does the printed form presumably correspond to that intended by Schlegel, for in the year 1801 he and Karoline separated. He sent his own copy to the printer, retaining no duplicate. His copy was apparently destroyed or never returned. At any rate these plays are lacking from the Dresden collection of manuscripts.¹³⁸ Conrad discusses Karoline's mistreatment of Schlegel's manuscript, giving an abundance of examples, under the captions "(1) Sprachfehler, (2) Denkfehler, (3) Richtige Übersetzungen der Handschrift falsch in der ersten Ausgabe, (4) Gute Fassungen des Manuskripts verschlimmbessert in der ersten Ausgabe, (5) Mangelhafte Auswahl bei mehrfachen Fassungen Schlegels, (6) Unverständliche kleine Änderungen des Manuskripts, (7) Auslassungen aus dem Manuskript, (8) Schlegels Übersetzungsfehler unverbessert." After a 58-page exposition of the frequency and variety of Karoline's offences Conrad is able to devote four pages to topic nine, "Wirkliche Besserungen von Karolinens Hand." In the four dramas investigated Conrad finds about thirty improvements made by Karoline and about 331 instances in which she chose unwisely or altered for the worse. He is able to show that Bernays's edition of Schlegel's Shakespeare (1st edition 1870-71; new edition 1891), which professes to be based upon a thoro comparison of the earliest edition and the Dresden manuscripts, is in reality based upon a very superficial comparison of the two, combined with too high an estimate of the conscientiousness of August Wilhelm and of Karoline Schlegel.

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¹³⁸ Conrad [717] 8.

Shakespeare's importance to posterity is not demonstrated so much by the abundance of translations and editions as by the manner in which he imprest his personality upon creative talents. Many of the most notable dramatists of the nineteenth century have been compelled to assume a position toward him. Kleist vied with him, Grabbe challenged him, Otto Ludwig made himself subservient to him, and Grillparzer consciously avoided his influence. Hebbel, however, was preserved from his tyranny by a philosophy of life incompatible with his.

Soon after Kleist made the decision to devote himself to a career of letters he found himself in Switzerland with Zschokke and the young Wieland.

Während Zschokke sich vornehmlich von Schillers Pathos warm ergriffen fühlte, war Goethe der Abgott des jungen Wieland, nächst dem er die Brüder Schlegel und Tieck am höchsten schätzte. Hierin stimmte Kleist in der Hauptsache mit ihm überein . . . Zum Drama zog ihn sein poetischer Genius, und hier ward ihm Shakespeares gewaltige Gestalt durch Schlegels Übersetzung, die gerade in diesen Jahren erschien, näher gerückt.¹⁴

It was Kleist's aim to unite the qualities of the classic and antik drama or, to use the definition of Wilbrandt, "die vollendete Form mit der starren Treue gegen die Natur, den Zauber der Schönheit mit allen Schrecken der dämonischen Tragik des Menschendaseins zu vereinigen."¹⁵ There is Shakespearean form, atmosphere, and diction in *Die Familie Schroffenstein*. With its hostile houses that might have been reconciled by the love of their youngest members it resembles most *Romeo and Juliet*, but there are strong reminiscences of *Lear* and of *Macbeth* as well. Kleist was entirely dissatisfied with his first dramatic accomplishment and wrote to his sister of another play where-with he would wrest the laurel wreath from Goethe's brow. The elder Wieland alone had an adequate opportunity to judge of the success of Kleist's efforts. Fully a year after he had persuaded Kleist to recite to him a part of *Robert Guiskard* Wieland wrote: "Wenn die Geister des Aeschylus, Sophokles und Shake-

¹⁴ Muncker in Kleist, *Werke* (Stuttgart 1880-1884), I xiii.

¹⁵ Wilbrandt, *Heinrich von Kleist* (Nördlingen 1863), p. 186.

speares sich vereinigten, eine Tragödie zu schaffen, sie würde das sein, was Kleists *Tod Guiskards des Normannen*, sofern das Ganze demjenigen entspräche, was er mich damals hören liesz.'¹⁶ Later generations agree with Wieland, basing their judgment on the single fragment that escaped Kleist's despairing, destructive hand.

After his mental crisis and his gradual summoning of strength to a normal development of literary power Kleist no longer sot to wrest the laurels from the brows of his rivals; but the influence of Shakespeare remained. His artistic taste was much like Shakespeare's. Like him he did not sacrifice veracity to finicky notions about beauty; he did not fear the picturing of the grotesk or even the horrible where it belonged, and was satisfied when the total work was beautiful. Especially in *Käthchen von Heilbronn*, *Die Hermannsschlacht*, and *Der Prinz von Homburg* can Shakespearean traits be readily recognized.¹⁷ but Kleist's dramatic work was un-Shakespearean for a reason lying beyond himself. Shakespeare's dramas are unthinkable without the inspiring age of Elizabeth as a background, while Kleist lived and wrote in one of Prussia's darkest periods; his environment was disheartening, intolerable; he ended his life at the age of thirty-four. At that age Goethe had published no important dramas excepting *Götz*, *Clavigo*, and *Stella*; Lessing had written nothing more significant than *Miss Sara Sampson*; and Schiller had brot his work to a temporary close with *Don Carlos*. Shakespeare himself at that age had probably written his comedies and historical dramas, but presumably not *Caesar*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, or *The tempest*.

The tragic struggle of Shakespeare's greatest characters is that of self with self, of Grillparzer's that of man with the world. His tragedy is based, to use Volkelt's term, "auf einer dem Leben nicht gewachsenen Innerlichkeit."¹⁸ Usually Grillparzer drew

¹⁶ von Bülow, *Heinrich von Kleists Leben und Briefe* (Berlin 1848), p. 36.

¹⁷ Hense [410] 95.

¹⁸ Volkelt, *Grillparzer als Dichter des Tragischen* (Nördlingen 1883); quoted by Grosz [674a] 27.

wavering, problematic characters, following his own subjective inclination and the model of Lope de Vega. A few exceptional characters are "männliche Vollnaturen in Shakespeare'schem Sinne," as Grosz calls them.¹⁹ To the latter class belong Ottokar and Rudolf von Hapsburg. Emil Reich holds *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* to be the most Shakespearean of Grillparzer's dramas.²⁰ The exposition is especially Shakespearean: "Shakespeare selbst würde vor dem ersten Akt des *Ottokar* die Mütze gelüftet haben," Hebbel said.²¹ If in other respects Grillparzer learned much from Lope de Vega, he learned the art of exposition in the historical drama from Shakespeare.

In the library of his father Grillparzer found of Shakespeare's works only *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, both in Schröder's stage edition.^{21a} In his earliest productive years Grillparzer looked upon Schiller as a model, but articles by Josef Schreyvogel in the *Sonntagsblatt* called his attention to Shakespeare. As private teacher in the house of Graf Seilern (1812) he had at his disposal a complete Shakespeare, in Theobald's edition. His command of English at this time, however, was too meagre to permit of reading with much profit; his first real acquaintance with Shakespeare dates from the reading of the Schlegel translations, while he was an assistant in the library at Vienna in 1813. A part of the money earned by *Die Ahnfrau* was invested in a Shakespeare edition.

In spite of Grillparzer's protestations *Die Ahnfrau* will doubtless always be classed as a fate tragedy. Grillparzer defended it from this charge, saying that he had not invented a new system of fatalism but had only endeavored to make use of the superstitious notions of an unenlightened age for a poetic purpose.²² Grosz calls attention to the fact that this was the

¹⁹ Grosz [674a] 27.

²⁰ Reich, *Franz Grillparzers Dramen* (Leipzig 1894), p. 110.

²¹ Quoted by Grosz [674a] 28.

^{21a} Cf. SURVEY, p. 385.

²² Grillparzer, *Werke* ed. Necker (Leipzig 1903), III 21; quoted by Grosz [674a] 26.

same defence as that made by Grillparzer for the witch scenes in *Macbeth*.²³

After the publication of the *Ahnfrau* Grillparzer began to study Shakespeare more intently, until a fear came upon him which he confest:

(Shakespeare) tyrannisiert meinen Geist, und ich will frei bleiben. Ich danke Gott, dasz er da ist, und dasz mir das Glück ward, ihn zu lesen und wieder zu lesen und aufzunehmen in mich. Nun aber geht mein Streben dahin, ihn zu vergessen. Die Alten stärken mich, die Spanier regen mich zur Produktion an; aber die ersteren stehen zu ferne, die letzteren sind zu rein menschlich mit ihren Fehlern mitten unter den grössten Schönheiten, mit ihrer häufig nur gar zu weit getriebenen Manier, als dasz sie den echten Quell des wahren Dichters: die Natur, die eigene Anschauungsart, das Individuelle der Auffassung, irgend im Gemüte beeinträchtigen sollten. Der Riese Shakespeare aber setzt sich selbst an die Stelle der Natur, deren herrliches Organ er war, und wer sich ihm ergibt, dem wird jede Frage, an sie gestellt, ewig nur er beantworten. Nichts mehr von Shakespeare!²⁴

Grillparzer had the opportunity of seeing many of Shakespeare's plays presented on the stage at Vienna before he gave up attending the theater entirely. In the year 1836 he visited London and saw *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Richard III* played at the Drury Lane Theater and Covent Garden. The method of presentation was disappointing to him. He also attended one of Ludwig Tieck's Shakespeare evenings and later heard Karl von Holtei's recitation of *Julius Cäsar* in Vienna in 1841.

Hamlet made the strongest personal appeal to Grillparzer's melancholy nature but he held *Macbeth* to be Shakespeare's truest, if not his greatest, work. Grosz finds Shakespearean echoes in Grillparzer's *Blanka von Kastilien* and in his dramatic fragments *Spartakus*, *Pazzi*, and *Alfred der Grosze*. In his more mature works, however, Shakespearean influence showed itself no longer in such concrete forms: "Fremde Einflüsse offenbaren sich nicht mehr als direkte Entlehnungen und Anklänge,

²³ *Ibid.*, XII 58, XIV 218ff., and XV 179ff.; quoted by Grosz [674a] 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI 51ff.; quoted by Grosz [674a] 5.

sondern werden zu Einflüssen des Geistes. Ein Problem, eine Stimmung, wohl auch ein Charakter wirken auf seine eigene Produktion als Mitschöpfer, nicht als Vorbild," Grosz says.^{24a} Such influence of a more general nature Grosz finds in *König Ottokar*, as already indicated, and in the expository scenes of *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn*. He makes general comparisons also between *Romeo and Juliet* and *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*.

Grosz finally contrasts Grillparzer's relation to Shakespeare with Hebbel's. Hebbel felt that it was his mission in the world to elevate tragedy to a higher stage, to bring it beyond the point where Shakespeare had left it. Grillparzer was a poet for the sake of poetry: "Ohne um das Wie und Warum zu fragen . . . will er weder Shakespeare in der Form des Tragischen nachahmen, noch über ihn hinaus gehen; er hat nur die eine Sehnsucht, Dichter zu sein."²⁵

Hebbel's philosophy was so different from Shakespeare's that Albert's study [677] does little more than present clearly an interesting contrast. Goethe's words regarding Shakespeare might form a convenient starting point for such a contrast: "Seine Stücke, drehen sich alle um den geheimen Punckt, in dem das Eigentümliche unseres Ichs, die präbendierte Freyheit unsres Wollens, mit dem notwendigen Gang des Ganzen zusammen stöszt."^{25a} We may well doubt with Gundolf^{25b} whether this correctly characterizes Shakespeare; but it is as if coined for Hebbel. The scene of the conflict of Shakespeare's heroes is laid in their own breasts. They are free beings and can choose their course. Hebbel's representatives of humanity in its development participate involuntarily in the evolutionary struggle of humanity. They may fight valiantly or endure serenely, but the stand they take is predetermined by their environment (Maria Magdalena), by their mere being (Agnes Bernauer), or by their responsi-

^{24a} Grosz [674a] 25.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 33.

^{25a} Goethe, *Werke* I 37, 133.

^{25b} See SURVEY, p. 432.

bilities (Herzog Ernst). Thus Alberts is able to show how similar situations fail to develop parallel courses of action. Brutus's situation resembles Judith's, but Brutus is free to choose while Judith's course is dictated to her by Jehovah. Angelo in *Measure for measure* is guilty in much the same way as is Golo in *Genoveva*; but Shakespeare aims to show Angelo struggling to make a decision; Hebbel tries to show that Golo could not do otherwise than he did, thus denying his moral responsibility.

Hebbel's dramas harmonize in a higher unity the drama of the Greeks and of Shakespeare. With the Greeks fate must conquer and is so overpowering as to crush individual will. With Shakespeare will is triumphant. With Hebbel both man and evolutionary progress (Hebbel's substitute for fate) are unconquerable and are pitted against each other in a never-ending struggle. Almost to the same extent as Shakespeare Hebbel develops the tragedy out of the character of his heroes, while with the Greeks the tragic heroes have the character given them by the myth, but little individuality beyond that.

Hebbel once planned to write an extensive critical work on Shakespeare, perhaps after the manner of Ludwig;²⁶ but he refrained from doing so apparently in the belief that too much had already been written about Shakespeare in Germany.²⁷ Had Hebbel carried out his intention he would doubtless have undertaken to show wherein he himself had brot the drama into a more advanced stage of development than Shakespeare: "Das Neue (bei Hebbel) liegt in dem Bestreben, über das individuelle Charakterdrama Shakespeares hinauszukommen. Er will den Widerspruch in den überindividuellen Lebensmächten nachweisen."²⁸

Unlike most German dramatists Hebbel regarded not *Hamlet* but *King Lear* as Shakespeare's greatest creation, for Hebbel, as Alberts says,²⁹ was no friend of "Weltschmerzpoesie."

²⁶ Alberts [577] 1.

²⁷ Hebbel, *Werke* ed. Werner (Berlin 1902), XII 29f.

²⁸ Alberts [677] 31.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

“Hamlet ist wie im Grabe geschrieben,”³⁰ he wrote, while he called *King Lear* a triumph over sorrow. As might be surmized, Hebbel was most interested in Shakespeare’s historical plays. Alberts is able to point out a few material borrowings from Shakespeare in Hebbel’s works³¹ but admits their slight importance: “Sie verschwinden geradezu in dem gewaltigen Lebenswerk des Dichters.”^{31a} Yet Shakespeare’s influence upon Hebbel was strong and healthful: “Diese Gestalt in ihren gigantischen Umrissen hat Hebbel immer wieder vor der Seele gestanden. Er bedurfte ihrer lebenspendenden Kraft schon als Gegengewicht gegen das starke reflektierende Element in seinem Innern.”^{31a} Hebbel once said of Goethe and Schiller: “Sie haben sich im Einzelnen von Shakespeare so fern wie möglich gehalten, ihn im Ganzen aber nie aus den Augen verloren;” and the same description, Alberts says in conclusion, can be fortunately applied to Hebbel’s relation to Shakespeare.

Hebbel’s *Maria Magdalena* and Ludwig’s *Erbförster* mark the turning away from the dramatic type of the eighteenth century toward the Ibsen drama of the nineteenth century. On the theoretic side Ludwig’s *Shakespeare-Studien* (1855ff.) have a similar significance. As Meyer has said:

Sowohl in der Auswahl der ausgebeuteten Stücke wie der beleuchteten Seiten lässt der geniale Grübler sich mehr von seinem Bedürfnis leiten, als von dem Streben nach vollkommenem wissenschaftlichen Durcharbeiten des Stoffes. Was Ludwig giebt, ist weniger eine Schilderung von Shakespeares Dramaturgie, als eine Verkündigung derjenigen Ibsens und seiner Schule. Hier viel mehr als in den Dramen des groszen Briten findet sich das breit realistische, bewusst um die Hauptlinie sich herum-schlängelnde Gespräch, hier die indirekte Charakteristik in strengster Durchführung, hier die sorgfältige Nüancierung des Grundtons, der Szenenstimmungen, der Einzelreden. . . . Was er suchte, legte er in Shakespeare.³²

His proof of this assertion Meyer gives in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* of 1901 [696]. Here Ludwig’s views are classified,

³⁰ Hebbel, *Tagebücher* II 261.

³¹ Alberts [677] 74–77.

^{31a} *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³² Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des 19. Jh.*² (Berlin 1900), p. 327.

ordered, and rendered more accessible.^{32a} Again and again Meyer is able to make the point that Ibsen was the model Ludwig was searching for. Is Ludwig describing Shakespeare or Ibsen, Meyer asks,^{32b} when he says: "Der Stoff ist unter den andern der glücklichste für die Bearbeitung, der am meisten Stetigkeit hat, der immer dieselbe Anzahl von Personen im engsten Raume zusammenhält und mit ruhiger Bewegung seinem Abschlusse entgegengeht."^{32c} This describes *Hamlet* and *Othello* not so well as *Ghosts*, *Nora*, *Rosmersholm*. Similarly when Ludwig says, "ein gutes Stück ist nichts als eine Katastrophe,"^{32d} it is, according to Meyer, a defence of *Nora* but not of Shakespeare's dramas.

This simple, clear-cut formulation of the genesis of Ludwig's dramatic theory by an authority so esteemed is particularly captivating, but it has fortunately not past unchallenged. Adams [697], in reviewing the question, asserts at the outset that Meyer causes a misunderstanding of Ludwig's meaning by disconnecting the quotations from the contexts; he then restores the context of the passages quoted by Meyer and comes to conclusions diametrically opposed to his:

Es ist natürlich nicht zu bestreiten, dass manche der dramaturgischen Forderungen Ludwigs in Ibsens Dramen sich vorfinden, aber zum groszen Teile mit nicht grösserem Recht wie in den Tragödien mancher anderen bedeutenden Dramatiker. Die meisten dieser Forderungen lassen sich indessen gerade in Shakespeares Dramen in hoher Vollendung nachweisen. Der Dramatik des Ibsens der Gesellschaftsdramen und seiner Schule widersprechen hingegen manche der wichtigsten Forderungen Ludwigs, die freie englische Kompositionsform und damit der reiche Szenenwechsel und die Monologe, die absoluten Forderungen der Charakter- und besonders der Leidenschaftstragödie, die Anwendung historischer Stoffe, in einiger Hinsicht sein Begriff des Tragischen, seine unbedingte Forderung des Typischen und sein dramatischer Stil. Diesen wesentlichen Forderungen ist die Dramatik der letzten Jahrzehnte nur selten und auch dann nie in vollem Umfange gerecht geworden. Wir können aus allen angeführten Gründen in Ludwig keinen Propheten des Dramas Ibsens und seiner Schule erkennen. Uns scheint, dass Ludwigs dramaturgische Forderungen weit weniger in die Zukunft, auf die Dramatik der letzten Jahr-

^{32a} Scherer [695], on the other hand, does little to that end.

^{32b} Meyer [696] 83.

^{32c} Ludwig, *Schriften* V 94.

^{32d} *Ibid.*, V 413.

zehnte weisen, sondern in den meisten Punkten in die Vergangenheit, zurück zu Shakespeare, in dem Ludwig mit einigen Abweichungen, die wir erwähnt haben, das Heil einer gesunden Dramatik erblickt. Die ideale Tragödie Ludwigs ist darum in vielen Punkten die Tragödie Shakespeares, in einigen sein eigenes Werk.^{32e}

It may finally be observed that Ludwig's unconditional surrender to Shakespeare as a dramatic master is not wholly to be accounted for by a study of the psychology of the artist Ludwig, but that outer influences come also into consideration. In accepting Shakespearean art as the source from which dramatic law was to be derived Ludwig fell in with the trend of his time. A. Ludwig, in the sixth chapter of his *Schiller und die deutsche Nachwelt* [564], has shown how the criticism of Robert Prutz, Hermann Hettner, Julian Schmidt, Heinrich Kurz, and Friedrich Theodor Vischer so paved the way for Otto Ludwig, that his *Shakespeare-Studien* appear to a large extent as the concrete application of their generalizations.

Richard Wagner was another dramatist who knew his Shakespeare well and pondered deeply upon him, but without ever losing his own poetic freedom thereby. Shakespeare was apparently the first English poet whom Wagner knew, in fact he learned English in order to be able to read him in the original. Wagner's attention was called to Shakespeare very early, from two sides. His uncle, Adolf Wagner, was a writer on modern literature and a critic of Shakespeare,³³ and his sister Rosalie was a much admired player of Shakespearean rôles. While still a youth Wagner produced the dramatic monstrosity *Leubald und Adelaide* which shows the influence of *Romeo and Juliet*, *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth*. He read apparently most of Shakespeare's dramas as a young man and re-read them frequently. He attended naturally many performances in Germany and a few in London.

^{32e} Adams [697] 92.

³³ Adolf Wagner, *Zwei Epochen der modernen Poesie in Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Goethe, Schiller und Wieland dargestellt* (Leipzig 1806). Wagner also translated in 1834 Mrs. Jamieson's essay, *Shakespeare's female characters*.

Wagner made three visits to London under greatly differing circumstances. As Reichelt says: "1839 war Wagner nur ein armer, stellungsloser Kapellmeister, 1855 erschien er der groszen Menge vor allem als Feind des in England vergötterten Mendelssohn, 1877 drängte sich dagegen alles zu ihm, was nur in dem damaligen London auf Beachtung von seiten des Bayreuther Meisters hoffen konnte."^{33a}

Wagner's express views regarding Shakespeare taken together constitute a well-rounded system. They have been collected and uncritically listed by Speck [734] and have been systematically arranged by Reichelt [853] in his second chapter. Shakespeare and Beethoven, Reichelt says,³⁴ formed the focal point of Wagner's artistic endeavors. Wagner agreed essentially with Herder in the interpretation of Shakespeare and set to explain him in the light of his times, not to estimate him by laws derived from the practice of the Greeks. Wagner's *bête noire* in Shakespearean criticism was the moral application of Gervinus. In his abhorrence of this he agreed with Liszt, Gottfried Keller, and Grillparzer.

Wagner's Shakespeare studies stand in marked contrast to Ludwig's. Ludwig scrutinized minutely every detail of Shakespeare's technique in order to derive therefrom infallible rules to be followed. Wagner viewed Shakespeare in his entirety and as a part of his age. Nor did he believe that Shakespeare's works represented the highest point attainable in dramatic art. The greatest drama was "das Drama der Zukunft:" "Wie der Karren des Thespis in dem geringen Zeitumfange der athenischen Kunstblüte sich zu der Bühne des Äschylos und Sophokles verhält, so verhält sich die Bühne Shakespeares in dem ungemessenen Zeitraum der allgemeinen menschlichen Kunstblüte zu dem Theater der Zukunft."³⁵

Grabbe also succeeded by dint of imitation, protestation, and emulation in connecting his name with Shakespeare's. In his

^{33a} Reichelt [852] 15.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁵ Wagner, *Werke* ed. Golther (Berlin n. d.) III 110.

Herzog Theodor von Gotland he followed his model *Titus Andronicus* rather slavishly. The idea of the extinction of an entire family as a means of revenge appealed strongly to his particular poetic temperament. The two Moors, Aaron and Berdoa, in the two plays in question are in many respects similar. Verbal parallels are not lacking.³⁶ Both seek to make others the instruments of revenge while apparently keeping their own hands free from crime. Seduction is a method employed in both instances. Hoch has shown also a large number of parallels of motive and phrasing between *Coriolanus* and Grabbe's *Marius und Sulla*.³⁷

Don Juan und Faust, *Napoleon*, and *Die Hermannsschlacht* represent an attempt to pass beyond the stage of ignoble imitation. This statement can be supported by Grabbe's own assertion in his *Shakespeare-Manie*.³⁸ After criticizing the Shakespeare imitators Grabbe says:

Nachahmung ist überall verwerflich und schickt sich nur für gedankenlose Kinder und Affen. Der Deutsche fühlt das, er lässt sich daher nicht gerne Nachahmer schelten, und sucht fast immerdar die Nachahmungen durch Übertreibung zu verstecken. . . .

Wir wünschen und hoffen Dichter, welche es nicht bei der Nebenbuhlerei des Shakespeare beruhen lassen, sondern indem sie alle Fortschritte der Zeit in sich aufnehmen, ihn überbieten. Hat sich ein solches Talent noch immer nicht gezeigt, so ist das kein Beweis, dass es nicht noch kommen kann, und in mehrerer Hinsicht hat Goethes Erscheinung hier bereits unsern Wunsch erfüllt.

Mit Shakespeare, das heisst, durch Streben in dessen Manier, erwirbt sich kein Dichter Originalität; bei jetzigem Stande der Bühne wird er beinahe schon dadurch ein Original, dass er Shakespeares Fehler vermeidet.³⁸

Grabbe was now inspired by the ambition not to equal but to surpass Shakespeare. With his Hohenstaufen dramas he set to outdo Shakespeare in his historical dramas "Bin ich nicht ein Bischen Sackermenter? Den Sir Shakespeare wollen wir doch wohl unterkriegen. Für sein bestes historisches Stück gebe ich nicht einmal den *Barbarossa*."³⁹ As the subject matter is dif-

³⁶ Hoch [673] 26-31.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37-45.

³⁸ Grabbe [404a] 466f.

³⁹ Quoted by Hoch [673] 17.

ferent, a paralleling of motifs is rare; it occurs, however, sometimes by accident. Thus Shakespeare's *King John* and Grabbe's *Heinrich VI* are both excommunicated; here Grabbe's Heinrich replies to the message of the Pope in phrases rather closely resembling those of Shakespeare's *King John*.⁴⁰

The most interesting side of Grabbe's relation to Shakespeare develops from a comparison of the *Merchant of Venice* and *Aschenbrödel*. It certainly required no mean skill to blend motifs from Shakespeare's drama with this fairy tale and thus make out of the two an entirely new drama; but the task was successfully accomplished. As there are two plots in the *Merchant of Venice*, so there are two in *Aschenbrödel*. The Jew plot in Grabbe's drama corresponds to that in Shakespeare's, and the rôle of Aschenbrödel corresponds to that of Portia. The similarity may be traced into details, as Hoch has shown.⁴¹

There was after all nothing Shakespearean in Grabbe's career. Out of his vulgar surroundings he could not hope to produce such works as were fostered by the stimulating Elizabethan atmosphere. Like the "Sturm und Drang" dramatists he could imitate Shakespeare only in his ruder aspects. At any rate Grabbe's tirades are better sustained, fuller chested than the explosions of temper in Klinger's *Sturm und Drang*, and there are signs of greater force than was possessed by any of the "Genies" of the previous century. Moreover this strength is sometimes paired with a certain fineness that his predecessors had lacked. In emulation of Marlowe at least Grabbe might have acquitted himself with credit.

Shakespeare has cast his spell not on the German dramatists alone in the nineteenth century, but on other German poets as well, tho in the latter cases evidences of influence are rarer.

⁴⁰ Hoch [673] 49.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56-67. Hoch's dissertation is undated but appeared after Bartmann's work [672]; cf. footnote [673] 16. Hoch gives no indication of the extent to which he has paralleled his predecessor in his investigation or as to where he has gone beyond him. One might wish that an American dissertation which competed with an already existent German one might have equalled the average American product at least in point of style.

^{41a} See BIBLIOGRAPHY [405].

Heine's expressions of opinion regarding Shakespeare are interesting because of the light they shed upon the critic rather than the criticized. Heine has treated of Shakespeare in a connected fashion in his *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*.^{41a} A series of mediocre steel-engravings of some of these characters was to be reproduced, and a good sum of money was offered to Heine for a text that should accompany the pictures. He accepted the offer partly lest it should be made to Tieck in case he declined. The text of the book consists of three parts. The first deals with the history of Shakespeare's fame in England and in Germany; the second deals with the women represented in the accompanying pictures; and the third and least valuable part deals with Shakespeare in France.

In the first part, which alone concerns us, Heine shows that he is well read in the literature of Shakespeare criticism. He was of course familiar with the contemporary writings of the romanticists, but he agreed rather with Goethe. Goethe's earliest expression of opinion regarding Shakespeare, his *Rede zum Shakespeare-Tage*, was unknown to him, as it had not yet been published, and he knew nothing of Gerstenberg and the *Schleswigsche Literaturbriefe*. But otherwise his equipment was nearly complete. In accordance with the erroneous opinion of his time he held to the belief that Shakespeare was neglected by the England of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Similarly he looked upon Lessing as the critic who almost single-handedly won a place for Shakespeare in the esteem of the Germans; and he made an assertion, the incorrectness of which has been sufficiently demonstrated:⁴² "Man könnte behaupten, die ganze Lessingsche *Dramaturgie* sei im Interesse Shakespeares geschrieben."^{42a}

Heine's division of mankind into the two groups, Greeks and Nazarenes, is well known. Shakespeare defied such classification and Heine was constrained to admit that he was a synthesis of the two.

⁴² See SURVEY, p. 376.

^{42a} Heine, *Werke* VIII 171.

The tendency of the poets to find in Shakespeare what is in themselves has been commented upon. This is essentially what Goethe did in his *Bede zum Shakespeare-Tag*, and according to Meyer it is what Ludwig did in his *Shakespeare-Studien*.^{42b} What appealed to Heine perhaps most strongly in Shakespeare was the violent contrasts, the "Stimmungsbrechungen," for he says:

Das Leben ist im Grunde so fatal ernsthaft, dasz es nicht zu ertragen wäre ohne solche Verbindung des Pathetischen mit dem Komischen. Das wissen unsere Poeten. Die grauenhaftesten Bilder des menschlichen Wahnsinns zeigt uns Aristophanes nur im lachenden Spiegel des Witzes, den groszen Denkerschmerz, der seine eigene Nichtigkeit begreift, wagt Goethe nur in den Knittelversen eines Puppenspiels auszusprechen, und die tödlichste Klage über den Jammer der Welt legt Shakespeare in den Mund eines Narren, während er dessen Schellenkappe ängstlich schüttelt. Sie habens alle dem groszen Urpoeten abgesehen, der in seiner tausend-aktigen Welttragödie den Humor aufs höchste zu treiben weisz.⁴³

To a similar purport Heine expresses himself in a personal letter:

Das Ungeheuerste, das Entsetzlichste, das Schaudervollste, wenn es nicht unpoetisch werden soll, kann man auch nur in dem buntscheckigen Gewande des Lächerlichen darstellen, gleichsam versöhnend, darum hat auch Shakespeare das Grätzlichste im *Lear* durch den Narren sagen lassen, darum hat auch Goethe zu dem furchtbarsten Stoffe, zum *Faust*, die Puppenspielform gewählt, darum hat auch der noch gröszere Poet, nämlich unser Herrgott, allen Schreckensszenen dieses Lebens eine gute Dosis Spaszhaftigkeit beigemischt.⁴⁴

The temperamentality which elsewhere characterizes Heine's criticism of England and the English is absent in his Shakespearean criticism. His admiration for Shakespeare is constant. His views regarding the English have often been collected but they have ever defied systematization. A good collection of them is to be found at the opening of Schalles's work [680]. This is followed by a statement of Heine's opinion of certain of Shakespeare's lesser countrymen. Much of the English lyric poetry appealed strongly to him, especially that of Shelley, Byron, and of Percy's *Reliques*. Of the novelists he admired

^{42b} See SURVEY, pp. 432 and 460.

⁴³ Heine, *Werke* IV 180.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* IV 512; letter to Friederike Robert, Oct. 12, 1825.

most Scott, Swift, Fielding, Sterne, and Goldsmith; but he thoroly hated the prudish Richardson. In respect to the novelists his opinions coincided largely with Gutzkow's.⁴⁵

Of other German men of letters of the past century in their relation to Shakespeare Nietzsche presents the most interesting problem. Nietzsche and a school friend of his first read Byron and Shakespeare at Pforta at the beginning of the year 1862. One of his shrewd relatives attributed his sudden flagging of interest in humdrum studies to the impressions he received from these poets. Nietzsche and his young friend forthwith declared their previous writings to be milk and water sentimentality, and a period of imitation began at least on Nietzsche's part which he later declared to be loathsome and childish. It was in this period that Nietzsche wrote the poem *Nachtgedanken* (1863-1864), in which he represented himself in a Faustic pose among his books, saying:

Du gabst mir Trost, du gabst mir Wein und Brot,
Mein Shakespeare, als mich Schmerzen niederzwangen.⁴⁶

Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche, his sister, says:

These two spirits (Byron and Shakespeare) workt upon him with the whole power of their art, and may be it was as early as this period that he began to feel that admiration for strong and free men about which he wrote to me twenty-two years later as follows: "Every form of strength is in itself refreshing and delightful to behold. Read Shakespeare: He presents you with a crowd of such strong men—rough, bold, mighty men of granite. It is precisely in these men that our age is so poor."⁴⁷

In the year 1863 Nietzsche read before his school society a paper in which he referred to Byron's heroes as "Übermenschen," just as he described Shakespeare's heroes twenty years later. His sister believes that Nietzsche thot of the "Über-

⁴⁵ See SURVEY, p. 493.

⁴⁶ Goldschmidt [634a] 491.

⁴⁶ Quoted in Meyer, *Nietzsche* (München 1913) 634.

⁴⁷ Förster-Nietzsche, *Life of Nietzsche*, translated by H. Ludovici (N. Y. 1912), I 100.

mensch" simply as the ideal being. The idea and name developed long before the theories of Darwin were known. Furthermore Nietzsche himself was always skeptical of those theories. In the often quoted parable at the beginning of *Also sprach Zarathustra* he makes use of it to be sure, but only as a simile to make clearer his thot.⁴⁸ At first the figure of the "Superman" appeared to Nietzsche merely as an enchanting vision, but he later found some real instances in the past, and among these he ranks Shakespeare, Byron, Caesar, Napoleon, Goethe, and several of the Greeks.⁴⁹

In respect to form, however, Nietzsche could not commend Shakespeare's works. This is true of Nietzsche's later years at least. He once said: "My artistic taste compels me not without anger to vindicate the fair name of Molière, Corneille, and Racine as against a disorderly genius like Shakespeare."⁵⁰

If Shakespeare represents to-day anything more than an honored tradition to the learned and a never failing fount of enjoyment to the cultivated public; if he is anywhere a living and developing force, it is among the followers of Nietzsche. This has already been intimated in connexion with the review of Gundolf's Shakespearean work. Another Nietzschean critic, Goldschmidt, despises equally the favor of the masses and concerns himself only with the effect of Shakespeare on the élite. He says:

Es ist wahr, dass Shakespeare immer noch die Bühnenhäuser füllt und als Kassenmagnet die Sudermanns und Philippis schlägt—aber das liegt teils an seinen wirklich unverwüsthlichen Unterhaltungs-Qualitäten, teils und vor allem an einer neuartigen und anreizenden Regie- und Schauspielkunst. Ob hieraus wirklich mehr als eine oberflächliche Berührung, ein geklärtes inneres Verhältnis zu den Klassikern und insbesondere zu Shakespeare gewonnen wird, ist natürlich zweifelhaft. Nur eine Kom-

⁴⁸ Ibid., II 199; but cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY [913] and [913x].

⁴⁹ Ibid., II 203; (cf. Förster-Nietzsche [849x] 151).

⁵⁰ Ibid., II 367. Cf. Meyer, *Nietzsche*, p. 600 (discussion of *Ecce Homo*): "Shakespeare ist für Nietzsche nur der komplizierte Geist, der den Hamlet und den Typus Cäsar schuf, so wenig aber ein grosser Künstler, dass Nietzsche seine Dichtungen mit seltsamer Begründung dem Lord Bacon zuschreibt."

promisz- und Mischkultur aus Masseninstinkt und Ästhetizismus kann sich mit der sogenannten künstlerischen Wiedergeburt Shakespeares zufrieden geben.⁵¹

Goldschmidt then propounds the question, "was und wie viel Shakespeare uns noch gibt und geben kann?" Shakespeare, he says, is in the first place a problem of style that the present age has yet to solve. After writing *Götz* Goethe wrote *Die natürliche Tochter*. Kleist went to pieces in the attempt to unite the style of Aeschylus with that of Shakespeare. Ibsen and Maeterlinck have succeeded in combining the fullness and sensitiveness of modern life and modern feeling with the grand fatalistic atmosphere of the ancients; but even their works fail to sum up all the inherited and acquired characteristics of the life of to-day: "(Es) fehlt nur noch ein Hauch shakespeareischer Blutwärme und Bildkraft, um aus dem Erbe der Jahrhunderte die neue Form zu destillieren."⁵²

But Shakespeare can benefit the modern drama not only as to form but also as to spirit. The modern tendency is toward the drama of the inner life (Seelendrama) such as is produced by Maeterlinck and Ibsen. This is due, Goldschmidt says, to "die Verchristlichung des modernen Lebens, die Verbürgerlichung der modernen Gesellschaft, die Vergeistigung unsres Weltgefühls."⁵³ But the less ethereal part of man cannot be entirely shuffled off after all. There must still be a remnant "von Instinkt, Aktion, Stofflichkeit und kämpferischer Spannung,"⁵³ and here, too, Shakespeare can be of help.

Finally, in spite of the difference in times, Shakespeare can aid in finding the typical hero of to-day. Goldschmidt concedes: "Zu jenem selbstherrlichen, unangekränkelten Lebensgefühl der Renaissance können wir nicht mehr zurück—es ist für uns nur noch ein historischer, kein Zukunftswert;"⁵⁴ but Shakespeare has modern types as well and one of these is Hamlet. Hamlet, who

⁵¹ Goldschmidt [634a] 491.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 493.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 494.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 495; cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY [701]—[701]ff.

finds the world out of joint and strives to set it right only to be overcome by its brutal realities, is a typical Ibsen being. Another drama of high import to-day is Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, which rudely tears away the "Lebenslüge" that supported the heroic knight. The modern age has revolted from the hero, whose success was a mere external one. But the period of hero disparagement, too, is over. Goldschmidt says we believe no longer in the like value of all souls. We recognize rather an aristocracy of souls. A new hero must be created for the time, and according to Goldschmidt's description he is in a certain sense an "Übermensch." The Reinhardt representations of Shakespeare, according to Goldschmidt, fall into line with this new interpretation:

Das Zeitlose, das Ewig-Menschliche in Shakespeare entpuppt sich bei näherem Zusehen immer mehr als das zeitlich höchst bedingte "gute Gewissen" der ungebrochenen Triebe und des naiven Egoismus, als das selbstverständliche Sich-Ausleben brutaler und strahlender Grand-Seigneur-Naturen. Reinhardts die groszen Dichtergebilde jedenfalls an der Wurzel packende Regie hat uns in diesem Sinne den *Kaufmann von Venedig* als Renaissancekomödie verstehen gelehrt.⁵⁴

So Goldschmidt is able to hold out a hope for the future:

Vielleicht, dasz das Drama der Zukunft mit jener Stärkung des kämpferischen Persönlichkeitsinstinkts sogar eine gewisse Wendung zur Weltanschauung Shakespeares nehmen wird: zur spontanen Charaktertragik, die freilich durch die Bereicherungen des Milieu-, Stimmungs- und Seelendramas hindurchgegangen ist. Das wäre dann in Stil, Inhalt und kosmischen Horizonten die wahre Wiedergeburt Shakespeares.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 497.

PART III

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

(Shakespeare excluded)

CHAPTER 19

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN GENERAL

The opening of the nineteenth century found English literature occupying no such position of transcendence as thirty years before. Then it stood at the height of its prestige and was deemed by the leading German critics superior to its chief contemporary, the French literature; but in the seventies of the eighteenth century Germany had acquired her literary independence, and German poets, so far as they set models at all, could find them in their own literature, or in the classic literatures, which had recently come into renewed authority. Goethe, it is true, still contended for the pre-eminence of English literature among the moderns. When Eckermann regretted his inadequate training in the classic languages, Goethe advised him to compensate himself by a study of the English writers, and after mentioning among the great influences in the eighteenth century, Goldsmith, Fielding, and Shakespeare, he added, "und noch heut zu Tage, wo wollen Sie denn in Deutschland drey literarische Helden finden, die dem Lord Byron, Moore und Walter Scott an die Seite zu setzen wären?"¹

Goethe's estimate of contemporary British literature was almost too flattering. To-day one is tempted to answer Goethe's question by proposing Goethe himself and Heine, and is at a loss only to find a contemporary German equivalent for Scott. Even the Germany of Goethe's declining years seemed to disagree with him in regard to England's pre-eminence. The turn in the tide of travel is perhaps not without significance in

¹ Eckermann, *Gespräche*, p. 101; Dec. 3, 1824; cf. SURVEY, p. 307.

this connexion. The leading English men of letters in the eighteenth century went to the continent as a part of their education; sometimes Paris was their goal, sometimes Italy was included in their journeys, but rarely, if ever, Germany. On the other hand many Germans went to England.^{2a} In the nineteenth century the situation was reversed. A few political fugitives, it is true—Freiligrath, Kinkel, and others—found a temporary home in England; Pückler-Muskau, Raumer, Heine, Grillparzer, Hebbel, Wagner paid visits to London; and Fontane explored the remoter regions of Scotland and England with an interest and insight which bore fruit in poetry. But in general the stream of travel was in the other direction, and after Coleridge and Wordsworth had set the example in 1799 it grew to be the custom for English and American men of letters to become acquainted with Germany. Such journeyings were in some instances of little significance. Byron in 1816, Browning in 1838, and Dickens in 1846 merely made the Rhine trip; Scott past thru Germany in his last days (1832); and Bulwer Lytton took the water cure at Ems in 1848; but meanwhile the young Thackeray had been hospitably received by the literary circles of Weimar in 1830; about ten years later George Meredith, not yet sixteen years of age, attended a Moravian school in Neuwied, receiving impressions that did much to influence his future career; George Eliot and George Henry Lewes established literary relations in Weimar and Berlin in 1854; and in 1868 Matthew Arnold studied the school system of Prussia, returning to enlighten his countrymen in regard to the deficiencies of their own system.

But American men of letters began to form intellectual ties with Germany at a much earlier date. Franklin visited Göttingen in 1766 to gain ideas that might help him in the founding of the University of Pennsylvania;^{2b} George Ticknor, Edward Everett, and J. G. Cogswell matriculated at Göttingen in 1815; George Bancroft took a degree there in 1820, becoming acquainted with Alexander Humboldt and Goethe while in Germany; Long-

^{2a} See SURVEY, p. 165.

^{2b} Sparks, *Life and works of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia 1840) I 306.

fellow first studied in Göttingen in 1829 and John Lothrop Motley in 1832;^{2c} Cooper tarried in Dresden a short time in 1830; and Bryant spent three months of study and observation in München and four in Heidelberg in 1835 and 1836.

Of the older English influences many had been outlived in Germany. This was especially true of lyric poetry. Pope, Thomson, Milton, Young, and Ossian were no longer names to conjure with, and Arnim and Brentano were providing Germany with a Percy collection of its own. In the dramatic field Shakespeare, it is true, was a power still to be reckoned with. We have already seen how Kleist, Grillparzer, Grabbe, Hebbel, and Ludwig were compelled to be regardful of him, but none of these fell permanently under his spell. There was one branch of literature, however, in which the English still maintained their former transcendence; this was the novel. The English novel was to vie with Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* for supremacy thruout a large part of the nineteenth century.

Of the eighteenth-century novelistic influences Richardson's was naturally the first to pass away. That it extended beyond Goethe, Wieland, and Sophie La Roche, however, and affected the romantic school has been shown by Donner [968]. Tieck's *William Lovell* (1795) corresponds with Rétif de la Bretonne's *Le paysan perverti*, but the more virtuous aims which Tieck profest, "die Enthüllung der Heuchelei, Weichlichkeit und Lüge,"^{2d} were inspired by Richardson. Tieck admitted that he studied "Kostüm, Art und Weise der Engländer"^{2e} before writing his novel. Richardson is spoken of admiringly more than once in the text of *William Lovell*. In the letter form of Tieck's novel there is further evidence of Richardson's direct influence. Donner presents parallel passages to show how closely Tieck has modeled after the style of Richardson's *Clarissa*. The two novels have also many important motifs and many details in common, tho they are essentially different in tone. "Tieck nimmt den einen Richardsonschen Gedanken nach dem andern auf, aber er lässt ihn sofort wieder fallen; er weisz nichts damit anzufangen,

^{2c} See Shumway, *The American students of the University of Göttingen*, AG XII (1910) 173f.

eben weil seine Weltansicht von der hohen Sittlichkeit Richardsons nicht getragen wird."³

Donner shows, on the other hand, that Arnim's novel *Armut, Reichtum, Schuld und Busze der Gräfin Dolores* (1810) resembles Richardson's novels not merely, like Tieck's *William Lovell*, in exterior details, but in its pervading spirit. He finds this view easily reconcilable with Scherer's assertion that *Gräfin Dolores* was inspired by *Wilhelm Meister*.⁴

Unter allen Nachfolgern Richardsons zeigt sich der letzte, Arnim, als der erste, der ihn verstanden hat. Die übrigen, von Gellert und Hermes bis Sophie La Roche, mögen wohl auch von seinem Geiste durchdrungen sein, insofern sie gleich ihm eine moralische Besserung beabsichtigten, aber von der einfachen Hoheit seiner Gesinnung ist bei ihnen keine Spur zu finden. Des Gedankens einer Clarissa, die lieber stirbt, als ihren Notzüchtiger heiratet, waren sie nicht mächtig. Statt der Festhaltung eines einfachen Grundgedankens, wie Richardson ihn in seinen Romanen angebracht hat, ergingen sie sich in der Erzählung der unsinnigsten Abenteuer, die ihre Helden und Heldinnen befallen, und welche weit mehr an den deutschen Roman des 17. Jahrhunderts erinnern, als an die Empfindungsweise und die Komposition Richardsons, dessen Stil und technische Mittel wiederum nach reichstem Maszstabe zur Geltung gebracht wurden.

