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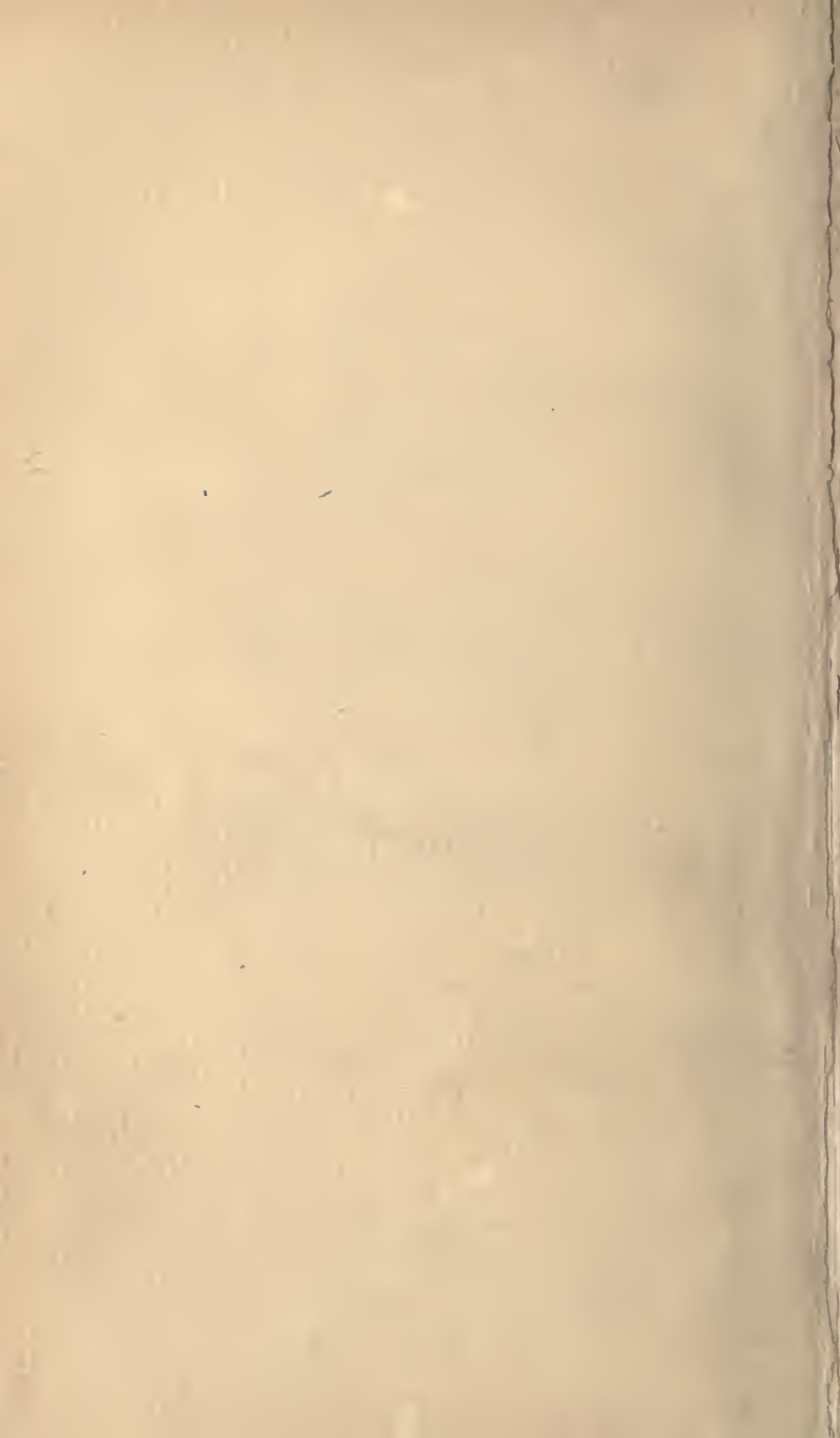
IN June, 1896, Professor Child completed his fiftieth year of service as a teacher in Harvard University. On the eleventh of the following September he died. This volume, consisting of papers by his pupils and colleagues, was planned as a greeting, but has become a memorial. The original dedication, however, has not been cancelled.

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FRANCISCO IACOBO CHILD

IAM QUINQUAGINTA ANNOS UNIVERSITATIS ALUMNO S. P.

Non bellatorum solummodo fama volucris
Per terras clara nomina voce sonat
Non conflatur eis tantum aes nec marmora surgunt
Quis generi humano noxia facta mala
Paciferis factis etiam crescit sua laurus
Atque ea laudantur qualiacunque iuvant
Sic te discipuli nostro sermone peritum
Nos merito summis laudibus efferimus
Nec minus ob mores lepidos debemus amorem
Quae coram fari mosque pudorque vetant
Hunc igitur tibi nunc librum dilecte dicamus
Quo celebretur honos significetur amor



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THE TEXT OF DONNE'S POEMS.

THE text of Donne's Poems, from the time of their first publication, has been in an unsatisfactory state. The chief reason of this is that very few of his poems were printed during his lifetime,¹ and that the first collection of them, published in 1633, two years after his death, seems to have been an unwarranted publisher's job, which had no proper editing either in respect to arrangement of the pieces or accuracy of the text. The next edition appeared in 1635. This also was unauthorized; it had the same publisher, but it received some editorial care; it contained a considerable number of poems not previously published; the arrangement of the poems was more orderly, some plain errors in their text were corrected, and various improved readings were introduced. A fine and interesting portrait of Donne, at the age of 18, engraved by Marshall, was prefixed to it, with verses below by Izaak Walton, from which it may be inferred that the volume was not issued with-

¹ The most important of the few poems published by Donne himself or during his life were the two *Anniversaries* commemorating Mistress Elizabeth Drury, respectively, *An Anatomy of the World* and *On the Progress of the Soul*. The first of these was printed in 1611, and of the edition only two copies are known to exist. In 1612 the two appeared together. They were reprinted in 1621 and in 1625. Copies of all the editions are very rare. Donne's *Elegy on Prince Henry* was printed in 1613, the year after the prince's death, with elegies by other writers, in a volume entitled *Lachrymae Lachrymarum, or The Spirit of Tears distilled from the untimely Death of the Incomparable Prince Panaretus*. By Joshua Sylvester. "Sylvester's poem," says Mr. Chambers in his edition (1896) of Donne's Poems, "is followed by a separate title-page, *Sundry Funeral Elegies . . . Composed by several Authors*; and this by an address, signed H[umphrey] L[ownes], R.S.; 'To the Several Authors of these surrepted Elegies,' which severs as an apology for the unauthorized publication." Two other poems of Donne, mere trifles, appeared while he was living; they were a set of verses in Latin to Ben Jonson, prefixed to the first edition of *The Fox*, in 1607, and his satirically panegyric verses *Upon Mr. Thomas Coryat's Crudities*, which were among the best of the multitude of verses of similar purport prefixed to Coryat's book when it was published in 1611.

out interest being taken in it by one of the closest of Donne's friends. But the text in general leaves much to be desired, and it is plain that no careful revision was given to it.

In 1637 the son of Donne, Dr. John Donne the second, sought and secured from the Archbishop of Canterbury an injunction against the further unauthorized publication of the poems and other works of Donne;¹ but the injunction seems to have had no effect, for the editions of the poems which followed in 1639 and 1649 are practically mere reissues of that of 1635. But on the publication of the edition of 1649, John Donne the younger seems to have interfered, and in the next year, the volume was issued with a new titlepage, which announced the addition of "divers Copies, under his own hand, never before in print."² Following the titlepage was an *Epistle Dedicatory* to the Right Hon. William Lord Craven, by the younger Donne, and after page 368, were the "divers Copies" consisting of a number of pieces in prose and verse of little importance, which occupy twenty-three pages. In 1654 there was a reissue of this volume. In 1669 an edition appeared, which contained a few additional poems, but which is chiefly distinguished from the preceding editions by many variations of the text, some of them undoubted improvements, but others by no means so.