Eine Grundidee im Sinne Richardsons hat aber erst Arnim wieder aufgenommen. Dies wäre aber auch unmöglich gewesen, wenn er sich nicht von Grund aus dem Wesen Richardsons verwandt gefühlt hätte. Diese Verwandtschaft besteht in der bei beiden Schriftstellern vorherrschenden und lebendigen ersten moralischen Weltansicht, in dem Glauben beider an die Möglichkeit, diese ernste moralische Weltansicht in einem menschlichen Einzelwesen verkörpert und alle seine Taten lenkend anzutreffen, ohne dasz dies Einzelwesen darum die Freude am Dasein aufgeben musz, kurz gesagt, in dem Glauben beider an vollkommene Charaktere.⁵

This Donner finds illustrated especially in the characters of Charles Grandison and Graf Karl:

Dieser Charakter (Graf Karl) ist es, der dem ganzen eine so wunderbare Richardsonsche Stimmung giebt, die leichter zu fühlen als zu beschreiben ist, eine Stimmung von Reinheit, von Glauben an Tugend, die zur Genüge sagt, dasz man die Gefilde Richardsons betreten hat. Und in der Tat: in der ganzen zwischen Richardson und Arnim liegenden Reihe von Romanen findet sich nichts im dem Grade Ähnliches.⁶

³ Donner [968] 7.

⁴ Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*³ (Berlin 1885) 669.

⁵ Donner [968] 10–11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Donner points out furthermore that these similar lofty ideas are exemplified by a similar novelistic scheme. In Arnim's novel we have, as in Richardson's, several virtuous characters who demonstrate in various ways the same thot, and a profligate who serves at once as a foil and a means of bringing about the conflict. Neither Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* nor the novels of Arnim's fellow romanticists are organized in this way. Donner, however, calls especial attention to the fact that Arnim's work differs in one important respect from that of his predecessors: "Arnim fängt es mit fertigen Charakteren wenigstens durchgehends nicht an, sondern gerade inbetreff der Hauptpersonen (i. e. Karl and Dolores) mit erst werdenden."⁷

The subtler influence of Sterne permeated the novels of the romanticists more generally, and its traces can be readily recognized in the works of their successors, the Young Germans. Czerny [346] has traced the influence of Sterne on Hippel and Jean Paul; Kerr [345] brings the account down to the romantic school. He recognizes Cervantes as a predecessor of the entire group: "Will die Forschung die Quellen der romantischen Ironie genauer verfolgen so wird sie zwischen Cervantes und Jean Paul Halt machen bei Laurence Sterne. . . . Wie Sterne den Cervantes, so bewundert Jean Paul den Sterne."⁸ In *Siebenkäs* Jean Paul admits that it was Sterne who showed him "die rechten Wege des Scherzes."⁹

Between Sterne and Richter Kerr recognizes chiefly quantitative differences: "Bei Sterne erscheinen die empfindsamen Elemente als Zutaten zum Humor; bei Jean Paul erscheint der Humor als Zutat zu den empfindsamen Elementen. Immerhin auch bei dem Engländer wird der Leser aus dem Dampfbade der Rührung in das Kühlbad der frostigen Satire getrieben."¹⁰

The technik of Sterne's humor and of Jean Paul's is similar. The most frequent device is "das aus dem Stück Fallen," as it

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸ Kerr [345] 72-73.

⁹ Jean Paul, *Siebenkäs* Kap. XXIII S. 427, so cited by Kerr [345] 130.

¹⁰ Kerr [345] 73.

is called, whereby the author destroys the illusion by talking of the book within the book. Sterne tells the reader he is determined to finish his chapter before going to bed. Jean Paul says that his manuscript is now so large that his sister uses it to sit upon when playing the piano.¹¹ Brentano remarks in his *Godwi*: "Dies ist der Teich, in den ich Seite 266 im ersten Band falle,"^{11a} and elsewhere: "Dies war also der Godwi von dem ich so viel geschrieben habe. . . . Ich hatte ihn mir ganz anders vorge stellt."^{11b}

What the Schlegels and Tieck chiefly valued in Jean Paul was his "Willkürlichkeit" and his "Phantasie." In the *Athenäum* Jean Paul was rated more highly than Sterne "um seiner Phantasie willen, die weit kränklicher, also weit wunderlicher und phantastischer sei."¹² Under the guidance of Schlegel and Tieck Brentano was led to take Jean Paul as a model. Brentano did not plan his *Godwi* (1801) as a humorous work. He was by nature sentimental and morbid but was gifted with a saving sense of self-mockery. In the course of writing he found his *Godwi* becoming too sentimental and so anticipated the revulsion of the reader by ridiculing the characters he had just created. Kerr does not lay stress upon the direct influences of Sterne on Brentano, but rather upon indirect influence thru Jean Paul.

A little later in the nineteenth century Sterne found a kindred spirit in Heine. Yet there was a marked difference between the two authors, as shown by their writings. Tho lacking in unity of form, Sterne's works, as Vacano points out, have a musical unity: "Jede Stimmung Sternes hat zwei konstante Dominanten, den Humor und die Empfindsamkeit, die bald in friedlicher Verschmelzung, bald in interessanten und häufig belustigenden Kontrasten auftreten." Heine had similar but stronger characteristics: "Seine Empfindsamkeit ist allzuoft zu

¹¹ Jean Paul, *Hesperus* I 332 "Leipziger Neudruck;" so cited by Kerr [345] 129.

^{11a} Quoted by Kerr [345] 78 without reference.

^{11b} Quoted by Kerr [345] 71 without reference.

¹² Kerr [345] 65.

wildem Schmerz gesteigert. . . . Der Humor ist schärfer . . . er erscheint mit Vorliebe als sarkastischer Witz und bittere Ironie."¹³ And unlike Sterne's compositions Heine's end frequently in a dissonance (Stimmungsbrechung).

The similarity of their natures explains why Heine so readily fell under Sterne's spell and why he remained under it so long. Vacano is able to show by quotations from Heine that the latter knew Sterne in the original, was well informed regarding his literary position in England, and intentionally imitated him. The influence, however, was not equally strong in all the three groups of his works which Vacano distinguishes thus:

1. *Harzreise, Nordseebilder III, Das Buch Le Grand, Englische Fragmente*: Es sind dies Werke aus jener Zeit, die durch den Beginn der Beschäftigung mit Sterne und die oben besprochenen Briefe begrenzt wird. Bei ihnen liegt lediglich die Vermutung nahe, dass Sternescher Einfluss obwalte. 2. *Italienische Reisebilder*: Hier ist der Einfluss Sternes von vornherein bewiesen. 3. Die letzte Gruppe: Sie umfasst alle nach und neben den *italienischen Reisebildern* geschriebenen Prosawerke.¹⁴

The testimony of all the special investigators tends to confirm the earlier assertion of Julian Schmidt: "Der trübselige Humor, der heuer bei unsern Ästhetikern allein Gnade findet hat seinen Vater in Sterne. Dieser Humor besteht aus einem beständigen, mit Lächeln und Thränen gewürzten Kopfschütteln über das Thema Hamlets: 'Es gibt mehr Ding im Himmel und auf Erden als eure Schulweisheit sich träumt.' Unsere deutschen Humoristen sind alle von diesem Vorbild inspiriert."¹⁵ This type of humor, Schmidt says, has exerted a baneful influence upon the works of Hippel, Hamann, Jean Paul, Arnim, and Brentano. In Hoffmann it is exhibited in a state of complete decay. His is not a mingling of contradictory elements but merely a juxtaposition thereof, and the same is true of Immermann's *Münchhausen*, of much of Heine's work, and of a great

¹³ Vacano [995] 16.

¹⁴ Vacano [995] 33f. Ransmeier [996] investigated the relations of Heine and Sterne before Vacano publishes his monograph. Vacano's discussion, however, appeared first in print. The two investigations present much the same evidence and arrive at the same conclusions. Ransmeier treats with greater detail the first two periods defined by Vacano, but does not touch upon the last.

part of the most recent German literature (ca. 1851).¹⁵ As against these unhealthy tendencies Schmidt recognized a healthy reaction in Dickens, whose humor he compared with that of the *Vicar of Wakefield* and of Vosz's *Siebzigster Geburtstag*.¹⁶ The humor of this latter class of writers, in contrast to the "trübse-liger Humor" of the former, consisted in deriving yet undiscovered pleasure out of the common things of daily life. This is criticism of a more discriminating type than that which prevailed in the eighteenth century.¹⁷

Having thus taken account of the eighteenth-century English influences that continued into the nineteenth, it might seem a simple task to summarize the new English influences that came into Germany during the last hundred and twenty years. That such is not the case is due to the extremely complicated nature of literary history in the nineteenth century.

It was the era of "Weltliteratur" as Goethe used the term. We have no longer to do with simple influences but with reciprocal relations. That Goethe was susceptible to the trends of English that is a fact that will presently be emphasized, yet his own influence upon English and American literature, largely thru the advocacy of Carlyle, Emerson, and Margaret Fuller, is of greater importance.¹⁸ Walter Scott, the first of the popular English novelists of the century, owed a debt to German literature. Transplanting and acclimatization on a new soil is often healthful for a literary form. *Werther* and *La nouvelle*

¹⁵ *Grenzboten* 1851 I 167f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁷ See SURVEY, chapter 12.

¹⁸ In his address of 1896 Kellner [911] combats the prevailing belief regarding Carlyle's importance as an advocate of Goethe's works in England. Carlyle's views of Goethe as express in the Goethe-Carlyle correspondence, he says, should be constantly compared with his opinion of Goethe frankly express in private correspondence. *Sartor Resartus* indicates that Carlyle's spiritual recovery came from France rather than Germany. The Goethe-Carlyle correspondence indicates that Goethe and Carlyle were writing at cross purposes. Carlyle's criticisms of Goethe's works are one-sided. Many of the most important have heretofore been disregarded. "Die verbreitete Ansicht, dasz erst mit Carlyle die eigentliche Kenntnis Goethes in England begann, ist auch falsch." Since there is no suggestion that Goethe owed to Carlyle any literary inspiration extensive data are not called for in the bibliography.

Héloïse attest this fact, while *Wilhelm Meister* is a product of a mingling of the native stock with the foren. Goethe's *Götz* evoked in Germany nothing better than a sequence of mediocre "Raubritterromane" and "Ritterstücke." Walter Scott read *Götz* and translated it in his early years. It was perhaps one of the chief agencies that called forth his epic work in poetry and prose. In sending his novels into Germany Scott was repaying a literary debt. Bulwer Lytton, who succeeded Walter Scott as prime favorite in Germany, was also well acquainted with German literature. His *Falkland* shows clearly the influence of *Werther*, and his *Maltravers* of *Wilhelm Meister*.¹⁹ Bulwer often acknowledged his indebtedness to German literature and dedicated one of his works to the German people. He was fêted on his visit to Germany; in honoring him the Germans incidentally honored themselves. In the case of Byron we have not to do with a specifically British influence. Contemporary British society would have hesitated to claim Byron as its literary representative abroad. He was the personification of a spirit abroad in Europe at the time, and he chanced to have been born in the British Isles; but the whole romantic movement was evidence of the fact that literature had now resolved itself into international movements to such a degree that one could speak only with the greatest caution of the influence of one national literature upon another.

At the head of the conscious movement toward a world literature stood Mme. de Staël,²⁰ Goethe, and Carlyle. The correspondence between the latter two²¹ began June 24, 1824, when Carlyle sent Goethe his translation of *Wilhelm Meister*, which

¹⁹ Goldhahn, A. H., *Über die Einwirkung des Goetheschen Werthers und Wilhelm Meisters auf die Entwicklung Eduard Bulwers*. Diss., Leipzig 1895.

²⁰ It was apparently thru Mme. de Staël that Carlyle first learned about the work of Goethe. Regarding Mme. de Staël's international literary position see Whitford, R. C., *Mme. de Staël's literary reputation in England* (Univ. of Illinois studies in language and literature IV 1 1918); 60 pp. Jaek, E. G., *Mme. de Staël and the spread of German literature* (N. Y. 1915); 358 pp. Köhler, P., *Mme. de Staël et la Suisse* (Lausanne and Paris 1916); 720+ pp. Wickman, J., *Mme. de Staël och Sverige* etc. (Lund 1911); 154+ pp.

²¹ See Norton [906].

Goethe acknowledged. About three years later Carlyle sent Goethe a copy of his *Life of Schiller*, which Goethe also acknowledged and warmly commended. On July 20th of the same year he expressed himself to Carlyle equally heartily in favor of international interchange in matters literary. From now on the correspondence quickened its pace. The two authors made it their practice to send to each other their works. Carlyle also kept Goethe informed as to the growing appreciation for German literature in England. Goethe sent to Carlyle the volumes of his correspondence with Schiller as fast as they appeared, and sent him other works helpful to him in his studies on German literature. He also procured for Carlyle an election as honorary member of a society for foreign literature in Berlin. Carlyle distributed personal souvenirs from Goethe to the little group of men who had done most to foster the appreciation of German literature in England, and a group of fifteen English men of letters, foremost among them Carlyle, sent an appreciative letter to Goethe on his last birthday, accompanied by a commemorative medal.

The society for foreign literature had already undertaken to publish a translation of Carlyle's *Life of Schiller* and had requested Goethe to write a preface thereto. Goethe had first to ask Carlyle for some personal facts in regard to his past career and present manner of life. Particularly he asked him for a drawing of his home. Such a sketch was provided by Jane Carlyle and reproduced in the German version of Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*, which was completed in October 1830. Goethe's introduction contained a personal account of Carlyle and his literary career as well as a plea for international comity in literature.²²

Goethe's support of such friendly relations served to benefit directly not only Carlyle but also Burns. On the 25th of September, 1828, Carlyle mentioned to Goethe that he was about to publish an *Essay on Burns*. Burns, as Carlyle did not fail to point out, was born in Schiller's birth year and died in the first

²² Goethe, *Werke* I 42: 1, 185ff.

year of the Goethe-Schiller friendship. In 1828 he was scarcely known in Germany. In his reply to Carlyle several months later (June 25, 1829) Goethe said:

Ihren Landsmann Burns, der, wenn er noch lebte, nunmehr Ihr Nachbar seyn würde, kenn ich so weit, um ihn zu schätzen; die Erwähnung desselben in Ihrem Briefe veranlaszte mich, seine Gedichte wieder vorzunehmen,²³ vor allem die Geschichte seines Lebens wieder durchzulesen, welche freylich wie die Geschichte manches schönen Talents, höchst unerfreulich ist.

Die poetische Gabe ist mit der Gabe, das Leben einzuleiten und irgend einen Zustand zu bestätigen, gar selten verbunden.

An seinen Gedichten hab ich einen freyen Geist erkannt, der den Augenblick kräftig anzufassen und ihm zugleich eine heitere Seite abzugewinnen weisz. Leider konnt ich diesz nur von wenigen Stücken abnehmen, denn der schottische Dialect macht uns andere sogleich irre, und zu einer Aufklärung über das Einzelne fehlt uns Zeit und Gelegenheit.²⁴

And indeed Goethe's interest in Burns was by no means feigned for the occasion, for as early as the 3rd of May, 1827, Goethe had spoken enthusiastically to Eckermann of Burns.²⁵ In the before-mentioned introduction to the translation of Carlyle's *Life of Schiller* Goethe quoted from the Carlyle letter of September 25, 1828, the phrases commendatory of Burns, taking occasion to add that since the Scot, Carlyle, had taken so much interest in Schiller, it was fitting that some member of the society for foren literature in Berlin should take the lead in a study of Burns. He also included in his introduction a translation of some significant passages from Carlyle's *Essay on Burns*.²⁶

Goethe informed Carlyle in a letter dated October 5th, 1830, of his election to membership in the society for foren literature. He was able to close this same letter with the announcement that a translator of Burns had been found; "ein talentvoller junger Mann und glücklicher Übersetzer beschäftigt sich mit Burns; ich

²³ The study of the life of Burns is noted in Goethe's *Tagebücher* under date of Oct. 8, 1828: "Den Brief von Carlyle näher betrachtet. . . . Leben von Burns und schottische Balladen." Goethe, *Werke* III 11, 288.

²⁴ Goethe *Werke*, IV 45, 304.

²⁵ Eckermann, *Gespräche*, p. 500.

²⁶ Goethe *Werke*, I 42:1, 196ff.

bin darauf sehr verlangend.'²⁷ This translator was a certain Philipp Kaufmann. In his next letter, October 23, 1830, Carlyle expresses his hopes and misgivings regarding the success of the Burns translator and adds: "If he fail, beyond the due limits of poetical and translatorial license, the highest kindness we can do him here will be to forget him."^{27a}

Goethe seems to have been the prime mover in securing Carlyle's membership in the above-mentioned society. He was the intermediary between the society and Carlyle, the first to suggest the need of a German translator of Burns and to announce to Carlyle the finding of one. It would be no exaggeration, therefore, to designate him as the one who brot about the earliest Burns translation.

Regarding the personality of Philipp Kaufmann little seems to be known. He was not of the same family as Angelika Kauffmann. His complete translation was not published until 1840, but translations of individual poems began to appear as early as 1832.²⁸ Almost simultaneously with the Kaufmann translation two others were published, one by Heinrich Julius Heintze, the other by W. Gerhard.

Gerhard was a descendant of Paul Gerhard, the hymn writer of the seventeenth century. He was a native of Weimar and favorably known to Goethe. It is not inconceivable that his translation of Burns was also stimulated in part by Goethe's appeal in the introduction to the German translation of Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*, for he began to study Burns about three years later, as the opening of his preface shows. In this preface he apologizes for competing with Goethe's chosen translator, saying:

Ich kenne das junge Mitglied einer hochachtbaren Gesellschaft nicht, das von Goethe aufgefordert wurde den schottischen Volksdichter Robert Burns in Deutschland einzuführen; aber ich lebe der bescheidenen Hoff-

²⁷ Ibid., IV 47, 279.

^{27a} Norton [906] 233.

²⁸ The *Museum of foreign literature, science, and art* (Philadelphia) XX (1832) 111 reproduces from the *Englishman's magazine* a one-page account entitled *Burns the poet*, which contains a specimen of Kaufmann's work. See Goodnight [4] no. [883].

nung, dasz die Manen eines Meisters, dessen freundliche Worte mir bei ähnlichem Falle, der Herausgabe meiner *Serbischen Lieder*, so schmeichelhaft und ermutigend gewesen, nicht auf mich zürnen werden, wenn ich mit ihm in die Schranken trete.^{28a}

Gerhard's translation was preceded by an introduction of forty-eight pages giving the main facts of Burns's life as recorded by James Currie, Walker, Lockhart, and Allan Cunningham.

After having waited so long for recognition in Germany Burns was now to receive it in full measure. Translations and reprints were frequent and past thru many editions.^{28b} It seems safe to attribute the three reprints of the years 1831, 1834, and 1835 in part to Goethe's call for such works; the three of 1841, 1843, and 1846 were doubtless called into existence partly by the translations of 1840. The democratic movement of 1848 was also favorable to the appreciation of Burns in Germany, and Freiligrath's interest in Burns was but natural.

Thomas Moore attained only a moderate degree of popularity despite the sponsorship of Goethe and of Byron as well. His oriental poetry came first into prominence. Freiligrath later

^{28a} *Robert Burns' Gedichte, deutsch von W. Gerhard* (Leipzig 1840), p. viii. For Goethe's favorable comment on Gerhard's translation of the Serbian songs see Goethe, *Werke* I 41:2, 228; cf. Eckermann, *Gespräche* p. 178.

^{28b} The following list of translations and reprints was collected by Hazel Katzenstein of the class of 1917 of the University of California:

I. Translations: W. Gerhard, Leipzig 1840; P. Kaufmann, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1840; H. J. Heintze, Braunschweig 1840, 2. ed. Braunschweig 1846, 3. ed. 1859; A. von Winterfeld, Berlin 1857-1861; Pertz, Leipzig 1859; Bartsch, Hildburghausen 1865-1868, neue Aufl. Leipzig 1886; Silbergleit *Robert Burns' Lieder und Balladen für deutsche Leser ausgewählt und frei bearbeitet*, Leipzig (Reclam) 1868-1875 [accompanied by a five-page account of Burns based on Allan Cunningham's biography; Carlyle's and Goethe's exchange of compliments in regard to Burns and Schiller is quoted on reverse of the title page; Laun, Berlin 1869 and 1877, Oldenburg 1885; Corrodi, *Burns' Lieder in das Schweizer Deutsch übertragen*, Winterthur 1870; O. Baisch, Stuttgart 1883; K. Bartsch, Leipzig 1883; Legerlotz, Leipzig 1889; Ruete, Bremen 1890; Prinzhorn, Halle 1896. Besides these extensive collections there were also numerous translations of individual poems, especially by Freiligrath, whose *Gedichte* (1838) contain thirteen of the poems of Burns.

II. Reprints: Anspach 1831, 1834, Leipzig 1835, Berlin 1841, Nürnberg 1843, Leipzig 1846. There were furthermore many of Burns's poems in Freiligrath's collection *The rose, thistle, and shamrock*, Stuttgart 1853. Burns's influence in Germany has recently become the object of investigation. See BIBLIOGRAPHY [859]-[862].

translated about twenty-eight of his minor poems and imitated a few others. *Lalla Rookh* was the most popular of Moore's poems, to judge by the translations. It was translated by Fouqué in 1822, by Oelkers in 1837, by Mencke in 1843, and by Alexander Schmidt in 1857. Most of these translations past into new editions after a few years.²⁹ There were also reprints, translations, and school editions of one of its best known cantos, *Paradise and the Peri*. The earliest extensive translation of Moore's poems was that made by Oelkers in 1837 in four volumes. This was followed by the smaller collection of F. B. (Friedrich Bodenstedt?) in 1849.

Browning's poetry^{29a} and Tennyson's have enjoyed a great popularity in Germany.^{29b} Oscar Wilde has apparently been

²⁹ Of Fouqué's translation a "Nachdruck" is reported (Wien 1825) and a "Neue unveränderte Auflage" (Berlin 1846); Oelker's translation of Moore's poems in four volumes (Leipzig 1839) was extended to five volumes in 1843. In 1846 a "Dritte durchgesehene Ausgabe" of his *Lalla Rookh* was published in Leipzig by the Tauchnitz firm, which had printed his earlier translations; Schmidt's translation of *Lalla Rookh* (1857) did not reach its second edition until 1876, while of Mencke's apparently no second edition appeared. For this and other bibliographical information regarding Moore's poems in Germany I am indebted to Ellen Deruchie of the class of 1918, University of California.

^{29a} Phelps [855a] lists the following translations of Browning: *Das Fremdenbuch (The inn-album)*, Leo (1877); *Anthologie der abendländischen und morgenländischen Dichtungen*, Graf von Schack (1893) containing eight of Browning's poems; *Der Rattenfänger von Hameln*, Schweikler (1893); *Ausgewählte Gedichte von Robert Browning*, Ruete (1894) containing thirty-eight short poems; *Der Handschuh und andere Gedichte*, Ruete (1897) containing thirty poems; *Mesmerism and In a gondola* (in part), Spielhagen (1897); *Brownings Leben und Übertragungen*, Roloff (1900) containing translations of six poems; *Pippa geht vorüber*, Heissler (1903); *Die Tragödie einer Seele*, Gerden (1903); *Paracelsus*, Greve (1904); *Briefe von R. Browning und E. B. Browning*, Greve (1905); *Luria*, Ruete, (1910). Albrecht [856] contains no information regarding Browning in Germany and should not have been included in the BIBLIOGRAPHY.

^{29b} Translations of selections of Tennyson's poems were published by Freiligrath (1846), Herzberg (1853), Fischer (1853), Strodtmann (1868), von Bohlen (1874), and Harbou (1894); passages from *In memoriam* were translated by von Hohenhausen in 1851 and the whole by Herzberg in 1853; *Enoch Arden* was translated by Schellwien (1867), Weber (1869), Waldmüller-Duboc (1869), Feldmann (1870), Hessel (1873), Eichholz (1881), Griebenow (1889), Mendheim (1892), Schroeter (1895), Prausnitz (1901), Haase (1905); *Idylls of the king* by Scholz (1867) and Feldmann (1872); *Aylmer's field* by Weber (1870), Feldmann (1870), Griebenow (1893), and Zenker (1893); *Locksley hall* by Feis (1888); and *Maud* by Weber (1874). Busse [854] 6f; cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY [1000]—[1002] and [854].

more favorably received there than at home^{29c} and possibly one may say the same of Swinburne. It is reported that of Swinburne's last volume of poems six hundred copies were sold, of which four hundred and eighty were bot in Germany and the rest in England and elsewhere.^{29d} It can hardly be asserted, however, that any of these poets have exerted any determining influence in Germany in the nineteenth century,^{29e} tho something of the pre-Raphaelitic atmosphere seems to prevail in the Stephan George circle in Germany to-day, where art is cultivated for its own sake, and the favor of the public is neither sot nor desired. Stephan George himself translates only such poetry as expresses his own moods and feelings, and he has included Rossetti and Swinburne in his *Zeitgenossische Dichter*.^{29e}

If in literature outside the novel and the Shakespearean drama England no longer held an imposing place in the minds of the Germans during the nineteenth century, such was not the case with England politically considered. Now as in the eighteenth century she was the cynosure of the constitutionalists,^{29f} There is testimony from many sides to this effect and a quantity of it has recently been gathered and arranged in Whyte's *Young Germany in its relation to Britain* [832]. Whyte has collected the views of Börne and of the five German journalists denounced in the famous decree of 1835. He takes up the different writers individually and records their attitude in each case, first toward British politics, second toward British literature, and third toward the Briton. The political views are of the highest interest.

Börne held that the English system of government could readily be applied to Germany but for political oppression. He said of Raumer, one of his political opponents:

So oft er die englische Freiheit lobt, fügt er hinzu: Die Freiheit in England sei alt und aus historischem Boden gewachsen; in Deutschland aber sei das Verhältnis ganz anders. Das ist freilich sehr wahr und

^{29c} Cf. BIBLIOGRAPHY [1012]ff.

^{29d} Hueffer, *Ancient lights and certain new reflections* (London 1911), p. 39.

^{29e} George, *Zeitgenossische Dichter*, 2 vols., Berlin 1905.

^{29f} For such influences in the eighteenth century see SURVEY, pp. 161, 168, and 185ff.

natürlich, denn in Deutschland konnte die Freiheit nie alt und zur Geschichte werden, weil man sie immer schon als Keim und im Entstehen ausrottete.³⁰

He prophesied a future conflict between the two democratic countries, England and France, on the one side and reactionary Germany on the other, and he cried out joyfully:

Es wäre schön, wenn das wahr wäre; dann wäre es doch einmal dahin gekommen, wohin es früher oder später kommen musz, zum strengen Gegensatz der feindlichen Elemente: die Freiheit hier, die Despotie dort—und jetzt schlägt Euch, ich sehe zu.³¹

Altho both Börne and Gutzkow made Paris, not London, their political headquarters, both strongly indicated the belief that England was the country that made certain, if sometimes slow, progress toward political liberty.³² Gutzkow told his countrymen to keep their eyes on England; the gains there would find their way around the world. What the English won in the way of liberty they would never yield up again.³³ Even the Tories he did not construe as the opponents of popular liberty; rather he looked upon Tories and Whigs as the necessary counterbalances of a healthy government: "Denn was ist der Sieg des Torysmus Anderes, als eine Chance des Fortschrittes, sich zusammenzunehmen, als ein Signalruf für die zerstreuten Parteien, welche in ihrer Liebe zum Volke nicht einig werden konnten?"³⁴

Heine's views regarding England are, like his other political views, somewhat contradictory. A single characteristic passage will suffice:

Der Engländer liebt die Freiheit wie sein rechtmäßiges Weib, er besitzt sie, und wenn er sie auch nicht mit absonderlicher Zärtlichkeit behandelt, so weisz er sie doch im Notfall wie ein Mann zu verteidigen, und wehe dem rotgeröckten Burschen, der sich in ihr heiliges Schlafgemach drängt—sei es als Galant oder als Scherge. Der Franzose liebt

³⁰ Börne, *Schriften* VI 399.

³¹ *Ibid.*, VIII 113.

³² For Börne see Whyte [832] 2.

³³ Gutzkow, *Bulwers Zeitgenossen*² (Pforzheim 1842), II 413–414; quoted by Price [857] 400.

³⁴ Gutzkow, *Gesammelte Werke*² (Jena n. d.), IX 83.

die Freiheit wie seine erwählte Braut. Er glüht für sie, er flammt, er wirft sich zu ihren Füßen mit den überspanntesten Beteuerungen, er schlägt sich für sie auf Tod und Leben, er begeht für sie tausenderlei Torheiten. Der Deutsche liebt die Freiheit wie seine alte Großmutter.³⁵

Wienbarg has little to say regarding English political liberty, but Laube and Mundt are emphatic in their expressions, and Whyte's collection controverts the common belief in the predominance of French political ideas in the Young German political movement of the thirties. This belief had been defined by Schoenemann [838] among others, who says:

Erst das Jahr 1850 stellt einen Wendepunkt in der seelischen Haltung der Deutschen England gegenüber dar; England als Ganzes wird jetzt dem Deutschen auf einmal interessant, und zwar als geschichtliches Wesen. . . . England ist Deutschlands letzte Liebe. Die erste war Frankreich, aber nach der grossen Revolution von 1789 mit ihren Greueln begann das Erwachen. Doch die Julirevolution von 1830 und das tolle Jahr 1848 zogen die Deutschen immer wieder in französische Kreise, bis sich endlich Aller Augen nach England wandten. Dorthin waren die verfolgten deutschen Demokraten geflüchtet, und von dort aus ward dann durch sie und ihre Nachfolger das neue Evangelium einer Demokratie gepredigt, als deren Paradies natürlich England erschien.³⁶

Against this view we have the fact that Gutzkow joined with Börne in 1839 in calling England "das einzige freie Land Europas,"^{36a} and in 1837 referred to France and Germany as "Länder, die nie wahre Freiheit genossen haben."^{36b}

Toward the Briton individually the Young Germans were frankly antipathetic. Most of them were content to draw the conventional pictures of the Englishman; but Mundt's visit to England convinced him that these were but caricatures. Tho he dislikes the British sabbath he finds the British are not hypocrites, and he even has a good word to say for the traveling Briton. Heine conceived, as is well known, a less favorable impression of the English people; but as Schoenemann says: "Einige Urteile Heines über England sind der Ausfluss schlech-

³⁵ Heine, *Werke* V 80f.

³⁶ Schoenemann [838] 661. Cf. Bloesch, *Das junge Deutschland in seinen Beziehungen zu Frankreich*, UNSL I (1902).

^{36a} Gutzkow, *Gesammelte Werke*,² Jena n. d. XII 291.

^{36b} *Ibid.*, VIII 345.

ter Laune."³⁷ Schoenemann also points out that certain books of travel determined to a large extent the views of the Young Germans in regard to England. Notably influential were Pückler-Muskau's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (1830) and Raumer's *England im Jahre 1835* (1836).

Whyte is easily able to show a marked partiality on the part of the Young Germans for Shakespeare, Byron, and Scott.³⁷ Schoenemann expresses in striking terms the reasons for the Byron enthusiasm on the part of the Young Germans:

Byron war ihr Held, weil er aristokratisch-revolutionär, freiheitsbegeistert und ichsüchtig, glücklich-unglücklich, fanatisch und spleinig zugleich war, oder ihnen wenigstens so aussah. Und nicht zuletzt lebte er sich unbekümmert vor den Philistern aus, was die meisten Jungdeutschen samt Publikum nur zu träumen wagten. So kommt es, dasz er taten-schwachen Dichtern und Schönschreibern neben Napoleon als Poet der Tat erscheint. Die geniale Freiheitspose über alles! Byron wurde hundertmal mehr als Künstler denn als Engländer angesehen. Nur oberflächlichere jungdeutsche Liebhaber der englischen Literatur nannten ihn echt-englisch. Heine allein sagte, er sei unenglisch.³⁸

But the preference of the Young Germans for English literature had, as Schoenemann points out, a sound basis. All the popular literary movements of modern Germany were essentially Germanic. This was true of the "Storm and stress" movement and of much of the romantic movement. Poetic realism too was essentially "germanisch, unromanisch, ja antifranzösisch," and toward poetic realism the Young Germans were consciously or unconsciously drifting.

Whyte's investigations cover the period 1830-1840. Regarding the attitude of the German publicists of the next decade toward England we are nowhere well informed. A study of the journals of that period would certainly be productive of interesting results. Schoenemann calls attention especially to Ruge's *Hallische Jahrbücher* and Prutz's *Deutsches Museum* as valuable sources of information.

³⁷ Wienbarg here constitutes an exception, for he is unable to reconcile an approval of Scott's historical fiction with his well-known politico-literary principles.

³⁸ Schoenemann in MLN XXXIII (1918) 170f.

As to the tendencies of the decade 1850ff. we have adequate evidence. Few German critics of the nineteenth century have been better read in English literature than Julian Schmidt, and few have been guided by a surer instinct in connecting the tendencies of life with the products of literature. His frequent articles on English literature in the *Grenzboten* (1848-1862) and his later collections of essays have a high value as contemporary documents and his critical observations cover an interesting period. New favorites were constantly rising up to maintain England's primacy in the novelistic field, and Julian Schmidt met them with a hearty welcome.

The German interest in things English had always been bound up to a large extent with political liberalism; and even after the humiliation of the Young Germans in 1835 and the failure of constitutionalism in 1848 that interest did not cease but merely set a new direction. The literary articles of Schmidt in the *Grenzboten* set in strongly just then. His colleague Gustav Freytag said of him:

Als die Politik nicht mehr das ganze Interesse der Leser in Anspruch nahm, begann Julian Schmidt literarische Artikel gegen die Jungdeutschen und Romantiker. . . . Der Grund seines Unwillens war . . . der Hasz gegen das Gemachte und Gleisende, gegen ungesunde Weichlichkeit. . . . Indem Schmidt verurteilte, was in unserer Literatur krank war, wies er auch unablässig auf die Heilmittel hin, und wurde dadurch in Wahrheit ein guter Lehrer für die jüngeren, welche falschen Vorbildern, die in unbekämpftem Ansehen stehen, zu folgen bereit sind. . . . Er hatte an allem wohl Gelungenen eine tiefinnige Freude. . . . Die Darstellungsweise der englischen Dichter war ganz nach seinem Herzen; den Zauber der wundervollen Färbung bei Dickens empfand er so voll, wie nur ein Engländer jener Zeit.³⁹

An examination of the *Grenzboten* volumes during the period in question confirms Freytag's statement.⁴⁰ Schmidt was most unqualified in his commendation of Scott and contrasted Scott's type of historical romanticism with that of the Germans, always to the latter's disadvantage. The poetry of the "lake school," of Shelley, Bailey, Browning was distasteful to him. Here he saw the deplorable results of subjective idealism, of "Faustic"

³⁹ Freytag, *Werke* I 162f.

tendencies and other maladies that had their origin in Germany. Of the notable recent British poets he endeavored to defend Byron alone. He was also wont to compare the English liberals, the "Young English" writers, as he called them, Bulwer Lytton, Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Carlyle, and others, with the Young Germans, always to the disadvantage of the latter. The plans for social betterment devised by the English group were more practical and sane and less phantastic than those of their German competitors. Dickens signalized, in Schmidt's opinion, the return of English literature to soundness, after it had indulged in certain vagaries under the spell of Sterne. Dickens showed English life and character at its best, with its "Gemütlichkeit," its humor, its pathos, and its hatred of hypoerisy.

It would be easy to exaggerate Schmidt's influence upon his time: Scott and Dickens would have gained and maintained their popularity without his assistance; Gutzkow would have declined in popularity as a novelist even without his constant opposition; and it may be freely admitted that any influence of Schmidt upon such poetic realists as Auerbach, Ludwig, Reuter, and Keller is highly problematical.⁴¹ Literary influence can be proved only in the case of Freytag. The relation of the editors to each other was well described by a contemporary observer, Hermann Marggraff, who said:

Von Lessings dramatischen Produkten hat man wohl gesagt, dass sie gewissermaszen nur als Proben zu betrachten seien, die er gemacht habe, um die Richtigkeit seiner kritischen Rechenexempel zu prüfen. Aehnliches kann man von dem Redaktionspersonal der bekannten kritischen grünen Blätter in Leipzig behaupten, nur dass die kritischen und produktiven Fähigkeiten . . . an zwei Individuen verteilt sind.⁴²

Marggraff's assertion is well justified. A recent investigation has shown that Freytag's *Soll und Haben* is, to a surprizingly

⁴⁰ Cf. Price [845].

⁴¹ Busse, A. JEGPh XVI (1917) 145 misquoted Price [845] as making such a claim in regard to Hebbel, Ludwig, and Keller. Hebbel's name was not included in the original assertion. See [845] 102; cf. 108-109. On p. 110 Schmidt is spoken of as an opponent of Hebbel.

⁴² BLU 1885, p. 455.

large extent, a practical exemplification of Schmidt's literary theory with its anglicizing tendencies.⁴³

Julian Schmidt and his colleague traced the superiority of the English novel back to its true cause, as Resewitz had done in the previous century.⁴⁴ The English novelists, they said, participated in the affairs of life and embodied experience in their novels. The German novelists wrote before they had experienced anything worth recording and compounded their novels too largely out of reflexions and conversations.

The influence of Dickens and Scott in Germany was so great that it demands separate treatment in chapters to follow, and the same is true of certain American influences. Not only Dickens and Scott, however, but lesser authors such as Bulwer Lytton, Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, were more popular with the German public than were the native novelists. Bulwer Lytton succeeded to the popularity of Walter Scott soon after the appearance of his *Pelham* (1828). Julian Schmidt wrote of Bulwer:

Von den deutschen Schriftstellern war nicht einer, dessen Popularität gegen die seinige aufkam; nur etwa George Sand und Balzac konnten mit ihm wetteifern. Das dauerte von den ersten dreissiger bis in die Mitte der vierziger Jahre, bis Dickens, Eugene Sue und Thackeray ihn ablösten.⁴⁵

Julian Schmidt made some bold assertions regarding the influence of Bulwer, the most sweeping of which referred to the vogue of *Pelham*. He said: "Fasst man die Aristokratie ins Auge, die in Gutzkows Romanen oder bei der Gräfin Hahn-Hahn auftritt, so erkennt man lauter verkleidete Pelhams, die neben den Masken aus Jean Paul figurieren."⁴⁶ Regarding the justness of this remark as far as the Gräfin Hahn-Hahn is concerned no critic has apparently ever undertaken to pass an opinion. In view of Bulwer's extreme popularity in Germany it seems

⁴³ Price [845]; cf. chapter V, "*Soll und Haben* and Freytag's participation in the *Grenzboten* movement."

⁴⁴ Cf. SURVEY, p. 298f.

⁴⁵ Schmidt [856a] 268.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 285.

highly probable that he influenced German literature in some way; but a recent investigation has demonstrated that Julian Schmidt for polemic purposes greatly over-emphasized the Bulwer-Gutzkow parallel.⁴⁷ The investigation suggests that the undoubted resemblances between Gutzkow and Bulwer Lytton are better accounted for by their common literary ancestry in Sterne. Incidentally the article goes further and endeavors to define in Gutzkow's own words his attitude toward representative English novels of the past and present. For Fielding, Sterne, and Goldsmith Gutzkow had a high respect. Of Bulwer Lytton and of George Eliot and the writers of the English "Gouvernantenromane" he is disdainful.

Stage by stage the example of the English novel enlarged the scope of the German novel in the nineteenth century. Walter Scott began the movement by presenting even in his romantic epics concrete and often accurate pictures of the historic past that are not to be confused with the hazy abstractions of Uhland and the German romanticists. When he turned to the historical novel his artistic success won for him imitators in Germany.^{47a} In his steps followed Alexis and Spindler, Freytag and Scheffel, Dahn and Ebers, and many others. Bulwer Lytton lifted for curious eyes the veil that had shrouded high life, and the petty aristocracy and "nouveaux riches" of Germany became leading characters of the German novel. Then came Dickens, supported by Victor Hugo, Balzac, and Eugene Sue, and new types, the petty burgher class, the criminal, and the member of the proletariat, became themes of novelistic treatment. Meanwhile the literature of village life was not being neglected. To a large even tho indeterminable degree Walter Scott fostered the development of this genre, and thus his influence past down thru Gotthelf, Auerbach, and Immermann thru Storm, Keller, Ludwig, and Raabe to Polenz and Zahn.^{47b} In fact, wherever in the German novel we find the outward look upon life instead

⁴⁷ Price [857].

^{47a} See SURVEY, p. 498f.

^{47b} See SURVEY, p. 512, and Mielke [831a].

of the inward look upon self there is reason to suspect in the last analysis some modicum of English influence. One might say, it is true, that certain portions of *Wilhelm Meister* had already indicated the new trend, but more than one critic has intimated that Goethe received his new impulse in part from the British novelists of the later eighteenth century.

The practical activities of English life imprest Goethe again in his last years. Sarrazin [847] has recently shown in a striking way how much of this interest is embodied in the closing scenes of Faust's life. Many surmises have been offered regarding the geographical background of his final acts but no conjecture seems better supported by evidence external and internal than Sarrazin's. He asserts that the lines:

Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
Der täglich sie erobern musz;
Und so verbringt, umrungen von Gefahr
Hier Kindheit, Mann und Greis sein tüchtig Jahr.
Solch ein Gewimmel möcht' ich sehn,
Auf freiem Grund mit freiem Volke stehn,⁴⁸

have a quite particular reference to the British Isles generally, while Faust's final undertaking corresponds closely with a nineteenth century enterprize in Wales.⁴⁹

Sarrazin relates some of the details of a great commercial venture that was undertaken there about the year 1800. William Alexander Madock diked in, on the coast of Wales, about 2000 acres and founded the village Tremadoc. Later he undertook a larger operation that gave rise to the present town of Portmadoc, which has now about 5000 inhabitants. The completion of this colossal undertaking required the services of two to three hundred laborers for seven years. Pückler-Muskau told the details in his *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (1830). Goethe received from Varnhagen in the summer of 1830 the work of Pückler-Muskau. He spent three of the evenings between August 22nd

⁴⁸ Goethe, *Werke* I 15, 315ff.

⁴⁹ Goebel [93] suggests that it was America Goethe had in mind when he let his dying Faust proclaim as the highest goal the effort to establish a free people in a free land.

and 25th reading the first volume, which contains the account of the founding of Portmadoc.⁵⁰ Then he wrote a review of the entire work for Varnhagen.⁵¹ Sarrazin says: "Hier haben wir offenbar nicht nur die eigentliche Anregung zum fünften Akt des zweiten Teils, sondern auch die Grundzüge der Szenerie, die mit Hilfe von Karten und andern Reisebeschreibungen oder geographischen Werken sich leicht der Wirklichkeit entsprechend ergänzen lieszen."⁵² Sarrazin comments in conclusion upon Goethe's interest in England and English affairs in the last years of his life:

Goethe ist in seinen letzten Lebensjahren zu seiner Jugendschwärmerei für England zurückgekehrt. Vielleicht hat dabei mitgewirkt, dass er gerade in England manche begeisterte Verehrer gefunden hatte, mehr wohl noch der Umstand, dass seine sozialpolitischen und sozialetischen Theorien ihn dem Volke wieder näher brachten, welches praktisches Wirken mit poetischer Gestaltungskraft zu verbinden wusste. Sicher ist, dass seine Lektüre in den letzten Lebensjahren mit besonderer Vorliebe sich nicht nur englischer Literatur von Shakespeare bis auf Walter Scott sondern auch englischer Geschichte, Geographie und Sittenschilderung zuwandte.