The text in all of these seventeenth-century editions is often plainly corrupt, and betrays, in its confused and bewildering punctuation, the carelessness of transcribers and of printers. From one or the other of these editions all subsequent editions of Donne's Poems were printed, with little attempt at correction of their numerous errors, down to that of Dr. Grosart, in 1873, in two volumes, in the *Fuller Worthies' Library*. In his preface Dr. Grosart states that he has collated all previous editions "with prolonged carefulness," that he has utilized manuscripts public and private, and thus has been enabled "to correct the swarming errors and bewilderment

¹ The request of the younger Donne and the injunction issued by the Archbishop are in the Record Office, London, and were first printed by Dr. Grosart, in his edition of Donne's Poems, in 1873, vol. II, p. lii.

² Mr. Chambers, in his *Bibliographical Note* in the first volume of his edition, fails to distinguish the editions of 1649 and 1650.

of previous editions." Unfortunately his judgment and his accuracy were not equal to his industry; and his edition, while containing much that is of value as affording means for ascertaining the correct readings of doubtful passages, does not itself provide a satisfactory text. It is, in truth, disfigured by pedantry in following the spelling of ill-written manuscripts, and by blunders proceeding from carelessness and from lack of intelligence.¹

¹ These words are so severe as to demand justification. The manuscript on which Dr. Grosart mainly relied is one which he called, from the name of a former possessor, the Stephens MS. It is now in my hands. In printing from it Dr. Grosart professes to reproduce it with literal accuracy, except where he adopts readings from other sources, as stated in notes to the several poems. The only value of this *literal* adherence to the manuscript would be in its exact reproduction of the spelling of the early seventeenth century, even in its vagaries; but of the poems in which I have compared Dr. Grosart's text with that of the manuscript, I have not found one reproduced with exactness. For example, in the fifty-six verses of the beautiful poem in which Donne protests against his mistress, disguised as a page, accompanying him on his travels, printed by Grosart as "Elegy I," there are twenty-three divergencies in the spelling; in the twenty-six verses of Elegy XI there are seven; in the seventeen verses of *Woman's Constancy* there are seven. These are instances taken at random. Most of the differences are of slight individual importance, but their number is such as to deprive Dr. Grosart's text of authority as to spelling.

In regard to lack of poetic appreciation and intelligence one or two instances may suffice. The fine well-known poem, *The Storm*, addressed to the author's friend Christopher Brooke, begins with the characteristic verses :

Thou which art I,—'t is nothing to be so ;
Thou which art still thyself, by this shalt know, etc.,

the first of which Dr. Grosart prints in the following amusing manner :

Thou which art ! ('t is nothings to be soe).

In Elegy XIX, verse 34 reads, properly,

As souls unbodied, bodies uncloth'd must be.

Dr. Grosart prints it :

As fowles unbodied boydes uncloth'd must bee.

In Satire II, speaking of poetry, Donne says with characteristic humor,

Though like the pestilence, or old-fashion'd love,
It riddlingly catch men, and doth remove
Never till it be starv'd out ;

No further attempt was made to improve the text until in 1893 the Grolier Club of New York undertook to print the Poems, according to the text of the edition of 1633, with the addition of some poems which appeared in later editions, the whole revised in respect to punctuation by the late James Russell Lowell. In order to give further value to this issue, a collation of all the editions of the seventeenth century was made, and the various readings were given in footnotes. Some illustrative notes were added. This edition, which was under my charge, was issued to the members of the Club in the autumn of 1895. It consisted of three hundred and eighty-three copies, in two volumes in small octavo.

Almost at precisely the same moment appeared an edition, also in two volumes, published in the series of *The Muses' Library* and edited by Mr. E. K. Chambers. "The bulk of the text," says Mr. Chambers in his Preface, "is based upon the principal seventeenth-century editions. No one of these is of supreme authority, and therefore I have had no choice but to be eclectic. But at the same time I have endeavored to give all variants, other than obvious misprints, in the footnotes. Here and there one or other of the innumerable manuscript copies has been of service. I have modernized the spelling, and corrected the exceptionally chaotic punctuation of the old editions. And so, though much remains obscure, I trust that I have provided a more intelligible version of the *Poems* than any that has yet appeared." There is no question that this is the case. Mr. Chambers has done his work with excellent judgment, and with uncommon carefulness. So far as the text is concerned, he has left little for future editors to do. He has illustrated the poems with valuable notes, explaining many allusions, and containing much information in regard to the persons to whom the *Verse Letters* and other pieces are addressed. And so, though, as he says, much

Dr. Grosart adopts the senseless reading of his favorite manuscript :

Though like the Pestilens or old-fashioned loues
It rydes killingely, catcheth men, & remove
Neuer till it bee staru'd out.