Der Weltdichter, der so echt deutsch in seiner Bewunderung des Auslandes war, der seine Phantasie bis nach dem fernen Orient hin hatte schweifen lassen, der Italien heisz geliebt und das Land der Griechen mit der Seele gesucht hatte, wandte am Schluss seines Lebens und Strebens den Blick mit heimlicher Sehnsucht wieder nach dem Lande der Tat, nach dem freien meerumspülten Albion.

⁵⁰ Goethe, *Werke* III 12, 292-294; cf. p. 296.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I 42; 1, 55-63.

⁵² Sarrazin [847] 121.

CHAPTER 20

SCOTT

Einerlei welchen Maszstab wir anlegen, die Wirkung Walter Scotts ist ungeheuer. Ja, ich nehme keinen Anstand, es auszusprechen: sie ist die gröszte, die irgend ein Schriftsteller des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ausgeübt. Der einzige, der mit ihm rivalisieren könnte (Goethe in seinen wirksamen Schriften rechne ich zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert), Lord Byron, hat zwar schneller gezündet, aber das Feuer, das er erregt, ist auch schneller vorübergegangen.¹

So Julian Schmidt wrote in 1869. Julian Schmidt is, on the whole, the most satisfactory authority regarding the influence of Walter Scott in Germany. He belonged to the generation that devoured Walter Scott's novels in its youth, and in its maturity saw Scott's influence producing its best results in Germany. Schmidt was an omnivorous but critical reader with a natural gift for tracing the connexions between literature and life. True, much of his criticism was journalistic and polemic; but his estimates of Scott seem deliberate and unbiast. These estimates are found in his essay on Walter Scott [972], in the various editions of his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*,² and in his scattered criticisms in the *Grenzboten*, 1848-1862. His comments have now been collated and systematized [845] and may properly serve as a starting point, for they seem to have given direction to a number of special investigators, who have, in the main, only confirmed his original assertions with citation and quotation in a way that he, in his more popular criticism, was not called upon to do.

Schmidt finds little difficulty in accounting for the fact that Scott was more popular in Germany than the German romantic historical novelists, who were quite independent of him at the outset. Scott and they represented two different phases of the

¹ Schmidt [972] 149.

² See Price [845] 110f.

European romantic trend. The German romanticists bored their readers by seeking to abstract the idea out of history; Scott, on the other hand, fascinated the public by reproducing the picturesque phases of the past. The German romanticists mystified their readers by trying not only to acquire but also to adopt the middle-age point of view when writing of the middle ages; Scott wrote of past periods from the point of view of an interested observer of the present time. Furthermore Scott was more realistic and more optimistic than his German contemporaries. "Der Realismus in der Poesie," Schmidt held, "wird dann zu erfreulichen Kunstwerken führen, wenn er in der Wirklichkeit zugleich die positive Seite aufsucht, wenn er mit Freude am Leben verknüpft ist, wie früher bei Fielding, Goldsmith, später bei Walter Scott und theilweise auch noch bei Dickens."³ Finally Scott gave his novel a form superior to that hitherto prevalent. Schmidt desired to establish this form as a standard: "Wenn der Roman seinen Zweck erfüllen soll, so musz er sich denselben Gesetzen fügen, wie das Drama, einem Gesetz, das z. B. in den Romanen W. Scotts stets sich geltend macht, seine schönste Form aber in Goethes *Wahlverwandtschaften* erreicht."⁴ Schmidt's colleg on the *Grenzboten*, Freytag, adopted this standard in his criticism⁵ and prepared himself for his own work by a study of Scott's technik.⁶

Julian Schmidt laid more stress than later critics upon Walter Scott as the reformer of history writing in Europe:

Am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts herrschte in der Geschichtschreibung die schottische Schule. Von der Aufklärung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts ausgegangen, hatten Hume, Robertson und die übrigen sich vor allen Dingen bemüht, diejenigen Fragen, welche der politische Verstand als das Wesentliche im Fortschritt der neueren Zeit begreift, an die Vorzeit zu legen und so klar als möglich zu beantworten. Ihre Methode war der entschiedenste Rationalismus mit allen Vorzügen und

³ *Grenzboten* 1855 II 55.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1847 IV 208; cf. *ibid.* 1851 II 53, and Schmidt [972] 206.

⁵ See Freytag's review of Hackländer's *Namenlose Geschichten* in *Grenzboten* 1851 IV 266, and his criticism of Willibald Alexis *Grenzboten* 1854 I 320-328.

⁶ See SURVEY, p. 510.

Schwächen dieser Richtung. Von einer colorierten Darstellung der Eigenlichkeiten einer bestimmten Zeit, der Irrationalitäten in den grossen historischen Charakteren, war bei ihnen keine Rede. Ihre Helden traten ohne Unterschied im Kostüm und in der Redeweise des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts auf. Dasz in der neuesten Zeit die Geschichtschreiber den entgegengesetzten Weg eingeschlagen haben, dasz sie sich überall bemühen, jedes Zeitalter mit seinem eigenen Masz zu messen, jeden historischen Charakter als ein Kunstwerk für sich zu betrachten, und die Lokalfarben in lebendigen Schilderungen wiederzugeben, anstatt sie im glatten nur scheinbar erzählenden Raisonement zu verflüchtigen, ist unstreitig eines der Hauptverdienste unseres Dichters.^{6a}

Schmidt says elsewhere of Walter Scott: "Ganz seinem Einfluss hat sich kein einziger der modernen Geschichtschreiber entzogen."⁷

His assertion, "mit *Ivanhoe* (1819) beginnt die europäische Berühmtheit des Dichters Scott,"⁸ is doubtless correct. The copious quotations by Wenger⁹ of criticism appearing in Menzel's *Literaturblatt* before that date scarcely prove the contrary. Much of that criticism is, as Wenger says, "rein referierend" and gives little sign of an appreciation of the important rôle "the great unknown" was later to play in German literary development. Julian Schmidt gives in his Scott essay a list of early German novels that showed the influence of Walter Scott. He includes Willibald Alexis's *Walladmor* (1823), Tieck's *Auf-ruhr in den Cevennen* (1826), Spindler's *Der Bastard* (1826), and Hauff's *Lichtenstein* (1827). "Nach 1831," he says, "geht die Zahl der Nachahmungen ins Grenzenlose."¹⁰

The relation of nearly all of these authors to Walter Scott has been discust in special investigations. Wenger's object [974] is to arrive at a better understanding of Scott's novels and the historical novels of the German romanticists by dint of a comparison and contrast of the two types. As representing the German historical novel he discusses the works of Fouqué, Arnim, and Tieck. The influence of Scott on Fouqué's representative

^{6a} *Grenzboten* 1851 II 50.

⁷ Schmidt [972] 160.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

⁹ Wenger [974] 23ff.

¹⁰ Schmidt [972] 237.

works he excludes on chronological grounds. The influence of Scott on Arnim's *Kronenwächter*, the first part of which appeared in 1817, is, on the other hand, chronologically possible. Scott's *Waverley* (1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815), *Antiquary* (1816), and *Tales of my landlord* (1816) had already appeared and were read to some extent in Germany. Arnim presumably read them, for he was interested in British romance. He had himself visited the highlands and had written short stories inspired by his travels in the British Isles,¹¹ but judging from Arnim's character in general and the *Kronenwächter* in particular Scott was in no sense his teacher. Wenger says:

Arnim ist ein Kind derselben Zeit und dies bringt Übereinstimmungen mit sich, wenn aber in den Werken zweier Dichter der Grundton ein gänzlich anderer ist, wenn beide durchaus sich selbst genügen, so kann die Rede nicht sein von tieferer Beeinflussung.^{11a}

Arnim's work is like Scott's, he says, only in the realistic picturing of details. Unlike Scott's, Arnim's imagination is unbridled and this shows itself in the relative formlessness of his novel. Arnim, unlike Scott, seeks to make use of symbolism and unlike him makes his individuality felt on every page. The conclusion agrees with that of Julian Schmidt, who, however, expresses himself in a more partizan fashion:

In einzelnen Szenen, die uns Arnim aus der Zeit der Reformation darstellt, geht uns eine so grosse Fülle wahrhaft geschichtlichen Lebens auf, ein so tiefes Verständnis der Zeit bis in ihre kleinsten Nuancen hinein, das wir nur mit dem lebhaftesten Bedauern ihn in die Abwege geraten sehen, die ihn von der Bahn eines Walter Scott entfernt haben.¹²

In the novels of Tieck, on the other hand, there is some evidence of Walter Scott's influence. Tieck was somewhat condescending in his criticism of Scott's novels. To quote Julian Schmidt:

Tieck stellte die groszen Vorzüge des schottischen Romanschreibers keineswegs in Abrede. Es schein ihm nur eine Kleinigkeit zu fehlen,

¹¹ *Die Ehenschmiede* (ca. 1804) centers about the famous Gretna Green. The story *Owen Tudor* takes place in Wales.

^{11a} Wenger [974] 63.

¹² *Grenzboten* 1852 III 251.

aber diese Kleinigkeit, setzte er hinzu, ist gerade das, was den Dichter vom Nichtdichter unterscheidet. Die Dichter der (deutschen) romantischen Schule, sehr gefeiert aber herzlich wenig gelesen, konnten sich des dringenden Verdachts nicht erwehren, dass ein Schriftsteller, der die rohe Menge zu gewinnen wisse, nothwendig mit dieser Menge verwandt sei.¹³

Wenger similarly asserts, "dass Tieck es unter seiner Würde gehalten hätte, für einen Schüler und Nachahmer Scotts angesehen zu werden;" but he adds: "Dennoch müssen Tiecks historische Novellen als Konzessionen an den Zeitgeist aufgefasst werden, der sich, vor allem unter Walter Scotts Einflus, mit neuer Energie der Vergangenheit zugewendet hatte."¹⁴ Of Tieck's tales *Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen* (1826, begun in 1820) comes first into consideration, and Scott's *Old Mortality* (1817) suggests itself to Wenger as a counterpart, since both novels treat of a religious insurrection. Here as elsewhere Wenger finds that it is Tieck's main desire to give "den Sinn der Geschichte" while Scott tries to reproduce "das Bild der Geschichte."^{14a} From this difference many other differences follow, which need not be recapitulated here. In Tieck's *Der wiederkehrende griechische Kaiser* (first draft 1804, completed 1830) and in *Hexensabbath* (1832) Wenger finds more of the manner of Scott:

Das philosophische Element, das psychologische Problem tritt nicht so deutlich und nicht so hauptsächlich in den Vordergrund, wie im *Aufruhr*, . . . dem rein Tatsächlichen wird grözere Bedeutung eingeräumt. Damit ist eine pittoreske Behandlungsweise im Sinne Scotts von vornherein möglich. . . . Ein körperliches Bild der Welt entrollt sich in einer Breite, die Tieck von Walter Scott übernommen und gelernt haben könnte.^{14b}

Wenger concludes with a reference to Tieck's *Vittoria Accorombona* (1840), a novel which is interesting on account of its direct and indirect relation to Scott's novels. The indirect in-

¹³ Schmidt [972] 148.

¹⁴ Wenger [974] 97.

^{14a} *Ibid.*, 95.

^{14b} *Ibid.*, 111f.

fluence came in part by way of France, whose de Vigny, Mérimée, Balzac, and Victor Hugo presented realistic pictures of the past under the inspiration largely of Scott.¹⁵ Manzoni's *I promessi sposi* (1827) is the best evidence of a like influence in Italy. Manzoni shared with Scott the conscientious fidelity to the facts of history, but he surpassed him in the realism of his description. So Tieck had for his *Vittoria Accorombona* three models, Walter Scott, the French romanticists, and Manzoni. Wenger finds in this novel plastic, picturesque scenes of the past such as were lacking in Tieck's earlier novels: "Diesmal entsteht . . . bei Tieck das wahre Bild einer komplizierten, kontrastreichen Kultur-epoche, ein historischer Roman im Sinne Walter Scotts."¹⁶ He considers it in many respects superior even to Scott's historical novels, one particular merit being that the main historical character is also the central figure in the story.

Thus Wenger finds that Tieck to his own advantage finally succumbed to the influence of Scott:

So lange Tieck die Realität der Idee aufopferte, so lange er nicht auf das moderne Gewand des geistreichen Gesellschafters verzichten konnte, stand er als historischer Romanschriftsteller tief unter Scott, und sein *Aufbruch in den Cevennen* kann nicht verglichen werden mit einem der guten schottischen Werke; sobald es ihm aber gelang, unbefangen an die Geschichte heranzutreten, sie unentstellt plastisch zu gestalten, und doch den Rätseln des Menschlichen nahe zu treten, da überflügelte er weit den anspruchlosen Schotten, wenn er ihm auch in einzelnen meisterlichen Zügen niemals hatte ebenbürtig werden können. . . . So hat schließlich doch die Kunstmethode zu der Walter Scott den Anstoss gab und den Grund legte, und die in Frankreich und Italien weitergebildet wurde, auch Tieck für sich gewonnen, ohne dass er deshalb auf selbständiges Dichten, auf Betätigung seiner persönlichsten Talente hatte zu verzichten brauchen.¹⁶

It will be noted that the specific assertions of Wenger in regard to Scott's influence on Arnim and Tieck are, after all, quite as unreserved as those of Schmidt.^{16a}

Willibald Alexis (Wilhelm Häring) was another novelist who wavered between German historical romanticism and British.

¹⁵ See Maigron [973].

¹⁶ Wenger [974] 120.

^{16a} Schönemann in MLN XXXIII (1918) 170f. implies the contrary.

Of all the pupils of Walter Scott in Germany, Julian Schmidt says, Willibald Alexis has shown the keenest appreciation of the real excellencies of his master. Like Scott he first makes us thoroly acquainted with the topography of the country which is to be the scene of the action. Then he shows us how our present day conditions have developpt out of the conditions which he describes, and hence his chief virtue.

Er versucht es niemals, jene sogenannte Objektivität anzustreben, die alle Vermittlung ausschlieszt, wie es auch Scott niemals versuchte. Er schreibt nicht, wie ein Schriftsteller jener Zeit geschrieben haben würde, sondern wie ein Schriftsteller der Gegenwart, der die Vergangenheit lebhaft empfindet. So ist auch allein die wahre Objektivität möglich.¹⁷

Elsewhere Julian Schmidt says:

Es fehlt Willibald Alexis nur wenig, um für sein Vaterland, Preussen, die Stelle W. Scotts einzunehmen, aber dies Wenige ist freilich entscheidend. Auf seine Jugendbildung hatte die romantische Schule einen entscheidenden Einfluss, namentlich Hoffmann. Seine Novellen enthalten phantastische, oft fratzenhafte Gestalten und unheimliche Situationen, vermischt mit langen Gesprächen über Kunst und Literatur.¹⁸

Korff [979] has provided a valuable comparative study of the novelistic technik of Scott and Alexis. Before the year 1830 we have from Alexis's hand imitations of Scott, but there is no important evidence that Scott actually influenced him. As a concession to the expectant reader Korff relates the external facts regarding Alexis's early imitations of Scott. They are not without interest.

Alexis was overtaken by the storm of enthusiasm for Scott that swept over Europe. He determined to write a novel of the same type. He intended his *Walladmor*, a three-volume novel which he wrote in the summer of 1823, actually to pass for a translation of a work of Walter Scott. In this he was successful. Many critics, and not the least well equipt ones, were taken in by the deception. Korff observes:

Am Ende ist es auch nach unseren Begriffen nicht allzu schwer, einen so charakteristischen Autor wie Scott geschickt zu imitieren und damit

¹⁷ Grenzboten 1852 III 487.

¹⁸ Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 19. Jh.*² (Leipzig 1855) III 253f.; cf. *ibid.*, p. 262.

das Publikum hinters Licht zu führen. Der parodistische Hintergrund aber, fühlbar überall und doch in seiner ganzen lachenden Ironie erst durchbrechend zum Schlusse, das setzte nicht blosses Begeistertsein voraus von den Werken der allgemeinen Mode sondern vielmehr ein langes inneres Verhältnis zu dem Autor des *Waverley*; nicht nur Bewunderung, sondern auch Kritik! Es zeigte in seinem tiefsten Grunde einen Menschen, welcher mehr, welcher weiter wollte.²⁰

Korff finds it superfluous to enter into a detailed comparison of Scott's novels with Alexis's parody, but he propounds three questions: "Welche Momente der *Waverley novels* kopierte Alexis und welche parodierte er, und was fügte er aus Eigenem hinzu?"²¹ The answers to the two latter questions forecast the future development of Alexis as an independent novelist. Alexis was conscious of his own growing power, to judge from a comment which Korff quotes: "Diese Mystifikation (der *Walladmor*) war für mich reines Spiel, ohne grosse Absicht auf Erfolg, eine tolle Laune des Übermutes, die hinaus mustze, je schneller, desto besser, um wieder zu mir selbst zu kommen und zu dem, was ich für besser hielt."²²

Schloss Avalon frei nach dem Englischen des Walter Scott vom Übersetzer des Walladmor (1827) shows that Alexis had gone a step further in his study of Scott's style. Herein Alexis did not, as before, merely place in a high light the weaknesses of Scott's novels, but attempted to carry thru actual betterments. He chose the subject matter which Scott had always avoided, the fall of the house of Stuart; he extended his novel over a long period of years to gain the necessary historical perspective; and, finally, he made use of a second passive hero, while Scott employed regularly but one.

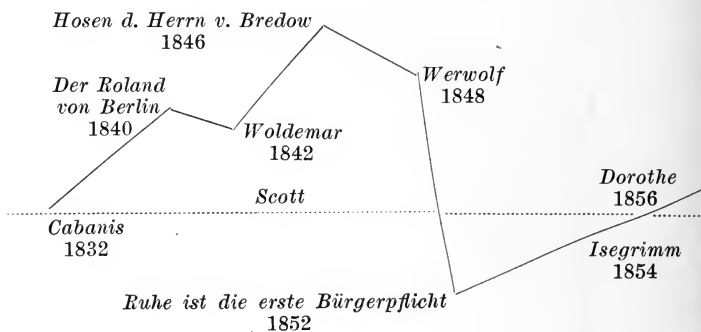
The actual influence of Scott on Alexis, according to Korff, began about the year 1830, when Alexis conceived the idea of writing a novelistic biography of Prussia, as Scott had of his homeland. Scott was essentially a dramatizer of the personal conflicts of the leaders of history, but his reproduction of these

²⁰ Korff [979] 100f.

²¹ Ibid., p. 103.

²² Ibid., p. 109.

conflicts was hampered by the epic form which he had chosen. Out of this conflict of theme and method he developed a compromise form and the passive, observing hero was the chief device in the compromise. To this method Scott adhered from first to last. Alexis on the other hand was essentially an epic writer, and he was interested in the contending forces of history rather than the dramatic encounters of historical characters, but he had learned from Walter Scott the value of the dramatic element in narration. Not content with merely adopting Scott's compromise, he continually sought for some new and more satisfactory one. In his search for the better form he sometimes surpassed Walter Scott and sometimes fell far below him. Taking Scott's form as the constant, Korff thus represents Alexis's fluctuations in respect to dramatic unity:



Cabanis (1832) is in the main a novel of the Walter Scott type with a passive hero as the unifying element, but Scott would have let the personality and genius of Frederick the Great play a chief dramatic rôle in his novel like Richard I in *Ivanhoe*. Alexis scarcely permits him to appear upon the scene, but portrays his influence in nearly every chapter: "Er erhebt den historischen Helden nicht zum tatsächlichen, sondern zum rein idealen Mittelpunkt, als eine Sonne, deren Strahlen, aber nicht deren Scheibe, man sieht."²³ This treatment plainly forecasts the further development of Alexis's technik.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 121.

In the next two novels, *Der Roland von Berlin* (1840) and *Der falsche Woldemar* (1842), Alexis is able to dispense with the passive heroes, for the historical heroes themselves form the epic centre of the novels. These historical heroes, however, he treats not as Scott would have done but in his own manner. He does not make of them mere glittering personalities, but he lets them be representatives of movements. This involved a study of the masses as well as of the heroes themselves; it involved a study of the period antedating that of the novel as well as the period primarily in question. The developing movement therefore in reality formed the dramatic centre of these novels. As Korff says: "Das Fortschreiten einer Entwicklung in der Geschichte der Massen macht auch im Roman ein Fortschreiten möglich. . . . Die geistige Entwicklung der Geschichte wurde das, was für Scott der Held war."

As a picture of a past epoch together with the forces that produced it the next novel was not inferior to its predecessors. It was superior to them in that it possess a concrete object, on which attention was focust from the beginning by the title, *Die Hosen des Herrn von Bredow* (1846). Unfortunately this whimsical solution of a difficult problem was not one that permitted of repetition, as is shown by *Werwolf* (1848), which, as far as subject matter is concerned, is associated with its immediate predecessor. Korff characterizes *Werwolf* as "ein groszes dreiteiliges Tafelgemälde, dessen einzelne Bilder fast völlig für sich bestehen, die aber in ihrem bestimmten Nacheinander den Fortgang der historischen Idee, die zunehmende Reformation in Brandenburg, anschaulich zur Darstellung bringen. Es sind drei Einzelerzählungen, in deren tiefem Hintergrunde das drohende Werk Luthers steht."^{23a} One may say then that these two novels have not primarily a personal unifying element, but the earlier one has a concrete object as the centre of interest, the latter an historical movement. It stands therefore on approximately the same plane with *Der Roland von Berlin* and *Der falsche Woldemar*.

^{23a} Ibid., p. 129.

As compared with its predecessors Alexis's next novel, *Ruhe ist die erste Bürgerpflicht* (1852), represents a precipitous fall in technik. The disaster was inevitable because of the fact that Alexis chose here not a developing but a static period, which is per se without interest. The passively observing hero of Scott has also been given up, so the whole novel falls into a series of episodes told in a disconnected fashion and is entirely devoid of dramatic unity.

Isegrim (1854) denotes, according to Korff, the beginning of "ein langsames Sich-zurückfinden zu den Errungenschaften Walter Scotts."²⁴ Alexis condescends again to elect a hero as the centre of his novel; but even this brings no relief, for neither time nor hero advances and the approaching end of the novel finds nothing altered as compared with the beginning. Seventy pages from the end Alexis writes, "Unsere Geschichte ist hiermit eigentlich zu ihrem Schlusse gebracht," whereupon he supplies the hitherto lacking action with a chronicle-like narration of many pages.

In his final novel *Dorothe* (1856) Alexis chose a central figure, as indicated by the title, and let her go thru interesting experiences which taken together give a picture of the times. But this means, after all, nothing more or less than a return of Alexis to the plan of Scott's novel which he had once treated so ironically, which he had later improved upon and which still later he failed utterly to equal.

As compared with Alexis's relation to Scott, Hauff's might seem a comparatively simple matter, since no development is involved and only a single novel, his *Lichtenstein* (1827), is in question. Nevertheless quite divergent views are express in the small group of critical articles that has grown up round this problem. Eastman [908] opened the discussion in 1900 with a parallel between Scott's *Ivanhoe* and *Lichtenstein*. Carruth [981] responded in 1903 by drawing a still closer parallel between Hauff's novel and Scott's *Waverley*. Schuster [982] showed that because of Hauff's limited education and romantic

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

tendencies it was impossible for him to develop the character of his hero out of his historical surroundings, as Scott would have done. Drescher [983] compared Hauff's *Lichtenstein* with seven of Scott's historical novels.²⁵ Thompson [984] finally brot the discussion to a satisfactory conclusion by an all-sided treatment of Hauff in his relation to Scott.

Hauff consciously patterned his novel after Walter Scott; he admits his indebtedness himself. The problem that has interested his critics is the relative importance of the various novels of Scott in Hauff's work. Before he began his *Lichtenstein* he studied with care twelve of Scott's novels and in his preface he declared his admiration for Scott. Thompson compares *Lichtenstein* with a typical Scott novel in respect to plot, novelistic technik, use of historical sources, characters, structures, general characteristics, and diction. The chief difference developept is that with Hauff the love story plays a more essential rôle than with Scott. It was Hauff's own personal experience that led him away from his model here.

In his discussion of analogous scenes and situations Thompson mentions the fact that "as far as any single novel is concerned, *Quentin Durward* has the largest number of analogies, ninety-eight, the next being *Old Mortality* with eighty-three."²⁶ Either of these novels, he finds,²⁷ fits into the formula that Carruth uses in describing *Lichtenstein* and *Waverley*, but he proposes the *Abbot* as a still closer parallel to *Lichtenstein*. Substituting Mary Stuart for the prince the following formula describes the plot of both novels:

The hero joins the government with no great enthusiasm; is suspected of being a spy; joins the prince's side thru a sense of wrong, the fas-

²⁵ The novels were not chosen arbitrarily, as Thompson [984] asserts. Drescher limits himself to the historical novels of Scott mentioned by Hauff in a critical study publisht after his death by H. Hoffmann. They are: *Waverley* (1814), *Old Mortality* (1816), *Ivanhoe* (1819), *Monastery* (1820), *Abbott* (1820), and *Kenilworth* (1821); but Drescher includes also *Quentin Durward* in his comparison, as Hauff mentions this novel elsewhere and as a translation of this book was in his library at the time of his death. According to Drescher [893] 55 it is not probable that Hauff read English.

²⁶ Thompson [984] 564.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 567.

ination of the prince, and the influence of the heroine, whose father is also on the prince's side; spends some time at a castle with the heroine and prince; fights in the losing battle of the prince; the prince flees the land, the hero is pardoned (with others), marries the heroine and retires to an hereditary castle.²⁸

Thomson nevertheless believes that the *Abbot* is, to a particular degree, the model of *Lichtenstein*, for it is the one novel of Scott "in which the prince motive is subordinate to the weal of the lovers."²⁹

Brenner [916a] has established the fact that Cooper's *Spy* (1821, translated into German in 1824) was an additional source of Hauff's *Lichtenstein*. Cooper is mentioned by Hauff in his *Bücher und Lesewelt* in connexion with Scott and Irving. Brenner begins by quoting his predecessors Eastman, Carruth, Thompson, and Drescher to the effect that they were unable to find an equivalent in Scott for the Pfeifer von Hardt in Hauff's novel. Drescher considered the character to be quite original with Hauff, but Brenner proceeds to show that Hauff's piper is endowed with practically the same gifts that Cooper's Harvey Birch, the title character in the *Spy*, possesses; that the rôle of the two spies is practically the same in both novels and is carried out in a similar fashion, and that verbal parallelisms are not lacking. Brenner goes further and finds general analogies between the two novels in plot, structure, and content. Some of these similarities, he admits, involve Scott as well as Cooper, but not all. Characteristic of Cooper are such motives as the strong friendship existing between men fighting on opposite sides, the two chief female figures with their love for men on the opposing side and the befriending and rescuing of opponents by the hero. Cooper's share in *Lichtenstein* is a minor one as compared with Scott's, but Brenner's findings are important, touching as they do a character that had puzzled those who had been seeking a model exclusively in Scott.

While Hauff's *Lichtenstein* is under discussion reference may be made to another interesting connexion between it and

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 568.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 566.

English literature, which has recently been pointed out by Plath [1940]. Hauff's acquaintance with the early works of Irving is attested by his own critical remarks. Plath holds that he presumably knew at least the *Sketch book*, *Bracebridge Hall*, and the *Tales of a traveller*. Plath asserts a connexion between *Das kalte Herz*, *Jud Süsz* and the *Phantasien im Bremer Ratskeller* on the one hand and *The legend of Sleepy Hollow* and *Rip Van Winkle* on the other. He treats in detail, however, only the connexion between Hauff's "Rahmenerzählung," *Das Wirtshaus im Spessart*, and Irving's similarly constructed story *The Italian banditti* in the *Tales of a traveller*. The evidence of a close connexion consists not only in parallel plot and incidents but also in a large number of closely parallel passages.

The abundant literature on the sources of Hauff's literary work tends to distract attention from the essential facts regarding his relation to his chief literary predecessor, Scott. The basis for generalization is a narrow one. Hauff's entire literary career covers only a period of about two years. During that time he was so much engaged as a tutor, traveler, editor, critic that he had scant time in which to write his sixteen or more comprehensive works. To judge his relation to Scott by his *Lichtenstein* is perhaps as unfair as it would be to judge Alexis's relation by his *Cabanis*, but clearly enuf Hauff desired to do for Suabia what Scott had done for the Highlands and Alexis for Prussia. Like Scott Hauff tried to be true to the facts of history and truer still to its colors. Furthermore, he not only adopted the new type of hero invented by Scott but declared himself against the hitherto prevalent German type, the wandering artist, the roaming adventurer, the subjective dreamer, saying: "Man wollte unter Roman nicht mehr die Lebensbegebenheiten des Helden verstehen sondern die Aufstellung und Entwicklung der menschlichen Ansicht über Kunst oder sonst ein Thema des geistigen Lebens, die sogenannte Geschichte war Nebensache."³⁰

³⁰ Hauff, *Studien*; quoted by Thompson [1984] 557 without page reference.

In contrast with Alexis's critical bearing toward Scott, Gustav Freytag was, from beginning to end of his career, an admirer of "the father of the modern novel," as he called him.³¹ Freytag began reading Scott when a boy of fourteen at the Gymnasium at Oels. "Die Fülle und heitere Sicherheit dieses grossen Dichters," he says in his *Erinnerungen*, "nahmen mich ganz gefangen."³² Cooper later rivaled Scott in Freytag's favor: "Beide sind mir noch heute Hausfreunde geblieben," he wrote in 1887, "mit denen ich oft verkehre, und ich habe ihrer freudigen frischen Kraft vieles zu danken."³²

Freytag began his literary career as a dramatist. As such he was largely under the influence of the Young-German dramatists, as has recently been demonstrated.³³ In the re-adjustment of the revolutionary period he found himself, from 1848-1862, the collegue of Julian Schmidt on the *Grenzboten*. Schmidt, the opponent of the Young Germans and the admirer of English institutions and English literature, doubtless had much influence upon his co-worker. The thot was exprest at the time that Freytag was, to a large extent, the creative demonstrator of Schmidt's literary theories.³⁴

It was a foregone conclusion, however, that when Freytag turned from the drama to the novel, Scott would become his model. It was about the year 1853 that Freytag began to realize that the novel was now the proper vehiele for the conveyance of his views of life:³⁵ "Mir war es ein Bedürfnis (*Soll und Haben*) zu schreiben, nebenbei um zu versuchen, wie man einen Roman macht."³⁶ The future author of the *Technik des Dramas* naturally had a strong interest in novelistic form as well; moreover he regarded it as the especial merit of Walter Scott that

³¹ Freytag, *Werke* XVI 220.

³² *Ibid.*, I 73.

³³ Cf. Mayrhofer, *Gustav Freytag und das junge Deutschland*, BDL I (1907); 56 pp.

³⁴ H. Marggraff BLU 1855 I 446; quoted in SURVEY, p. 491.

³⁵ *G. Freytags Briefwechsel mit E. Devrient* (Braunschweig 1902) p. 135.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

he had introduced the dramatic form into the novel.³⁷ A close parallel can consequently be drawn between the form of Freytag's novel and that of Scott's. Ulrich, in his third chapter, "Der Aufbau der Handlung,"³⁸ has made such a comparison under the captions: "Die Exposition," "Der Höhepunkt," "Die steigende und fallende Handlung," "Der Schluss." The comparison is close, too close to be recapitulated here, and the deviations are interesting.

We have here rather to inquire what personal characteristics of the two authors were responsible for similarities and dissimilarities. Scott wrote abundantly and without effort in his idle hours; Freytag was a conscious artist. The form which Scott hit upon at the outset and followed thereafter as being the line of least resistance, Freytag recognized as resulting from the nature of the novel, and he adopted it consciously. Both Scott and Freytag had an antiquarian interest in the past, but Freytag omits on principle the scholarly ballast and the footnotes, with which Scott overloads his novels. Both were interested in the historical development of the present out of the past. If certain of Scott's novels are put together they constitute an "Ahnen" series. But Freytag's "Ahnen" series is again more the result of intention than Scott's. In Freytag's novels as in Scott's we find the passive somewhat commonplace hero and the historical one, but Freytag keeps the latter more in the background than does Scott. It happens that both Scott and Freytag, perhaps as a result of some common personal trait, avoid love scenes in their novels as much as possible. This lends a similar austerity to their works.

In his *Ahnen* Freytag was merely developing further, according to his artistic conception, the historical novel introduced by Scott and already imitated in various ways by various German novelists. His novel *Soll und Haben*, on the other hand, helped to usher in a new phase of Scott's influence in Germany. To

³⁷ *Grenzboten* 1851 IV 266; cf. Freytag, *Werke* I 180.

³⁸ Ulrich [976] 82-121.

demonstrate this it is necessary to return to a distinction made by Julian Schmidt. He divided the *Waverley novels* into two classes. One class headed by *Ivanhoe* (1819) was based on Scott's study of works of history. It was this group that gained for him his continental reputation. The other group of which *Guy Mannering* (1815) is typical is made up of novels the material for which was gathered by observation and oral tradition.³⁹ Schmidt's real preference seems to have been for the latter class and he apparently was one of the first to recognize in it a fresh starting point for the German "Dorfnovelle" and "Dorfroman." This view has come to be generally accepted and Mielke, among others, coincides with it in his *Der deutsche Roman* [831a]. The characters drawn from actual life, with representatives of the economically useful classes of society, were particularly wholesome examples to later German writers. The introduction to the *Antiquary*, Schmidt says, might have served Auerbach as a motto for his village tales.⁴⁰ Schmidt compared David Deans with Auerbach's Wadeleswirth,⁴¹ Dandie Dinmont and Hobbie Eliot with characters from Gotthelf's stories,⁴² and referred to Reuter as one who had learned much from Scott.^{42a}

The village tale, Schmidt held, should not be an independent branch of literature, but such tales should be included in larger novels following Scott's procedure in the *Heart of Midlothian*. City types should be presented as well as village types, and the two should be brot into contact as in Scott's novels.

³⁹ Schmidt [972] 227; cf. Price [845] 23.

⁴⁰ Schmidt [972] 211; quoted by Price [845] 21.

⁴¹ Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 19. Jh²* III 340.

⁴² *Ibid.*, III 313. This surmize was confirmed by C. Manuel in *Albert Bitzium* (Berlin 1857) p. 26: "Er (Gotthelf) las . . . ziemlich viel, und zu seinen Erholungen gehörte auch ein Leseverein mit einigen Freunden, in welchem namentlich Walter Scott beliebt war. Wir haben von Universitätsfreunden von Bitzium die Behauptung gehört, dasz die Vorzüge dieses Schriftstellers, die Feinheit der Charakteristik, die psychologische Wahrheit, nicht ohne Einflusz auf Bitzium's Geist gewesen und auch in seinen Schriften noch nachgewirkt hätten, was leicht möglich ist." Quoted by Wenger [974] 102.

^{42a} Schmidt [972] 213; re Reuter see SURVEY, p. 550.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

As examples of the latter type he mentions Scott's London merchant, Osbaldistone, in *Rob Roy* and Freytag's T. O. Schröter, in *Soll und Haben*,⁴³ a character drawn like Scott's from actual observation. In such original characters as Pix and Specht in *Soll und Haben* and Gabriel and Hummel in *Die verlorene Handschrift* the influence of Dickens has been suggested.⁴⁴ It is not always easy, nor is it especially important, to distinguish Scott's influence from Dickens's in a matter like this.

That Ludwig owed much specifically to Scott we may well doubt.⁴⁵ It is true that a close comparison can be made between the two authors touching upon their purposes as novelists, their portrayal of characters, their picturing of landscapes, their moral tone, their humor, and their technik in general.⁴⁶ It is true that in his *Roman-Studien* Ludwig cites the practice of Scott with an almost uniform approval, frequently recognizing his authority where it conflicts with Dickens's.⁴⁷ In the *Roman-Studien*, however, Ludwig was looking back upon his own past work and finding sanction for it where he could. The references do not prove that Scott was Ludwig's acknowledged master in the novelistic art. Striking similarities of incident may also be brot to bear upon the question, but how misleading these are is shown by the fact that the *Antiquary* and the *Heart of Midlothian* lend themselves most readily to such comparisons, yet precisely these works Ludwig seems not to have read until he had completed his novelistic work.⁴⁸ It can only be stated with certainty that Ludwig in his youth read with zeal the *Waverley novels*, that they made a deep impression on him, and they may have helpt inspire him

⁴⁴ Ulrich [975] 79f.

⁴⁵ Such indebtedness seems to be implied by Julian Schmidt in *Grenzboten* 1860 II 289; quoted by Price [845] 67. Cf. Busse in JEGPh XVI (1917) 145.

⁴⁶ Such a comparison has been made by Mary E. Lewis, University of California A.M. 1918 in her typewritten thesis entitled *A comparative study of Otto Ludwig and Walter Scott*, a copy of which is in the library of the University of California.

⁴⁷ Ludwig, *Schriften* VI 71 and VI 94.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, VI 83 and VI 91; the fact has been pointed out by M. E. Lewis in the thesis mentioned above.

to describe his Thüringer people as Scott had described his fellow-countrymen, that is to say in such a way as to procure sympathy for their virtues and indulgence for their faults.⁴⁹

In connexion with Walter Scott, Julian Schmidt gave expression to the hope that German novelists should not merely write but live, should first associate with their fellow citizens and observe their characters.⁵⁰ Freytag too asks the question regarding the German novels: "Weshalb so gar wenig von dem Leben der Gegenwart darin zu finden ist?" and answers: "Die Antwort darauf ist leider weil unsere Romanschriftsteller in der Mehrheit sehr wenig, ja zuweilen so gut wie gar nichts von unserem eigenen Leben, von dem Treiben der Gegenwart verstehen." He cites Gotthelf as an exception and holds up the career of Scott as an example for German novelists:

Als Walter Scott anfang, seine Romane zu schreiben, war er selbst schon lange Gutsbesitzer, Landbauer, Jäger, Kommunalbeamter seines Bezirkes, nebenbei freilich auch gelehrter Altertumsforscher und Literaturhistoriker. Und durch eine Reihe von Jahren hatte er mit all den Urbildern seiner Gestalten, in den Landschaften, welche er für die Kunst lebendig machte, in Wirklichkeit verkehrt, hatte sich selbst kräftig und tätig gerührt. Daher ist auch Männerarbeit geworden, was er geschrieben hat, eine Freude und Erquickung für die Besten seines Volkes und die Gebildeten aller Völker.⁵⁰

This suggests the chief influence of the English novel upon the German in the nineteenth century, which should here be stated. For some time Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* had stood as the unapproachable model. Goethe undertook, as Julian Schmidt says, "die Verherrlichung des Adels und der Künstler im Gegensatz gegen die Verkümmernng des Bürgertums. . . . Das Ideal seines Lebens war harmonische Ausbildung aller Kräfte. Diese war aber nur den bevorzugten Ständen oder den Vagabunden

⁴⁹ Scott's introduction to his *Waverley*.

⁵⁰ Schmidt [972] 212ff.

⁵¹ This interesting discussion on the part of Freytag may be looked upon as an advance program of his *Soll und Haben*, which he was about to begin. The article appeared in the *Grenzboten* 1853 I 77-80. It was unfortunately included nowhere in his collected works or essays, but he acknowledges it as his own in *Vermischte Aufsätze* (Leipzig 1901-1903), II 432. It is quoted at length by Price [845] 99ff.

möglich, denn der Bürger ging in einseitiger Tätigkeit unter und hatte innerhalb der Gesellschaft keine Ehre."⁵² But while Goethe wrote, a social revaluation was taking place of which he himself was unconscious. *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, *Guy Mannering*, and *Soll und Haben* are three novels all of which treat of the justification of the existence of the leisure class. The first lays stress primarily on "Der Mensch an sich" rather than man in his relation to labor. Goethe knew and appreciated labor. Schmidt says:

Einzelne Beschreibungen in den *Wanderjahren* gehören zu dem Vollenendetsten, was in dieser Beziehung geleistet worden ist. Allein die Arbeit erscheint doch wie ein Triebrad, das die Individualitäten zu bloßen Teilen herabsetzt. Das wahrhaft Menschliche, das individuelle Leben, ist verloren gegangen. Der einzelne . . . gibt seine Persönlichkeit um der Arbeit willen auf. Er betrachtet sich als einen Entsagenden.⁵³

This Schmidt said was fundamentally the wrong view of labor. The individual should find in his work the best opportunity for making his personality count. "Der Mensch soll sich seinem Beruf nicht als eine Maschine fügen, er soll sich in der ganzen Kraft seines Gemuts, seiner Eigentümlichkeiten, ja seiner Launen dabei betätigen."⁵³

This wholesome relation of man to his work was best revealed in the English novel, in which men of definite occupations had long played the chief rôles. Scott and after him Freytag were less tender in their treatment of the leisure class than Goethe. Scott believed thoroly in the superiority of good blood and deplored the decline of the nobility, yet he pictured "als tendenzloser, getreuer Berichterstätter,"⁵² what he saw transpiring before him. Freytag treats the same theme with a distinct "Tendenz." He aims to demonstrate: "Der Edelmann, der heute noch in der alten Weise fortleben will, der sich nicht den Ernst und die Folgerichtigkeit der bürgerlichen Arbeit aneignet, geht unter und verdient es unterzugehen, so liebenswürdig seine Erscheinung sein mag."⁵⁴

⁵² Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*² III 359, and [972] 193.

⁵³ Schmidt, *Geschichte* I 235f.; cf. *Grenzboten* 1855 II 453.

⁵⁴ Schmidt [972] 193.

Industrial evolution was bound in time to bring in a new type of novel into Germany, but the example of the literature of England, where the evolution was further advanced, and the example of Walter Scott's life and novels doubtless hastened the entry into Germany of the English type of novel, in which the characters occupy a definite place in the economic world, supplanting, to a large extent, the pre-existing type, in which the development of the hero's personality is the main theme.

⁵⁵ Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*² III 376.

CHAPTER 21

BYRON

When the Napoleonic blockade of England was broken, the pent-up works of two British poets began to flood the continental market. Scott made a more permanent conquest of his foreign readers, but the passion for Byron was more evident at the outset. Julian Schmidt emphasized in 1851 the international character of his public:

Lord Byron war der Mann, wie ihn sich die vorhergehende Zeit in ihrem Dichten und Denken geträumt hatte, namentlich unsere deutsche Poesie; auf den Höhen des Lebens geboren, und doch voller Begeisterung für die Freiheit; ein Bezauberer aller Herzen, und doch mit unglücklichem Streben fortwährend einem beständig schwindenden Ideale nacheilend. . . . Ein grosser Teil seines Ruhmes gehört seinen Schwächen an, welche zugleich die Schwächen seines Zeitalters waren, aber er hat durch die Kühnheit und Energie seines Geistes die zerstreuten Verirrungen seines Zeitalters gewaltsam zusammengefasst und sie dadurch ihrer Heilung zugeführt. . . . Sie sind in ihm in einem classischen Bilde zum Abschluss gekommen.¹

The publication of the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's pilgrimage* (March 1812) made Byron the literary lion of his day in England. His fame was enhanced by the *Giaour* and the *Bride of Abydos* (1813), *The corsair* and *Lara* (1814), the *Hebrew melodies* (1815), the *Siege of Corinth*, and *Parisina* (1816). Circumstances in connexion with his separation from his wife in that year so aroused the opposition of the British public that he left England to pass the rest of his days on the continent. Some of his best work now began to appear: From 1816 to 1822 the third and fourth cantos of *Childe Harold*, *The prisoner of Chillon*, *Manfred*, *Cain*, *Heaven and earth*, not to mention the less serious *Don Juan* (1819ff.); further his *Mazeppa*, *Marino Faliero*, *Sardanapalus*, *The two Foscari*, *The deformed transformed*, and others, which did the most to establish perma-

¹ *Grenzboten* 1851 IV 41 and 54.

nently his literary reputation on the continent. All these later works had to contend against a prejudice in England. The English public was furthermore offended at *Don Juan* and shocked at *Cain*. Byron showed the sincerity of his enthusiasm for freedom by espousing the cause of the Greeks. He died of fever at Missolonghi in April 1824. The Greeks begged for the honor of burying him on their soil, but his body was returned to England and cared for by his sister after having been refused admission into Westminster Abbey.