In these two and a half verses are five variations from the orthography of the manuscript ; the manuscript reads : *Pestilence, old-fashion'd, never, be, starv'd.*

remains obscure, his edition is not only the best that exists, but requires little more than some additional annotations to be altogether satisfactory and final.¹

Few of Donne's poems, as I have stated, were printed in his lifetime. He himself in his later years seems to have been indifferent to their fate. The strange vicissitude of his fortunes, his transformation from the student of law, the gay, venturesome youth, the loose lover, the hanger-on of a dissolute court, to the omnivorous scholar, the doctor of divinity, the devout preacher, the high dignitary of the Church, the melancholy man, turned him from the writing of satires, epistles, lyrics of love, and paradoxes, to the composition of learned treatises and elaborate sermons, and the occasional writing of devout poems. He was past forty years old when he took orders, and became the most famous preacher of his time; and it is easy to believe Walton's statement that "in his penitential years, viewing some of those pieces that had been loosely — God knows too loosely — scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or so short-lived that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals." It is true that after he had resolved to enter the Church, but before he had taken orders, he proposed to print his poems, "not for much public view," he said in a letter written in December, 1614, to his friend Sir Henry Goodyere, "but at mine own cost, a few copies." "I know" he adds, "what I shall suffer from many interpretations, but I am at an end of much considering that. . . . By this occasion I am made a Rhapsoder of mine own rags, and that cost me more diligence to seek them, than it did to make them. This made me ask to borrow that old book of you;" (doubtless one of the numerous manuscript collections of his poems) . . . "for I must do this, as a valediction to the world, before I take Orders."² Probably the intention fell through, for there is no knowledge of any such printed collection. But, though not printed during Donne's

¹ In a few instances Mr. Chambers' reading of the text seems to me erroneous, and a few mistakes have crept into his notes, but these will doubtless disappear under his revision in later issues. The index is unfortunately completely wrong in its reference to pages, as if made before the final paging of the volumes.

² *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour: written by John Donne, Sometime Deane of St. Paul's, London. Published by John Donne Dr. of the Civill Law.* London, 1651, p. 196.

lifetime, the poems had a wide circulation in manuscript. The manly tone, the serious feeling, the shrewd observation, the picturesqueness and the wit of his satires, made them popular, in spite of the harshness of their versification. His love lyrics had such a combination of rapturous passion with delicate sentiment; of sensualism with spirituality; of simplicity with mysticism; of vivid imagination in conception and expression with lively wit and charming fancy, as to set them above all others of their kind. No other verse-writer of the time surpassed Donne in occasional exquisiteness of verse in which substance and form mingled in perfect poetry. It was no wonder that there was a demand for these poems, and that copies of them were so multiplied that Mr. Chambers can speak of the existing manuscripts as 'innumerable'; and no wonder that, in the repeated process of copying, many variations and many errors crept into the text.

Of these innumerable manuscripts three are now in my hands. The study of them affords some results of more interest in regard to the general character of manuscript evidence, than as helping to determine the true text of passages which in the printed editions appear perplexed and difficult. They give a few readings which make dark verses clear, but on the whole they shed little light where it is most needed.

The first of these manuscripts is that which Dr. Grosart used as the main basis of his edition, and of which he says: "I attach very great weight to a manuscript now in the possession of F. W. Cosens, Esq., London. It has the book plate of 'Thomas Stephens, of the Inner Temple, Esq.,'¹ and is dated 19th July, 1620. It is a singularly rich collection. The prose 'Paradoxes' (showing interesting variations) form the first portion, and exclusive of Donne's — which are nearly complete and with additions — there are poems by Carew, Daniel, King, and others. The utmost 'pains' had evidently been taken by the writer of this precious (quarto) MS. At times he leaves a blank, where he could not make out the word or words, and these are afterwards carefully filled in. Whoever he was — of Stephens I can gather nothing — he must have been intimate with Donne himself" (vol. I, p. 3). Again in his second volume Dr.

¹ This book plate is plainly of much later date than the manuscript, and of much earlier than the binding.