In Germany, on the other hand, Byron had many admirers even during his lifetime. Among the earliest and most enthusiastic of these were Friedrich Jacobsen and Elise von Hohenhausen. While residing in Ravenna Byron received a letter from an admirer unknown to him. He noted in his diary:

In the same month (July or Aug. 1819) I received an invitation into Holstein from a Mr. Jacobsen (I think) of Hamburg, also by the same medium a translation of Medora's song in the *Corsair* by a Westphalian baroness, . . . with some original verses of hers (very pretty and Klopstockish) and a prose translation annexed to them on the subject of my wife:² as they concerned her more than me, I sent them to her together with Mr. Jacobsen's letter. It was odd enough to receive an invitation to pass the summer in Holstein, while in Italy, from people I never knew. The letter was addressed to Venice. Mr. Jacobsen talked to me of the "wild roses growing in the Holstein summer." Why then did the Cymbri and Teutones emigrate?^{2a}

Friedrich Johann Jacobsen prepared in 1820 a work entitled *Briefe an eine deutsche Edelfrau über die neuesten englischen Dichter*. He is said to have gathered the materials for this work in England. It was a handsome book, illustrated with copper engravings of the leading English poets; the music to six of the English songs was given, and among the poems so provided was Byron's *Fare thee well*. The careers of Moore, Wordsworth, Southey, Scott, Crabbe, Rogers, and Byron were recounted; Shelley and Keats were not included. Many quotations and translations from the authors were discussed, together with several

² A translation of Byron's *Fare thee well*. Cf. SURVEY, p. 520.

^{2a} Engel, *Lord Byron: Eine Autobiographie nach Tagebüchern und Briefen*³ (Minden 1884), p. 160.

critical opinions; Byron was left to the last and treated with the greatest care. From this work one could derive a fairly accurate opinion of Byron's personality and of the background against which he stood. The account of Byron contained several excerpts from the leading English magazines regarding him; Walter Scott's comments in the *Quarterly review* headed the collection. The work was a rather expensive one and was sold by subscription. Among the subscribers were the Hamburg brothers Salomon and Henry Heine. Their nephew Heinrich undoubtedly read one of these copies. Goethe studied Jacobsen's book carefully and compared it with Byron's *English bards and Scotch reviewers*.^{2b} When in the year 1828 the first complete translation of Byron's poems was produced by the joint efforts of thirteen authors,³ three of these collaborators made use of Jacobsen's work and commended it highly, and the *Hallische Literaturzeitung* described it as "das Vollständigste und Lehrreichste, was in Deutschland über die neueste Dichterperiode unseres Schwesterlandes geschrieben ist."⁴ This work was Jacobsen's only contribution to the cult of Byron in Germany; he died two years later.⁵

The "deutsche Edelfrau" to whom the thirty-nine letters of Jacobsen were addressed was Elise von Hohenhausen, as the contemporary critics correctly surmized. She was also the Westphalian baroness who sent greetings to Byron in Ravenna together with the poems mentioned above. She became widely known as a Byron enthusiast and as the translator of several

^{2b} See SURVEY, p. 537.

³ *Lord Byrons Poesien* (Zwickau, Gebrüder Schumann, 1821-1828) in 31 Bändchen. One of the brothers Schumann was the father of Robert Schumann. This August Schumann translated the first cantos of *Childe Harold* for the collection. With the exception of Elise von Hohenhausen most of the translators are not well known. Many renderings of individual poems had preceded this complete translation. Other complete translations were by Böttger, 1839, and Gildemeister, 1865. For further bibliographical information see Flaischlen [863]; cf. Ochsenbein [902] 29f.

⁴ Quoted by Ochsenbein [902] 44.

⁵ Melchior [900] 5 speaks of Jacobsen's work rather disparagingly as an undertaking, "das er in selbstloser Begeisterung für die Sache, aber ohne rechten Beruf dazu, auf eigne Kosten veranstaltete."

of Byron's minor poems (1818) and of his *Corsair* (1820).⁶ She past the summer of 1818 in Hamburg, where she associated with the circle of rich merchants to which the Heines belonged. Melchior surmizes that it was she who first called the attention of the young Heine to Lord Byron's poems.^{6a} He surmizes further that Heine's translation of *Fare thee well* was written at her suggestion or possibly in competition with her, since a translation by her appeared in 1818. The latter would seem an unnecessary conclusion, since translations of this poem were springing up everywhere at just about this time.⁷ Heine came into association with Elise von Hohenhausen again in Berlin in 1821, where he found that she had established a salon devoted largely to the cult of Byron. Elise translated later (1827) Byron's *Cain* and *Prophecy of Dante* and certain other poems and also wrote poems celebrating or describing the events of Byron's life.⁸ "In späteren Jahren," says Oehsenbein, "wandte sie sich immer mehr einer religiösen Richtung zu, welche 1847 in der Schrift *Rousseau, Goethe und Byron, ein kritisch-literarischer Umriss aus ethisch-christlichem Standpunkt* deutlich zutage trat."⁹

Of the essays on Byron's influence listed in the bibliography, Weddigen's [867] is the broadest in scope and the most superficial in treatment. Discussing as he does Byron's influence on the entire European literature,¹⁰ Weddigen has only twenty-five pages to devote to a cataloging of the numerous German authors whom he associates with Byron, often by a thin thread of connexion. He includes in his list several German authors merely because they have made Byron the theme of literary works. His

⁶ Publisht in 1820, according to Oehsenbein [902] 10 and 31; possibly written in 1818, as stated by Melchior [900] 6.

^{6a} Melchior [900] 6.

⁷ Oehsenbein [902] 56 mentions several of these. He makes no reference to the early relations of Heine and Elise von Hohenhausen, but he gives 1819 as the date of Heine's first translations of Byron. He evidently discredits Melchior's surmise.

⁸ Oehsenbein [902] 10 and 31-37.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9; cf. von Hohenhausen [885].

¹⁰ Weddigen [867] devotes brief chapters to Byron's influence on the literatures of England, America, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Rumania, Poland, Russia, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, and Greece.

collection under this category is far from complete.¹¹ He includes a number of German poets who have used Byron's themes after him¹² and those who were attracted especially by the oriental coloring of Byron's poems.¹³

There remain the three really important groups: the first composed of those who were inspired like Byron with a zeal to aid the liberty of oppressed races, the second of those who set to effect political improvements in their own country, the third of those who were bound to Byron by a like "Pessimismus," "Welt-schmerz," "Blasiertheit," or "Verzweiflung." The groups are of course not mutually exclusive. Platen with his *Polenlieder*, Gustav Pfizer with his *Griechen-und Polenlieder*, and Ferdinand Gregorovius with his *Magyarenlieder* contributed distinctly to the new poetry of national independence. "Philhellenismus" was prominent with Wilhelm Müller and Wilhelm Waiblinger as leaders. The larger number of German political poets, how-

¹¹ The following list is taken chiefly from Porterfield [12]:

"Novellen"—

- 1820 E. T. A. Hoffman, *Walter Scott und Byron* (in *Seraphionsbrüder*).
 1835 Laube, *Lord Byron* (in *Reisenovellen*).
 1839 E. H. Willkomm, *Lord Byron. Ein Dichterleben* (in *Zivilisationsnovellen*).
 1862 Bucher, A., *Byrons letzte Liebe*.
 1867 Zianitzka (= Kathinka Zitz) *Lord Byron. Romantische Skizzen aus einem vielbewegten Leben*.

Dramas—

- 1847 R. Gottschall, *Lord Byron in Italien*.
 1850 Elise Schmidt, *Der Genius und die Gesellschaft*.
 1886 Karl Bleibtreu, *Lord Byrons letzte Liebe*.
 1886 Karl Bleibtreu, *Meine Tochter*.
 1900 Karl Bleibtreu, *Byrons Geheimnis*.

This list does not include the occasional lyric poetry such as that referred to in SURVEY, p. 539.

¹² *Der Gefangene von Chillon* was the theme of M. Hartmann in 1863. Anastasius Grün's *Der Turm am Strande* is reminiscent of *The prisoner of Chillon*. A. Böttger in *Die Tochter des Cain* treats of Byron's theme in *Heaven and earth*. S. Mosenthal in *Parisina* has his subject matter also from Byron, as does G. Kastrupp in his *Cain*. Marino Faliero was the theme of A. Lindner in 1875, of H. Kruse in 1876, and M. Greif in 1879. Regarding Grillparzer see BIBLIOGRAPHY [899].

¹³ To this group belong especially Wilhelm Müller (1794-1824) with his *Griechenlieder*, Wilhelm Waiblinger (1803-1831) with his *Erzählungen aus Griechenland*; also Rückert, Daumer, Bodenstedt, Hammer, Leopold Schefer, Heine in his *Reisebilder*, Zedlitz in his *Todtenkränze*, and Adolf Fr. von Schack in his *Lothar*.

ever, directed their attention to internal German conditions. Among the leading political poets in Austria were Zedlitz, Anastasius Grün, Lenau, Karl Beck, Moritz Hartmann, Alfred Meisner, and Robert Hamerling; in Germany, Herwegh, Dingelstedt, Prutz, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Freiligrath, Strachwitz, and Max Waldau. All of these poets Weddigen connects with Byron in the sweeping statement: "Byron war der Vater der modernen politischen Lyrik." In the individual cases Weddigen bases his assertions upon similarities of the most general nature. The essay of Gudde [843] shows that Freiligrath turned to political poetry quite uninfluenced by English examples and that altho there are, in his political poetry after he turned thereto, echoes of the English poetry he knew so well, reminiscences of Byron are rather less frequent than those of Moore and others of less note. What is true of Freiligrath is quite possibly true of others in the list mentioned.

Weddigen connects the Young Germans with Byron by similar generalities: "Seinen Höhepunkt erreichte der Byronismus durch das junge Deutschland, welches zu Byron in ähnlichem Verhältnisse steht, wie die Stürmer und Dränger zu Shakespeare. Das war die Blütezeit des Radikalismus, der Freigeisterei und des Weltschmerzes in der deutschen Literatur."¹⁴ In proof of this assertion he makes such statements as the following: "Börnes *Briefe aus Paris* (1832-1834) sind in einer witzigen, geistreichen Sprache abgefasst, aber verneinenden Geistes, und von Byronischer Skepsis;"¹⁵ or again:

Karl Gutzkow erfüllte tief eine beunruhigende Byronische Skepsis. Seine Novelle *Wally, die Zweiflerin* erregte durch ihre antichristliche

¹⁴ Weddigen [867] 49-50.

¹⁵ Weddigen [867] 39. Börne's own view of his relation to Byron is quoted by Whyte [832] 6: "Vielleicht fragen Sie mich verwundert, wie ich Lump dazu komme, mich mit Byron zusammenzustellen? Darauf musz ich Ihnen erzählen, was Sie noch nicht wissen. Als Byrons Genius auf seiner Reise durch das Firmament auf die Erde kam, eine Nacht dort zu verweilen, stieg er zuerst bei mir ab. Aber das Haus gefiel ihm gar nicht, er eilte schnell wieder fort und kehrte in das Hotel Byron ein. Viele Jahre hat mich das geschmerzt, lange hat es mich betrübt, dasz ich so wenig geworden, gar nichts erreicht. Aber jetzt ist es vorüber, ich habe es vergessen und lebe zufrieden in meiner Armut. Mein Unglück ist, dasz ich im Mittelstande geboren bin, für den ich gar nicht passe." Börne, *Schriften* VIII 113; 15. Brief, Dec. 3, 1830.

Tendenz allgemeines Aufsehen. Sein Trauerspiel *Nero* ist die Ausgeburt einer Skepsis; der Held in seinem *Uriel Acosta* krankt an einer inneren Unbefriedigung. Die Einwirkung Byrons liegt überall auf der Hand.^{15a}

Passing over a list of rather unimportant authors who occasionally imitated or were inspired by Byron we come to Weddigen's final assertions regarding Byron's influence upon the philosophy and theology of Germany: "An Byron lehnt sich der theologische und politische Radikalismus an. In Arthur Schopenhauers Philosophie ist alles Dissonanz und Schmerzenschrei. Offenbar findet zwischen Schopenhauers und Byrons Ideen ein innerer Konnex statt."^{15b} Dühning [904] had been more extreme in his assertion. With the extremists Melchior does not agree. He says: "Man musz den Ausspruch E. Dühnings, dasz Schopenhauers System ohne Byron undenkbar sei, cum grano salis verstehen."¹⁶

The last group of Byronists contribute a theme that is at once interesting and elusive. This group is made up of the German Byronists who were associated with their leader by a like temperament or a like "Weltschmerz." Some of the earlier users of the term "Weltschmerz" unscientifically and indiscriminatingly applied the word to personal as well as altruistic grief on the part of the poet.

Admittedly much that goes by the name of Byronism did not owe its origin exclusively to the poet. Byronism was a disease that was endemic as well as epidemic; but by our definition influences can occur only where a pre-disposition exists, hence certain treatizes of a less specific nature belong within the scope of our survey.¹⁷ Heine, Lenau, Grillparzer, and Grabbe afford problems within this last group of Byronists. In comparing the works of Grabbe and Byron Wiehr says:

A number of very important features that both these authors have in common cannot be at all attributed to literary influence, but are due to

^{15a} Weddigen [867] 50.

^{15b} *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁶ Melchior [900] 127.

¹⁷ For example, nos. [876] and [877] in BIBLIOGRAPHY.

similarity of character and disposition. Skepticism, dissatisfaction with life and contempt of it, hatred of the conventional, an attitude of defiance toward society, admiration for strong individuals, and a general low estimate of women are the most important points we find in both.^{17a}

Wiehr then points out essential differences between the two poets: regarding the existence of a benevolent deity Byron alternately doubts and hopes, while Grabbe consistently denies. The difference in the poetic quality of the two writers is, in small part at least, explained by their different situations in life.

Wiehr plausibly surmizes that Byron's influence was operative in Grabbe's *Herzog Theodor von Gothland*, which Grabbe had written before coming to Leipzig in 1820, but which he revised before publishing in 1822. During the period 1820-1822 Byron became popular in Germany, and it is likely that Grabbe read, among other poems of Byron, his *Cain*. Grabbe's *Gothland*, Wiehr says, is very loosely constructed, and especially those passages that remind of *Cain* are not an organic part of the whole but may have been inserted later.

There is external evidence of Grabbe's familiarity with Byron before the beginning of his second poetic period. Grabbe begins his essay *Über die Shakespearo-Manie* as follows:

Lord Byron sagt in seinem *Don Juan* etwas spöttisch, Shakespeare sey zur "fashion" geworden. Ich gestehe vorläufig, dasz mir in der englischen schönen Litteratur nur zwei Erscheinungen von hoher Wichtigkeit sind: Lord Byron und Shakespeare,—jener als die möglichst poetisch dargestellte Subjectivität, dieser als die ebenso poetisch dargestellte Objectivität. Lord Byron, in seiner Art so grosz als Shakespeare, mag gerade wegen seines verschiedenen dichterischen Characters nicht das competenteste Urtheil über ihn abgeben.^{17b}

Other references of Grabbe to Byron could be quoted, but the testimony of Grabbe's friend Ziegler is sufficient, to the effect that during Grabbe's furlo in 1834 Grabbe and Ziegler often read Byron together. Weddingen sums up the entire relation with one of his sweeping generalities:

Christian Dietrich Grabbe hat Byronische Ideen in sich aufgenommen. Er ist ein Dichter von zerrissenem Gemüt; schon in seinem Erstlingswerk

^{17a} Wiehr [897] 134.

^{17b} Grabbe [404a] 439.

Herzog von Gothland ist Grabbe von bitterstem Skepticismus angefressen, sein *Don Juan und Faust* erinnert uns in manchen Seiten an Byrons *Don Juan*.¹⁸

Wiehr maintains on the contrary that there are no significant similarities between Byron's *Don Juan* and Grabbe's *Don Juan und Faust*. There are strong resemblances however between Byron's *Cain* and Grabbe's *Don Juan*, and Grabbe's work contains elsewhere reminiscences of Byron's *Manfred*, *Lucifer*, and *Childe Harold*. Wiehr adds that echoes of Byron are to be found in the Hohenstaufen dramas and that Grabbe's *Napoleon* (V, 1) was suggested by Byron's stanzas on the battle of Waterloo.

Heine's surmized early interest in Byron in Hamburg (1818-1819) has already been mentioned. Regarding the Göttingen period 1819-1820 we have our first definite facts. Heine came into personal relations with August Wilhelm von Schlegel, then professor in Göttingen. Schlegel challenged Heine to translate the words of the spirits in the opening scenes in *Manfred* and highly commended the work when done. In 1821 Heine was in Berlin and attended the gatherings of the Byron admirers in the salon of Elise von Hohenhausen where on occasions he read his own poems. They were rather coolly received by the majority of his hearers¹⁹ but were lauded by Elise herself, and it was she who first proclaimed Heine as the German successor of Byron. In his first published book of poems (1822) Heine included some translations of Byron, thus challenging a comparison, which was promptly instituted by Immermann^{19a} and "Schm." (= Schleiermacher?).^{19b}

During the next year or two Heine has little to say about Byron, and he does not participate in the "Philhellenismus" of the day, which was perhaps becoming too much of a commonplace for him. In his *Harzreise* Heine represents himself as talking to two ladies on the Brocken in the following ironical fashion:

¹⁸ Weddigen [867] 38.

¹⁹ Ochsenbein [902] 83-84.

^{19a} *Kunst- und Wissenschaftsblatt des Rheinisch-Westfälischen Anzeigers*. May 31, 1822, no. 23.

^{19b} *Ibid.*, June 7, 1822.

Ich glaube, wir sprachen auch von Angorakatzen, etruskischen Vasen, türkischen Shawls, Makkaroni und Lord Byron, aus dessen Gedichten die ältere Dame einige Sonnenuntergangsstellen, recht hübsch lispelnd und seufzend, rezitierte. Der jüngern Dame, die kein Englisch verstand und jene Gedichte kennen lernen wollte, empfahl ich die Übersetzungen meiner schönen, geistreichen Landsmännin, der Baronin Elise von Hohenhausen, bei welcher Gelegenheit ich nicht ermangelte, wie ich gegen junge Damen zu tun pflege, über Byrons Gottlosigkeit, Lieblosigkeit, Trostlosigkeit, und der Himmel weisz was noch mehr, zu eifern.²⁰

More unequivocal is Heine's private correspondence on the occasion of Byron's death in 1824. He wrote two letters to friends in both of which he lamented the death of his "cousin" Lord Byron, and a letter to his friend Moser in which he said:

Byron war der einzige Mensch, mit dem ich mich verwandt fühlte, und wir mögen uns wohl in manchen Dingen geglichen haben; scherze nur darüber soviel Du willst. Ich las ihn selten seit einigen Jahren: man geht lieber um mit Menschen, deren Charakter von dem unsrigen verschieden ist.²¹

Heine did his utmost to persuade Moser to write an article for one of the leading literary journals in which he should herald him as Byron's successor. Moser refused, and eventually Heine could thank him for it, for now Willibald Alexis and even Wilhelm Müller and Karl Immermann, former admirers of Byron, were beginning to warn against the Byronic fever. Immermann in 1827 made some comparisons between Byron and Heine in the latter's favor.^{21a}

For a time Heine is now chiefly concerned to differentiate himself from Byron. He writes early in 1827:

Wahrlich, in diesem Augenblicke fühle ich sehr lebhaft, dasz ich kein Nachbeter oder, besser gesagt, Nachfrevler Byrons bin, mein Blut ist nicht so spleenisch schwarz, meine Bitterkeit kömmt nur aus den Galläpfeln meiner Dinte. . . . Von allen groszen Schriftstellern ist Byron just derjenige, dessen Lektüre mich am unleidlichsten berührt.²²

Yet on his visit to England he is full of disparaging words for the people that does not know how to value its second greatest

²⁰ Heine, *Werke* IV 57.

²¹ Quoted by Melchior [900] 13-14.

^{21a} *Jahrbuch für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 1827, no. 97, p. 767.

²² Melchior [900] 16.

poet; and on his return he assumes a genuine Byronic pose while sitting for a portrait beneath which he inscribes the words:

Verdrossnen Sinn im kalten Herzen tragend
Schau ich verdrieszlich in die kalte Welt.²³

There are occasional references to Byron on the part of Heine in the next following years. They may be formulated thus: Heine made a display of his "Weltschmerz" but wisht it to be clearly understood that it had its origin in his own nature, that foren influence had no share in it. Melchior says:

Man muss wohl sagen, dass Heine in seinem Verhältnis zu Byron von einiger Unehrllichkeit nicht ganz freizusprechen ist. Wenn man sich seines Verhältnisses zu Goethe und auch zu Shakespeare erinnert, das ja eingeständenermassen ebenfalls durch einen gewissen Neid getrübt wurde, so ist man leicht versucht, in seiner zweideutigen Beurteilung Byrons eine Parallele dazu zu erkennen.²⁴

Ochsenbein's data regarding Heine's opinions of Byron are fuller than Melchior's, but the conclusions of the two critics are reconcilable with each other. Ochsenbein accepts Heine's statement of 1824 quoted above ("ich las ihn selten seit einigen Jahren") but reminds us that in 1820 Heine was at work translating *Manfred* and *Childe Harold*, that he began to write *Almansor* in the same year and in 1822 *Ratcliff*, which, with shorter poems of the same period, indicate a strong Byronic influence. Thus Ochsenbein establishes the years 1820-1822 as the period of highest interest in Byron. The other striking fact for Ochsenbein is the paucity of references to Byron on the part of Heine in the later years. Ochsenbein summarizes his conclusions as follows:

Die zusammenhängende Betrachtung seiner Urteile hat deutlich gezeigt, wie seine anfängliche Begeisterung allmählich in Abneigung und schliesslich in vollendete Gleichgültigkeit überging. So erklärt es sich, dass er in der Zeit seiner ausgiebigen kritischen und geistesgeschichtlichen Schriftstellerei nur wenige und ablehnende Worte für Byron übrig hat. Den Einfluss des grossen Modedichters haben wir in seinen Jugenddichtungen aufzusuchen.²⁵

²³ Ibid., p. 18.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 23-24.

²⁵ Ochsenbein [902] 127.

Since the appearance of Heine's earliest poems, however, in 1822 the critics have never ceased associating him with Byron. Immermann, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and Willibald Alexis made comparisons to the advantage of the one or the other, and most of them recognized Heine's desire to be spoken of in connexion with Byron. With the growth of the revolutionary ideas immediately thereafter Heine came into prominence in the political movement, and his prose was more conspicuous than his poetry. Wienbarg ranks Heine higher than Byron because Heine was the more thoroughgoing revolutionist,²⁶ and Menzel placed him lower than Byron for the same reason.²⁷ Laube in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, written in the confinement of Castle Muskau in Silesia (1836), was compelled to forego political comparisons and confine himself to temperamental ones. Laube was the first to deny that Heine was dependent in a literary way upon Byron or that he attempted to pose as a Byron. Among the later political critics Zdziechowski [878] finds an essential difference between Byron and Heine, while Georg Brandes²⁸ and Johannes Proelsz,²⁹ the historians of the movement, emphasize the similarities and the indebtedness of the entire Young-German school to Byron.

After the death of Heine attention was directed particularly toward his *Buch der Lieder*, and there was a tendency to interpret his entire work in the light of this one collection. The word "Weltschmerz," hazily defined, came into vogue and was used by Auerbach [876] and Gnad [877] to designate the element common to Byron and Heine. Other writers like Julian Schmidt³² call attention to the common subjectiveness of the two poets, their emphasis upon their own personalities. Still others, like Karl Elze in his biography of Byron and Brandes in his dis-

²⁶ Wienbarg, *Aesthetische Feldzüge* (Hamburg 1834) 275 and 284ff.

²⁷ Menzel in *Literaturblatt*, March 23-25, 1836.

²⁸ Brandes, *Die Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts in ihren Hauptströmungen* (Leipzig 1891), VI 39.

²⁹ Proelz [880] 39, 126, and 136.

³² Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*⁵ (Leipzig 1867), III 155ff. See also Weddigen [867] 44ff.

cussion of the influence of Byron,³³ draw the entire personalities of the two poets into comparison. Previous to Ochsenbein's treatise [902] the most exhaustive discussions of the relation of Heine and Byron were those of Proelsz [880] and Melchior [900]. Ochsenbein has taken cognizance of the work of his predecessors, has rigidly excluded from consideration accidental similarities that have their origin in a like temperament or in the common trend of the time, and has thus been able to write the authoritative treatise on the specific influence of Byron on Heine. Disagreeing with Melchior's surmise Ochsenbein³⁴ places Heine's earlier Byron translation in the year 1819.

Ausere Anhaltspunkte für eine Kenntnis des englischen Dichters sind vor 1819 nirgends gegeben. Auch innerliche Beeinflussung werden wir für diese Zeit leugnen müssen, wengleich der junge Heine Stimmungen aufweist, welche mit der Düsterteit des jungen Lords verwandt scheinen und die Teilnahme erklären, mit der er alsbald die Poesie dieses "Vetters" in sich verarbeitete.³⁵

Thus Ochsenbein is able to take as his starting point the young Heine uninfluenced by Byron, and even in him he finds much that was Byronic. Heine's early reading gave him such a trend. The satirists Cervantes and Swift pleased him most, together with gruesome literature, wherever he could find it, from the hand of Vulpius or Hoffmann or in the folksongs. His early acquaintance with Josepha, the daughter of the Düsseldorf executioner, further encouraged this inclination, and an unfortunate love affair with his Hamburg cousin inclined him to melancholy and to morbid introspection.

Heine's early translations of Byron left their traces on his poetic productions of the next period. In *To Inez* and *Good night*, lyric passages of *Childe Harold* and *Manfred*, Heine had to do with the hero of Byron's earlier period, the one who made a display of his grief and melancholy and appealed for sympathy. The later Byronic hero was more defiant in tone. It was to the

³³ Brandes, *Die Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts etc.*, VI 39 and 213.

³⁴ See SURVEY, p. 520.

³⁵ Ochsenbein [902] 136.

influence of the earlier type that Heine was susceptible. There he found sanction for the unreserved display to the world of his inner emotions, and after misfortune in love he carried the Byronic note over into his own personal lyric poetry.

In the poetry of Heine's next following period Oechsenbein is ready to recognize Byron's influence but does not forget, as some of his predecessors have done, that German trends, especially those of the romantic school, were also effective: "das Fortwirken jener phantastischen und schauerlichen Elemente seiner früheren Dichtung, jener Traum-, Grab-, und Spukpoesie mit ihren bleichen und wilden Menschen,"³⁶ and likewise "das kränkelnde Hinnehmachen nach dem Vorbilde der Uhlandschen Jugendlidung."³⁷ Heine's own sufferings sufficiently account for most of his poetry: unhappiness in love; the perpetual torment of an aching head; the vexations of a hum-drum earning of daily bread thru hated occupations (this gives a note that differs from Byron's); the feeling of being regarded as an outcast by his own people, without a compensating acceptance on the part of the Christians; finally the conviction that he was the object of persecution, which was with Heine no idle affectation. "Armut, Krankheit, Judenschmerz," so Oechsenbein sums up the causes of Heine's melancholy, and he further finds that Heine's attitude toward his fellow men was different from Byron's: An occasional thrust at the world sufficed Byron, who occupied an independent position; Heine was constantly at sword-points with the "Philister," to whom he was compelled to be subservient.

In view of these considerations Oechsenbein is disposed to deny Byron's influence on Heine during this period except in details. In this part of his work he acknowledges indebtedness to his predecessor Melchior, some of whose most interesting conclusions he, however, discredits.³⁸ In compensation Oechsenbein devotes

³⁶ Ibid., p. 150.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 151.

³⁸ Among them the association of Heine's *Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam* with *The wild gazelle* in Byron's *Hebrew melodies* (compare Melchior p. 88 with Oechsenbein p. 153). He regards the resemblances of passages in

a chapter each to Heine's *Almansor* and *Ratcliff*, two tragedies written when Heine's enthusiasm for Byron was in its zenith. These dramas Melchior had mentioned merely in passing.

Aside from the Spanish sources of *Almansor* Heine was familiar with Fouqué's treatment of the theme in the *Zauberring* as well as with Byron's use of the motif. In order to lend a dramatic tone to the theme Heine, as Ochsenbein points out,³⁹ made use of typical situations and characters such as are found in Byron's *Giaour*, *Bride of Abydos*, *Corsair*, *Lara*, and *Siege of Corinth*. There is further evidence of influence in the similarities of the names of the characters, in certain technical peculiarities, and in the poetic style. Heine was dissatisfied with the diction in *Almansor* and wrote to a friend: "die vermaledeite Bildersprache, in welcher ich den Almansor und seine orientalischen Konsorten sprechen lassen musste, zog mich ins Breite." "Dieses Müssen," says Ochsenbein, "wird ihm von der zwingenden Macht seines Vorbildes auferlegt worden sein."⁴⁰ He finds further imitation of Byron in some of Heine's descriptions of landscape, and in his comparisons and metaphors.

While Melchior called especial attention to the influence of Byron's *Dream* on Heine's *Traumbilder*, Ochsenbein lays more emphasis upon the relation of Byron's poem to Heine's *Ratcliff*. After Byron had been divorced from his wife he wrote the poem, *The dream*, in which he imagines himself to be visiting the home of the love of his early youth, Mary Chaworth. He finds her surrounded by beautiful children, but unhappy in her marriage. The unhappiness leads finally to madness. Heine assimilated the mood of the poem and applied it to his relations with his Hamburg cousin. By suppression of rime and verse Heine succeeds in producing the same effect as Byron, that of severely restrained passion. The portraits of the women in the two

Childe Harold's pilgrimage to passages in Heine's *Tannhäuser* (Melchior p. 166), the resemblance of Byron's *Belshazzar* to Heine's *Belsazer*, and the common theme of *Hebrew melodies* and *Hebräische Melodien*, as being without great significance. He finds Byron's *Dream* influential in Heine's poetry but in a different way from Melchior.

³⁹ Ochsenbein [902] 198.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

instances are quite different. In Byron she is calm and of a forced cheerfulness on the occasion of the visit. With Heine the madness has already set in. Heine's pictures of the landscape and house resemble Byron's. Ochsenschein says:

Bezeichnender noch als diese stofflichen Entlehnungen ist der Versuch Heines, die ganze Stimmung des *Dream* wiederzugeben. Hier und in der *Götterdämmerung* stossen wir auf dasjenige, was Heine selbst ein Gefühlsplagiat nennt und was uns berechtigt, diese Gedichte als direkte Nachahmungen Byrons zu bezeichnen. Wenn bloss stoffliche Entlehnungen noch keine allgemeine Abhängigkeit, keinen tieferen poetischen Einflusz dartun, so zeigt uns diese Stimmungskopie, wie auch die schon früher behandelten, dasz Heine sich wenigstens in einzelnen Stunden dem Banne des groszen englischen Dichters völlig hingegeben hat.⁴¹

Heine characterized his *Ratcliff* as "eine Hauptkession." In it he laid bare his grief at the loss of his cousin's love and his hatred of his preferred rival. Such a subjective work must necessarily be original, and the influence of Byron here is, as Ochsenschein says, more deep than broad and all-pervasive. Ill-fated love leads Heine's hero to slay in turn two more successful suitors of his Maria. Wounded by a third suitor he rushes to her home and slays first her, then himself. Such a theme brot Heine within the realm of the fate drama and subjected him to the influence of the type, but the hero of the tragedy is Byronic, a fallen angel become a devil. He resembles Childe Harold and Lara rather than Byron's later heroes.

In the same volume with Byron's *Dream* was a poem, *Darkness*, which described the misery of man at the end of the gradual cooling of the earth. This was a theme that had already appealed to Heine; Byron may have first shown him its poetic availability. Furthermore there are a large number of parallelisms of form between it and Heine's *Götterdämmerung*.⁴²

Melchior's unique contribution to the subject of Byron and Heine is his discussion of Heine as a poet of the sea. In this respect Heine thot himself an innovator, as many references in his private correspondence show. But he was not entirely with-

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 179.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 182-189.

out German predecessors. True, most of the earlier sea poetry has, like Goethe's, to do with the Mediterranean. The *Gudrun* had left the North Sea almost undescribed, and Brockes had described it only in his usual minute way. But Herder had been genuinely inspired by the North Sea, on whose bosom he was first able fully to appreciate the poetry of Ossian. In the private correspondence of the eighteenth century the sea is admired in terms often poetic, as by Lichtenberg, while in Fr. Leopold von Stolberg we find a genuine sea poet. For the romanticists the sea had chiefly a symbolic value, but Wilhelm Müller was an immediate predecessor of Heine with his sea poetry. Melchior concludes, "dasz den deutschen Dichtern damals die Poesie des Meeres zwar nicht völlig verschlossen war, dasz man aber doch bis dahin immer noch in den ersten Anfängen stecken geblieben war."^{42a}

In sea-girt England the poetry of the sea was naturally further advanced; it had reached its culmination in the works of Shelley and Byron. It is the Mediterranean again that dominates in Byron's poems, while Heine describes the entirely different North Sea. Yet Melchior holds that the inspiration of Byron is present here and assumes Elise von Hohenhausen as a medium of communication. His external evidence is not without weight. He quotes August von Schindel's testimony concerning Elise von Hohenhausen:

Besonders ziehen sie Byrons Gedichte an, die sie ins Deutsche übersetzen will, und in Beziehung auf die sie im Jahre 1819 eine Reise nach Hamburg unternahm, um sich an den Ufern des Meeres durch eigene Anschauung die malerischen Schilderungen des britischen Dichters lebhafter zu vergegenwärtigen.⁴³

Elise von Hohenhausen not only translated Byron on this journey but published (1820) a book describing the scenes that had impressed her on this occasion. Melchior takes it for granted that Heine knew of this work and infers:

^{42a} Melchior [900] 106.

⁴³ Schindel, *Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1823), I 220.

Wenn wir nun wissen, dass der junge Dichter im Kreise der Hohenhäuser bald zum ersten Male als ein deutscher Byron ausgerufen wurde, und wenn wir ihn bald darauf seine *Nordseebilder* entwerfen sehen, so können wir wohl kaum der Annahme entraten, dass er auf diesem Wege, also im letzten Grunde durch Byron zu seiner Seedichtung angeregt worden ist. Dazu kommt aber schliesslich noch, dass sich bei Heine auch wirkliche Spuren der Entlehnung finden.⁴⁴

Melchior offers several rather convincing parallel passages but lays more stress upon the similar feeling of both poets toward the sea. For both it is a benignant element. It is a last refuge from persecutors, it awakens happy memories of childhood, and its soft monotonous beating can lull even the angry winds to rest.

The indebtedness of Lenau and Grillparzer to Byron has never been comprehensively defined. The relation of the two German poets to him was of a similar nature: both were susceptible to Byron's influence because their prevailing moods were somewhat similar to his; in both cases material parallels can be shown; and in neither case has any definite influence in the proper meaning of the term been demonstrated. Weddigen generalizes on the Byron-Lenau relationship as follows:

Von dem düsteren Weltschmerz und der Skepsis des englischen Dichters ist Nikolaus Lenau . . . wesentlich beeinflusst worden. Er ging in Byronischer Zerrissenheit unter. Lenaus Schwermut hat indes den Grund in seinem Schmerze um ein verlorenes Paradies des Glaubens; seine Zerrissenheit ist kein koketter Weltschmerz wie bei Heine. Lenaus erste grössere Dichtung, der *Faust*, erinnert in ihrem Geiste wie in ihrer Form an Byron. Sein *Savonarola* (1837) und *Die Albigenser* zeigen uns die düstere Skepsis des Engländers; ebenso ist Lenaus *Don Juan* (1851) . . . blasirt und sensualistisch, wie manche seiner poetischen Gestalten. Der Zweifel, das Unbefriedigtsein trieben Lenau 1832 durch die vereinigten Staaten; aber auch hier fand seine Seele keine Ruhe. Wir sehen in ihm etwas von Byrons ungestilltem Verlangen.^{44a}

Strangely enough Weddigen seems to have overlooked Grillparzer in his wide search for Byron's followers. The oversight has been made good by Wyplel [898] and [899], who found many verbal parallels and parallel motifs connecting the two poets

⁴⁴ Melchior [900] 108.

^{44a} Weddigen [867] 47

Passages in *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn* closely resemble lines in *Marino Faliero*, *The two Foscari*, and *Sardanapalus*. According to Wyplel, Grillparzer read most of Byron's works after he had finished *Blanka von Castilien* and before he wrote *Die Ahnfrau*. "Fast alle poetische Erzählungen Byrons, diese leidenschaftlichen Räuber-Geister-Liebes-und Leidensgeschichten, bieten Berührungspunkte mit der Tragödie Grillparzers."^{44b} *The bride of Abydos* presents the greatest number of parallel motifs, but *The corsair*, *Lara*, *The Giaour*, and *The siege of Corinth* all contribute something, probably for the most part without Grillparzer being conscious of the process.

In discussing the various phases of his literary influences in Germany, Byron the critic should not be entirely overlooked. It is well therefore that Brandl has reminded us that Byron's opinions of his countrymen are still a force in Germany: "Byrons Urteil über seine Umgebung, seine Angriffe auf Coleridge und Wordsworth, wie seine Achtung für Moore ist uns dadurch so maßgebend geworden, dass wir uns nur allmählich und zögernd zu einer unbefangenen Würdigung dieser Männer erschwingen."⁴⁵ It has already been noted that Goethe mentioned, along with Byron, his two literary friends Scott and Moore as the pre-eminent literary heroes of Britain.⁴⁶

It cannot be said that Goethe owed to Byron any positive new literary direction; he was already too far advanced in years for that. At most Byron helped to quicken his enthusiasm and rekindle his literary zeal.⁴⁷ But an account of the communications that passed between the two poets may nevertheless not be omitted, for it reveals certain lines of literary traffic between Germany and England, and it shows again that active zeal for literary reciprocity which Goethe had already shown in his correspondence with Carlyle about Burns, Schiller, and other men of letters.^{47a}

^{44b} Wyplel [899] 27.

⁴⁵ Brandl [892] 3.

⁴⁶ Cf. SURVEY, p. 472.

⁴⁷ See Eckermann, *Gespräche* p. 59, under date of Nov. 16, 1823; re the poem *Elegie zum Marienbad*. Cf. letter to Kinnaird quoted below.

^{47a} Cf. SURVEY, p. 480f.

The beginning of the Byron-Goethe relation was not auspicious. Byron purposed to dedicate his *Marino Faliero* (1821) to Goethe. His phrases no doubt exprest genuine admiration, but the general tone was so flippant that the publisher wisely omitted the dedication entirely. Byron then desired to inscribe to him his *Sardanapalus* (1821) and askt his friend Kinnaird, a former student at Göttingen, to secure Goethe's exprest consent. This gave Goethe his first opportunity to convey to Byron a personal expression of his regard; he wrote to Kinnaird:

Seit seinem ersten Erscheinen begleitete ich, mit näheren und ferneren Freunden, ja mit Einstimmung von ganz Deutschland und der Welt, jenes charakter-gegründete, gränzenlos productive, kräftig unaufhaltsame, zart-liebliche Wesen auf allen seinen Pfaden. Ich suchte mich mit ihm durch Übersetzung zu identificiren und an seine zartesten Gefühle, wie an dessen kühnsten Humor mich anzuschlieszen; wobey denn, um nur des letzteren Falles zu gedenken, allein die Unmöglichkeit über den Text ganz klar zu werden mich abhalten konnte, eine angefangene Übersetzung von *English bards and Scotch reviewers* durchzuführen.

Von einem so hochverehrten Manne solch eine Theilnahme zu erfahren, solch ein Zeugnis übereinstimmender Gesinnungen zu vernehmen musz um desto unerwarteter seyn, da es nie gehofft, kaum gewünscht werden durfte.⁴⁸

Kinnaird had sent to Goethe a copy of the proposed dedication of the book in Byron's handwriting. Goethe would gladly have retained it as a keepsake.

Die Handschrift des theuren Mannes erfolgt ungern zurück, denn wer möchte willig das Original eines Documentes von so groszem Werth entbehren. Das Alter, das denn doch zuletzt an sich selbst zu zweifeln anfängt, bedarf solcher Zeugnisse, deren anregende Kraft der Jüngere vielleicht nicht ertragen hätte.⁴⁸

Meanwhile Goethe was becoming thoroly familiar with the poetry of Byron. He had begun his readings in May 1816. The *Corsair* was apparently the first of the longer poems that he read,⁴⁹ May 22 and 23, 1816. In 1817 he probably read the *Siege of Corinth*, *Parisina*, and *The prisoner of Chillon*.⁵⁰ It was *Manfred* that filled him with the greatest interest. He read it

⁴⁸ Goethe, *Werke* IV 36, 204; letter of Nov. 12, 1822; quoted by Valentin [893] 242.

⁴⁹ Goethe, *Werke* III 5, 233.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, III 6, 62.

on the 11th and 12th of October, 1817⁵¹ and wrote his review of it no doubt about this time, tho the review was not published until 1820.⁵² Meanwhile he wrote in December of 1817 a translation of the parts of *Manfred* that appealed to him most strongly.⁵³ In the spring of 1820 he read *Don Juan*, translated the introductory lines, and wrote a review of it, which appeared in *Über Kunst und Alterthum* in 1821.⁵⁴ In January of 1821 he read Jacobsen's *Briefe an eine deutsche Edelfrau* etc. and this led him to consult Byron's *English bards and Scotch reviewers*,⁵⁵ which he planned to translate, as shown by the letter quoted above.

Two years later direct communication began between Goethe and Byron when in 1823 a young Englishman by the name of Sterling past thru Weimar from Genoa bearing a letter of personal greetings from Byron. Goethe responded, June 22, 1823, with the sonnet beginning, "Ein freundlich Wort kommt eines nach dem andern."⁵⁶ The letter bearing this poem reached Genoa after Byron had left, but it overtook him in Livorno. Byron's death occurred not long after. Goethe paid homage to him in his Euphorion lament in *Faust II*. He once showed to Eckermann a red portfolio in which he had carefully preserved everything that connected him in any way with Byron.⁵⁷

After Byron's death Goethe set to perpetuate the memory of his connexion with him. On the fifteenth of June 1824 he dictated to his secretary John some memoranda on the subject, which were destined for Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron*.⁵⁸

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, III, 6, 121.

⁵² Compare Goethe's letter to Knebel, October 13, 1817, with his review of 1820 in *Über Kunst und Alterthum*, *Werke* IV 28, 277 and *ibid.*, I 41:1, 189. Goethe says: "Dieser seltsame Dichter hat meinen *Faust* in sich aufgenommen und hypochondrisch die seltsamste Nahrung daraus gezogen. Er hat die seinen Zwecken zusagenden Motive auf eigene Weise benutzt, so dasz keins mehr dasselbige ist, und gerade deshalb kann ich seinen Geist nicht genug bewundern."

⁵³ Goethe, *Werke* I 41:1, 192; cf. Brandl [892] 7 and 9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I 41:1, 244-249; cf. Brandl [892] 15.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, III 8, 8 and 9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* III 9, 65; cf. Eimer [895ax].

⁵⁷ Eckermann, *Gespräche* p. 140f.

⁵⁸ Goethe, *Werke* III 9, 230. The "Aufsatz über Lord Byron" was handed to Soret June 16, 1824. It is included in Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron* (London 1824), p. 278ff.

He served on a committee which was seeking to erect a statue of Byron in London and contributed £20 to its erection;⁵⁹ the statue was completed by Thorwaldsen in 1829. At the same time Goethe planned to set up to his friend a memorial of his own, which was to be based on the contents of the before mentioned red portfolio and to be a document in the history of "Weltliteratur" as Goethe used that term. It therefore included an account of how Goethe's works became known in England and so eventually to Byron. The plan of this account is still in the Weimar archives and has been reprinted by Brandl;⁶⁰ it is interesting in that it shows the gaps in Goethe's knowledge of the history of his own works in England.

The evidence that Goethe and Byron owed to each other any definite literary inspiration is slight. Byron owed to Goethe no doubt some of the supernatural suggestions in his poetry. A more specific indebtedness may be perceived in the opening scenes of *Manfred* and in the *Deformed transformed*.⁶¹ It has also been surmized that Goethe borrowed a little from Byron's *Heaven and earth* in the angel scene of *Faust II*.⁶²

Byron, however, owed largely to Goethe the high esteem in which he was held in Germany. Continental critics have always reproached England with lack of sympathy for her great poet. It is proper to point out then that the curve of his fame might have taken a similarly abrupt descent in Germany but for the word of Goethe. Byron reached the height of his popularity in Germany about 1817; but reports of his declining fame in England were repeated in the German journals,⁶³ and when *Beppo* (1818) and *Don Juan* (1819) appeared Willibald Alexis and Friedrich Schlegel protested and even Goethe called it "das

⁵⁹ Valentin [893] 243.

⁶⁰ Brandl [892] 29.

⁶¹ Re Goethe and *Manfred* see Sinzheimer [891], Brandl [892], Valentin [893], and Richter [895x].

⁶² Brandl [892] 21.

⁶³ Ochsenbein [902] 22ff.

unsittlichste, was jemals die Dichtkunst vorgebracht."⁶⁴ The German journals also echoed the English opposition to *Cain* until Goethe expressed himself in praise rather than in defense of it in *Kunst und Alterthum*.⁶⁵ This was the turning point of criticism in Germany, and the German journals hoped that they might save Byron for England as they claimed to have saved Shakespeare.⁶⁶ Goethe thus became the chief support of Byron in Germany. Byron knew of this and promised by letter to come to Weimar on his visit to Germany and express his gratitude. His death in Greece, which followed not long after, rudely cut across this plan but increased the enthusiasm for Byron in Germany. Byron's death was sung by Elise von Hohenhausen, Wilhelm Müller, Platen, Chamisso, Heine,⁶⁷ and by Goethe himself in his lament over the death of Euphorion in *Faust II*.

⁶⁴ Goethe, *Werke* I 41:1, 249.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, I 41:2, 94-99.

⁶⁶ Ochsenein [902] 25; regarding the "saving" of Shakespeare see SURVEY, chapter 14.

⁶⁷ For the titles of the poems see Ochsenein [902] 27.

CHAPTER 22

DICKENS

Dickens became a household name in Germany almost as promptly as in England. His popularity in Germany is attested by the numerous translations, by the large sale of his works in the original and in the German language,¹ and by the frequent comments of contemporary German journalists and authors. Freytag lays stress upon the new atmosphere that Dickens brot into Germany. He tells us how his countrymen began to see in every Englishman a Pickwick, a Pinch, or a Traddles, or at least "einen guten und tüchtigen Kerl . . . vielleicht steif aber von sehr tiefem Gemüth, wahrhaftig, zuverlässig, treu."^{1a} He tells how everyone began to look upon his neighbors even with a new interest, and to find attractive characteristics unsuspected before, and how the narrow bonds of social prejudice began to yield to this new influence. In telling of the interest aroused in Germany by *David Copperfield* Julian Schmidt says: "So sehr uns damals (1849-1850) die Politik in Kopfe lag, wurde im Ganzen über Dora und Agnes mehr disputiert als über Radowitz und Manteuffel."^{1b} Despite the continued popularity of Dickens in Germany, however, no serious attempt was made until a few years ago to estimate his influence upon the German novelists; but at last the way has been paved for such a study by two or three good monographs dealing with phases of the subject.

The first adequate discussion of the influence of Dickens on an individual German author was that of Lohre [928]. In order to be productive of the best results, such a study of influences must direct attention not so much to the finisht work as to the work in process of growth, that is to say to the psychology of the

¹ For the bibliography of Dickens's works in German translation, school editions, English reprints in Germany, etc., see Geissendoerfer [923] 28-50.

^{1a} Freytag [922] 243.

^{1b} Schmidt [921] 113f.

creative author, and Otto Ludwig admits us into his workshop with more than customary intimacy. The first portion of Lohre's work formulates Ludwig's opinions of Dickens. This task was by no means easy; for Ludwig's *Romanstudien*, like his *Shakespeare-Studien*, appear as disconnected sentences and paragraphs in his notebook, and one comment is often corrected or modified by another several pages later. Ludwig judged Dickens as one creative artist judges another. The two authors had much in common. With both of them the creative process was preceded by what Ludwig called "eine musikalische Stimmung." Characteristic of both authors is the minute observation of character with a detailed reproduction of every outward gesture and intimate thot. In the case of Dickens this observation and reproduction was the free play of his fancy; in Ludwig's case one has the feeling that it is accompanied by an almost painful tension of the nerves.

The typical English novel was, like Shakespeare's dramas, a norm for Ludwig. In fact the two forms of literature had much in common. Ludwig recognized the Shakespearean spirit:

In dem sittlichen Grundgedanken, der künstlichen Verflechtung mehrerer Handlungen in eine, in der plastischen Groszheit, der Charakteristik realistischer Ideale, der Darstellung des Weltlaufs, der Illusion, der Ganzheit des Lebens, in der Mischung des Komischen selbst in das Ernsteste, ohne dasz es diesem schadete, in dem Abwenden von aller Schwärmerei und hohler Idealität.²

What first imprest Ludwig in Dickens's works was the mimic element. "Die Bozischen Romane sind wahrhafte Schauspieler-schulen,"³ he said, and he commented on the range of expression of Miss Nipper's nose, of Captain Cuttle's hook and of Mrs. Sparsit's eyebrows. He admired Dickens's ability to let inanimate objects participate in the drama of life, but regarded this dramatic by-play chiefly as a means of throwing a stronger light on human types. He commented on the one-sidedness of Dickens's characters, their "Borniertheit," resulting from their

² Ludwig, *Schriften* VI 65.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

training, their occupation, their age, their passions, or their education. This one-sidedness Dickens could make attractive, harmless, or repulsive at his will.⁴

Ludwig finds, however, that Dickens's picture of the life of the common man is partizan and unsatisfactory:

Nie sprechen Leute aus dem Volke ihre eigene Sprache oder denken ihre eigenen Gedanken, immer nur in einer der Volkssprache angenäherten konventionellen Weise die Gedanken des Autors über das Volk; und wie man oft fürchten musz, gemachte, zum Behufe, seiner Partei zu gefallen, gemachte. . . Man wird von solcher Rabulisterei oft wider Willen gezwungen, stellenweise Partei gegen ihn und das Volk, seine Klienten, zu nehmen. . . . Wie tief steht er in diesem Stücke unter Shakespeare.⁵

With this exception Ludwig admired the dialog in Dickens's works: "Eine Hauptsache, womit Dickens sich wie Shakespeare von z. B. Goethe und Schiller unterscheidet, ist, dasz seine Figuren nie wie ein Buch sprechen dürfen. Es ist wunderbar, die reiche Variation der Mittel zu sehen, durch welche den beiden Engländern gelingt, den Dialog vom Buchartigen zu emanzipieren."⁶

Dickens confirmed Ludwig's view that the hero of a novel should be a passive, observing one: "Im Romane ist das Ausleben der Figuren der Zweck, nicht das Handeln, wie im Drama; . . . Der Dramenheld macht seine Geschichte, der Romanheld erlebt die seine, ja man kann sagen: den Romanhelden macht seine Geschichte."⁷ Lohre remarks that this theory fits Dickens's heroes admirably, but is in contradiction to Ludwig's own practice: "Schon diese Unstimmigkeit weist darauf hin, dasz Ludwig, als der Tod ihm die Feder aus der Hand nahm, über die Grundforderungen der epischen Gattung wohl nicht sein letztes Wort gesprochen hatte."⁸

In the second part of his essay Lohre makes a comparison of Ludwig's novelistic work with Dickens's in the light of the

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71f.; but cf. VI 80.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 145; cf. VI 168.

⁸ Lohre [928] 36.

former's comments on Dickens's art. The works of Ludwig that come under consideration are *Die Heiterethei* and *Zwischen Himmel und Erde*. *Die Heiterethei* is, it is true, a short story rather than a novel, but Ludwig said in his essay on *Dickens und die deutsche Dorfgeschichte*: "Die Dorfgeschichte ist wie ein einzelnes Glied des Dickensschen Romans zu einem Ganzen geschlossen, ein Charakterbild aus jener Menge herausgenommen, eine Stimmung aus jener Mannigfaltigkeit von Stimmungen, eine Reflexion aus jenem Reichtum; sie ist der Geist jenes Romans in Form der Anekdote."⁹ In the main characters of *Die Heiterethei* Lohre finds no traces of Dickens's influence, but there are minor characters drawn in his best style: "Die Morzenschmiedin," who is compared with a "Schwarzwälder Uhr," and whose movements are always described in terms of clock works; the watchmaker Zerrer, who has learned to talk from his clocks, "aus seinem Knarren und Schnarren ist kaum klug zu werden;" and the Valtinessin with her stereotyped phrases and gestures.

The serious *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* is neither perfused with Dickens's atmosphere nor does it present any humorous minor characters, but Lohre suggests that Dickens's influence may nevertheless be present: Ludwig describes the technicalities of the work of repairing a slate roof in as detailed a fashion as Dickens would have done; and he enters into Fritz Nettenmeier's guilty thots with a convincing precision that Dickens could scarcely have surpast.

Lüder's dissertation [929], which appeared shortly after Lohre's essay, treats of the actual parallels between Dickens and Ludwig more exhaustively, the usual statistical method prevailing. Lohre's starting point was Ludwig's theory; Lüder took as his basis Ludwig's actual practice. He arrives independently at much the same conclusions as his predecessor. He leads up to his comparison with an analytical study of Ludwig's narrative art during the period before he knew Dickens's works. Then follows a similar analysis of Dickens's qualities as a novelist.

⁹ Ludwig, *Schriften* VI 78; =[922a] 78.

Lüder finds the first signs of Dickens's influence in the fragments *Das Märchen von dem toten Kinde* and *Es hat noch keinen Begriff*. As far as *Die Heiterethci* and *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* are concerned Lüder's findings do not go much beyond Lohre's. Lohre, however, made no mention of Ludwig's *Aus dem Regen in die Traufe* (1854), and here Lüder sees the strongest evidence of Ludwig's dependence on Dickens in theme, composition, and style. Nearly every person in the narrative is characterized by some bodily defect or some blemish. Lüder says:

Ludwig musz durchaus in der Dickens'schen engen, kleinlichen Welt befangen gewesen sein, dasz der Künstler in ihm so verstummt war. Und im Zusammenhang mit seinem übrigen Schaffen empfindet man diese Erzählung als etwas Fremdes, Unludwigsches, vielleicht hat er sich deshalb später nur ungern und dann ungünstig über seine Erzählungen ausgesprochen.¹⁰

The question of Freytag's relation to Dickens has also attracted some attention recently. It has been demonstrated that Scott was Freytag's chief model in respect to novelistic form.¹¹ In regard to character drawing Freytag accorded Dickens a place second to Walter Scott's. For him Walter Scott was "ein groszer Dichter, dem es gelingt, sehr verschiedenartige Persönlichkeiten mit guter Laune lebhaft zu empfinden und darzustellen, und das Ganze der menschlichen Gesellschaft . . . mit liebevoller Zuneigung zu verstehen." Dickens, on the other hand, was "ein glänzender Dichter, dem es gelingt, einen gewissen grözeren Kreis von Personen und Schicksalen mit ausgezeichnetem Humor zu empfinden."¹²

Freytag first became interested in Dickens's works in Berlin in 1836, as is evident from certain references to the *Pickwick Papers* in his *Erinnerungen*.¹³ He evidently read Dickens in translation, for as late as 1865 he found it difficult to read a review of his own *Verlorene Handschrift* in the *Times*.¹⁴ His

¹⁰ Lüder [929] 124.

¹¹ Ulrich [976]; but cf. Freymond [926].

¹² *Grenzboten* 1851 IV 264.

¹³ Freytag, *Werke* I 90.

¹⁴ Freymond [926] 14ff.

interest in Dickens was renewed about the year 1850. It was then that David Copperfield's life history was being translated into German, and Freytag, like his fellow countrymen, was concerned about his fate. Furthermore three of Freytag's colleagues on the *Grenboten* were Dickens enthusiasts. Julius Seybt translated many novels of Dickens;¹⁵ Jacob Kaufmann helpt prepare the translation of one volume; and Julian Schmidt was Dickens's most whole-hearted advocate in Germany.

The beginnings of *Soll und Haben* date back to precisely this time, and investigators have not looked in vain for traces of *David Copperfield* in Freytag's first novel. The search was first formally begun by Völk [925]. Her paper begins with a clear and succinct statement of general resemblances between Dickens's *David Copperfield* and Freytag's *Soll und Haben*. Both authors seek the people at labor, tho Dickens is interested in a slightly more impecunious class than Freytag. Both authors, as a rule, present main characters, who are either distinctly good or distinctly bad. Characteristic of both authors is "die liebevolle Versenkung in das Kleine und Kleinste, die Beseelung lebloser Dinge und vor allem eine Fülle mitfortreisenden Humors."¹⁶ In connexion with this trait one usually thinks of Sterne and Jean Paul, but in Freytag's case the stimulation seems to have come directly from Dickens. One finds little of this type of humor in his earlier works.

Völk supports her first two points by an abundance of page references, the last point by quotations. The humorous effect is produced, she says, "(1) durch drollige Vergleiche, (2) durch Übertreibung, (3) durch Umschreibung, (4) durch erläuternde oder das Gesagte korrigierende Nach- und Zwischensätze etc." Eleven artifices are named in all. It will be seen that Völk lays the chief emphasis upon form. But what Dickens introduced into Germany was not a new form but a new atmo-

¹⁵ Freymond [926] 17 gives evidence that it was the Seybt translation of *Nicholas Nickleby* that Freytag read. In his private correspondence Freytag spells the hero's name "Nikolaus" and refers to the "Gebrüder Wohlgemuth" (i.e. Cheeryble).

¹⁶ Völk [925] 6.

sphere. To define atmospheres and compare one with another is a baffling task, and one with which the traditional methods are unable to cope.

The work of Freymond [926] is more successful. He bases his argument not on a minute comparison of stylistic peculiarities but upon the general structure of the novels in question, upon a comparison of characters and their rôles, and of the material used by the two authors. The study is preceded by a valuable introduction which shows how Freytag came into close literary relations with Dickens. Both authors were liberal in their politics, and Freytag, tho to a less degree than Dickens, was an agitator for reforms: "Der Kaufmann in *Soll und Haben* redet gegen den bevorzugten Stand, der Professor in *Der verlorenen Handschrift* gegen die Tyrannen auf den Thronen."¹⁷ Dickens's sympathy is with the lower middle class, Freytag's with the upper. Both argue for their opinions by letting individuals represent classes. The triumph of honesty and a good heart over selfishness and dishonesty is with both authors a foregone conclusion.

Harmony of sentiment is, however, of more importance than similarity of view. Freytag demands of an author that he possess "ein starkes und freudiges Gemüt, voll von gutem Vertrauen zur Menschheit, nie verbittert durch das Schlechte und Verkehrte, dazu die Kenntnis des Lebens und menschlicher Charaktere, welche durch reiche Beobachtung gefestigt ist."¹⁸ Again he demands that the true poet possess above all a joyful heart. "das aus der Überfülle seiner warmen Empfindung Freude mitteilt."¹⁹ Freytag was here advocating the well known *Grenzbotten* optimism, but Freymond remarks justly that he was at the same time characterizing both himself and Dickens.²⁰ Tho no one claims that Freytag possess the inexhaustible fund of overflowing good humor from which Dickens was able to draw,

¹⁷ Freymond [926] 5.

¹⁸ Freytag, *Werke* XVI 218.

¹⁹ Freytag, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Leipzig 1888), II 242.

²⁰ Freymond [926] 10.

the conscious art with which Freytag constructed his novel was some slight compensation for this inferiority. The characters of Dickens seem to have created themselves spontaneously and completely in his imagination, while Freytag thoughtfully created action and character by consistent pondering during a period of weeks or months. During this pre-natal period, as Freymond points out, the characters were exposed to influences from without.

Regarding the nature of exterior influence Freytag once gave expression to a thought that is worth quoting for its own sake:

Fast aus jedem Romane (von Dickens) blieben rührende oder lebensfrohe Gestalten fest in der Seele des Lesers. Denn wer da meint, dass die Traumgebilde eines Dichters nur wie flüchtige Schatten durch die Seele gleiten, der verkennt die beste Wirkung der Poesie. Wie alles, was wir erleben, so lässt auch alles Wirksame, das wir gern lasen, seinen Abdruck in unserer Seele zurück. Auch die Sprache des Dichters geht in unsere über, seine Gedanken werden unser Eigentum, auch der Humor lebt in uns fort.²¹

Writers whose creative process is intellectual rather than temperamental are particularly susceptible to material influences. Lessing admitted: "Ich fühle die lebendige Quelle der Poesie nicht in mir,"²² and critics have never tired of seeking his "Vorbilder." Freytag's productive process was not unlike Lessing's. The idea was the first essential for him; form also stood high in importance, and the subject matter was relegated to third place. For his subject matter and characters too Freytag like Lessing set models. For a time Freytag drifted with the young Germans, as Robert Prutz asserted as early as 1858,²³ and the truth of the assertion has since been demonstrated by Mayrhofer.²⁴ Freytag became aware of the error of his course and broke with the young Germans. It was about this time that he wrote to Tieck: "Mein Unglück ist, dass ich allein stehe, sehr allein, ich entbehre der Förderung durch Mitstrebende zu sehr."²⁵ Not long after writing this he came in contact with

²¹ Freytag, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* II 239.

²² Lessing, *Schriften* IX 209.

²³ *Deutsches Museum* 1858 II 441-458; cf. Price [845] 88.

²⁴ Mayrhofer, *Gustav Freytag und das junge Deutschland*, BDL I 1907.

²⁵ Quoted by Mayrhofer, *ibid.*, p. 9.

Julian Schmidt, the warm admirer of Dickens. Shortly after that he began to read *David Copperfield*, and then only a brief period elapsed before the beginning of *Soll und Haben*. All these attending circumstances make the assumption of an influence of *David Copperfield* on *Soll und Haben* seem quite plausible. Freymond parallels the characters Steerforth and Fink, Uriah Heep and Veitel Itzig, David Copperfield and Anton Wohlfahrt, Dora Spenslow and Lenore Rothsattel, calling attention to the household inefficiency of the last named two and contrasting them in this respect with Agnes Wickfield and Sabina Schröder. He draws some further parallels from *David Copperfield*, which are less convincing. He also finds for certain situations in *Soll und Haben* previous instances in other novels of Dickens. In view of the fact that Ulrich [976] lays stress upon Scott as Freytag's model in respect to form, it is fortunate that Freymond emphasizes Dickens. A close comparison of the technique of *David Copperfield* and *Soll und Haben* shows many resemblances. Both exhibit the stages of development that have become conventional for the drama.²⁶ Freymond says definitely that the influence of Dickens on *Die verlorene Handschrift* is slight, and most other investigators seem at least tacitly to agree with him.²⁷

Mielke has thrown out several suggestions in regard to Dickens's influence in Germany, most of which have not been adequately worked out as yet. Dickens, together with Eugène Sue, opened up a new novelistic field. The criminal novel and the novel of the proletariat came into vogue thru them. Dickens's main impulse therein was his sympathy with the poor and oppressed. Sue proceeded as an agitator would.²⁸ Even the aristocratic Ungern-Sternberg shares with Dickens the hatred of the lawyers and of the power of money. Like Dickens he defines the attitude of classes by means of individual representatives, and Berlin is for him what London was for Dickens.²⁹ Where-

²⁶ Freymond [926] 22.

²⁷ Cf. Ulrich [976] 80.

²⁸ Mielke [831a] 96.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

ever one finds in the works of Raabe, Polenz, Ernst, Keller such pictures of poverty, one is reminded of Dickens. In reality, however, the whole broadening of the social basis of the novel took place simply because the time was ripe for it. Dickens's influence is more easily established by a comparison of his characteristic technique with that of his followers.

Mielke makes Jean Paul and Dickens the starting point of his description of Raabe's art:

Aber wenn Jean Paul mehr oder minder Phantast, so ist Raabe gleich Dickens Realist, er stellt sich in die wirkliche Welt hinein, er sucht sich seine Originale zusammen, wo er sie findet: in der Schuhwerkstätte, der einsamen Dachstube, hinter den Aktenstößen, und wenn es nötig ist, hinter dem Zaun. Er wäscht sie nicht und kämmt sie nicht, sondern rückt sie nur in das rechte Licht und entwickelt mit humoristischem Behagen, das freilich oft zu weit und breit sich ausspinnt, ihre Sonderbarkeiten, ihre Schnurrpfeifereien, ihr innerstes Gemütsleben. Kein anderer deutscher Dichter hat eine solche Fülle merkwürdiger Käuze aus allen möglichen Ständen in seinen Werken beisammen.³²

Geissendoerfer finds similar resemblances between Raabe and Dickens. He believes that Dickens influenced Raabe in respect to composition, technique, and method of characterization, but refrains from saying whether the influence went farther since he recognizes that there are evidences that Raabe learned something from Sterne, Fielding, and Thackeray as well.³³

On Fritz Reuter the titles "der deutsche Boz" and "der plattdeutsche Dickens" were conferred as early as 1865 and 1867³⁴ and with much appropriateness. It has been sufficiently demonstrated that Reuter drew his characters from literary models as well as from life³⁵ and since he was, like Dickens, a hater of sham and hypocrisy, an advocate of the down-trodden, and a sympathizer with the poor; since in his nature tenderness and rude humor were blended; he was particularly sensitive to the influence of Dickens, and exhibited the effects thereof to the

³² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

³³ Geissendoerfer [923] 24.

³⁴ *Berliner Reform*, Dec. 22, 1865, and *Literarischer Handweiser*, No. 59 of 1867.

³⁵ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [913ax], [929ax], [930], [935], [940x], and [954x].

fullest degree. Fritz Reuter read the works of Dickens, probably in the translations of Seybt, Roberts, and Moriarty,³⁶ and during the time of his imprisonment he learned portions of Dickens's work almost by heart. His biographer Warneke says:

Un wo girn hürten de Ollen un de Jungen em tau, wenn hei von sine lange Festungstid vertellte, wenn hei an de Winterabende 'ne richtige Kemedi upführen ded in de ein Stuw, wo von wegen de Küll en Vorhang anbröcht wir, oder wenn hei ut de Englänner Charles Dickens un Walter Scott ehre Bäuker vörlesen ded. Dat kunn hei binah ahn Bauk, blot ut 'n Kopp, indem dat hei de Geschichten up de Festung lest hadd und so 'n behöllern Kopp hadd, dat hei sei man ümmer so herseggen künn.³⁷

Geist calls attention to the vain attempts on the part of critics to identify one or another of Reuter's associates with Bräsig in *Ut mine Stromtid* despite the fact that Reuter himself said only Pomuchelskopp, Slus'uhr, and Moses were drawn from life.³⁸ That Mr. Pickwick was the chief model for Bräsig, Geist has demonstrated quite clearly. The *Pickwick papers* appealed to Reuter most strongly and characters and situations therefrom recur frequently in his works. The first conception of Inspektor Bräsig dates back to a time soon after the appearance of the *Pickwick papers*. Presumably *Ut mine Stromtid* was begun about that time, tho it was not publisht until 1862. In the interval the character appeared from time to time in certain of Reuter's minor works.³⁹ Meyer had already pointed out the connexion between the certain characters and their adventures,⁴⁰ but Geist draws the comparison in detail.

Other tales of Dickens have left their undeniable influence on Reuter's literary work. The leading character in *Woans ick tau 'ne Fru kamm* goes to sleep and wakes up a reformed and recreated individual as in Dickens's *Christmas carol* and *The chimes*. *Barnaby Rudge* has also left its traces in Reuter's

³⁶ Geist [930] 5.

³⁷ Warneke, *F. Reuter: Woans hei lewt un schrewen hett*² (Stuttgart 1906), p. 275.

³⁸ Geist [930] 25.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁰ Meyer [929x] 131.

Stromtid. Simon Tappertit, Dolly Varden, her father, and Joe Willet, and Miss Miggs all have their counterparts in Reuter's *Stromtid*; their relations to each other are similar and their characteristics are similar.

Dickens and Reuter each wrote one work variously judged by different critics but manifestly apart from their usual type of productions. These works were *Hard times* (1854) and *Kein Hüsung* (1857). Tho written in verse, Reuter's work is in many respects analogous to Dickens's. Both works are manifestos of social reform, and tho Reuter may well be credited with a spontaneous impulse to a work of this kind Dickens was not without his influence here as well. As Geist says: "Die Idee zur Behandlung eines sozialen Stoffes lag in der Zeitstimmung gegeben, das Dickenssche Vorbild ermunterte zur Auführung und gab manche Anregungen, die deutsche und speziell mecklenburgische Geschichte bot den Stoff dar."⁴¹ Geist supports this assertion by paralleling the characters and general and particular situations described in the two stories in question. Examples of borrowing of character and situation on the part of Reuter in other novels are also presented in abundance. It is of more importance to note the extent to which the form of Dickens's novels was influential on Reuter's. These questions Geist treats specifically and adequately.

Fritz Reuter began as a "hochdeutsche" narrator, wavering between verse form and prose. Dickens wrote from the beginning in prose. He wrote in normal English, but in his earliest works, particularly in *Pickwick papers*, he introduced a large number of street types and members of various working classes who spoke their various dialects. In his later works Dickens diminishes the number of dialect-using characters. Reuter on the other hand develops into a dialect author of the pure type, but there was a transitional period during which he wrote "hochdeutsche Romane," but with numerous dialect-speaking characters. When Klaus Groth took him to task for this mixed form

⁴¹ Geist [930] 33.

Reuter responded by claiming the sanction of Scott, Dickens, Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller. The reference to Dickens is especially significant, Geist says, since the use of dialect in Dickens's earliest works and Reuter's transitional works so nearly corresponded.⁴²

Reuter was like Dickens, furthermore, in his manner of presenting characters. Both present a complete view of their characters at their first entrance, thus precluding the possibility of all further development. As the characters reappear the authors usually repeat the original characterization in a more or less varied form.⁴³ Both authors endow their figures with characterizing, often humorous names. One humorous means with both is the distortion of foren words⁴⁴ in the mouths of the half-educated, another is "das Hervortreten der Subjektivität des Autors."⁴⁵ This last of course is part of Dickens's heritage from Sterne, which may have descended also to Reuter thru the romanticists.⁴⁶ Geist himself, in support of his contention as to form-influence, lays his chief stress on the manner in which dialect is employed and on the method of introducing characters.

In summarizing the extent of Dickens's influence Geist does full justice to Reuter's originality:

Es ist unmöglich, dasz Reuter, "der unter den dünn gesäten Humoristen Deutschlands an erster Stelle steht, und der als plattdeutscher Dichter uraltes Volkstum vor dem Untergange bewahrt hat,"⁴⁷ nun etwa nur der sklavische Nachahmer von Dickens oder irgendeines fremden Vorbildes sonst hätte sein können. Wenn er auch unbedenklich das Muster der Dickensschen Technik auf sich einwirken liesz, und seine Gestalten manchmal an die des Engländers erinnern, wir haben gesehen, dasz wir im allgemeinen nur mit Reminiszenzen, nicht mit direkten Entlehnungen zu rechnen haben, und dasz er allen Figuren, die solchem literarischen Einflusz ihre Entstehung mit verdanken, ein durchaus originelles Gewand gegeben und neue Seiten abgewonnen hat.⁴⁸

⁴² Ibid., p. 13.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 14 and 17.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁶ Cf. SURVEY, p. 476f.

⁴⁷ *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* XXVIII 319f. (Boësz).

⁴⁸ Geist [930] 42.

Skinner in his brief article [931] has indicated in a general way Spielhagen's indebtedness to Dickens. Spielhagen admitted his admiration for the English novel and for Dickens in particular; he called Dickens, Goethe, and Goldsmith "die Epiker von Gottes Gnaden" and held *David Copperfield* to be a model novel.⁴⁹

The "Ich-Roman" *Hammer und Ambos* presents a striking parallel to *David Copperfield*. Its hero Georg has a childish passion for Constanze, who, like David Copperfield's Emily, is ensnared by a beguiler of a higher station in life and elopes with him. Georg's second love is Hermine, a spoiled child whom he marries, but who, like David's Dora, dies not long after. Georg then marries Paula, a quiet, peaceful, serene friend, whom he has long known, and who corresponds closely to David's Agnes. There are also resemblances in minor characters. Other similar notes are a common interest in prison reform and a like contempt for the business of the lawyer. The persons are characterized by individual, grotesk, or striking peculiarities after the manner of Dickens. Skinner closes his article with a detailed parallel between the shipwreck scene in *David Copperfield*, in which Ham loses his life, and the one in the twentieth chapter of Spielhagen's *Noblesse oblige*.

Geissendoerfer supplements the picture of Dickens's influence to a slight extent by his parallels of the English humorist with certain German writers. His conclusion in regard to Raabe has been quoted above. His conclusions in regard to Ungern-Sternberg and Hesslein are of no great interest since they deal with imitations by third-rate authors. In the case of Ebner-Eschenbach he has also only a close comparison between *Oliver Twist* and *Das Gemeindegeld* to offer. The general theme of the two novels is the same but the treatment is quite different.⁵⁰ Finally Mielke may be quoted to the effect that Thomas Mann

⁴⁹ Spielhagen, *Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans* (1883) 226-227; cf. 228 and 240 and *Finder und Erfinder* (1890) I 377 and II 395; quoted by Skinner [931] 499.

⁵⁰ Geissendoerfer [923] 24

makes use of Dickens's technik especially in his method of introducing characters.⁵¹

The recent studies taken together give a fairly good quantitative view of the influence of Dickens in Germany. The investigators have probably overlooked no important follower of Dickens. But when a final summary of Dickens's influence on Germany is undertaken, it is to be hoped that the essayist will lay less stress upon form and subject matter than Völk and Geissendoerfer have done, and rather more upon the new atmosphere which Freytag and his contemporaries felt to have been introduced by Dickens. The problem of Dickens's influence in Germany is after all an elusive one which can scarcely be solved by the ordinary methods of procedure.

⁵¹ Mielke [831a] 337.

CHAPTER 23

AMERICA IN GERMAN LITERATURE

America appealed to the Germans from the first as a new idea, a new realm for the imagination to lay hold of, a new hope. It provided inspiration for the "storm and stress" dramatists; it was the land of freedom from restraint for which they sighed;¹ to many liberal journalists and poets of the time it was the home of political liberty.² Later it became, as Goethe said, the Eldorado of those who felt themselves restricted in their present circumstances.³ From these practical considerations it is convenient to treat of American influences apart from the common current of English literature.

After Cooper had attracted attention to the existence of an American literature, comments thereon were numerous in German journals and were especially frequent about 1850. The *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*,⁴ the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*,⁵ and the *Deutsches Museum*⁶ were unanimous in stating that an independent national literature did not exist in America. Julian Schmidt, the editor of the *Grenzboten*, said: "Die junge (amerikanische) romantische Schule, die jetzt in der Poesie sich immer mehr ausbreitet, beruht ganz auf Reminiszenzen der jung-englischen und der deutschen Literatur."⁷ The works of Longfellow, Bryant, Poe, Dana, Halleck,

¹ It is significant that the scene of the drama which gave its name to the movement, Klinger's *Sturm und Drang* (1776), should have been laid in America.

² Schubart and Schiller took sides directly with the colonists at the time of the American war for independence, while Wekhrlin believed England to be the bulwark of political liberty and order. See Walz [97] reviewed in SURVEY, p. 185f.

³ Goethe, *Werke* I 29, 156.

^{3a} Cf. conclusion of this chapter.

⁴ *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, Oct. 1856, p. 470. A writer for the same magazine April 15, 1876 (p. 228), was of the contrary opinion; see Vollmer [803a] 13.

⁵ BLU 1852, p. 426f.

⁶ *Deutsches Museum* 1854 I 364f.

⁷ *Grenzboten* 1854 I 79.

he added, "sind durchaus nicht aus dem nationalen Leben hervorgegangen. Wir hören in ihnen Byron, Shelley, die Schule der Seen, Goethe und andere deutsche Dichter heraus." Hermann Marggraff took the most hopeful view of the situation and discovered at least, "Ansätze zu einer wirklich originellen Literatur." "Trügt uns unser Blick nicht," he said, "so werden künftige Zeiten jenseits des Ozeans eine Literatur entwickeln sehen, welche die Vorzüge der deutschen und der englischen Literatur verschmelzen und die Fehler und Einseitigkeiten der einen wie der andern vermeiden wird."⁸ It would be an exaggeration to assert that a melting process of just this selective nature had taken place, but it is certainly true that from the outset American literature was to a large extent adopted and adapted and this should make us wary of speaking definitely of the influence of American literature on European. In speaking of America as a subject matter one is, however, on secure ground.

The most influential factors in drawing the attention of Germany to America were economic hardship and political unrest at home. In 1817 twenty thousand Germans were driven by hunger to America. Between 1820 and 1830 fifteen thousand more followed. Between 1830 and 1840 the number reached one hundred and fifty thousand, chiefly as a result of the unsuccessful uprising of 1832-1833; and, as Barba points out,^{8a} there was scarcely a family in Germany thereafter but had near or remote relatives in America. The emigrants looked to descriptive works and the prose fiction of emigration for guidance. One of the most influential works in directing emigration to America, particularly to the Missouri valley, was that of Gottfried Duden;⁹

⁸ BLU 1857, p. 739; quoted by Price [845] 42.

^{8a} Barba [813] 194.

⁹ The full title of Duden's work was: *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nord-Amerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Übervölkerung oder das Leben im Innern der Vereinigten Staaten und dessen Bedeutung für die häusliche und politische Lage der Europäer dargestellt: a. in einer Sammlung von Briefen; b. in einer Abhandlung über den politischen Zustand der Nord-Amerikaner; c. in einem Nachtrage für auswandernde deutsche Ackerwirthe u. diejenigen, welche an Handelsunternehmungen denken. Von Gottfried Duden. St. Gallen 1832.*

but the stories of Cooper and his German imitators were also important factors, for the settler in the new country and the native Indian appealed above all to the romantic inclination of German readers. We are indebted to Barba for making accessible the facts in connexion with the emigration literature. His investigations have dealt with Cooper in Germany [915], the American Indian in German fiction [812], the sources of Sealsfield's novels [828], the works of two followers of Cooper, Möllhausen [917] and Strubberg [919], and emigration to America reflected in German fiction [813]. These studies need be reproduced here only in outline.

For the most part American frontier life has been reflected only in German fiction of no great literary value; but it had as its first sponsor no less an author than Goethe. He was well informed in regard to American geography and American conditions. He received visits from Americans and read books about America from 1816 on. Among the books he read were 1822 Struve's *North American mineralogy* and Ludwig Gall's *Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten* and 1823 Irving's *Sketch book*. His interest in America was heightened when Herzog Bernhard von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach, the younger son of Karl August, left for America. Herzog Bernhard kept a diary especially for his parents and relatives, but this was later published in Germany.^{9a} We find Goethe on April 26, 1826, asking for permission to read some of the pages of this diary.^{9b} This renewed interest in America set in shortly before Goethe prepared the last book of the *Wanderjahre* for the "Ausgabe letzter Hand" and is exprest thru the character of the Oheim.

Goethe read three of Cooper's novels during the month of October 1826, at the time when he was finishing his *Novelle*: the *Pioneers*, the *Last of the Mohicans*, and the *Spy*. He fol-

^{9a} *Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nordamerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826*, Weimar 1828; 2 vols. An English translation was published in Philadelphia the same year.

^{9b} Goethe, *Werke* IV 41, 17; cf. *ibid.*, IV 41, 206, also 42, 259, and *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter* (Berlin 1834) IV 341, the poem beginning, "Amerika du hast es besser / Als unser Continent." See Carus [817x].

lowed these up with the *Pilot* November 4, and the *Prairie* and *Red Rover* during the next thirteen months, as is shown by his *Tagebücher*. He had begun to write *Die Jagd* thirty years before, and he told Eckermann that his *Novelle* was a continuation of that work.^{9c} It is the *Pioneers* that especially influenced Goethe in his *Novelle*, as Wukadinovic [916] in a close comparison of the two works has shown. He finds evidence of the influence in the grouping of characters, in the landscape painting, and in the language of some of the persons in the *Novelle*.

In an article entitled *Stoff und Gehalt zur Bearbeitung vorge-schlagen* (1827) Goethe commends America as a worthy theme for young authors, and suggests helpful reading on the subject. He makes a definite, practical suggestion as to the hero of such a tale:

Die Hauptfigur, der protestantische Geistliche, der, selbst auswanderungslustig, die Auswandernden ans Meer und dann hinübergeführt und oft an Moses in den Wüsten erinnern würde, müsste eine Art von Dr. Primrose sein, der mit so viel Verstand als gutem Willen, mit so viel Bildung als Thätigkeit bei allem, was er unternimmt und fördert, doch immer nicht weisz, was er thut, von seiner "ruling passion" fortgetrieben, dasjenige, was er sich vorsetzte, durchzuführen genötigt wird und erst am Ende zu Atem kommt, wenn aus grenzenlosem Unverstand und unübersehbarem Unheil sich zuletzt noch ein ganz leidliches Dasein hervorthut.¹⁰

It would almost seem that Willkomm in his novel *Die Europamüden* ten years later (1837) consciously made use of Goethe's suggestion; for he chose as his main figure a clergyman who profest to lead the discontented from the moribund Europe to a free land.

As a counterpart to *Die Europamüden* may be mentioned here the much later work of Kürnberger *Der Amerikamüde* (1858). This is a novel of disillusionment as *Die Europamüden* was of hopefulness. It commanded much attention because it was held to be a reliable picture of American life, and because it was thot that Lenau's unhappy experiences in America formed the basis of the story. It has later been discovered that the author

^{9c} Eckermann, *Gespräche*, p. 160; conversation of Jan. 15, 1827.

¹⁰ Goethe, *Werke* I 41, 2, 293.

had never seen America and that Lenau did not become his model until the novel was well advanced.¹¹

Other writers of greater literary merit who, without ever having seen the land, have laid the scene of portions of their novels in America are Spielhagen with his *Deutsche Pioniere* (1870), Auerbach with *Das Landhaus am Rhein* (1879), and Stifter with his *Kondor* (1840). Gutzkow has one of his American characters in *Die Ritter vom Geiste* come from the "Urwald" near Columbia, Missouri, and Freytag's Frick in *Soll und Haben* has past part of his life in America, to the detriment of his character.

The scene of *Die Pilger der Wildnis* (1853) lies wholly in America. Here the author, J. G. Scherr, treats of King Philip's war, the theme of Cooper's *Wept of Wish-ton-Wish*. Tho there are numerous reminiscences of the *Leather-stocking tales* in the story, it is written on the whole in an independent and original fashion.^{11a} Fanny Lewald's *Diogena* (1847) also deserves mention. In this satirical novel she lets her supereultivated rival, the Gräfin Hahn-Hahn, journey to America to be there humiliated by a redskin of the type that Cooper created.^{11b}

That Stifter was more advantageously influenced by Cooper than any of the other authors named above has been shown by Sauer [918]. Reared in a remote forest Stifter was susceptible to the attraction of Cooper's novels. Tho he nowhere mentions Cooper it is clear that America possess for him a strong allure-ment. There are suggestions of Sealsfield also in his writings, but the Cooper note is stronger. Even the posture of Gregor in the *Hochwald* is made to resemble Natty Bumppo's favorite attitude of resting on his gun. This is mere imitation, it is true, but there is genuine influence as well; for it was Cooper who releast Stifter's tongue and let him express his ever felt love of the forest solitude. As Sauer says, "durch Coopers Eingreifen ist aus einem mittelmässigen Maler ein hervorragender Dichter geworden."¹²

¹¹ See Mulfinger [820].

^{11b} *Ibid.*, p. 12f.

^{11a} Barba [915] 14f.

¹² Sauer [918] 51.

Cooper was the first to satisfy properly European curiosity about America and the first to make American literature generally known abroad. The American inventor Morse reported having seen Cooper's works in thirty-four different places in Europe, and he added: "They have been seen by American travelers in the languages of Turkey and Persia, in Constantinople, in Egypt, at Jerusalem, and Ispahan."¹³

More than any other European people the Germans were interested in Cooper, who rivaled his contemporary Scott¹⁴ for first place in the affection of novel readers. The earlier journalistic reviews of Cooper scarcely rose above an unfruitful comparison of Cooper with Scott. The better considered remarks of Goethe and Börne are more interesting. Goethe wrote in his diary June 26, 1827: "Den zweiten Teil der *Prairie* geendigt. . . . Las den Cooperschen Roman bis gegen das Ende und bewunderte den reichen Stoff und dessen geistreiche Behandlung. Nicht leicht sind Werke mit so groszem Bewusstsein und solcher Konsequenz durchgeführt als die Cooperschen Romane."¹⁵ Börne repeats the question now familiar to us and answers it in the usual fashion:¹⁶

Warum haben wir keine guten Romane, da wir doch alle geborne Romanhelden sind? Wir haben keine, weil der Grundsatz wahr ist: Um etwas zu erfahren, musz man etwas tun, wir müssen gehen, dasz etwas uns begegne. . . . Die ganze Menschheit ist ein Volk, die ganze Erde ist ein Land; Gaben, Mühen und Genüsse sind verteilt—die Engländer schreiben Romane und wir lesen sie. Ja, wenn es bloz die Engländer wären! Dasz aber selbst die Amerikaner es uns zuvorgetan, so ein junges Volk, das kaum die schwäbische Reife erlangt, das beschämt, das entmutigt. Washington Irving, Cooper und noch andere! Wäre Cooper ein ausgezeichnete Künstler wie Walter Scott es ist, das möchte uns beruhigen. . . . Solch ein Genius ist Cooper nicht. Manche Deutsche kommen ihm gleich an Kunstfertigkeit; er hat nur vor ihnen voraus, dasz er ein Amerikaner ist.¹⁶

¹³ Quoted by Lounsbury in his life of Cooper; quoted by Barba [915] 53.

¹⁴ Cooper's *Spy* appeared in German translation in 1817, while *Ivanhoe*, the work which establisht Scott's reputation (see SURVEY, p. 498), did not come out until two years later.

¹⁵ Goethe, *Werke* III 11, 76.

^{15a} Cf. SURVEY, p. 298f.

¹⁶ Börne, *Schriften* V 236.

Cooper's popularity was due in large measure to the two new types which he introduced into literature, the Indian and the settler. The Indian, it is true, was not a wholly new theme. Chateaubriand had conceived him as the unspoiled child of nature in the Rousseauistic sense.^{16a} The native refinement of the Indian in *Atala* (1800) and *René* (1802)¹⁸ put the corrupt European to shame. The final work of the series was delayed until 1826 and was coolly received, in Germany at least. A realistic age had begun that believed no more in the existence of such a paragon as the noble aborigine of Chateaubriand.

Cooper's *Spy* (1821) marks the opening of a new phase as far as the picture of the Indian was concerned. The Indian of Cooper first impressed the public as being intensely realistic. Needless to say this impression soon wore off, but the vogue of Cooper, continued throughout the century in Germany.¹⁹ Of Cooper's new motifs the one that appealed most strongly to American and European publics was the tragedy of the dying race. For a brief time Cooper was without competitors, but soon a school of writers developed that answered to Börne's challenge. Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, Ruppius, Strubberg, and Möllhausen may be considered imitators of Cooper in a particular sense, for they became frontiersmen, travelers, and adventurers in America, studying the life of settler and Indian at first hand and making use of their observations in their novels of American life. It will be of some interest to note the slightly different method in which these authors treated first the Indian and second the settler, but it is first necessary to note the nature of their contact with frontier life.

^{16a} Cf. von Klenze [807].

¹⁷ See BIBLIOGRAPHY, nos. [915] ff.

¹⁸ Both were translated into German in the year of their publication.

¹⁹ Barba's monograph on Cooper in Germany closes with a list of German translations and adaptations (1824-1911). It effectively answers Goedeke's question in *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* III (1881), p. 1345: "Coopers Romane—Wer liest sie nicht?" There are several translations for every year from 1824-1851. The non-producing years of the entire period, 1824-1911, are 1852, 1854-1861, 1863-1865, 1867-1873, and the year 1885. The most productive year was 1853, which doubtless accounts in part for the pause thereafter.

Carl Postl (Charles Sealsfield), an Austrian monk, tiring of his monastic bonds, fled into Switzerland, wrote there a book which exposed Metternich, and was compelled to flee from Europe to America. The years 1823-1830 he spent chiefly in New Orleans, New York, and Mexico, but he saw little frontier life during the period. He made visits to America again in 1837, 1850, and 1853, the latter two after his literary career was practically finished. As early as 1827 Sealsfield was advocating American institutions as against German ones and as late as 1862 after long residence in Germany he was referring to America as his country,²⁰ and he caused to be written on his tombstone "Charles Sealsfield, Bürger von Nordamerika." His actual knowledge of American conditions, particularly of frontier conditions, was deficient. He covered up this defect by extensive borrowings from current American literature, acknowledging his loans in terms so ambiguous that they have been disregarded until recently. In the past few years Heller, Bordier, and Barba²¹ have discovered some of the sources of his *Tokeah or the white rose* (1829), the German version of which (1833) was called *Der Legitime und der Republikaner*, George Howards Esq. *Brautfahrt* (1834) (= *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen*, 1834), *Christophorus Bärenhäuter* (1834), *Der Fluch Kishogues* (1841), and *Das Kajütenbuch* (1841). The source of *Der Fluch Kishogues* was a story of a similar name by Samuel Lover. In the other works he borrowed judiciously from Chateaubriand, Cooper, and Irving, but more recklessly from the current provincial American literature.²² Thompson [826], on the other hand, counterbalances these discoveries in some measure by showing that the novel *Morton oder die grosze Tour* (1835) is based to a large extent on personal observation; and that Cooper, Irving, and Scott, much as Sealsfield admired the last named author, were but slightly influential on the style of this novel.