Grosart says, repeating himself, but with an important modification, "We attach great value to the Stephens MS., notwithstanding singular oversights of the copyist, who seems to have 'nodded' over his task" (vol. II, p. lv).

That the value set upon this manuscript by Dr. Grosart was extravagant, and of the nature of a delusion, is made manifest by his own edition, in which a poor reading from the manuscript is often preferred to the better reading of one or other of the printed texts, while in other cases the reading of the printed texts is substituted for that of the manuscript. Mr. Chambers, who apparently had no acquaintance with the manuscript but that which was derived from Dr. Grosart's use of it, is quite justified in qualifying it as "a bad manuscript."¹ Dr. Grosart's description of it is, moreover, considering his use of it, unaccountably inaccurate. His statement that the volume contains poems "by Carew, Daniel, King, and others" has no foundation whatever. There is not a single poem in it by either of the poets named.²

The manuscript consists of 343 pages. The first seventy pages, excepting pp. 40 to 46 inclusive, which are blank, are occupied by Donne's *Paradoxes*, which were first published in 1652; pp. 71 to 78 are blank; pp. 79 to 119 contain Donne's *Satires*, with the omission of the one beginning, "Men write that Love and Reason disagree"; pp. 120 to 126 are blank; pp. 127 to 192 contain the group of poems called *Elegies* in the editions of Donne, together with some of the *Verse Letters*; they are headed in order *Elegia prima* to *Elegia vicesima septima*; a leaf between pp. 190 and 191 is missing; pp. 193 to 200 are blank; pp. 201 to 343 contain a miscellany of Lyrics, Letters, Funeral Elegies, and Sacred Poems; p. 270 is blank.

¹ In his edition of Donne's Poems, II, 307.

² The manuscript is now bound in ordinary half morocco, and the style of the binding is that of about the middle of this century. The lettering on the back probably affords the origin of Dr. Grosart's misstatement of the contents. It is "Donne, Carew, Daniel &c.," and in a lower panel, "Stephens M.S., 1620." It seems unlikely that the binding is of later date than Dr. Grosart's statement, and that the lettering followed his assertion. But however his error arose, it is certainly surprising, in view of his familiarity with the contents of the volume. It is a striking and sufficient illustration of an inaccuracy of statement so frequent in his work as editor, not of Donne alone, that it may be called habitual.

The volume contains fifteen poems which are not found in the early editions of Donne. Not one of them is of much worth; two of them are ascribed upon good authority to Sir John Roe; one is Francis Beaumont's *Elegy on the Lady Markham*, a poem hardly to be surpassed for the offensiveness of its conceits; the remaining twelve, of uncertain authorship, are printed by Dr. Grosart as Donne's. Mr. Chambers in his edition prints nine of them in his Appendix A, but gives his opinion that only three "can with any reasonable assurance be attributed to Donne."

The handwriting of the manuscript is fairly uniform and distinct, but it is old-fashioned even for the time when it was written, which is fixed by a date at the end, — "19th July, 1620."¹

The copying was carelessly and unintelligently done; there are mistakes on almost every page, some of them obviously due to the obscurity of the manuscript from which the copy was made, but more to the mere inattention of the writer, and his indifference as to whether what he wrote made sense or not. For instance in the Satire addressed to Sir Nicolas Smyth, Donne wrote :

Turtle and Damon

Should give thee place in songs, and lovers sick
Should make thee only Love's hieroglyph;
Thy impress should be th' loving elm and vine,
Where now an ancient oak with ivy twine. (vv. 82-86.)

The copyist gives the verses as follows :

Turtle and Pamon

Should give thee place in lungs and livers sick,
Should only make thee Love's hieroglyph.
The Empress should be thy loving elm and vine
Where none can ancient oaks with ivy twine.

The opening stanza of that exquisite poem *The Ecstasy* runs as follows :

¹ The scribe has left indications of the rate at which he copied by entering the day of the week, here and there, upon the margin. Thus on p. 133 is *Mond.*, on p. 152 *Tuesd.*, on p. 179 *Wend.*, on p. 206 *Thr.*, and again on p. 265 *Thrsday*. As the full pages seldom consist of more than twenty lines the rate was not rapid.