In the case of the other members of the group of exotic writers the question of literary influence scarcely comes up at

²⁰ Goebel in GAA I 3 (1897) 96f.

²¹ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [823]-[828].

²² Cf. Heller [823] and [824].

all. Despite their tremendous productivity (Sealsfield published over a hundred and fifty volumes, Strubberg over fifty, and Möllhausen over one hundred and sixty), they were primarily men of affairs rather than men of letters. Gerstäcker was "at various times a hunter, sailor, cook, silversmith, manufacturer, and hotel proprietor,"²³ but always a traveler. Strubberg was a frontiersman and colonizing agent.²⁴ Möllhausen was a scientist and explorer;²⁵ and writing was the occupation of their few idle years. The career of Ruppis was slightly different from that of the others but not less interesting. In 1848 he was a journalist in Berlin. He was condemned to imprisonment on account of an article published in his paper. He fled to America, gained a small fortune as a musician, but lost it in a fire in 1853. Then he began a successful literary career, the best known products of which are *Der Pedlar* (1857) and *Das Vermächtnis des Pedlars* (1859). An amnesty having been declared in Prussia, he returned in 1861 to his fatherland. From this time on until his death in 1864 he produced novels of American life in rapid succession. He claimed little knowledge of the Indian or of frontier life, but he had studied the German settler well and sympathetically.²⁶

In addition to these there were numerous other German authors who became personally familiar with American frontier life and who described it for their countrymen. Among these Barba mentions Karl Theodor Griesinger, Adalbert Graf von Baudissin, Karl Friedrich von Wickedede. Two others of the same literary group eventually associated themselves with America. These were Therese Albertine Louise von Jacob (Talvj) and Reinhold Solger, the author of *Anton in Amerika: Seitenstück zu Freytags "Soll und Haben"* (1862).²⁷

Not one of the group of German frontiersmen described the Indian with consistent realism. Sealsfield's *Tokeah* is a piece

²³ Barba [813] 205.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 208ff. (cf. Barba [919]).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 213ff. (cf. Barba [917]).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 202ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

of pure Chateaubriandian romance, which fact signifies little regarding the author, since it was a "borrowed" tale. Elsewhere Sealsfield avoided the subject, presumably because of lack of familiarity with it. Rupprius also seems to have had little to say regarding the Indian and for a similar reason. Gerstäcker knew the Indian well and was often realistic to the point of coarseness, but he was inconsistent in his realism and often harkt back to the sentimentality of Rousseau. This is more evident in his "Südseeromane" *Tahiti* (1854) and *Die Missionäre* (1868). Strubberg's novels of Indian life have an ethnographic value, but he too is inconsistent. Barba says: "Where he has dealt with masses of Indians or introduced them as minor characters he has portrayed them realistically enough; however, in instances where the Indian is an important factor in the development of the story there is a tendency to idealize."²⁸ While Strubberg liked best to portray the Indians in groups, Möllhausen pictures individual types with a larger measure of realism, but even with him there are occasional lapses into romanticism.

The writers mentioned above also treated of the German emigrant in quite diverse ways. Sealsfield, the earliest of the novelists in question, portrayed all manner of people, Indians, Yankees, and various types of settlers. The German settler, however, plays a minor rôle in the narratives, and on the whole it is clear enuf that Sealsfield held the German emigrant to be stupid and worthy of little esteem. With Rupprius, on the other hand, the German settler was a paragon of virtue and industry, whose life stood in markt contrast to that of the dishonest Yankee, who sot to take advantage of him. It is little wonder that the works of Rupprius were popular in Germany and that his version of American life and emigrant character soon became the accepted one in Germany.

Of Gerstäcker's one hundred and fifty or more novels several deal with American frontier life. Gerstäcker was less prejudiced than his two predecessors. His works were essentially true to the facts and could serve as a safe guide to emigrants. He held

²⁸ Barba [812] 159.

out no glowing prospects. Indeed the stories he told of the deceived emigrant rather tended to discourage emigration; but some of his Yankees are honest, and some of his Germans are rogues.

None of the authors just mentioned had so good an opportunity to study frontier life in detail at first hand as had Strubberg and Möllhausen. Strubberg's theme was life on the Texas frontier. Möllhausen's tales were less localized, for he was an explorer. Strubberg deals with colonists, especially German colonists, in masses; Möllhausen pictures types. Barba has provided us with a monograph upon each of these authors.²⁹

Interesting as their writings are to students of international cultural relations, one has the feeling that Gerstäcker and Möllhausens signify nothing definite in the way of literary influences. They were simply German authors with a love of the romantic or exotic who chose the American frontier as one of their chief themes. One turns with hopeful expectation therefore to the article by von Krockow [811], which propounds a real problem of literary influence: "What has been the influence of national embodiments of home characters upon descriptions of the same by foreign writers?" She makes the question more specific and asks to what extent German novelists have adopted the American novelists' pictures of Americans.

Von Krockow divides American fiction into two large groups, the old romantic school and the modern realistic school. She considers the novels of Hawthorne³⁰ and Cooper the best examples of the romantic school. Cooper brot a "fresh assortment of personages" in his Indian and war novels, wherein the knights and lairds of Walter Scott appear disguised in homespun or buckskins and moccasins. They are essentially romantic characters (Harvey Birch is an example) who, in the absence of a substantial reason for sacrificing their lives, offer their lives up for any or no reason.³¹

²⁹ Barba [917] and [919].

³⁰ von Krockow [811] 824-825.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 826.

As characters whom the Americans recognize, on the other hand, as being essentially true to life von Krockow mentions Mark Twain's Colonel Sellers and the western prospectors of Bret Harte. Howell's characters approach reality, but are rather too conscious of class differences to be genuinely American (e.g. Silas Lapham and Lemuel Barker, the latter in *The minister's charge*).

Now the notable fact to von Krockow's mind is that the Germans have been preoccupied by the romantic type of literature in America and have paid little heed to the realistic characters. Cooper's novels are epics of the most primitive sort, the kind which make heroes or demi-gods of the principal characters. The next stage is that which contrasts the national type with a foren one. This, the author notes, is practically absent from American fiction in spite of the confrontations of different nationalities in American life.

We have no counterpart, in other words, of the Frenchman who plays so ridiculous a rôle in English novels, or of the Jew who is the cheap villain of German and Russian literatures; no analogues of *Débit and crédit* and the historical novels of Gutzkow; no duplicates of Anton, whose transparent honesty is made plain against the dark career of Itzel Veitig (sic).³²

The German painters of American emigrant types, von Krockow says, have pursued a different course:

The outlines of Cooper's heroes are filled out by Gerstäcker, Ruppis, Möllhausen, Spielhagen, and Schücking³³ with German occupants. Native Prussians, Bavarians, Württembergers supplant the early Yankee colonists as masters over Indians, enemies, and fate. Indeed often the tables are turned wholly against the original Yankee. His shrewdness becomes unscrupulousness while the pure virtues are shown up in the German hero of the story. From the beginning to the end of the tale American license is set in contrast with Teutonic civil order and conscientiousness.³⁴

³² Ibid., p. 827.

³³ Neither Spielhagen nor Schücking visited America. The former has some American characters in his novels. Von Krockow comments elsewhere in her essay on these, but she leaves the inclusion of Schücking unmotivated.

³⁴ von Krockow [811] 834.

This is an interesting observation, but its value diminishes on closer inspection. If we drop the names Spielhagen and Schücking as not being in any important sense followers of Cooper, and if we substitute Sealsfield and Strubberg for them, the statement is no longer true. For Sealsfield, as has been shown, treated the German emigrant with contempt, and even the Gerstäcker of von Krockow's original statement was by no means prejudiced in his favor.

This somewhat indiscriminate method of generalization makes one slightly suspicious of the value of von Krockow's assertion regarding the modern American girl in German fiction. American literature has no doubt created some new types of womanhood. Howells's American girl is one type. Instead of conceding and yielding everything to the man she loves in German fashion, she is austere and insists that her lover shall measure up to her standard in all things. This, von Krockow says, is a true picture at least of one type of an American girl. Henry James painted another type in *Daisy Miller*. The American public was ready to accept her lack of breeding and admit the veracity of the portrait because it was still free to claim maiden purity as a national racial trait. These pictures, von Krockow says, have not been without influence. In general the result has been a compromise between preconceived ideas and the American pictures. "Frankness as a trait of American girls is made to figure conspicuously in foreign literatures and is often shown in German fiction to have its source in a general physical and moral courage."³⁵ The Germans have accepted the crudities and the freedoms of *Daisy Miller*, however, without comprehending that they can be combined with immunity to temptation, "nor is the American girl represented as clinging to the maiden period with zest and keen appreciation of its superior freedom." The heroism of the American girl in German fiction is the familiar "ewig weibliche" literary heroism of self-surrender.³⁵ This sounds plausible and is no doubt true, but the author supports it in

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 837.

detail by only one instance and not a notable one at that, namely by the case of Miss Webster in *Die Amerikanerin* by Sophie Junghaus.

As a final characteristic of Americans in German fiction von Krockow mentions the American sense of superiority. "The Yankee or the Americanized German feels himself better, smarter, and freer than Bismarck's Prussians. . . . Sometimes this characteristic is introduced, as by Gustav Freytag, to be put to shame, but it is there."³⁵

The author says in conclusion:

The traits that are prominent in our portraiture of ourselves are faithfully raised in relief by German fiction. The modeling touches put upon them bring forth different individuals, but their species is the same. The hero is middle-aged and material, the elderly matron invalid, and the heroine young and independent. There are no heroines of thirty, nor are there any naive Margarets. These prevailing types are set aside once for all whenever Americans are represented.³⁶

In his investigation of *The American novel in Germany* Vollmer [803a] treats only of the period since 1871. Such a limitation is justified not only by the new political phases upon which the two countries were entering, but also by the fact that the older group of American writers past off the scene at about that time and gave way to a new group. Harriet Beecher Stowe's famous novel belongs, it is true, to both periods, as MacLean [999] has shown, but Hawthorne, Cooper, and Irving had ceased to write by 1871. Alcott's *Old fashioned girl* was first translated into German in 1870, and about the same time Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer*, Bret Harte's *Tales of California*, and Henry James's *Daisy Miller* made their appearance in Germany.

Vollmer does not seek to define the impression that the American novel has made in Germany, but he is able to show that it is widely read there. His evidence consists of a long bibliographical list of translations and reprints of American novels in Germany. He restricts his attention to American

³⁶ Ibid., p. 838.

novelists who have come to the fore in America since 1870 and whose works have been translated or reprinted in Germany since then. It is not surprising to learn that Mark Twain stands foremost with one hundred and thirty-five translations or reprints and that Bret Harte follows him with one hundred and seven. Then follow Anna Katherine Green with eighty-two, Frances Hodgson Burnett with seventy-two, and F. Marion Crawford with sixty. Lew Wallace with thirty-six owes his popularity almost exclusively to *Ben Hur*, of which thirty-one reprints or translations have appeared in Germany. Only eight other authors have attained a total of twenty translations or reprints. They are in order of apparent popularity John Heberton, Henry James, R. H. Savage, L. M. Alcott, H. H. Jackson, Gertrude Atherton, Edward Bellamy, and W. D. Howells. In many cases a high degree of popularity has been attained by an American novelist in Germany in spite of the fact that his works were disregarded by the German critics. Not the least interesting part of Vollmer's article is the account it gives of the gradual recognition of the existence of an independent American literature.

Yet on the whole the statistics of Vollmer are as little satisfactory as the generalizations of von Krockow. From an analysis of both one derives the impression that the American novel has exerted little influence over the German and one still enquires what has hindered such an influence. Answers to this question are indirectly suggested in an address of Schoenemann [813x]. His object was to draw a comparison between the novels of the two countries. The comparison falls for the most part to the disadvantage of the American novel and thus affords a summary of the negative qualities which have made the American type of novel unacceptable to German men of letters. The greatest hindrance has been Puritanism, which is a frame of mind that closes the heart to many of the joyful phases of life, shuts the individual up with himself, and lays an often prudish restraint upon his expression. Puritanism and art are therefore scarcely compatible. Another stumbling block to German readers is the

excessive amount of attention to class distinctions based on wealth. This comes as a surprize to most American readers, who think the American novel more democratic than the European, but American novelists have sometimes exprest a different view of American life. Churchill's *Richard Carvel* and *Mr. Crewe's career*, F. Hopkinson Smith's stories of the south, and Howells's *Rise of Silas Lapham* are referred to as evidence of the recognition of the existence of classes within American society. Churchill is quoted as saying: "There is an empire and a feudal system did one but know it;" and Howells to the effect: "There's no use pretending that we haven't nobility." Many popular novels, Schoenemann says, make the accumulation of wealth by their hero a main theme or important side issue. He gives as examples Westcott's *David Harum* and Ford's *Peter Stirling*; these he sets in opposition to the "ganz aufs Innere gerichteten Lebensgeschichten Raabescher Gestalten." Such generalizations are, to be sure, in their nature dangerous since so much depends on the examples one selects as a basis. Schoenemann implies also that the Germans find the American novel superficial in its philosophy. The American novel is prevailingly optimistic, the German novel often pessimistic. It is not the optimism itself to which exception is taken, but its insecure foundation. It expresses itself chiefly in the confidence that virtue or hard work will eventually bring rewards. This is, as Schoenemann would concede, a natural frame of mind for a people which is still young and which still has unsettled land at its disposal. Another colonial characteristic is the assignment of a commanding rôle to woman. The German would be more inclined to acquiescence in this arrangement if the women acted on the principle of "noblesse oblige," but for the most part in American novels they are represented chiefly as prizes to be gained, not as beings who share with men the responsibilities of life. Finally, the American novel rarely represents man in communion with nature. Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* and Booth Tarkington's *Gentleman from Indiana* are mentioned as partial exceptions to this statement, but "die innige Durchdringung von

Natur und Menschenseele," such as one finds in certain works of Ludwig Frenssen, Clara Viebig, Ernst Zahn, and Peter Rosegger, is rare in the American novel. Schoenemann makes also by implication certain criticisms on the German novel, but these strictures do not concern us here. His review would make it appear that our novel is becoming less puritanical, less colonial, more philosophical, in other words that in essentials it is itself gradually assuming European characteristics. Nor is this to be wondered at. It is usual that the more primitive literature lends to the older ones new subject matter, "Stoff," but accepts from the older in return "Form" and "Gehalt."

* * * * *

Of the poets of America, Longfellow, Poe, and Whitman have attracted most attention in Germany. According to Roehm [802] the translations of Longfellow make up about half the bulk of the German renderings of American poetry. Longfellow and Poe are the only American poets whose complete works have been translated into German;³⁷ but Bryant, Whitman, and Taylor are represented by extensive selections.³⁸ There are also about twenty-five anthologies devoted exclusively to American poetry, in which Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, Emerson, Joaquin Miller, Bret Harte, Aldrich, Stoddard, and many less well known poets are represented. Roehm shows that American poets are not neglected in Germany as far as quantity of translations is concerned. Unfortunately many of the translations are poor, and the poor ones are equally successful with the good ones. As one example of this he mentions the history of *Evangeline* in Germany. Gasda's translation of this poem (1863) was the third of its kind and by far the best that had yet appeared. It never past into a second edition, and was succeeded by eleven other attempts before 1898, all of which experienced likewise but one

³⁷ Longfellow, *Sämtliche Werke* by A. Simon (Leipzig 1883); Poe, *Sämtliche Gedichte* by Etzel (Leipzig 1909).

³⁸ Bryant, *Gedichte* by A. Neidhardt (Stuttgart 1855) and A. Laun (Bremen 1863); Taylor, *Gedichte* by Karl Bleibtreu (Berlin 1879). Re Whitman see footnotes 42 and 46.

edition and no one of which remotely approach Gasda's in poetic value. The case is cited as typical of the fate of American poems in Germany.

It cannot be said that either Poe or Longfellow exercised any appreciable influence in Germany, despite the great popularity of both. The popularity of Poe is readily explicable. Readers fond of the mysterious and shuddery could find in him much the same atmosphere that drew them to Hoffmann. Two formal monographs have been written upon the subject of Longfellow's relation to German literature, [946] and [948]. In spite of their promising titles they deal only with German influences on Longfellow. They do not even attempt to list the German translations of Longfellow's poems. That something might be said in regard to the favor Longfellow found in Germany is clear from the recently published letter of Elise von Hohenhausen to Longfellow [949] telling of her translation of the *Golden Legend*. The letter is followed by two others by her daughter dwelling in equally delightful English upon her mother's admiration for Longfellow's poetry and bearing witness to the high regard in which Longfellow was held in Germany.

Whitman alone of American poets formed a cult in Germany, but from the first his admirers advertised him not wisely but too well. Regarding the ascent and decline of his reputation Lessing's discussion [1006] informs us. Thorstenberg [1007] speaks only of his rising star, altho his account appeared after Lessing's completer one. Freiligrath's endorsement of Whitman was maladroit and premature.⁴⁰ Its ardor aroused suspicion instead of inspiring conviction and the Germany of 1868, as Thorstenberg points out, was still too romantically minded to appreciate Whitman. The general acceptance of Darwinism and a further development of industrialism with its concomitant socialistic ideas were necessary antecedents to such a consummation. Another strong Whitman protagonist announced him-

⁴⁰ Cf. *Augsburger allgemeine Zeitung* April 24 and May 10, 1868, and Freiligrath, *Gesammelte Dichtungen* (Stuttgart 1877) IV 75-89. Freiligrath includes translations from *Drum taps*.

self in 1883. This was Edward Bertz, the "Whitmanite" of George Gissing's *Thyrza*. During his sojourn in America Bertz had become personally acquainted with Whitman, and in 1889 he devoted an enthusiastic article to *Walt Whitman zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag*,⁴¹ but when Whitman began plying him with photographs and newspaper articles Bertz's ador cooled and soon changed to antipathy, as will presently be seen. Other attempts by dint of advocacy and translation⁴² to gain favor for Whitman in Germany before his death were relatively unsuccessful. Schlaf's ill-fated advocacy began with an unoriginal article in the *Freie Bühne* (now *Neue Rundschau*)⁴³ written at the time of Whitman's death and based on the views of Rolleston, Knortz, Freiligrath, and Bertz. By the year 1904 he had established himself as a Whitman authority and undertook to write the Whitman monograph for *Die Dichtung*. This led to exposure of the fact that even at this late date he had read only about one-fifteenth of the writings of Whitman and of that none in the original, for he could read no English.⁴⁴ Meanwhile the Whitman cult had reached its height. Karl Federn, an Austrian critic, published in *Die Zeit* an essay in which he compared Whitman directly with Moses and Buddha and indirectly with Jesus. Extravagant praise was also coming from the pen of Julius Rodenberg (1899), and from Benzmann, Lentrodt, and Schölermann in 1904.⁴⁵ But a reaction soon set in. O. E. Lessing, a former Whitman enthusiast and translator, revised his opinion between 1906 and 1910,⁴⁶ and Bertz, the former Whit-

⁴¹ *Deutsche Presse* II 23ff.

⁴² Adolf Strodman, who had been in America 1852-1856, included several selections from Whitman in his *Amerikanische Anthologie*, 1870. Hopp, a German-American poet, translated *O captain, my captain* in his *Unter dem Sternenbanner* (1879). Rolleston and Karl Knortz published selections from *Leaves of grass* (*Grashalme*), 1889, with a highly laudatory preface.

⁴³ Cf. Lessing [1006] 89.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴⁵ These are all quoted in Thorstenberg [1007].

⁴⁶ Lessing translated *When lilacs last in the door-yard bloomed* for *Aus fremden Zungen* (Berlin 1906), and produced *Walt Whitmans Prosaschriften in Auswahl übersetzt* (München und Leipzig 1905).

manite, gave a pathological explanation of Whitman's poetry in 1905⁴⁷ followed by *Whitman-Mysterien* (1907) and *Der Yankee-Heiland* (1907). Despite the clamor of antagonists and protagonists an influence of Whitman's poetry in Germany has not yet been proved, tho the outline of an unpublished essay by Boehme [1009] suggests an influence on Schlaf, Holz, Schmidtbonn, Lissauer, Werfel, and Paquet.

The history of American literature in Germany would be incomplete without a passing reference to American philosophy, and New England transcendentalism is the outstanding philosophical movement of literary significance. Karl Federn recognizes the roots of transcendentalism in the teachings of Kant and Goethe,⁵⁰ but finds the American application of them new and, for the European world as well, important. He says of the transcendentalists:

Sie haben ein von dort Unerwartetes gebracht, eine neue Lehre: einen völlig modernen Idealismus. Und sie haben im Gegensatz zu anderen amerikanischen Schriftstellern, die alle mehr oder minder Schüler und Nachahmer Europas waren, sich selbst als Lehrer neuer Art erwiesen, sie haben einen eigenen neuen Stil, sie haben ein neues amerikanisches Element der Weltliteratur befruchtend zugeführt.⁵¹

The critics have shown some disposition to place Emerson in a category with Nietzsche,⁵⁴ but Federn, who in 1892 first drew a comparison between the philosophy of the "representative" man and the "superman," was tempted as early as 1899 to withdraw some of his observations.⁵² The same critic reported in 1892 of Emerson:

Ogleich sein Geist auch in Deutschland in immer weiteren Wellenkreisen zu wirken begonnen hat, und man die Spuren seines Einflusses bereits vielfach verfolgen kann, ist diese Wirkung doch eine weit langsamere, als man nach der Bedeutung Emersons und bei der sonst so willigen Art, mit der gerade das deutsche Volk die groszen Männer des Auslandes aufzunehmen pflegt, erwarten sollte.⁵³

⁴⁷ *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* VII (1905), referred to by Lessing [1006] without page citation.

⁵⁰ Federn, *Essays zur amerikanischen Literatur* (Halle 1899), p. 2.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. v.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 7; cf. p. v.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 1; cf. Francke [933x].

⁵⁴ See BIBLIOGRAPHY [913]; cf. SURVEY, p. 468f.

He attributed this to the difficulty Emerson offered to the translators. He was first made known in Germany by the essay of Grimm (1860)⁵⁵ and by Grimm's translation of Emerson's essays on Goethe and Shakespeare (1857).⁵⁶ Since then his essays have been translated separately and in collection by many workers. *Nature, Montaigne, Representative men, English traits, The conduct of life, Society and solitude, Letters and social aims* have all been translated. Grimm, Spielhagen, Karl Federn, H. Conrad, and B. Auerbach are numbered among the translators of Emerson.⁵⁷ His poems have been translated but scantily and only seven, those of Spielhagen,⁵⁸ successfully.

With Emerson and Whitman, Federn groups Thoreau among America's great originals. His studies of nature and his philosophy of life seem to have attracted relatively little attention in Germany despite Federn's essay⁵⁹ and a translation of *Walden*, which had appeared two years before.⁶⁰

* * * * *

The retrospect over American > German literary influences is at an end. The results are meagre; perhaps in part because the explorers have been few. The theme of the literature of the German emigrants and travelers has been treated with breadth of vision and care as to detail by Barba, but for reasons already given his results do not, for the most part, form a part of our theme. The tale of American prose fiction in Germany is continued by the generalizing article of von Krockow and concluded by the statistical one of Vollmer. Possibly American fiction has been more influential than the investigators have shown, but

⁵⁵ In *Neue Essays über Kunst und Literatur* (Berlin 1865), R. W. Emerson, pp. 1-23; *Fünfzehn Essays, Erste Folge*³ (Berlin 1874), Ralph Waldo Emerson, pp. 426-448 of this collection, was first written in 1861. *Fünfzehn Essays, Dritte Folge* (Berlin 1882), pp. ix-xxiv, contains an essay on Emerson written shortly after Emerson's death.

⁵⁶ Grimm, *Emerson über Goethe und Shakespeare* (Hannover 1857).

⁵⁷ For the details see Cooke, *A bibliography of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston 1908). The work is in index.

⁵⁸ See Roehm [802] 39.

⁵⁹ Henry David Thoreau in *Essays sur amerikanischen Literatur*, p. 141ff.

⁶⁰ *Walden von Henry David Thoreau*, deutsch von Emma Emmerich (München 1897).

more probably such is not the case. The proverb or rather its corollary is true: where there is little smoke there is little fire. In general the authors who have been popular in America have been popular also in Germany, but at least since 1850 no distinctively new literary movements have been occasioned thereby, and the same seems to be true of our poetic literature. Longfellow, Poe, and others were greeted with mild interest, but established no new poetic types, and the Whitman mania was an isolated and abnormal instance of German interest in an American poet; as such it is of no great significance. One might have desired a special study of Emerson's influence or Thoreau's, but presumably there would have been little to record regarding the influence of their thought in Germany.

On the whole it is safe to conclude from this retrospect that the German and American literatures ceased about the middle of the century to react upon each other in any fruitful fashion. It was a simple, romantic, unostentatious Germany of song and legend and little states and cities that appealed irresistibly to Hawthorne, Taylor, and Longfellow. Here they sought the mellow traditions that their homeland lacked. It was the adventurous, romantic America of the bold settler and the chivalric Indian that appealed at the same time to the German mind. America past beyond this period about the middle of the century, and Germany about the same time began to regard the realm of the air as unworthy of her powers and turned her attention to the dominion of the earth. Thus it came about that for a space of a half century and more neither nation had anything unique to offer the other.

CHAPTER 24

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

It has proved a laborious but not a baffling task for the investigators to sketch the literary trends of the eighteenth century in Germany, to define the foreign elements, and to appraise their force. Similar investigations even when pursued by similar methods have proved well nigh fruitless when applied to the nineteenth century literature.

At the beginning of the century Byron appealed to the imagination of Germany as of all Europe and there were many German poets who began to be what was called Byronic, but surely despair, disillusionment, "Weltschmerz," defiance, and skepticism prevailed already in Europe after the grand humanitarian hopes of the eighteenth century had ended in disaster; and only a part of what was called Byronic owed its origin to Lord Byron.

Walter Scott developed a type of historical romanticism different from that of his German contemporaries. Earlier critics could tell off the characteristics of the one and the other school. The German romanticists eventually adopted something of Scott's technique, point of view, and bearing toward the public. It is not impossible to tell where this influence begins but almost impossible to say just where it ends. That Walter Scott brought the German "Dorfgeschichte" to a higher stage of excellence as represented by Gotthelf, Auerbach, Ludwig, and Keller seems clear enough, but it is equally certain that out of the German "Kalender-Geschichten" some more fully rounded out form of narration would have developed, Scott or no Scott.

About the middle of the nineteenth century a new type of novel gained the favor of the public, the novel of the man who works as against the novel of the man of leisure. The novel developed most rapidly in England, which also set the pace in the

business world. The English novel succeeded in imparting some of its characteristics to the industrial novel generally, but who shall say that Germany, after she became somewhat tardily an industrial nation, would never have produced industrial novels, novels of the proletariat, the middle class, and the affluent business man had England not set the example.

Humor of a certain type has often been taken as a criterion of Dickens's influence, but it is an elusive test. Dickens's humor is nearly related to Sterne's. The humor of Gutzkow, Raabe, and others may go back to Sterne eventually, but if so, was it thru the medium of Dickens or of Jean Paul and the romantic school? The humor and irony of the romantic school is surely similar to Sterne's, but their humor was so essential a part of their nature that to speak of borrowed humor in their case is to misrepresent them entirely.

English influences existed in the nineteenth century literature of Germany beyond all doubt, but the more the century advanced the more they became mingled with other foren influences and with unmistakably national trends of development, so that attempts to isolate their currents are almost in vain. It may be added that the mixing process began early in the century and that in many instances the romantic school was the eddy that mingled the waters. The confused conception we have of the influences of the nineteenth century is not due to lack of industry or acumen on the part of the critics who have investigated the details; it is due to the complexity of the subject matter.

Now that two decades of the twentieth century have past, a characterization of its literature might seem called for, but there is little one can assert regarding influences in general or English > German ones in particular.¹ As our problem grew more complicated with the discussion of the past century we helpt ourselves out with the term reciprocal influences. With the twentieth century even that suffices us no longer. The literatures

¹ An exception may here be made in the case of Shakespeare. Goldschmidt [634a] has attempted to define his significance for the twentieth century; see SURVEY, p. 470.

of France, England, and Germany no longer appear in the guise of separate streams, but rather as a common sea, and it is better to drop the figure of influences where we are dealing in fact with one vast confluence.

Schools of influence exist in as true a sense as ever before, but they do not fall along nationalistic lines. It would be justifiable to distinguish an international group of Post-Ibsenites, perhaps also a similar group of Post-Tolstoians with whom Tchekoff, Lutzko, Barbusse, Frank, and others might be grouped.² One could speak with some precision of a Flaubert-Turgenev-James school of realists, but to speak of a piece of literary work as being typically French, German, or English would be to convey just no impression whatsoever. From this common sea of literature we may take a cup of water and analyse it. We may find something of the soil of peasant life, something of the by-products of industrialism, something of the element of pure art, and some of the iron of militarism, but in the rarest instances shall we be able to assign these elements to their national source.

It is not without a regret that we surrender provincialism with its charm and its local flavor. We may still find it in the not yet fully confluent Russian or Spanish literatures or in the Asiatic and oriental literatures. We may find it still in the works of "Heimatkunst" and we may find its equivalent as new classes of society come to the front and express themselves in literature.

²Shortly after writing these lines my attention was called to an organization of authors consciously seeking to strengthen the international tie of literature. Henri Barbusse appears to have been the prime mover. The association goes under the name "Clarté." The following are mentioned in the list of its supporters: Blasco Ibañez, Georg Brandes, Georges Duhamel, Anatole France, Ellen Key, Andreas Lutzko, Raymond Lefebvre, Charles Gide, E. D. Morel, Romain Rolland, René Schickelé, Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, Israel Zangwill, Josiah Wedgwood, H. G. Wells, Siegfried Sassoon. It is true there are here no names of the weight of Goethe, Carlyle, and Mme. de Staël who brot support to the movement in an earlier period when a world literature was mooted, but the list is still impressive and not by its numbers alone. Such an organization can do little or nothing to alter literary conditions, but it helps to secure recognition of a fact that already exists. This particular group represents obviously only one of the trends of the time, namely, that toward international socialism, but it seems fairly clear that the writers of an opposite tendency will, tho perhaps in a less obvious way, continue to maintain a certain community of action in the support of the traditional organization of society.

Nor, indeed, need we assume that cosmopolitanism will displace nationalism and that individual and racial characteristics are to be fused into one heterogeneous mass. The characteristics of any one type are best brought out when placed in contact with another type. The peasant most fully reveals himself in his contact with the city dweller, the Indian in his contact with the white, and so it is with race and race.

But in any case it is not a question of what we may wish. In so far as literature is a science it should recognize facts as they are. Realism, naturalism, romanticism indicate essential differences in literature. French, German, and English represent slight modifications of the main trends. It is undesirable in a science to establish grand divisions of a subject with minor differences as their basis. Up to the time of the renaissance the different European literatures maintained a certain degree of independence. The renaissance brought them closer together, but not immediately, for certain nations assimilated its spirit and forms more promptly than others, the earlier ones serving then as intermediaries to the later ones. For this reason "influences" is a very convenient term in discussing the period from the renaissance to the romantic movement. But the nineteenth century literary movements affected the western European literatures almost simultaneously, and the same condition is holding in the twentieth century. It therefore seems presumable that the most accurate way of discussing the literature of the twentieth century will prove to be under the rubric of "main currents," "Hauptströmungen," rather than under the rubric of nationalities. We in America can look on this process with comparative indifference since what T. W. Higginson said in 1870 is fairly true to-day: The American spirit has expressed itself but feebly in books. At most few writers have won success abroad by treating of specific American themes.³ We may, however, expect the nations which have an older literary tradition to oppose this new trend of development and Germany, as Goethe, one of the

³ Higginson, *Americanism in literature* AM XXV (1870) 63 and in his *Atlantic essays* (Boston 1871), p. 5f.

first advocates of "Weltliteratur," once said, has more to give up than most nations.⁴

In his "Rektoratsrede" of 1915 Professor Ernst Elster [7x] takes a decided stand against cosmopolitanism in literature. He asks the question: "Gibt es in (der deutschen Dichtung) und ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung Züge des Gehaltes und der Form, durch die sie sich von der Dichtung anderer Völker unterscheidet, und worin besteht dieses Besondere, dieses Deutsche, das dabei hervortritt."⁵ Before specifying these characteristics he asserts that they are not to be set in "unmittelbaren oder mittelbaren Äusserungen vaterländischer Gesinnung," but rather "in seelischen Betätigungen von allgemeinerer und umfassenderer Bedeutung."⁶ Then he proceeds to enumerate, and the first characteristic he mentions is "Freiheit." The German conception of freedom, he says, is entirely different from the English. It does not mean license, but "Selbstbestimmung;"⁶ as a consequence of that it means also "strenge Auffassung der Pflicht," and to that end in turn "Verbreitung und Vertiefung der Bildung."⁷ Other consequences of the prevalent "Selbstbestimmung" are "rücksichtslose Wahrheitsliebe, Beharrlichkeit und Treue in den Äusserungen . . . der Freundschaft und Liebe, der Verehrung und Ehrfurcht," and "starker Gemeinsinn." One of the aims of academic teaching is to make the trained man "widerstandsfähig gegen den inneren Zwang der hergebrachten Anschauungen und der öffentlichen Meinung."⁷ Elster concedes: "Gewisz ist vieles davon . . . nur Forderung nicht Erfüllung, aber gerade in dem was der Mensch fordert und wünscht zeigt sich seines Wesens Kern."⁷ On the basis of these ideals he says the German soul has developed. "Beharrlich und fest,

⁴ Goethe, *Werke* I 42:2, 201: "Der Deutsche läuft keine grözere Gefahr, als sich mit und an seinen Nachbarn zu steigern; es ist vielleicht keine Nation geeigneter, sich aus sich selbst zu entwickeln." *Ibid.* I 42:2, 202: "Jetzt, da sich eine Weltliteratur einleitet, hat genau besehen der Deutsche am meisten zu verlieren; er wird wohl thun, dieser Warnung nachzudenken." Goethe nevertheless advocated a world literature on practical humanitarian grounds; cf. *Werke* I 41:2, 305f.

⁵ Elster [7x] 5. I was unable to obtain Bartels's discussion of the theme [sax].

⁶ Elster [7x] 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

stark in Liebe und Hasz, äuszert sich deutsches Gefühlsleben. . . . Besonders hoch entwickelt erscheint das Naturgefühl und das religiöse Gefühl," and the final goal of all this he says is "der Gedanke des reinen Menschthums."⁹

These are indeed high ideals and no nation has ever lived up to them, but ideals are free and no nation may lay an exclusive claim to them until other nations have disowned them.¹⁰ What Elster enumerates is nothing less than the creed of enlightened souls everywhere and, confining our attention even to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in question, it would be fruitless to debate which nation had produced individuals most fully exemplifying these virtues. In support of his thesis Elster mentions of the nineteenth-century men of letters Tieck, Novalis, Fichte, Arndt, Körner, Schenkendorf, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Storm, Keller, Ludwig, Reuter, Raabe, Jordan, Scheffel, Freytag, Hebbel, Wagner. From 1860 on new literary figures of true German type became rarer. Nietzsche is mentioned with approval, but Hauptmann and his confederates only with reservation. Of Hauptmann's characters Elster says: "Keiner rafft sich auf zum Herrn seiner Entschlieszungen; solche zerbrechliche Art ist ganz undeutsch."¹¹

This is a goodly list of names which Elster enumerates, yet are there not some among them who seem to be included rather because of the "unmittelbaren oder mittelbaren Äuszierungen vaterländischer Gesinnung" which Elster excluded at the outset as a test rather than because of the virtues he later enumerates; and would it not be possible to find a list of literary men from the other literatures of the nineteenth century who would also well represent the qualities really in question, "Selbstbestimmung," "Pflichtsgefühl," "Gemeinsinn," "Beharrlichkeit," "Treue," "Naturgefühl," "das religiöse Gefühl," and "reinen Menschthum."

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8f.

¹⁰ Cf. Goethe, *Werke* I 41:2, 306: "Eine wahrhaft allgemeine Duldung wird am sichersten erreicht, wenn man das besondere der einzelnen Menschen und Völkerschaften auf sich beruhen lässt, bei der Überzeugung jedoch festhält, dass das wahrhaft verdienstliche sich dadurch auszeichnet, dass es der ganzen Menschheit angehört."

¹¹ Elster [7x] 32.

This is said from no desire to disparage German literature or its great heroes, but only to prove the point in question. German literature has perhaps as individual a quality as any modern literature. Elster has placed its individuality in its strongest light, but even he has failed to demonstrate that German literature is something entirely different from that of other nations. The conclusion seems clear: Nationality in literature will always be an interesting and fruitful subject for comment, but it leads to too slight or at least too subtle differentiations to serve as a main basis for classification.

Cosmopolitanism in literature, on the other hand, has merits that cannot be gainsaid. Once again the ideal of a commonwealth of nations has presented itself vividly to man's view. In a very real sense such a union has long existed among the Anglo-Saxon people of the earth. The unity is not due so much to any machinery of government as to tradition, and of this tradition the literary element makes up a large part. The race is held together by the common heritage of Shakespeare and Milton, of Burke and Lincoln.

The twentieth century promises to bring into existence some international commonwealth of wider inclusiveness than ever existed before. If we may judge by history, the real binding element in such a union will not be some artificially constructed constitution, but once again the common heritage of the past;¹² a common reverence for classic ideals of beauty, as well as for Shakespeare, Goethe, and Dante, a common tolerance of all Hebbels, Ibsens, and Galsworthys, who point out the foibles of the smug citizen and the compact majority, and a common deference to the views of Jesus and Confucius, of Grotius and Kant, of Tolstoi and Penn, and all who have tried to teach by life or literature some golden rule, or categorical imperative, or some principle of common justice for Jew and Gentile, for friend and enemy.

¹² L. P. Jacks in *The international mind* AM CXXV (1920) 299-311 regards the literary as but one of many international comities which should precede a political union of nations in order to make the latter effective.

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These additions bring the bibliography up to January, 1920, as far as journals and publications in the English language are concerned. German publications, however, since 1915 are but incompletely represented. The latest volume of the "Jahresberichte für die neuere deutsche Literatur" was volume XXIV for 1913; on the other hand the file of the "Shakespeare-Jahrbuch" was complete to 1919 inclusive. For several of the items below I am indebted to colleags in distant places. I wish here to thank them all, especially Professor Baldensperger of the Sorbonne, Professor Schoenemann of Harvard University, and Mr. Leonard L. Mackall of New York.

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PART I

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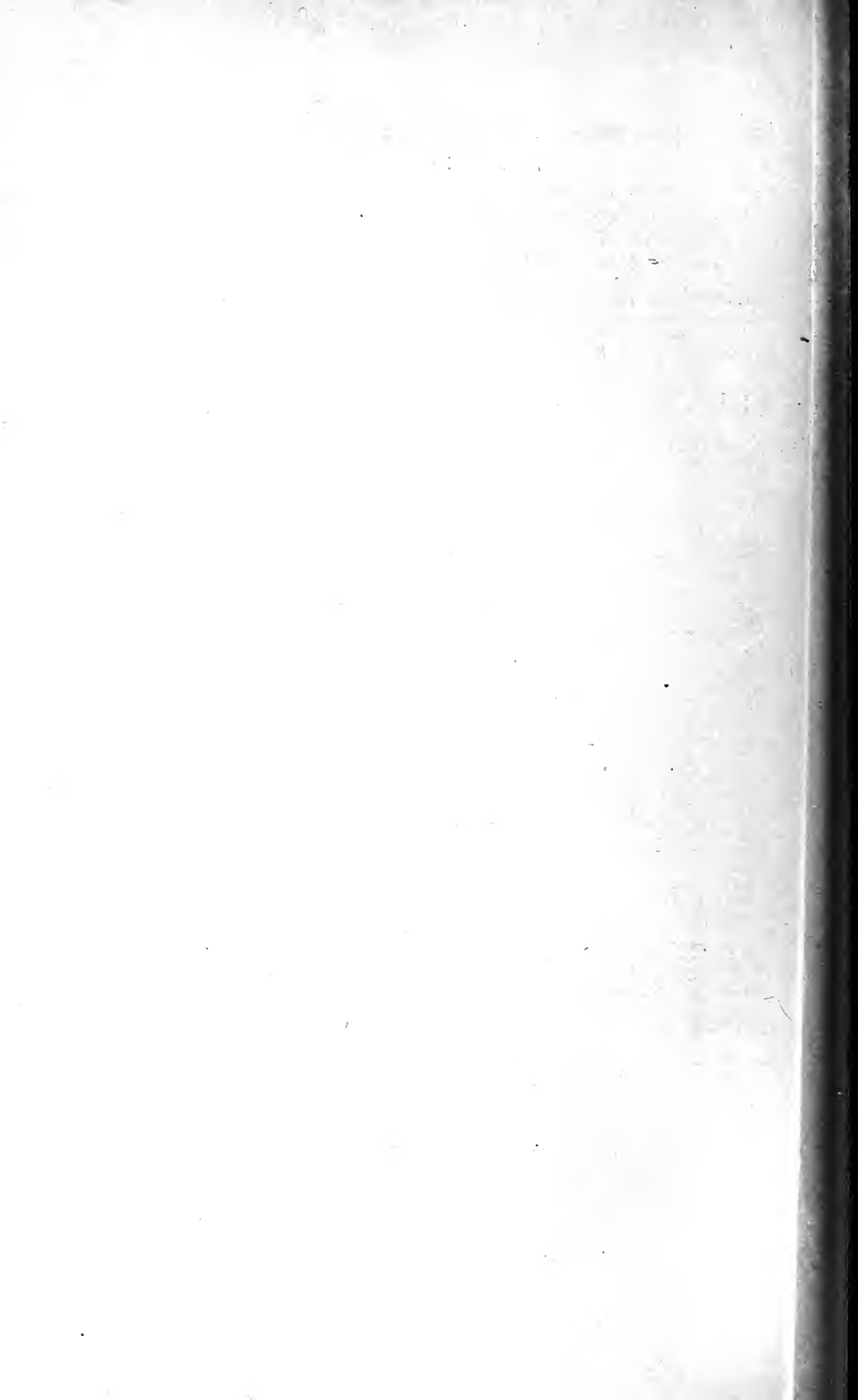
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INDEX OF INFLUENCES*

In the introduction to the BIBLIOGRAPHY reference is made to a forthcoming "index of influences" at the close of the SURVEY, hence the designation is here retained tho it is admittedly a misnomer. The term "index of relations" would be more accurate, for the catalog includes not only English > German influences but passing comparisons of English and German authors, views of German authors regarding English ones, and minor relationships including even that of author and translator, no attempt being made to distinguish between the important and unimportant. Bracketed numbers refer to bibliographical entries. An x within the brackets indicates that the item is to be found in the "Addenda to the bibliography" (see SURVEY, p. 590f.). Free numbers refer to pages in the SURVEY. The classification is according to author names. Titles of works are given only where the authorship was not ascertainable.

- Ackermann—see Byron, Keats.
- Addison and German criticism 356f., 360, 367; German literature [90] [148]–[156] 156, 157–159, 189–197, 226, 229, 235.
- Addison and
 Bodmer [103] [148] [150] [157] 160, 171, 192, 197, 227f., 229, 362f., 366
 Brawe 341
 Breitinger [103] [148] [150] [157]
 Gellert [155] [158] 171
 Goethe [107] [110] [159]
 Gottsched [116] [117] [148] [150] [160]–[162] 171, 189f., 195, 197, 334, 363, 366, 369
 Gottsched (L. A. V.) 191, 193, 195f., 363, 366
 Hagedorn [118] [155] 167
 Haller [155] 194
 Herder 197, 289, 314
 Klopstock 223
 Lessing 369, 403
 Mattheson [156]
 Möser 163
 Rabener [155] [163] 195
 Wieland [144] 378, 380.
- Ahlwardt—see Ossian.
- Alcott and German literature 568f.
- Aldrich and German literature [802] 571.
- Alexis—see Häring.
- America and German fiction [811]–[813] [813x] [828] [915]–[919]; German literature [92]–[101] [804]–[810] [807x] 185–188, 555–576; German poetry [92]–[100a] [815].
- America and
 Auerbach 559
 Baudissin 563
 Freiligrath [816]
 Freytag 559
 Goethe [817] [817x] 186, 188, 557f.
 Griesinger 563
 Gutzkow 559
 Heine [818]
 Herder 186f.
 Klinger 555
 Klopstock 186f.
 Kürnberger [819] [820] 558
 Lenau [819]–[821]
 Sealsfield [822]–[828]
 Solger 563
 Spielhagen 559
 Stifter 559
 "Sturm und Drang" 186, 188
 von Jacob 573
 von Wickede 563
 Willkomm 558.
- American literature and Germany [800]–[803a].
- American literature and
 Junghaus 568
 Marggraff 556
 Schmidt (J) 555.
- American revolution in German literature [92]–[100a] 185–188.
- American revolution and
 Engel 187
 Hermes 187
 Klinger 188
 Lenz 188
 Matthison 187
 Schiller 175f., 555
 Schlözer 185
 Schubart 185f., 555
 Wekhrlin 175f., 555
 Wieland 186.

* In the introduction to the BIBLIOGRAPHY, part I of this work, page 3, footnote 1, reference is made to a forthcoming "Index of reviews and comments." The provision of such an index now appears, however, of doubtful advantage, and the reviewers have been in few instances discusst consecutively. The plan of compiling such an index has accordingly been abandoned.

- Amory and
 Kästner 297
 Lessing 297
 Mendelssohn 297
 Nicolai 297
 Uz 297
 Wieland 297.
- Anzengruber—see Shakespeare.
 Arbuthnot and Liscow 179.
 Arnim—see Massinger, Percy, Richardson, Scott, Sterne.
 Arnold (M) and von Schack [850].
 Arnold—see Richardson.
 Atherton and German literature 569.
 Auerbach—see Byron, Emerson, Franklin, Scott, Stowe.
 Austen (Jane) and Keller [855].
 Ayrenhoff—see Shakespeare.
 Ayler—see English players, Marlowe, Peele.
- Bacon and German literature [87a] 160.
 Bacon and Schupp [18] 132.
 Bailey and Schmidt (J) 490.
 Baisch—see Burns.
 Bancroft and Goethe [817].
 Bandello [70].
 Banks and Lessing 377.
 Barclay and German literature [21] [21a] 132f.
 Barclay and
 Birken 131
 Buchner 131
 Grimmelshausen [21ax] 131
 Harsdörffer 131
 Kindermann 131
 Opitz [21a] 131
 Schupp [18] 131
 Weise 132
 Zesen 131.
- Barrow and German literature 160.
 Bartsch—see Burns.
 Bassewitz—see Lillo.
 Baudissin—see Shakespeare.
 Beaumont and Germany [195] 142.
 Beaumont and
 Gottsched 369
 Lessing [127] 369f.
 Morhof 361
 Nicolai 374
 Schröder 344.
 Beck—see Byron.
 Beer-Hofmann—see Field, Massinger, N. Rowe.
 Beil—see Moore (E).
 Bellamy and German literature 569.
 Bentheim—see Fuller.
- Berge—see Milton.
 Bertz—see Whitman.
 Birken—see Barclay.
 Bismarck—see Shakespeare.
 Bitzcius—see Scott, Shakespeare.
 Blair and German literature 254.
 Blankenburg—see Dryden, Fielding, Goldsmith, Richardson, Shaftesbury, Sterne.
 Bleibtreu—see Byron, Poe.
 Blount and Haller 198.
 Blum—see Thomson.
 Bock—see Sterne.
 Bode—see Colman, Congreve, Cumberland, Fielding, Goldsmith, Hoadly, Moore (E), Smollett, Sterne, Whitehead.
 Bodenstedt—see Byron.
 Bodmer—see Addison, Butler, Dryden, Milton, Ossian, Percy, Pope, Shakespeare, Swift, Thomson, Young.
 Boie—see Percy, Prior, Sterne.
 Borck—see Coffey, Shakespeare.
 Börne [832]—see Byron, Cooper, Shakespeare.
 Boswell and Gottsched (L. A. V.) 193.
 Bothe—see Percy, Pope.
 Böttger—see Byron, Ossian.
 Brahms—see Ossian.
 Bräker—see Shakespeare.
 Brandes—see Byron.
 Brawe [88] [104]—see Addison, Moore (E), Young.
 Bremer Beiträger—see Young.
 Brentano (C)—see Percy, Sterne.
 Brentano (Sophie)—see Pope.
 Brockes—see Milton, Pope, Shaftesbury, Thomson.
 Brömel—see Lillo.
 Brontë and German literature 492.
 Brontë and Schmidt (J) 491.
 Brook and Sturz [138].
 Browning and German literature [855a] [856] 485.
 Browning and
 Gerden 485
 Greve 485
 Heissler 485
 Leo 485
 Roloff 485
 Ruete 485
 Schmidt (J) 490
 Schweikler 485.
 Spielhagen 485.
 von Schack [850] 485
 Bruckbräu—see Milton and Thomson.
 Brückmeier—see Ossian.

- Bryant and German literature [802]
[803].
- Brydone and Schiller [164].
- Bucher—see Byron.
- Buchner (A)—see Barclay.
- Buchner (G)—see Paine.
- Buckingham and German literature 160.
- Bullinger—see Hooper.
- Bulthaupt—see Shakespeare.
- Bulwer Lytton and German literature
[856a] 480, 492f.
- Bulwer Lytton and
Gutzkow [857] 492f.
Hahn-Hahn 492
Schmidt (J) 491
Wagner [851]—[853]
Wildenbruch [1002].
- Bunyan and German literature [164x]
174f.
- Bunyan and
Jung-Stilling 175
Lenz 175
Ranke 175
Seidl 174.
- Bürde—see Milton.
- Bürger—see Ossian, Percy, Pope,
Shakespeare, Wolcott.
- Burke and German literature [164ax].
- Burke and
Kant [165]
Lessing [166]
Mendelssohn [556]
- Burnett and German literature 569.
- Burney and Schröder 344.
- Burns and German literature [858].
- Burns and
Baisch 484
Bartsch [858] 484
Corrodi 484
Freiligrath [858] 484
Geibel [859]
Gerhard 483f.
Goethe [859a] 481–484, 535
Heine [860]
Heintze 483f.
Herder [271]
Heyse [861]
Kaufmann 483f.
Laun 484
Legerlotz 484
Pertz 484
Prinzhorn 484
Ruete 484
Silbergleit 484
Stelzhamer [862]
Winterfeld [858] 484.
- Butler and German literature [167]
182–184.
- Butler and
Bodmer [167] 182
Eiselein 183
Gottsched [167] 183
Haller 183, 198
Herder 183.
Lessing [167] 184
Nicolai 184
Soltau 183
Waser [139] [140] [168] 183
Wieland 183
Zellweger 182.
- Byron and German literature [12]
[863]—[882] 442, 480, 517–539
- Byron and
Ackermann [871]
Auerbach 528
Beck 522
Bleibtreu [871] 521
Bodenstedt 521
Börne 522
Böttger 521
Brandes [871]
Bucher 521
Chamisso 539
“Das junge Deutschland” 489, 522
Daumer 521
Dingelstedt 522
Droste-Hülshoff [834]
Effendi [881]
Elze [871]
Freiligrath [843] 522
Geibel [883]
Goethe [110] [877] [884]—[895]
[895x] [895ax] [954] 418, 472,
535–539
Gottschall [871] 521
Grabbe [896] [897] 523–525
Gregorovius 521
Greif [881] 521
Grillparzer [898] [899] 523, 534f.
Grün 521f.
Hammerling 522
Hammer 521
Häring 528, 535
Hartmann 522
Heine [878] [900]—[903] [899x],
467, 521, 523, 525–534
Herwegh 522
Hoffmann [903x] 521, 528
Hoffmann von Fallersleben 522
Immermann 526, 528
Jacobsen 518f., 537
Kastrupp 521
Koeppel [871]
Kruse [881] 521
Lasalle [903a]
Laube 521, 528

- Lenau [878] 522f., 534
 Lindner [881] 521
 Ludwig [881]
 Meiszner 522
 Menzel 528
 Mosenthal 521
 Moser 526
 Müller (W) 521, 539
 Nietzsche 468
 Pfizer 521
 Platen 521, 539
 Prutz 522
 Rückert 521
 Schefer 521
 Schmidt (E) 521
 Schmidt (J) 491, 528
 Schopenhauer [904] 523
 Schleiermacher 525
 Schlegel (F) 538
 Strachwitz 522
 von Höhenhausen 518-520, 533f.,
 539
 von Schack 521
 Waiblinger 521
 Waldau 522
 Walloth [881]
 Wienberg 528
 Willkomm 521
 Zedlitz 521f.
 Zitz 521.
- Calvert and Goethe [817].
 Campe—see Defoe.
 Carey and Goethe [111].
 Carlyle and German literature [904a].
 Carlyle and
 Eckermann [904b]
 Goethe [905]-[911] [911x] 481f.,
 535
 Nietzsche [912]-[913a] [913x]
 Reuter [913ax]
 Schmidt (J) 491
 Wagner (R) [853].
 Chamisso—see Byron.
 Chapman and German literature 142.
 Chaucer and German literature [90]
 [21bx].
 Chaucer and
 Hagedorn 166
 Langbein [21bx]
 Sachs [21bx]
 Wieland [284] 198.
 Chettle and German literature [61]
 141.
 Cibber and German literature 336.
 Cibber and
 Lessing 368
 Schröder 344
 Weisze [606].
- Clarke (S) and German literature 160.
 Claudius—see Ossian, Sterne.
 Clemens and German literature [803]
 [811] [914] [914a] 563f.
 Clemens and Hauptmann [675a].
 Coffey and
 Borck 371
 Weisze [141] 371.
 Cogswell and Goethe [817].
 Coleridge and German literature 535.
 Coleridge and
 Fries [914a]
 von Schack [850].
 Colman and
 Bode 318
 Schröder 344
 Sturz 165.
 Congreve and German literature 336.
 Congreve and
 Bode 318
 Lessing [127] 337, 368, 404
 Schröder 344.
 Conrad—see Emerson.
 Cooper and German literature [803]
 [811] [826] [830] [915] 557,
 560f.
 Cooper and
 Börne 560
 Freytag 510
 Gerstäcker 561, 563, 564, 566f.
 Goethe [916] 557f., 560
 Hauff [916a] 508
 Lewald 559
 Möllhausen [917] 561, 563f., 565f.
 Ruppius 561, 563f., 566
 Scherr 559
 Schücking 566f.
 Sealsfield 561-564, 567
 Stifter [918] [918a] 559
 Strübbert [919] 561, 563, 565, 567.
 Cörner—see Swift.
 Cornwall and German literature [830].
 Corrodi—see Burns.
 Crabbe and Jacobsen 518.
 Cramer—see Ossian, Percy, Rowe (E),
 Young.
 Crawford and German literature 569.
 Creuz—see Young.
 Crisp and Lessing [169] 347.
 Crown and Schröder 344.
 Cumberland and
 Bode 318
 Schröder 344.
 Dahn—see Percy, Scott.
 Dalberg—see Shakespeare.
 Darwin and Germany [920].
 Darwin and Nietzsche 469.

- Das junge Deutschland—see Byron,
Scott, Sterne.
- Daumer—see Byron.
- Day and German literature 142.
- Decker—see Goldsmith.
- Defoe and German literature [90]
[170]–[181] 174–177, 283.
- Defoe and
Campe 176
Goethe 177
Schnabel [174] [175] [176a]
[179b] [180] 175f.
Vischer [172] [177a] [178] 175
Waser 177.
- Dekker and German literature [62]
[63] 142.
- Denis—see Milton, Ossian.
- Dickens and German literature [807]
[831a] [921]–[923] 493, 540–
554.
- Dickens and
Ebner-Eschenbach [923] [924] 553
Ernst 549
Freytag [845] [925] [926] [976]
544–548, 554
Hesslein [923] 553
Kaufmann 545
Keller 549
Ludwig [927]–[929] [986] 540–
544
Mann 553
Polenz 548
Raabe [923] 549–552
Reuter [930] [929x] 549
Schmidt (J) 491, 540, 545
Seybt 545
Spielhagen [931] 553
Stolle [928]
Ungern-Sternberg [923] 548, 553.
- Dingelstedt—see Byron, Shakespeare.
- Dittersdorf—see Ossian.
- Dodd and
Goethe [110] [515ax] 394
Herder [515ax] 278.
- Doddridge and German literature 160.
- Drollinger—see Dryden, Pope.
- Dryden and German criticism 357–359;
German literature [182]–[185]
[482] 171–174, 201.
- Dryden and
Ayrenhoff 172
Blankenburg 173
Bodmer 172f., 182f.
Drollinger 202
Grynaeus 172
Hagedorn 173
Kosegarten 202
Lessing [127] [184] 173, 358f.,
368–374
- Morhof 361
Nöldeke 202
Ramler 202
Schmied 172
Sprenger 172
Weise 202
Wernicke 182f., 185
- Duchal and German literature 160.
- Dusch—see Ossian, Pope, Thomson,
Young.
- Dyk—see Moore (E).
- Dyke (Danl.) and German literature
132.
- Ebers—see Scott.
- Ebert—see Milton, Rowe (E), Sterne,
Thomson, Young.
- Ebner-Eschenbach—see Dickens.
- Eckart—see Goldsmith.
- Eckermann—see Carlyle.
- Effendi—see Byron.
- Eichendorff—see Shakespeare.
- Eichholz—see Tennyson.
- Eiselein—see Butler.
- Eliot and German literature 492.
- Eliot and Gutzkow 493.
- Elze—see Byron.
- Emerson and German literature [802]
[803] [807] [932] [933] [931x]
[932x] 571, 574f.
- Emerson and
Auerbach 575
Conrad 575
Federn 574f.
Grimm [934] [932x] 575
Nietzsche [913] 574
Spielhagen [932x] 575.
- Emmerich—see Thoreau.
- Engel—see Smollett.
- Engelbrecht—see Ossian.
- England and "Das junge Deutschland"
[832] 486–489; German dramat-
ists [79x].
- English comedy and Iffland 343.
- English drama in Germany [86]–[88].
- English drama and Lessing 404.
- English esthetics in Germany [81a]
[81b] [91] [101] [129] [129a]
[165] [166] [210] [211] [308]ff.
- English esthetics and
Bodmer [81a] [81b]
Gottsched [81a]
Lessing [81b].
- English history in German literature
[10]–[12].
- English intellectual influence in Ger-
many [9].
- English landscape gardening in Ger-
many [91].

- English language in Germany [8a] [14].
- English literature in German criticism [829x].
- English literature and German literature —general bibliographical works [1]-[6].
- English literary influence in Germany: General surveys [7]-[9a]; The 16th century [13]-[16a]; The 17th century [17]; The 18th century [72]-[81]; The nineteenth century [829].
- English literature and German middle-class drama [88]; German "Novelle" [90]; in German translation [82]-[87].
- English literature and
 Ayer 145f., 148, 149-151
 Baumgartner [101]
 Binzer [833]
 Bode [87]
 Bodmer [102]-[103] 390
 Borek 165
 Börne [832] 486f.
 Brawe [104]
 Brockes [104a]
 Droste-Hülshoff [834]
 Dusch 155
 Ebert 155
 Fontane [835]-[838] 473
 Freiligrath [816] [839]-[843] [939] [967] 119, 473
 Freytag [845]
 Gärtner 155
 Geibel [845]
 Gellert 155
 Gieseke 155
 Gleim 155
 Goethe [79x] [89] [90] [105]-[115] [847] [848] 494f.
 Gottsched [86a] [116] 368, 371
 Gottschéd (L. A. V.) [117]
 Grillparzer [831ax] 473
 Gryphius 133
 Gutzkow 487f.
 Hagedorn [118] [119] 165-168
 Haller [120] 161-165
 Hallmann 133
 Hamann 165
 Hebbel [831ax] 473
 Heine [832] 473, 487f.
 Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig, 136, 144-146, 148f.
 Herder [120a] [121] [79x]
 Hölty 122
 Huber 155
- Iffland 345
 Kinkel 473
 Klinger [79x]
 Kotzebue 345
 Lafontaine [122x]
 Lenz [123] [124]
 Lessing [86a] [104] [125]-[129a] 155, 338
 Lichtenberg [130] [131] 161-165
 Ludwig [831ax]
 Moritz [132] 164
 Moritz von Hessen 148
 Müser 165, 168
 Mundt [832]
 Mylius [133] 165
 Nicolai [133a]
 Postel [134] 165
 Pückler-Muskau 473
 Ramler 155
 Raumer 473
 Schiller [79x] [135] [135a]
 Schlegel 155
 Schmidt (C. E. K.) 155
 Schmidt (J) 490-493
 Schröder [136] [136a] 345
 "Sturm und Drang" [137] [194], [597]-[602].
 Sturz [138] [165]
 von Hohenhausen [849]
 Wagner (R) 473
 Waser [139] [140]
 Weber [854]
 Weckherlin [19] [20a] 128-130
 Weisze 164
 Wernicke 165
 Wieland [142]-[144] 171, 378
 Wienberg [832]
 Zachariä [145]-[147].
- English middle-class drama and
 Bauernfeld 345
 Baumgarten 341f.
 Benedix 345
 Birch-Pfeiffer 345
 Brandes 341-343
 Breithaupt 341f.
 Dusch 341f.
 Gutzkow 345
 Hebbel 345
 Jeger 342f.
 Lessing 342
 Lieberkühn 341f.
 Martini 341f.
 Pfeil 341f.
 Steffens 341f.
 Sturz 341f.
 Weidmann 342f.
 Weisze 341f.
 Wieland 341f.

- English moral weeklies and German literature [148]–[156] [157] [163] 189–198.
- English novels in Germany [87].
- English novel and German novel [89].
- English novel and Goethe [112].
- English players in Germany [26]–[48]; Their influence in general [39] [45] [49]–[50]; Their repertory [39] [45] [56]–[71]; Their wanderings [26]–[48].
- English players and
Ayrer [49] [51] [52] [67] [69] [458]
Gryphius—see Shakespeare and Gryphius
Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig [49] [53]–[55]
Philipp Julius von Pommern-Wolgast [44]
Moritz von Hessen [37] [56].
- English philosophy and Germany [87a] [87b].
- English poets and German literature [12].
- English political influence in Germany [9].
- English reviews in Germany [86ax].
- English songbooks in Germany [16].
- Ernst—see Dickens.
- Eschenburg—see Percy, Pope, Shakespeare.
- Escher—see Tillotson.
- Esther* and German literature [57] [58].
- Everett and Goethe [817].
- Everyman* and German literature [16a] [58a].
- Fabricius—see Milton.
- Farquhar and
Lessing [126] [127] [186] 345f., 404
Schröder 345.
- Federn—see Emerson.
- Feind—see Shakespeare.
- Feis—see Tennyson.
- Feldmann—see Tennyson.
- Ferguson and German literature 160.
- Ferguson and Schiller [135].
- Field and Beer-Hofmann [969].
- Fielding and German literature [89] [90] [187] [194a] 156, 184f.
- Fielding and
Blankenburg 290, 296f., 311
Bode 189, 318
Goethe [112] [187] [190] 296, 300, 301, 307–309, 315, 472
Gutzkow 493
Herder 287–289, 300, 314
Hermes [187] [297] 294f., 303
Jung-Stilling 307
Klinger 300
Leisewitz 300
Lenz 299–301
Lessing [187] [191] 287f.
Lichtenberg [187] 161, 163, 289, 309, 325
Möser 300
Müller (J. G.) (Müller von Itzehoe) [192] 289f.
Musäus [187] 184, 296, 309
Nicolai [133a] 297
Raabe 549
Resewitz 298f.
Schiller [193] 299f., 349
Schubart 300
"Sturm und Drang" [194] 289, 299–301
Thümmel 328
Wagner (H. L.) 299f.
Wieland [187] [194a] 301–306.
- Fischer—see Tennyson.
- Fleming—see Owen.
- Fletcher and German literature 142.
- Fletcher and
Gottsched 369f.
Lessing 369f.
Morhof 361
Nicolai 374
Schröder 344
Schiller [195].
- Fontane—see Percy, Scott, Shakespeare.
- Ford and German literature 142.
- Fordyce and German literature 160.
- Foren literature and German literature [7].
- Förster—see Ossian.
- Fouqué—see Moore (T), Scott.
- Franklin and German literature [196]–[197] [803] 187.
- Franklin and
Auerbach [196]
Binzer [833]
Goethe [196]
Herder [196] [197] 187
Klinger 188
Klopstock 187
Möser [196] 168
Schiller [198]
Sealsfield [196].

- Freiligrath—see Burns, Byron, Harte, Keats, Moore (T), Ossian, Pringle, Tennyson, Whitman.
- Freytag—see Cooper, Dickens, Scott.
- Fries—see Coleridge.
- Fuller and
Bentheim 362
Mencke 362.
- Füszli—see Milton.
- G—see Young.
- Galsworthy and Hauptmann [934a].
- Garrick and
Lichtenberg 163f.
Schröder [595]
Sturz 165.
- Gay and German literature 160.
- Gay and Hagedorn [119] 166.
- Geibel—see Burns, Byron.
- Gellert [155]—see Addison, Pope, Richardson, Steele, Swift, Young.
- Gellius—see Goldsmith.
- George—see Rossetti, Swinburne.
- Gerden—see Browning.
- Gerhard—see Burns.
- German esthetics—see Home.
- Gerstäcker—see Cooper.
- Gerstenberg—see Milton, Ossian, Shakespeare, Sterne, Young.
- Geszner—see Milton, Ossian, Thomson.
- Gesau—see Young.
- Gibbon and Herder 314.
- Gibson and Schiller [135].
- Gildon and German criticism 366.
- Glaphorne and German literature [64] [65] 142.
- Gleim [94]—see Milton, Ossian, Percy, Prior, Sterne, Thomson, Young.
- Glover and
Gottsched 184
Klopstock [198]
Wieland [144].
- Goethe [88] [89] [90] [93] [94] [105]—[115] [807]—see Addison, Burns, Byron, Carlyle, Cooper, Defoe, Dodd, Emerson, Fielding, Franklin, Goldsmith, Irving, Johnson, Lillo, Madocks, Maturin, Marlowe, Milton, Moore (E), Moore (T), Ossian, Percy, Pope, Richardson, Scott, Shaftesbury, Shakespeare, Smollett, Sterne, Struve, Swift, Thackeray, Wolfe, Young.
- Goldberger [806].
- Goldsmith and German literature [199] [206] [935] [936] 286, 307, 310-316, 332f.
- Goldsmith and
Blankenburg 311
Bode 310, 318
Decker 312
Heine 468
Herder 314
Hölty 205
Eckardt 312
Gellius 310
Goethe [106] [107] [110] [112] [201]—[204a] 311, 314-316, 332f., 558
Gutzkow 493
Jester 312
Jördens 312
Kunze 312
Lafontaine 312f.
La Roche 312f.
Lenz 312f.
Nicolai [133a] 311-313
Reuter [935]
Schröder 344
Spielhagen 553
"Sturm und Drang" [597]
Winterfeld [936]
Zschokke [206] 312.
- Göschén—see Sterne.
- Gothein—see Keats.
- Gotthelf—see Bitzium.
- Göttinger Hain—see Ossian.
- Gottschall—see Byron.
- Gottsched [116]—see Addison, Beaumont, Butler, Fletcher, Glover, Jonson, Milton, Pope, Shakespeare, Swift, Young.
- Gottsched (L. A. V.) [117]—see Addison, Boswell, Shakespeare, Steele.
- Grabbe—see Byron, Marlowe, Shakespeare.
- Grant (A. McV.) and Binzer [833].
- Granville and German literature 336.
- Gräter—see Percy, Tytler.
- Gray and German literature [122] [207] [208].
- Gray and
Heine [937]
Hölty [122].
Tobler 160.
- Green and German literature 569.
- Greene and German literature 141.
- Gregorovius—see Byron.
- Greif—see Byron.
- Greve—see Browning.
- Griebenow—see Tennyson.
- Grillparzer—see Byron, Lillo, Shakespeare.
- Grimm—see Emerson.
- Grimmelhausen—see Barclay.

- Grün—see Byron.
 Gruner—see Milton.
 Grynaeus—see Dryden.
 Gryphius—see Owen, Shakespeare.
 Gutzkow [832]—see Bulwer Lytton, Eliot, Fielding, Goldsmith, Sterne.
- Haake—see Milton.
 Haase—see Tennyson.
 Hackländer—see Stowe.
 Hagedorn [155]—see Addison, Chaucer, Gay, Hume, Johnson, Mallett, Milton, Pope, Prior, Richardson, Rowe (E), Shaftesbury, Swift, Thomson, Young.
 Hahn-Hahn—see Bulwer Lytton.
 Hale and German literature [938].
 Hale and von Wickede [938].
 Hall and German literature [22] 131.
 Hall and Harsdörffer 132.
 Haller [120] [155]—see Addison, Blount, Butler, Milton, Ossian, Pope, Richardson, Rochester, Shaftesbury, Swift, Thomson, Young.
 Hamann—see Sterne, Young.
 Hamerling—see Byron.
 Hamilton and German literature 187.
 Hamilton and Lenz 281.
 Hammer—see Byron.
 Harbou—see Tennyson.
 Hardenberg—see Novalis.
 Häring—see Byron, Scott.
 Harries—see Thomson.
 Harsdörffer—see Barclay, Hall.
 Harte and German literature [802] [803] [811] 568f., 571.
 Harte and Freiligrath [939].
 Hartmann—see Byron.
 Hauff—see Cooper, Irving, Scott.
 Haug—see Percy.
 Hauptmann—see Clemens, Galsworthy, Shakespeare.
 Hawthorne and German literature [803] [811].
 Haydn—see Shakespeare.
 Hebbel—see Shakespeare, Shelley.
 Hebberton and German literature 569.
 Hedemann—see Sterne.
 Hegel—see Shakespeare.
 Heine [832]—see Burns, Byron, Goldsmith, Gray, Irving, Milton, Ossian, Scott, Shakespeare, Sterne, Swift.
 Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig—see English players, Shakespeare.
 Heine—see Percy, Young.
 Heintze—see Burns.
 Heiszler—see Browning.
Hekastus and German literature [16a].
- Hemans and German literature [830].
 Herder [93] [120a]–[121]—see Addison, Burns, Butler, Fielding, Franklin, Gibbon, Goldsmith, Hogarth, Hume, Milton, Ossian, Percy, Pope, Prior, Ramsay, Richardson, Robertson, Rowe, Shaftesbury, Shakespeare, Sterne, Swift, Thomson, Young.
 Hermes—see Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Young.
 Hervey and German literature 160.
 Herwegh—see Byron, Shakespeare, Shelley.
 Herzberg—see Tennyson.
 Hessel—see Tennyson.
 Heszlein—see Dickens.
 Hettner [848a].
 Heufeld—see Shakespeare.
 Heyse—see Burns.
 Heywood and German literature 142.
 Hippel—see Sterne.
 Hirschfeld—see Thomson.
 Hoadly and German literature 336.
 Hoadly and Bode 318.
 Hobbes and Haller 198.
 Hoffmann—see Byron, Lewis, Sterne.
 Hoffmann von Fallersleben—see Byron.
 Hofmannsthal—see Otway, Shakespeare.
 Hogarth and Herder [209].
 Hogarth and Lichtenberg [131] [208a] 163f.
 Hogarth and "Sturm und Drang" [137] [598].
 Hölderlin—see Keats, Ossian.
 Holmes and German literature [802] 571.
 Holtei—see Shakespeare.
 Hölty [122]—see Goldsmith, Gray, Mallett, Milton, Ossian, Percy, Swift, Thomson.
 Holz—see Whitman.
 Home and German esthetics [210] [211].
 Home and
 Kant [210] [211]
 Lessing [129] [210] [211].
 Meinhard 389
 Mendelssohn [556]
 Schiller [210] [211].
 Schlegel (J. A.) 389.
- Homulus* and German literature [16a].
 Hooper and Bullinger [212].
 Hopp—see Whitman.
 Houghton and German literature 142.
 Houwald—see Lillo.
 Howells and German literature [811] 567, 569.

- Humboldt—see Shaftesbury.
 Hume and German literature 160; German thot [213] [307].
 Hume and
 Hagedorn 166
 Herder 314.
 Hurd and German literature 160.
- Iffland—see Moore (E), Shakespeare.
 Immermann—see Byron, Scott, Shakespeare, Sterne.
 Irving and German literature [803] [825] [826] [834] [837].
 Irving and
 Droste-Hülshoff [813]
 Goethe 557
 Hauff [940] 509
 Heine [940a]
 Reuter [940x]
 Wagner (R) [851] [853].
- Jackson and German literature 569.
 Jacobi (J. G.)—see Shaftesbury, Sterne.
 Jacobsen—see Byron, Crabbe, Keats, Moore (T), Rogers, Scott, Shelley, Southey, Wordsworth.
 Jacoby—see Milton.
 James and German literature [811] 567-569.
 Jean Paul—see Richter.
 Jefferson and German literature 187.
 Jester—see Goldsmith.
 Johnson and German literature 254.
 Johnson and
 Goethe [110] [940ax]
 Hagedorn 166
 Sturz [213a] 165.
 Jonson and
 Gottsched 369f.
 Lessing 369
 Tieck [213b] [941] 451.
 Jördens—see Goldsmith.
 Jung—see Ossian.
 Jung-Stilling—see Fielding, Lenz, Ossian, Shakespeare, Sterne.
- Kant [807]—see Burke, Home, Smith.
 Kanzner—see Mallett.
 Kastner—see Amory, Swift.
 Kastrupp—see Byron.
 Kaufmann (J)—see Dickens.
 Kaufmann (P)—see Burns.
 Kayser—see Young.
 Keats and German literature [941x].
- Keats and
 Ackermann [941x]
 Freiligrath [941x]
 Gothein [941x]
 Hölderlin [942]
 Jacobsen 518
 von Schack [850].
 Keller—see Austen, Dickens, Scott, Shakespeare.
 Kerner—see Sterne.
 Kind—see Lillo.
 Kindermann—see Barclay.
 King and Leibniz 207.
 Kingsley and German literature [942x].
 Kingsley and Schmidt (J) 491.
 Kruse—see Byron.
 Kipling and Germany [943] [944].
 Kirkland and Goethe [817].
 Kirkpatrick and Wieland [214].
 Klausling—see Rowe (E).
 Kleist (E. C.)—see Milton, Pope, Shakespeare, Thomson.
 Kleist (H.)—see Shakespeare.
 Klinger [94]—see Fielding, Milton, Moore (E), Shakespeare.
 Klopstock [93] [94]—see Addison, Glover, Mason, Milton, Ossian, Percy, Richardson, Rowe (E), Sterne, Thomson, Young.
 Klotz—see Young.
 Knebel—see Young.
 Knortz—see Whitman.
 Koch—see Percy.
 Koepfel—see Byron.
 Königshausen—see Shakespeare.
 Kosegarten—see Dryden, Milton, Ossian, Percy.
 Kottenkamp—see Swift.
 Kotzebue—see Moore (E), Sterne.
 Kretsch—see Pope.
 Kretschmann—see Ossian.
 Kruse—see Byron, Shakespeare.
 Kunze—see Goldsmith.
 Kürnberger [807] [819] [820].
 Kyd and German literature [67] [67a] 141.
- Lafontaine—see Goldsmith.
 Laing and German literature 245.
 Lake school and German literature [975x].
 Lamprecht [807].
 Langbein—see Chaucer.
 Lange—see Milton, Thomson.
 La Roche—see Goldsmith, Richardson.
 Lasalle—see Byron.
 Laube [832]—see Byron, Shakespeare.
 Laun—see Burns.

- Lees and Schröder 344.
 Legerlotz—see Burns.
 Leibniz—see King, Shaftesbury.
 Leisewitz—see Fielding.
 Lenau [93] [804] [807] [819] [820] [821]—see Byron.
 Lenz [123] [124]—see Bunyan, Fielding, Goldsmith, Marlowe, Milton, Ossian, Percy, Pope, Richardson, Shakespeare, Thomson, Young.
 Leo—see Browning.
 Lessing (G. E.) [88] [125]—[129a]—see Addison, Amory, Banks, Beaumont, Burke, Butler, Congreve, Crisp, Dryden, Farquhar, Fielding, Fletcher, Goldsmith, Home, Johnson, Lillo, Milton, Otway, Percy, Pope, Prior, Richardson, Shaftesbury, Shakespeare, Spence, Sterne, Swift, Thomson, Vanbrugh, Warton, Webb, Wycherley, Young.
 Lessing (K. G.)—see Richardson.
 Lessing (O. E.)—see Whitman.
 Lewald—see Cooper.
 Lewis and Hoffmann [945].
 Lichtenberg [130]—[131]—see Fielding, Hogarth, Milton, Shakespeare, Sterne, Swift.
 Lillencron—see Shakespeare.
 Lillo and German literature [88] [104] [215]—[219] [215x] 338f., 343-345, 350-353, 436.
 Lillo and
 H. A. B. (assewitz) 339
 Brömel 351f.
 Goethe [219] 345f., 348f.
 Grillparzer [217] 351
 Houwald 351
 Kind 351
 Lessing [127] [128] 337, 348
 Mayberg 339
 Moritz [219ax] 351f.
 Müllner 351
 Schiller 351f.
 Stephanie 339
 Tieck 351, 353
 Werner 351, 353.
 Lindner—see Byron.
 Liscow—see Arbuthnot, Pope, Swift.
 Lissauer—see Whitman.
 Locke and German literature 192; German thot [307].
 Logau—see Owen.
 Longfellow - and German literature [802] [803] [830] [946]—[949] 571, 576.
 Longfellow and
 Freiligrath [816]
 von Hohenhausen 572.
 Lowe—see Ossian.
 Lowell and German literature [802] [803] 571.
 Löwen—see Pope.
 Ludwig—see Byron, Dickens, Scott, Shakespeare.
 Lyman and Goethe [817].
 Machin and German literature 142.
 Macpherson—see Ossian.
 Madocks and Goethe [847].
 Mallett and
 Hagedorn 166
 Höly [122]
 Kanzner [220].
 Mann—see Dickens.
 Marlowe and German literature [67a] [68] 141.
 Marlowe and
 Ayrer [69]
 Goethe [221] 419
 Grabbe [222]
 Lenz [222]
 Müller (W) [950] [951]
 Schiller [563].
 Marryat and Reuter [951x].
 Marston and German literature 142.
 Mason and German literature 142.
 Mason and Klopstock [223].
 Massinger and German literature 142.
 Massinger and
 Arnim [952]
 Beer-Hofmann [969].
 Mattheson—see Addison, Rowe (E), Steele.
 Matthison—see Ossian.
 Maturin and Goethe [953] [954].
 Mayberg—see Lillo.
 Meinhard—see Home.
 Meiningen (Duke of)—see Shakespeare.
 Meiszner—see Byron, Moore (E).
 Melle [134].
 Mencke—see Fuller, Shakespeare.
 Mencke—see Moore (T).
 Mendelssohn—see Amory, Burke, Home, Pope, Shaftesbury, Shakespeare, Warton, Young.
 Mendheim—see Tennyson.
 Menzel—see Byron.
 Merck—see Ossian.
 Meredith and German literature [954a].
 Meyer—see Shakespeare.
 Michaelis—see Richardson.
 Mickievicz [884]—see Byron, Goethe.
 Miller (Joaquin) and German literature [802] 571.
 Miller—see Milton, Percy.

- Milton and German criticism 363; German literature [102] [103] [224]-[240] 156-159, 199, 226, 244, 474.
- Milton and
- Berge [225] 226
- Bodmer [102] [103] [150] [229]-[232] [232x] 155, 160, 168, 171, 226-235, 362, 382
- Breitinger 228
- Brockes [229] 227, 234
- Bürde 227
- Denis [229] 233f., 261
- Ebert 234
- Fabricius 226
- Füzli 228
- Gerstenberg [229]
- Geszner 233f.
- Giseke 227, 234
- Gleim 235
- Goethe [229] [233] 244
- Gottsched [229] 227, 229, 230
- Gruner 227
- Grynaeus 227
- Haake [224] [225] 226
- Hagedorn [229] 230
- Haller [229]
- Heine [955]
- Herder [229] 227, 234, 314
- Hölty [229]
- Jacoby [229]
- Kleist (E. C.) [229]
- Klinger [229] 234
- Klopstock [229] [233]-[237] 155, 158, 160, 171, 223, 230-235, 256
- Kosegarten 227
- Lange [237]
- Lenz 234
- Lessing [229]
- Lichtenberg [229]
- Miller 234
- Morhof 226
- Moritz 227
- Müller (Maler) 234
- Nicolai [229]
- Novalis [229]
- Postel 227
- Pyra [229] [238]
- Ramler 227, 234
- Schiller [229] [238a] 234
- Schubart 234
- Stolberg 234
- Stry 227
- "Sturm und Drang" 233f.
- Tieck [229]
- Vosz [229] 234
- Wernicke 227
- Wieland [229] 227, 234, 378.
- Winckelmann 233
- Zachariä [145] [147] [229] 227, 241
- Zellweger 228.
- Mittelstedt—see Sterne.
- Möllhausen—see Cooper.
- Moore (E) and German literature [88] [239] [240] 340, 343, 345.
- Moore (E) and
- Beil 341
- Bode 318, 340f.
- Brawe 340
- Dyk 341
- Goethe [115]
- Iffland [239] 341
- Klinger 341
- Kotzebue [239] 341
- Meiszner 341
- Müller (Maler) [239] 341
- Schiller [240] 345f., 349
- Schröder 344.
- Moore (T) and German literature 484f., 535.
- Moore (T) and
- Fouqué 485
- Freiligrath [843] 484f.
- Goethe 472, 535
- Jacobsen 518
- Merck 485
- Oelker 485
- Schmidt 485.
- More and German literature 131, 133.
- Morhof—see Bacon, Beaumont, Dryden, Fletcher, Milton, Owen, Shakespeare.
- Moritz [132] [134]—see Lillo, Milton, Shaftesbury, Sterne.
- Moritz von Hessen—see English players.
- Mosenthal—see Byron.
- Moser—see Byron.
- Möser—see Addison, Fielding, Franklin, Young.
- Motley and German literature [803].
- Müller (G. E.)—see Pope.
- Müller (J. G.) (Müller von Itzehoe)—see Fielding, Richardson, Sterne.
- Müller (Maler)—see Milton, Moore (E).
- Müller (W)—see Byron, Marlowe, Wordsworth.
- Müllner—see Lillo.
- Mundt [832].
- Münsterberg [807].
- Muralt—see Pope.
- Murphy and Schröder 344.
- Musäus—see Fielding, Richardson.
- Mylius [183]—see Pope.

- Neuendorff—see Thomson.
- Nicolai [133a]—see Amory, Beaumont, Butler, Fielding, Fletcher, Goldsmith, Milton, Percy, Pope, Shakespeare, Smollett, Sterne, Warton, Young.
- Nietzsche—see Byron, Carlyle, Darwin, Emerson, Shakespeare, Whitman.
- Nobody and somebody* [16a] [58a] [59].
- Nöldeke—see Dryden.
- Novalis—see Milton.
- Oelker—see Moore (T).
- Oldham and Wernicke [185].
- Opitz—see Barclay, Sidney.
- Ossian and German literature [241]-[251a] [956] 156, 158, 240f., 249-265, 430, 474.
- Ossian and
- Bodmer 254
- Böttger 258
- Brahms 262
- Brückmeier 253
- Bürger 253, 262
- Claudius 262
- Cramer 262
- Denis [241] [243] [245] 258-261
- Dittersdorf 262
- Dusch 261
- Engelbrecht 254
- Förster 253
- Freiligrath 262
- Gerstenberg [243] [246] 259-261
- Geszner 262
- Gleim 254
- Goethe [110] [115] [241] [243] [246a]-[248] 253, 262-264, 281f.
- Göttinger Hain [243]
- Haller 254
- Heine [956]
- Herder [241] [243] [271] 171, 253, 259-263, 533
- Hölderlin 262
- Hölty 262
- Jung 253
- Jung-Stilling 307
- Klopstock [234] [243] 169, 254-258, 261
- Kosegarten 262
- Kretschmann [243] [249]-[250] 261f.
- Lenz [154] 253, 262, 399
- Lowe 262
- Matthison 262
- Merck 262
- de la Perière 253
- Peterson 253
- Raspe 254
- Rhode 253
- Schiller [243] [251] 262
- Schubart 234, 253
- Schubert 262
- Seckendorf 262
- Stolberg 262
- "Sturm und Drang" [243]
- Sturz 165, 250
- Tieck [251a] 262
- von Harald 253
- Vosz 254, 262
- Weisze 255
- Zumsteeg 262.
- Otway and German literature [252]-[255] [851] [957].
- Otway and
- Hofmannsthal [957]
- Lessing 127, 404
- Nicolai 374
- Schiller [253]-[255].
- Owen and German literature [23] 132f.
- Owen and
- Fleming 132
- Gryphius 132
- Logau 132
- Morhof 132
- Rist 132
- Weckherlin 132.
- Paine and Germany [957x].
- Paine and Buchner [957x].
- Painter and Hinsch [70].
- Paquet—see Whitman.
- Parkman and German literature [803].
- Peele and German literature [70] 141.
- Peele and Ayrrer [70].
- Percy and German literature [256]-[272] [258x] 156, 158, 171, 240, 266-282.
- Percy and
- Arnim 280, 474
- Blankenburg 280
- Bodmer 160, 279
- Boie 271-273, 276f., 280
- Bothe 279
- Brentano 280, 474
- Bürger [259] [262]-[269] 270-274, 276f.
- Cramer 273
- Dahn [260]
- Eschenburg 277
- Fontane [260] [837]
- Gleim [261]
- Goethe [259] [270] 280-282
- Gräter 280
- Jung-Stilling 280
- Haug 279f.

- Heine 467
 Herder [259] [271] [272] 269-271,
 276-281
 Höltz [122] 274
 Klopstock [261]
 Koch 280
 Kosegarten 279f.
 Lenz 280f.
 Lessing 277
 Miller 274
 Nicolai 277
 Ramler 277
 Raspe 269, 276
 Romanticists [260]
 Seckendorf 280
 Uhland [260]
 Ursinus 277, 279
 Vosz 275, 277.
- de la Perrière—see Ossian.
 Perkins and German literature 132.
 Pertz—see Burns.
 Peterson—see Ossian.
 Pfizer—see Byron.
 Philipp Julius von Pommern Wolgast—
 see English players.
 Platen—see Byron, Shakespeare.
 Poe and German literature [802] [803] [803]
 [958]-[961] 571f., 576.
 Poe and
 Bleibtreu [962]
 Spielhagen [958] [963] [964]
 von Schack [850]
 von Winterfeld [965].
 Polenz [806] [807]—see Dickens,
 Scott.
 Pope and German criticism 367f.; Ger-
 man literature [91] [273]-[285]
 155-158, 160, 172, 183, 198-210,
 235, 474.
 Pope and
 Bodmer [275] 182, 201, 208
 Bothe 206f.
 Brentano (Sophie) 201
 Brookes [275] [277] 198, 206, 209,
 216
 Bürger [275] 159, 201
 Drollinger 198, 202, 208
 Dusch 205f., 208, 210
 Eschenburg [275] 201, 208
 Goethe [110] 198, 208
 Gottsched 201
 Gottsched (L. A. V.) 204f., 275
 Hagedorn [118] [275] [277] [281]
 166f., 171, 203f., 208, 222
 Haller 120, 198f., 209, 213
 Herder [271] [283] 201, 360, 381
 Kleist (E. C.) [277] 198, 209
 Kretsch 206
 Lenz [154] [275] 201, 399f.
 Lessing [127] [277] [282] 198,
 200f., 206, 208, 221
 Liscow 179
 Löwen 205
 Mendelssohn 198, 200-202, 206, 221,
 378
 Merkel 205
 Müller (G. E.) 208
 Muralt 209
 Mylius [275] 205
 Nicolai 201f.
 Pyra 198, 205
 Riedel 183f.
 Rost 205
 Rückert [966]
 Schiller [277] [283] 198, 208
 Schlosser 201
 Schönaich 205
 Thomson 159
 Thümmel 205
 Uz [277] 198, 205, 210
 Wieland [142] [277] [284] [285]
 198, 208, 379, 380
 Zachariä [145] [146] [147] 205,
 209
 Zernitz [277] 209
 Zinck 206.
- Postel [134]—see Milton.
 Postl—see Sealsfield.
 Potts—see Swift.
 Prausnitz—see Tennyson.
 Prescott and German literature [803].
 Pringle and Freiligrath [967].
 Prinzhorn—see Burns.
 Prior and German literature [286]-
 [288] 170, 173f.
 Prior and
 Boie 173
 Gleim 173
 Hagedorn [118] 167, 171, 173
 Herder 173
 Lessing 173
 Uz 173
 Voss 173
 Wieland [278]-[288] 173f.
 Prutz—see Byron.
 Pyra—see Milton, Pope, Thomson.
- Raabe—see Dickens, Fielding, Scott,
 Sterne, Thackeray.
 Rabener [155] [163]—see Addison,
 Swift.
 Radikin—see Rowe.
 Rambach—see Young.
 Ramler—see Dryden, Milton, Percy.
 Ramsay and Herder [271].
 Ranke—see Bunyan.