Where like a pillow on a bed,
A pregnant bank swell'd up, to rest
The violet's reclining head,
Sat we two, one another's best.

This is amusingly metamorphosed in the manuscript :

Where like a pillow on a bed
A pregnant bank sweld up to rest
The violet's declining head
Sat we two on another's breast.

Again, the beautiful *Valediction to his Book* begins :

I'll tell thee now, dear Love, what thou shalt do
To anger Destiny, as she doth us,
How I shall stay though she eloin me thus,
And how posterity shall know it too.

The last two lines are thus given by the transcriber :

How I shall stay though she purloin me thus,
And how prosperity shall know it too.

When in his *Litany* Donne prays :

That music of Thy promises,
Not threats in thunder may
Awaken us to our just offices,

the scribe makes him ask :

That music of Thy promises
Not theater in thunder may
Awaken us.

Such gross absurdities as these, of which there are many, are but the file-leaders of innumerable carelessnesses and inaccuracies, — words omitted or misplaced to the ruin of the rhythm, others changed, the spelling arbitrary, and the punctuation chaotic. The variations in the spelling are of some interest as illustrating the general laxity in this regard of the writers of the time. Thus in one verse *sold* is thus spelled, while in the next it is spelled *sould*; so *nails* and *nayles*; *courtyers* and *courtiers*, in the same line. Final *ie* and *y* are constantly interchanged, as *Charitie* and *Liberty* in the same verse, *Honestie* and

Integrity as rhymes; consonants are doubled or not, as *witt* and *wit*, *meritt* and *merit* in successive verses; *y* and *i* are indifferently employed, as *busynes* and *business*, *pittie* and *piteous*, *cytty* and *cittie*, *sinne* and *synn*, *playes* and *plaies*; the final *e* is common, but is often wanting, so *thinge* and *thing*, *newse* and *news*, *now* and *nowe*. The spelling of some words gives the old pronunciation, which still occasionally lingers in New England, as *marchant*, *byles* for *boils*, *venter* for *venture*; *chaunge*, *daunger*, *sowle*; *hard* for *heard*. *Heart* is spelled *hart*; *could*, *should*, and *would* are generally spelled *cold*, *shold*, and *wold*; but *hold* is spelled *hould*; *bold*, *bould*; *told*, *tould*, and *cold*, *could*.

The second manuscript in my possession consists of fifty leaves, foolscap, in a limp vellum cover. It has no indication of former ownership, save that from a titlepage of a sale catalogue laid in it, it seems to have been in the collection of J. Carnaby, Esq., which was sold in London by Puttick & Simpson in November, 1886. For convenience' sake, I will designate it as the Carnaby manuscript, or Manuscript C. The first two pages and the last page are blank; the rest are occupied exclusively with poems by Donne or ascribed to him. There is no order in their sequence; Elegy, Satire, Letter, and Lyric follow one another promiscuously. Of the poems attributed to Donne not found in the early editions, there are seven; of which four are also found in MS. S; the fifth and sixth are brief epigrams, the seventh, which has no title in the manuscript, is Francis Beaumont's *Elegy on the Death of the Countess of Rutland*.¹ The MS. contains in all 73 poems, counting the *Epigrams* as one, against 101 contained in MS. S, counting the series of Sonnets in *La Corona* as one.

The handwriting of this MS. C is less archaic than that of MS. S; it is more cursive, and is in general easily legible; but the scribe was no more careful than the writer of S, and does not show a higher degree of intelligence. His mistakes are numerous, and some

¹ Three of these poems common to both manuscripts are those already referred to, which, in the opinion of Mr. Chambers, are probably ascribed correctly to Donne. They are entitled *Absence*, *Love's War*, *Love and Wit*, and may be found respectively in his edition, vol. II, pp. 249, 250, 272. *Love's War* is the only one about which there seems to me no room for question as to the authorship.

of them are amusing. For instance, in *Love's War* Donne wrote, if it be his :

Near thrusts, stabs, pikes, yea bullets hurt not here,

which the transcriber gives :

Near thrusts, stabs, pickles, yea bullets hurt not here.

In his Second Satire, where Donne says that

They who write because all write, have still
That cause for writing, and for writing ill,

he is made to say that they have "that sauce for writing." And again in the same Satire where he speaks of puppets, the copyist makes him say :

As in some organs puppies dance above
And bellows pant below which do them move.