- Raspe—see Ossian, Percy.
 Ravenscroft and German literature 336.
 Rehfuës—see Scott.
 Reinhardt—see Shakespeare.
 Resewitz—see Fielding, Young.
 Reuter—see Carlyle, Dickens, Goldsmith, Irving, Marryat, Scott.
 Rhode—see Ossian.
 Richardson and German literature [88] [89] [90] [289]–[303] 156f., 184f., 343–345.
 Richardson and
 Arnim [968]
 Arnold 293
 Blankenburg 290f.
 Gellert [290] [294] 291–294
 Goethe [89] [106] [107] [110] [295] 284f., 308
 Hagedorn 166
 Haller 286
 Herder 287–289, 314
 Hermes [296]–[298] 293–295
 Klopstock 169
 Klopstock (M) 247
 La Roche 304–307
 Lenz 284, 301, 343
 Lessing [126] [128] [300] [301] [219x] 287f., 337, 343, 345–348
 Lessing (K. G.) 296
 Michaelis 286
 Müller (J. G.) 289
 Musäus [290] 184, 296
 Romantic school [968] [301a]
 Sturm und Drang [137]
 Tieck [301a] [968] 474–476
 Wagner (H. L.) 284, 300, 343
 Wieland [290] [302] [303] 296, 303f., 343, 378.
 Richter—see Sterne, Swift.
 Riedel—see Pope, Sterne.
 Risbeck—see Swift.
 Rist—see Owen.
 Robertson and Herder 314.
 Rochester and German literature 160.
 Rochester and Haller 198.
 Rogers and Jacobsen 518.
 Rolleston—see Whitman.
 Roloff—see Browning.
 Romantic school—see Percy, Richardson, Shakespeare.
 Rosenzweig—see Thomson.
 Rossetti—see George.
 Rost—see Pope.
 Rowe (E) and German criticism 366;
 German literature [304] 245–248.
- Rowe and
 Cramer 245
 Ebert 245
 Giseke 245
 Herder [304]
 Klausung 245
 Klopstock 223
 Klopstock (M) [304] 245–247
 Mattheson 245
 Radikin 246
 von Bergmann 245
 Wieland [304x] 155, 243, 247f., 378.
 Rowe (N) and German literature [114] [969].
 Rowe and
 Beer-Hofmann [969]
 Wieland [144].
 Rückert—see Byron, Pope.
 Ruete—see Browning, Burns.
 Ruppius—see Cooper.
 Rymer and German criticism 366.
- Sachs—see Chaucer.
 Savage and German literature 569.
 Schefer—see Byron.
 Scheffel—see Scott.
 Schellwien—see Tennyson.
 Scherr—see Cooper.
 Schiller [94] [97] [100] [100a] [135] [136] [807]—see Brydone, Ferguson, Fielding, Fletcher, Franklin, Gibson, Home, Lillo, Marlowe, Milton, Moore (E), Ossian, Otway, Pope, Shaftesbury, Shakespeare, Sheridan, Thomson, Young.
 Schink—see Shakespeare, Sterne.
 Schlaf—see Whitman.
 Schlegel (A. W.)—see Shakespeare, Sterne, Swift.
 Schlegel (Fr.)—see Byron, Sterne, Swift.
 Schlegel (J. A.)—see Home.
 Schleiermacher—see Byron.
 Schlosser—see Pope.
 Schmidt (C. E. K.)—see Thomson.
 Schmidt (Elise)—see Byron.
 Schmidt (J.)—see Bailey, Brontë, Browning, Bulwer-Lytton, Byron, Carlyle, Dickens, Kingsley, Lake school, Moore (T), Scott, Shelley, Tennyson, Young.
 Schmidbunn—see Whitman.
 Schmidthener—see Thomson.
 Schnabel—see Defoe.
 Scholz—see Tennyson.
 Schönaich—see Pope.
 Schopenhauer—see Byron, Shakespeare.
 Schreyvogel—see Shakespeare.

- Schröder [136] [136a]—see Beaumont, Burney, Cibber, Colman, Congreve, Cumberland, Crown, Farquhar, Fletcher, Garrick, Goldsmith, Lees, Moore (E), Murphy, Shakespeare, Sheridan, Southern.
 Schroeter—see Tennyson.
 Schubart [94] [97]—see Fielding, Milton, Ossian, Shakespeare, Thomson, Young.
 Schücking—see Cooper.
 Schulze (Chrysostomus)—see *Esther*.
 Schummel—see Sterne.
 Schupp [18]—see Bacon, Barclay, Shakespeare, Sidney.
 Schurz [804] [970].
 Schwabe—see Swift.
 Schwager—see Sterne.
 Schweikler—see Browning.
 Scott and German "Dorfgeschichte" 493;
 German literature [971]–[975] [970x] 480, 496–516, 560.
 Scott and
 Arnim [974] [975] 498f., 501
 Auerbach 493, 512
 Bitzium 512
 Dahn 493
 "Das Junge Deutschland" 489
 Ebers 493
 Fontane [837]
 Fouqué [974] [975] 498
 Freytag [845] [976] 493, 510–515, 544
 Goethe [[110] [977] [978] 472
 Gothelf 493
 Häring [979] 493, 498, 501–506, 509
 Hauff [916a] [980]–[984] 498, 506–509
 Heine 468
 Immermann [985]
 Jacobsen 518f.
 Keller 493
 Ludwig [986] 493, 513f.
 Polenz 493
 Raabe 493
 Rehfues [987]
 Reuter 512, 532
 Scheffel 493
 Schmidt (J) 490f., 496–502, 512–515
 Sealsfield [826]
 Spindler [988] 493, 498
 Storm 493
 Tieck [975] 498–501
 Uhland 493
 Wagner 853
 Zahn 493.
 Sealsfield [804]—see Cooper, Franklin.
 Seckendorf—see Ossian, Percy.
 Seidl—see Bunyan.
 Seifart—see Swift.
 Seume—see Sterne.
 Seybt—see Dickens.
 Shadwell and Weisze [305] [306].
 Shaftesbury and German literature [307]–[328] 160, 192, 199f.
 Shaftesbury and
 Blankenburg 290f.
 Brockes 212
 Gesner [308]
 Goethe [314]–[317]
 Hagedorn 166, 209
 Haller 198f.
 Herder [314] [316] [320]–[321]
 Humboldt [322]
 Jacobi (G. J.) [308]
 Leibniz 207
 Lessing [323] 369
 Mendelssohn [556]
 Moritz [324]
 Schiller [325]
 Wieland [308] [326]–[328].
 Shakespeare and German literature [12] [400]–[735] [830] [418x]–[735x] 141, 142, 151–153, 156f., 159, 197, 241, 307, 354–471.
 Shakespeare and
 Anzengruber [663]
 Ayrenhoff [482] 172, 382
 Ayrer [51] [52] [457] [458] [463x]
 Baudissin [664] 447, 449–451
 Der bestrafte Brudermord [67] [436]–[448]
 Bismarck [665] [666]
 Bitzium [667]
 Bleibtreu 446
 Bodmer [425] [486] [488] [489] 160, 171, 361–363, 378
 Borck [486] [490] 363–366
 Börne [668]
 Bräker [425] [491] [492]
 Bulthaupt [669]
 Bürger [492a]–[499] 447f.
 Dalberg [497]–[499]
 "Das junge Deutschland" 489
 Delius 446
 Dingelstedt [670] [670x] 451
 Droste-Hülshoff [834]
 Eichendorff [410]
 Eschenburg [421] [466] [608] [614] [621] 161, 382, 443
 Feind 361

- Fontane [671]
 Funcke [462]
 Gelbeke 451
 Gerstenberg [500]—[502] [530] 260,
 381—382, 389, 391, 431, 440
 Gervinus 442, 463
 Gildermeister 451
 Goethe [106] [110] [115] [410]
 [415] [434] [474]—[477] [486]
 [503]—[528] [515x]—[520ax] 163,
 315, 393—397, 401, 406—419, 422—
 424, 430, 432—435, 438, 440f.,
 442f., 445, 455, 466f., 472
 Gotthelf [667]
 Gottsched [549a] 360, 364, 366f.,
 369, 371f., 426, 439
 Gottsched (L. A. V.) 363, 366f.
 Grabbe [672] [673] 463—465, 474,
 524.
 Grillparzer [674] [674a] 454—457,
 463, 474
 Gryphius [453]—[456] [460] [464]
 364, 367
 Gundolf 452
 Hagedorn 16f.
 Haller [425]
 Hamann 391
 Händel [528x]
 Hauptmann [675] [675a] [676]
 Haydn [529]
 Hebbel [677]—[679] [682] 442,
 454, 456, 458—460, 474
 Hegel [683a]
 Heine [680] [680a] [681] [901]
 465f.
 Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig
 [28] [39] [45] [49] [53]—[55]
 Herder [479] [486] [530]—[533]
 171, 253, 271, 278, 314, 374, 381,
 391—398, 401, 407, 430—432, 436—
 438, 440, 442, 445, 447
 Herwegh [684] 450
 Hettner 462
 Heufeld 384f.
 Heyne 450f.
 Heyse 450f.
 Hofmannsthal [682]
 Holtei [683] 446, 457
 Iffland [534]
 Immermann [685]—[688]
 Jordan 451
Jude von Venetien [452]
 Jung-Stilling 307
 Kaufmann 450, 452
 Keller [425] [692] 463
 Kleist (E. C.) [534a] [550]
 Kleist (H.) [410] [415] [689]—
 [691] 442, 454f., 470, 474
 Klinger [410] [535] [536] 400, 437,
 465
 Koch 452
 Kongehl [464a]
 Kruse [693]
 Kurz [693x] 450f., 462
 Laube [693a]
 Leisewitz 436
 Lenz [124] [410] [536]—[541]
 393—401, 436f.
 Lersé 393
 Lessing [126] [127] [410] [415]
 [466] [468] [471] [474]—[477]
 [479]—[481] [542]—[554] 159,
 163, 355f., 367—378, 382, 391f.,
 398, 403—407, 422—424, 426—428,
 430f., 435—438, 440f., 443, 455,
 466
 Lichtenberg [131] [555] 163
 Liliencron [694]
 Lindner 446
 Ludwig [695]—[697] [697x] 405f.,
 420, 460—462, 467, 474, 541
 Meiningen, Duke of [698]
 Mencke 361f.
 Mendelssohn [550] [551] [556]
 368, 374
 Meyer (C. F.) [425] [699]
 Morhof 361
 Müller (Maler) 437, 440
 Nicolai (Chr. Fr.) 374, 382, 440.
 Nicolai (O.) [700]
 Nietzsche [701]—[702] [702x] 442,
 468f.
 Platen [702]—[705]
 Prutz 462
 Reinhardt [706]
 Romantic school [468] [474] [479]
 446f., 466
 Schiller [410] [415] [474] [475]
 [477] [486] [557]—[583] [421x]
 [565x] [565ax] 410, 412f., 420—
 424, 435, 437—439, 442f., 445,
 448f., 455
 Schink [584]—[586]
 Schlegel (A. W.) [421] [426]
 [427] [434] [468] [479] [533]
 [608] [707]—[720] [421x] [720x]
 380, 413—417, 429, 439—442, 447—
 453, 456
 Schlegel (F.) [476a] 440
 Schlegel (J. A.) 364, 390
 Schlegel (J. E.) [486] [587] 364,
 366, 390
 Schlegel (Karoline) 453
 Schopenhauer [721]
 Schreyvogel [722] 456

- Schröder [479] [588]-[595] [595x]
378, 385, 413, 438
- Schubart [596] 234
- Schupp [18]
- Seeger 451
- Simrock 450f.
- Strausz [723]
- "Sturm und Drang" [137] [410]
[479] [500]-[502] [503]-[528]
[530]-[533] [535]-[541] [557]-
[565] [596]-[602] 432, 435,
440, 446, 465
- Tieck (D.) [727] [421x] 449f.
- Tieck (L.) [251a] [410] [421]
[708] [711]-[715] [716b] [724]-
[730] [730x]-[730bx] 418, 440f.,
446, 447, 449-451, 457
- Ulrici 446, 451
- Viehoff 451
- Vischer (Fr. Th.) [727] 462
- Vosz [421] [719] 448f., 452
- Wagner (H. L.), 436
- Wagner (R.) [732]-[735] [853]
462f.
- Weise [465]
- Weitze [141] [603]-[606] 374,
382
- Wieland [410]-[421] [433] [466]
[471] [476] [479] [482] [607]-
[623] 160, 375, 378-384, 401,
421, 428-432, 435, 437, 440, 443,
447, 454f.
- Wilbrandt 50f.
- Wildenbruch [735x] 446.
- Sharpe and German literature 142.
- Shaw and German literature [989]
[990].
- Shaw and Trebitsch [990].
- Shelley and
Hebbel [991]
Herwegh [992]
Jacobsen 518
Schmidt (J) 490.
- Sheridan and German literature [329]
[330].
- Sheridan and
Goethe [115]
Schiller [330x]
Schröder 345.
- Shirley and German literature [71].
- Sidney and German literature [24]
[25] 133.
- Sidney and
Opitz [21bx] 126f., 130f.
Schupp [18]
Theocritus 130
Wekherlin 130.
- Silbergleit—see Burns.
- Slevogt—see Thomson.
- Smith and Kant [331].
- Smollett and German literature 286.
- Smollett and
Bode 318
Engel [993]
Goethe [112] [332] [333]
Nicolai [133a] 298
Thümmel 328.
- Soltau—see Butler, Thomson.
- Sommerfels—see Sterne.
- Southern and Schröder 344.
- Southey and Jacobsen 518.
- Spence and Lessing [129].
- Spencer and Germany [994].
- Spencer and Wieland [142] [334].
- Spenser and Wekherlin 130.
- Spielhagen—see Browning, Cooper,
Dickens, Emerson, Goldsmith, Poe.
- Spindler—see Scott.
- Sprenger—see Dryden.
- Steele and German criticism 356, 360,
363, 367; German literature [155]
160, 189, 336.
- Steele and
Gellert [155]
Goethe [110]
Gottsched (L. A. V.) 191
Hagedorn [155]
Haller [155]
Mattheson [156]
Rabener [155].
- Stelzhamer—see Burns.
- Stephanie—see Lillo.
- Sterne and German literature [90]
[335]-[352] [995] [998] [156f.,
160, 286, 298f., 310, 316-333.
- Sterne and
Arnim 477
Blankenburg 297, 311, 322
Bock 322
Bode 317f.
Boie 318
Brentano [345] 323, 333, 477, 478
Claudius 318
"Das junge Deutschland" 333
Ebert 318
Gerstenberg 318
Gleim 318
Goethe [107] [110] [112] [337]-
[342a] 307, 323, 315f., 318, 324,
329-333
Götschen 323
Gutzkow 493
Hamann 317f., 478
Hedemann 323
Heine [995]-[996a] 297, 323, 468,
477f.

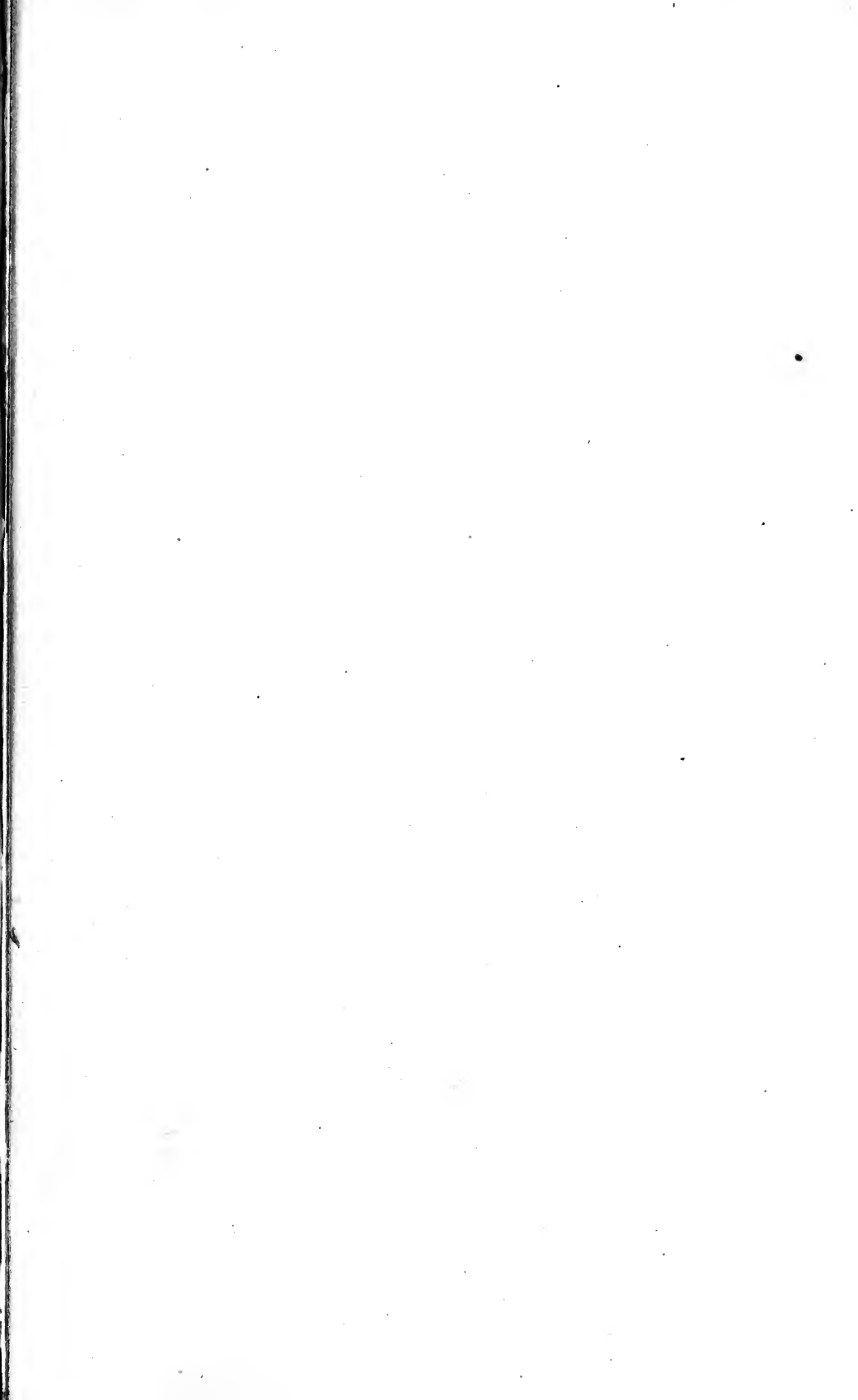
- Herder 289, 314, 317-319, 329
 Hermes 333
 Hippel [346] 318, 323, 326f., 333, 476, 478
 Hoffmann 478
 Immermann [997] 323, 478, 493
 Jacobi (J. G.) [343] [344] 318, 322-324
 Jung-Stilling 307, 329
 Kerner [998]
 Klopstock 218
 Kotzebue 323
 Lessing [127] 317f., 319
 Lichtenberg 289, 325
 Mittelstedt 318
 Moritz 326
 Müller (J. G.) 289
 Nicolai [133a] 297, 322
 Raabe 549
 Richter [345] [346] 322f., 328f., 333, 476-478
 Riedel 324
 Schink 323, 327
 Schlegel (A. W.) 477
 Schlegel (F) 477
 Schummel [347] 318, 322, 324
 Schwager 322
 Seume 323
 Sommerfels 324
 Stolberg 323
 "Sturm und Drang" [597]
 Sturz 325
 Thimme 326
 Thümmel [348] [349] 323, 333
 Tieck 477
 von Göchhausen 318, 322
 Wegener 322
 Wezel 322, 326
 Wieland [350]-[352] 174, 303, 317-322
 Zückert 317f.
 Stifter—see Cooper, Whitman.
 Still and German literature 141.
 Stilling—see Percy.
 Stoddard and German literature [802] 571.
 Stolberg [94]—see Milton, Ossian, Sterne.
 Stolle—see Dickens.
 Storm—see Scott.
 Storm and stress—see "Sturm und Drang."
 Stowe and Germany [999] 568.
 Stowe and
 Auerbach [999]
 Hackländer [999].
 Strachwitz—see Byron.
 Strausz—see Shakespeare.
 Strodtmann—see Tennyson, Whitman.
 Strubberg—see Cooper.
 Struve and Goethe 557.
 Stry—see Milton.
 Sturm und Drang [93]—see Goldsmith, Hogarth, Ossian, Shakespeare, Sterne, Swift, Young.
 Sturz [138]—see Colman, Garrick, Johnson, Macpherson, Ossian, Sterne.
 Sulzer—see Thomson.
 Surrey and Wekherlin 130.
 Swift and German literature [353] [358x] 160, 174, 177-179, 283.
 Swift and
 Bodmer 179
 Butler 160
 Cörner 177
 Gellert 179
 Goethe [353a] 179
 Gottsched 179f.
 Hagedorn [118] 179
 Haller 179, 198
 Heine 468, 529
 Herder [271] 179, 289, 314, 317
 Höltz [122]
 Kästner 179
 Kottenkamp 178
 Lessing [354] 179, 337
 Lichtenberg [355] 163, 178f.
 Liscow 179
 Potts 178
 Rabener [356]
 Richter 179
 Risbeck 178
 Schlegel (A. W.) 179
 Schlegel (Fr.) 179
 Schwabe 179f.
 Seifart 178
 "Sturm und Drang" [597]
 Waser [139] 160f.
 Wieland [142] [357].
 Swinburne and German literature 486.
 Swinburne and George 486.
 Talvj—see von Jacob
 Taylor and German literature [802] 571.
 Tennyson and German literature [830] [1000] [1001] 485.
 Tennyson and
 Eichholz 485
 Feis 485
 Feldman 485
 Fischer 485
 Freiligrath 485

- Gribenow 485
 Haase 485
 Harbou 485
 Herzberg 485
 Hessel 485
 Mendheim 485
 Prausnitz 485
 Schellwien 485
 Scholz 485
 Schroeter 485
 Strodtmann 485
 von Bohlen 485
 von Hohenhausen 485
 Waldmüller-Duboc 485
 Weber [1001a] 485
 Wildenbruch [1002]
 Zenker 485.
- Thackeray and
 Goethe [1003] [1004]
 Raabe 549
 Schmidt (J) 491
 von Schack [850].
- Theocritus—see Sidney.
 Thimme—see Sterne.
- Thomson and German literature [91]
 [358]–[363] 156–159, 211–226,
 232.
- Thomson and
 Blum 219
 Bodmer 217
 Brookes [360] 212–217, 223
 Bruckbräu 217
 Dusch 217
 Ebert 217
 Geszner [361] 220, 223
 Giseke 219
 Gleim 217, 223
 Hagedorn [118] 166f., 171, 222f.
 Haller 198, 212f., 223
 Harries 217
 Herder [271] 314
 Hirschfeld 219
 Hölty [122]
 Kleist (E. Ch.) [361a] 218f., 223
 Klopstock [362] 171, 223
 Lange 217
 Lessing 127, 221, 338, 372f.
 Mendelssohn 221
 Neuendorff 217
 Pyra 217
 Rosenzweig 217
 Schiller [363] 224
 Schmidt (C. E. K.) 223
 Schmitthenner 217
 Schubart 217, 224, 234
 Slevogt 219
 Soltan 217
 Sulzer 217
- Tobler 160, 217f.
 Uz 217
 von Palthen 217–219
 Wieland 219, 223, 248, 378
 Zachariä [145] [146] [147] 219,
 223
 Zinck 214.
- Thoreau and German literature 575.
 Thoreau and Emmerich 575
 Thümmel—see Fielding, Pope, Smollett,
 Sterne.
- Tieck—see Defoe, Jonson, Lillo, Milton,
 Ossian, Richardson, Scott, Shake-
 speare, Sterne.
- Tillotson and Escher 160.
 Tobler—see Gray, Thomson.
 Trebitsch—see Shaw.
 Tschärner—see Young.
 Twain (Mark)—see Clemens.
 Tytler and Gräter 280.
- Uhland—see Percy, Scott.
 Ungern-Sternberg—see Dickens.
 Unzer—see Young.
 Ursinus—see Percy.
 Uz—see Amory, Pope, Prior, Thomson,
 Young.
- Vanbrugh and German literature 336.
 Vanbrugh and Lessing 368.
 Vischer—see Defoe.
 von Bergmann—see Rowe (E).
 von Bohlen—see Tennyson.
 von Harald—see Ossian.
 von Palthen—see Thomson.
 von Schack [850]—see also Browning,
 Byron.
 von Teubern—see Young.
 von Wickede—see Hale.
 von Winterfeld—see Burns, Goldsmith,
 Poe.
 Vosz [94]—see Milton, Ossian, Percy,
 Prior.
- Wagner [732]–[735] [851]–[853]—
 see Bulwer Lytton, Carlyle, Field-
 ing, Irving, Richardson, Scott,
 Shakespeare.
- Waiblinger—see Byron.
 Waldau—see Byron.
 Waldmüller-Duboc—see Tennyson.
 Wallace and German literature 569.
 Walloth—see Byron.
 Warburton and Zinck 206.
 Warton and
 Lessing 370
 Mendelssohn 202, 206, 221, 370
 Nicolai 202.

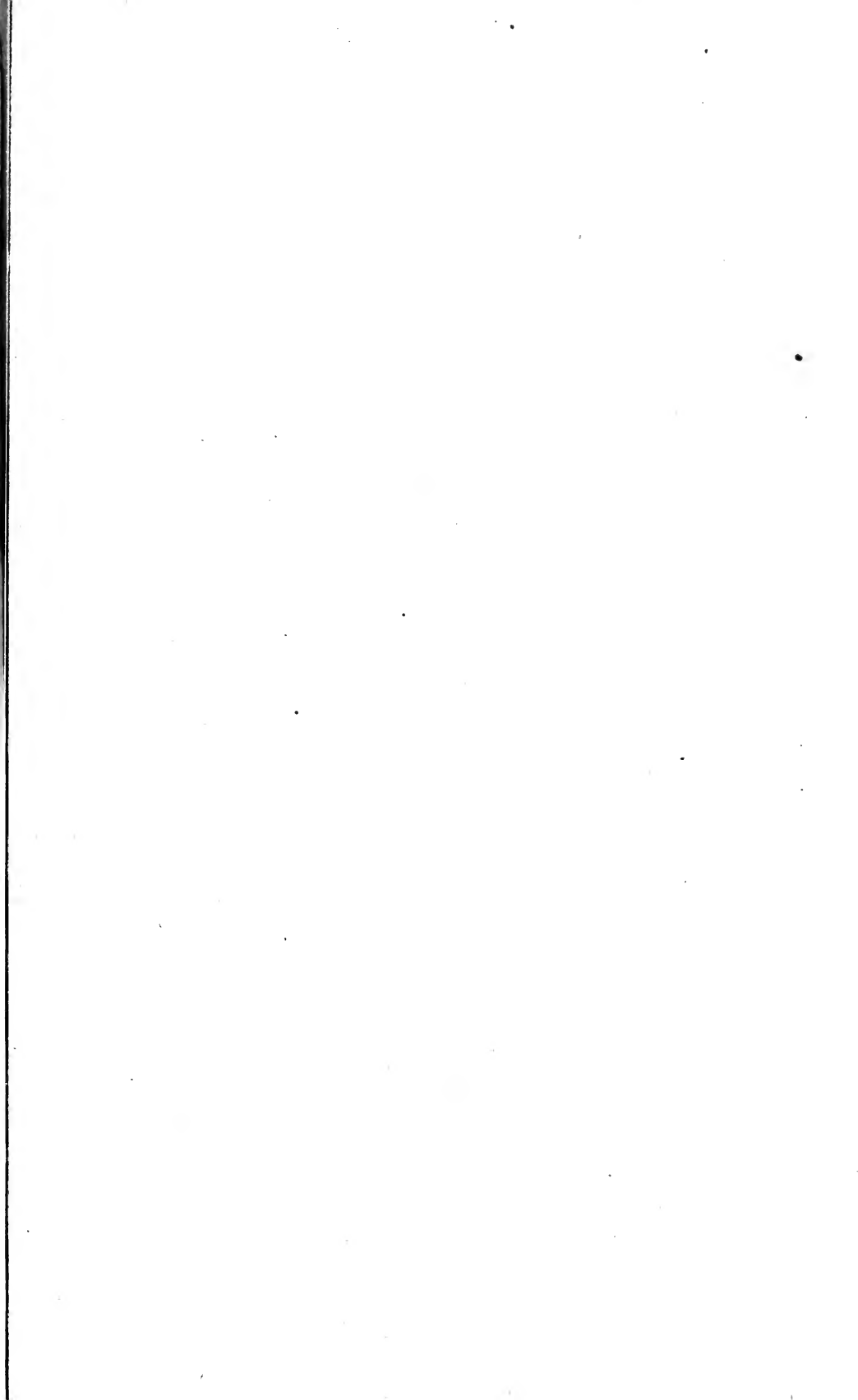
- Waser [139] [140]—see Butler, Defoe, Swift.
- Washington in German literature 186.
- Washington and Klopstock 187.
- Webb and German literature 160.
- Webb and Lessing [129].
- Weber—see Tennyson.
- Weckherlin—see Owen.
- Wegener—see Sterne.
- Weise—see Barclay, Dryden, Shakespeare, Wycherley.
- Weisze [88] [141] [141a]—see Coffey, Ossian, Shadwell, Shakespeare, Wycherley.
- Wehrlin [97]—see Sidney, Spenser, Surrey, Wyatt.
- Werfel—see Whitman.
- Werner—see Lillo.
- Wernicke—see Dryden, Milton.
- Wezel—see Sterne.
- Whitehead and Bode 318.
- Whitman and German literature [802] [803] [1005]–[1009] 571–574.
- Whitman and
 Bertz 573
 Freiligrath 572
 Holz [1009] 574
 Hopp 573
 Knortz 573
 Lessing (O. E.) 573
 Lissauer [1009] 574
 Nietzsche [1009]
 Paquet [1007] 574
 Rolleston 573
 Schlaf [1009] [1010] 573f.
 Schmidtbonn [1009] 574
 Stifter [1009]
 Strodttmann 573
 Werfel [1009] 574.
- Whittier and German literature [802] [803] [1011] 571.
- Wieland [94]—see Addison, Amory, Butler, Chaucer, Fielding, Glover, Kirkpatrick, Milton, Pope, Prior, Richardson, Rowe, Shaftesbury, Shakespeare, Spenser, Sterne, Swift, Thomson, Young.
- Wienberg—see Byron.
- Wilde in Germany [1012]–[1014] 486.
- Wildenbruch—see Bulwer Lytton, Tennyson.
- Willkomm—see Byron.
- Wilmot and German literature 141.
- Winckelmann—see Milton.
- Wolcot and German literature [363a] [363b].
- Wolcot and Bürger [363b].
- Wolfe and Goethe [954].
- Woods and "Sturm und Drang" 388.
- Wordsworth and German literature 535.
- Wordsworth and
 Jacobsen 518
 Müller (W.) [1015]
 von Schack [850].
- Wyatt and Wehrlin 130.
- Lessing and Wycherley [127] 368, 404.
- Wycherley and Lessing [127] 368, 404.
- Young and German criticism 356f., 374, 386–394; German literature [364a]–[372] 156, 158f., 184, 236–248, 253, 298f., 474.
- Young and
 Binzer [833]
 Bodmer 184, 236–239, 242
 Brawe [88] [104] [365] [368a] 339–341
 "Bremer Beiträger" 242
 Cramer 387
 Creuz [369] [370]
 Dusch 240
 Ebert 184, 237–243
 G. 387
 Gellert 243
 Gerstenberg 240, 388f.
 Geusau 239
 Gleim 238, 241
 Goethe [110] [371] 240, 244
 Gottsched 184, 242, 387
 Hagedorn 166
 Haller 239f.
 Hamann 236, 240–243, 388f., 391
 Heinse 240
 Herder 240–244, 314, 387–391
 Hermes [297]
 Kayser 239f.
 Klopstock [371x] 169, 238, 240, 242
 Klotz 240
 Knebel 240
 Lenz 240, 399
 Lessing 240, 242, 388
 Mendelssohn 242, 388
 Möser 240
 Nicolai 240, 387f.
 Rambach 387
 Resewitz 388
 Schiller 240–244
 Schmidt 387
 Schubart 234, 240
 "Sturm und Drang" [597] 388
 Tschärner [372] 165, 239
 Unzer 240
 Uz 238
 von Hohenhausen 241
 von Teubern 387
 Wieland 240, 243f., 248, 378f.
 Zachariä [145] [146] [147] 241–243.

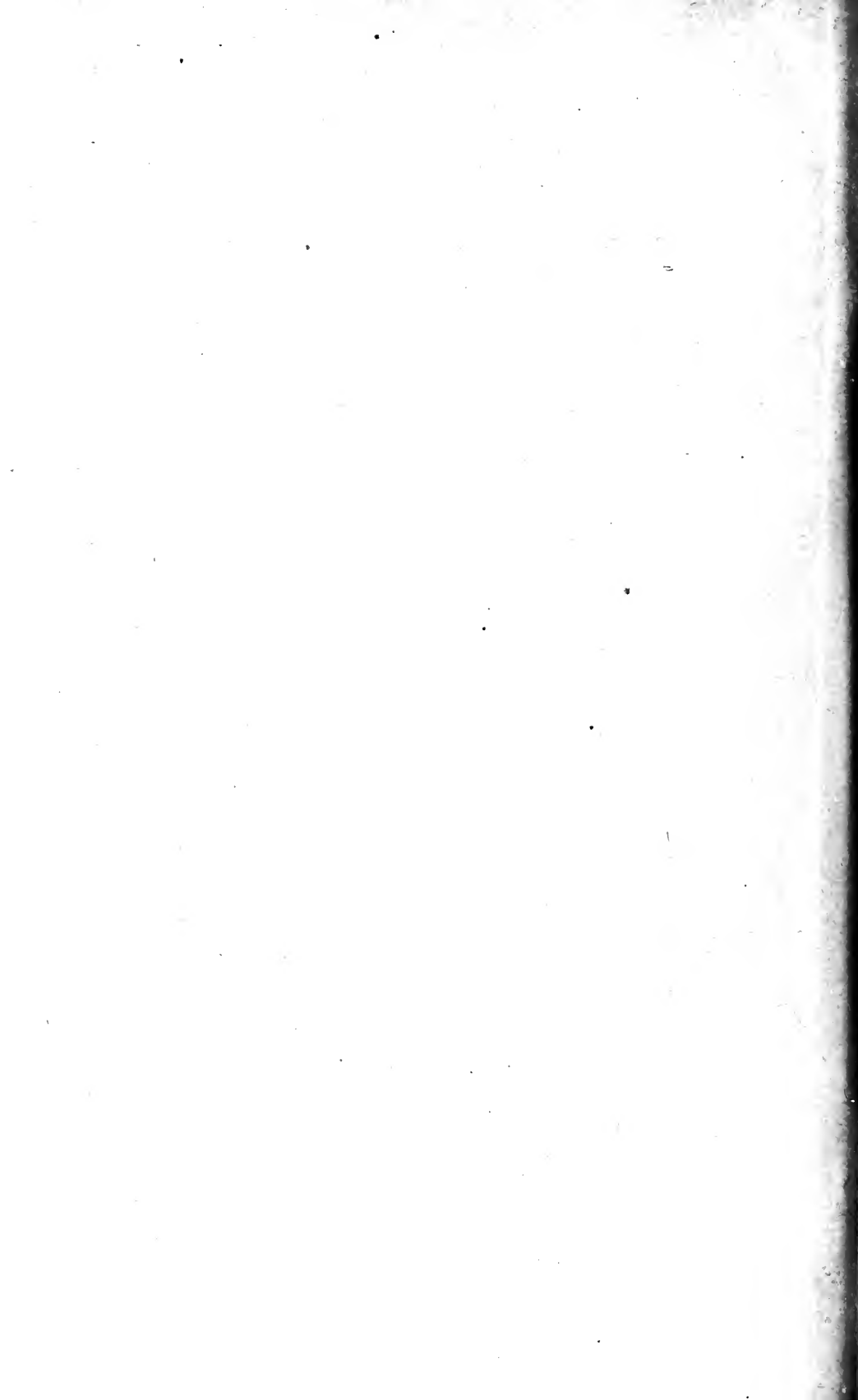
Zachariä—see Milton, Pope, Thomson,
Young.
Zahn—see Scott.
Zedlitz—see Byron.
Zellweger—see Butler, Milton.
Zenker—see Tennyson.
Zernitz—see Pope.

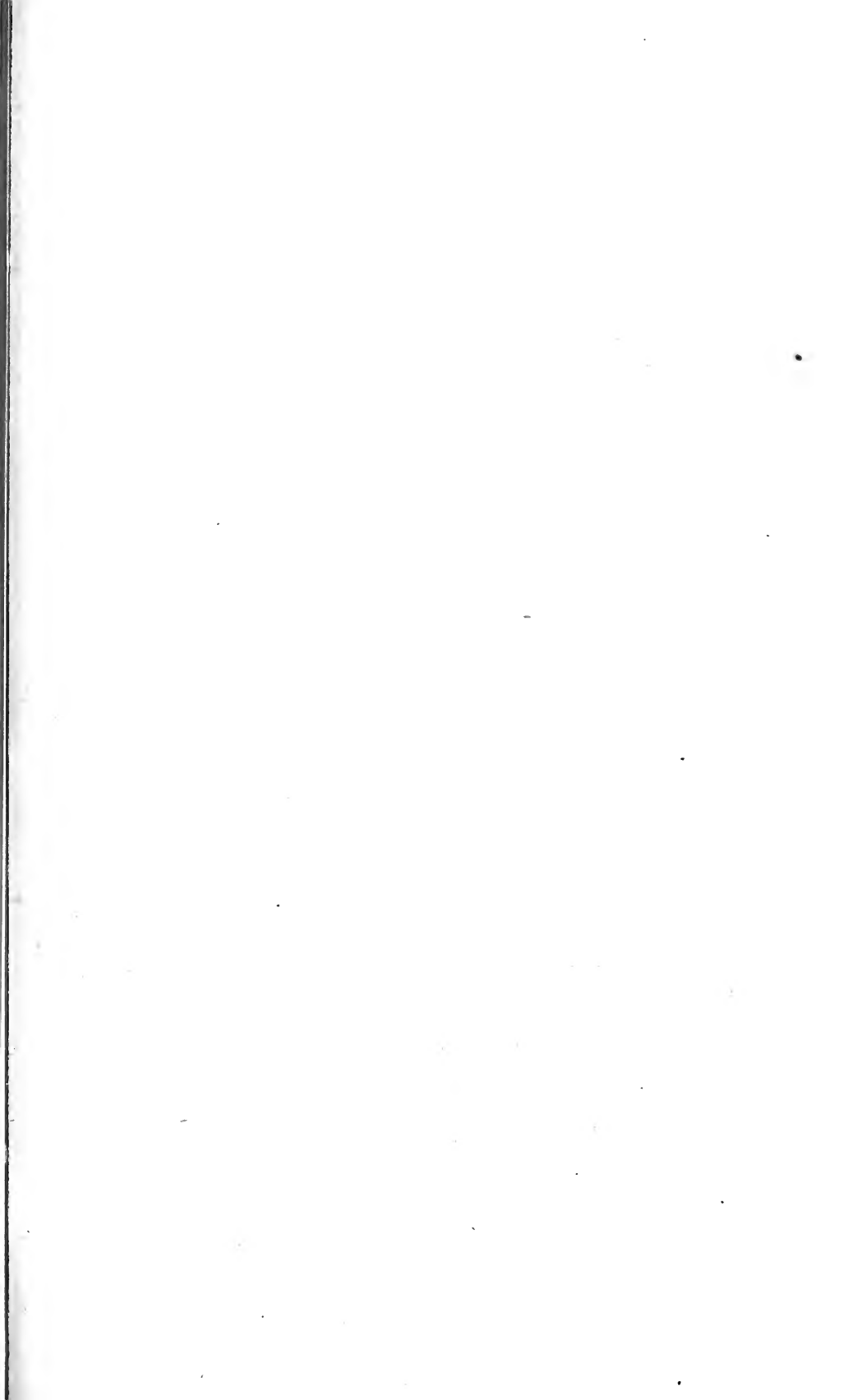
Zesen—see Barclay.
Zianitzka—see Zitz.
Zinek—see Pope, Thomson, Warburton.
Zitz—see Byron.
Zschokke—see Goldsmith. >
Zückert—see Sterne.
Zumsteeg—see Ossian.

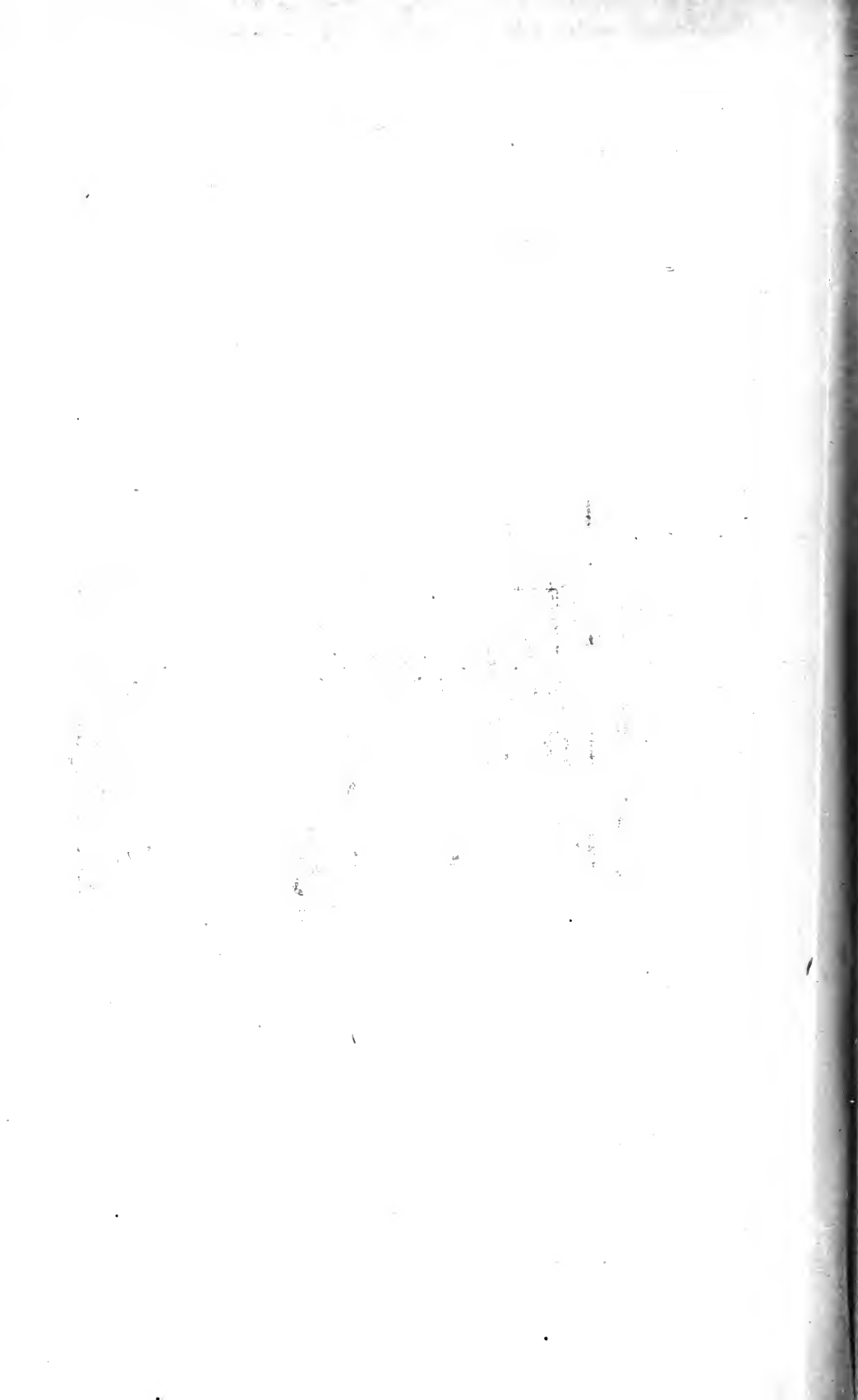












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