It would be easy to fill pages with like nonsense. On one page *affidanus* stands for *affidavits*; on the next the sense of a verse is ruined by changing *shameless* into *themselves*; on the next by *spied* for *spread*; on the next by *lowness* for *loneness*; on the next by *lide* for *like*; and so on from page to page. The spelling is, perhaps, somewhat more uniform than that of MS. S, but it has the same general characteristics. *Could*, *should*, and *would* are, however, almost invariably so written; but *hold* is spelled *hould*; *control*, *controule*; *bold*, *bould*; *virtue* is invariably spelled *vertue*, but *value* is written *valew*, and *jointures*, *jointers*; *hearts* are *hearts* and *hartes* in the same stanza. I have noted a few spellings which like *vertue* show French influence, such as *maister* (*master*, S), *envenim* (*envenom*, S), *honesty* (*honesty*, S), *forraine* (*foraigne*, S), *monney* (*money*, S).

My third manuscript is in all respects the best. In handwriting, in uniformity of spelling, in the number of the poems included in it, 127 in all, counting *Epigrams* and *La Corona* each as one, it is far superior to MSS. S and C. It bears no indication of its former ownership; and Mr. Quaritch, from whom I obtained it, as well as the others, was unable to tell me from what source it had come to his hands. I designate it, for convenience' sake, as MS. N. It is a folio, of 135 leaves, and is in its apparently original binding of full sheep. The pages were slightly trimmed by the binder, so that in a

few instances a part of a word in the margin has been cut off. The writing is remarkably uniform, handsome, and legible. The scribe, though more intelligent, was not much more careful in doing his work than the writers of MSS. S and C. He committed many errors, a few of which have been corrected by another hand of the seventeenth century. There are some omissions which indicate that the text which the copyist had before him was either imperfect or illegible. The volume begins with four of the Satires, after which the other poems follow in no regular order, but there is a partial grouping of the various divisions of Elegies, Verse Letters, Lyrics, and Sacred Poems. In addition to the Poems the volume contains Donne's *Paradoxes*, which occupy pp. 243-270.

All the poems printed in the first edition, 1633, are in this manuscript, with the exception of the two *Anniversaries* commemorating Mistress Elizabeth Drury, the reason for the omission of which was undoubtedly that they existed in print in more than one edition, and with the further exception of five minor poems and one or two of the *Epigrams*. But in addition to the poems in the first edition, it includes five of Donne's poems which were first printed in 1635, two not printed till 1669, two first printed in this century, and classed by Mr. Chambers among the 'doubtful poems.' It contains also, *An Elegy upon the Death of the Lord Effingham*, properly ascribed to Bishop Corbet; and, without ascription of authorship, but as if belonging to Donne, two poems by Beaumont, his *Ad Comitissam Rutlandiæ*,¹ and his well-known *Letter to Ben Jonson*, and both of these with many marked improvements on the commonly printed text. The manuscript has, further, two poems of uncertain authorship, and, so far as I know, hitherto unprinted, one a brief *Epitaph* of eight verses, and one a long poem without title in forty-eight stanzas, each of six verses, and each accompanied by a prose com-

¹ This poem appeared, signed Fr. Beau., in a volume which was published in 1618, and again in 1620, entitled *Certain Elegies done by Sundrie Excellent Wits*, etc. 12mo. The date of this publication affords a slight ground for inference that MS. N was written before 1618, since, after the poem had appeared as Beaumont's, it was less likely to be ascribed to Donne than when, like Donne's poems, it was only to be found in manuscript. The date of its writing is uncertain, but the Countess of Rutland (Sir Philip Sidney's only child) died in 1612.

ment. Its subject is woman and her attributes, and it begins: "Each woman is a brief of womankind." It is a mere dull, laborious, and prosaic composition, and certainly not to be attributed to Donne.

Though the gross blunders in this manuscript are comparatively few, there are many mistakes in it, most of them of the common kind, such as the putting of a word in a wrong place, the transposition of a letter, and the like. The spelling is generally good, but shows the lack of uniformity common at the time, and exhibits of course the usual differences from modern spelling. The punctuation is often wanting, or so wrong as to confuse the sense. The meaning of the text was sometimes dark to the copyist.

The comparison of these three manuscripts with the printed text of Mr. Chambers' excellent edition affords but few emendations of importance; minor variations, which do not affect the sense, are innumerable, and not worth noting. Taking the poems in the order in which Mr. Chambers gives them, the following variants seem deserving of attention as affording, in some cases at least, an improvement of the text. The letters annexed to them indicate in which manuscript they occur.

Vol. I, p. 3. THE GOOD-MORROW.

Let maps to other, worlds on worlds have shown. (v. 13.)

Let maps to others worlds on worlds have shown. (N.)

Vol. I, p. 23. BREAK OF DAY.

And that I loved my heart and honor so,

That I would not from him, that had them, go. (vv. 11, 12.)

And that I *love* my heart, and *love it* so

That I would not from him *which hath it* go. (N.)

Vol. I, p. 24. THE ANNIVERSARY.

And then we shall be throughly blest;

But now no more than all the rest. (vv. 21, 22.)

But *we* no more than all the rest. (N, S, C.)

Vol. I, p. 31. A VALEDICTION TO HIS BOOK.

Should again the ravenous

Vandals and the Goths invade us. (vv. 24, 25.)

Vandals and Goths *inundate* us. (N, C.)

Vol. I, p. 31.

And how prerogative these states devours
Transferr'd from Love himself, to womankind.

And how prerogative *those rights* devours (N.)

Vol. I, p. 39. A VALEDICTION OF WEEPING.

When a tear falls, that thou fall'st which it bore. (v. 8.)

When a tear falls, that thou *falls* which it bore. (N, S.)

Vol. I, p. 53. THE ECSTACY.

On man heaven's influence works not so

But that it first imprints the air ;

For soul into the soul may flow

Though it to body first repair. (vv. 57-60.)

So soul into the soul may flow (N, S.)

Vol. I, p. 75. THE PARADOX.

Such life is like the light which bideth yet

When the life's light is set. (vv. 13, 14.)

When the *light's life* is set. (S.)

Vol. I, p. 78. A LECTURE UPON THE SHADOW.

Love is a growing, or full constant light,

And his short minute, after noon, is night. (vv. 25, 26.)

And his *first* minute after noon is night. (N, S.)

Vol. I, p. 79. A DIALOGUE.

So her disdains can ne'er offend,

Unless self-love take private end. (vv. 17, 18.)

So *can her rigor* ne'er offend,

Except self-love *seek* private end. (C.)

Vol. I, p. 104. ELEGY II.

And though her harsh hair fall, her skin is tough. (v. 6.)

And though her harsh hair fall, her *chin* is rough. (S.)

Vol. I, p. 116. ELEGY VIII.

— So devoutly nice

Are priests in handling reverent sacrifice,

And nice in searching wounds the surgeon is,

As we, when we embrace, or touch, or kiss. (vv. 49-52.)

So devoutly nice
Are priests in handling *reverend* sacrifice, (N.)
And *such* in searching wounds the surgeon is (N, S, C.)

Vol. I, p. 117. ELEGY IX.

And here till hers, which must be his death, come. (v. 17.)
And here till *her*, which must be his death, come. (N.)

Vol. I, p. 122. ELEGY XI.

Or let me creep to some dread conjurer,
That with fantastic scenes fills full much paper. (vv. 59, 60.)
That with fantastic *schemes* fills full much paper. (S, C.)

Vol. I, p. 149. ELEGY XX.

Gems which you women use
Are like Atlanta's ball cast in men's views ;
That, when a fool's eye lighteth on a gem,
His earthly soul might court that, not them. (vv. 35-38.)
His earthly soul might *covet* that, not them. (N, S, C.)
Themselves are only mystic books, which we
— Whom their imputed grace will dignify —
Must see reveal'd. (vv. 41-43.)
Themselves are mystic books, *which only we* (N, C.)

Vol. I, p. 154. CRUCIFYING.

Measuring self-life's infinity to span,
Nay to an inch. (vv. 8, 9.)
Measuring self-life's infinity to *a* span (N, S.)

Vol. I, p. 155. THE RESURRECTION.

May then sin's sleep and death soon from me pass
That waked from both. (vv. 12, 13.)
May then sin's sleep and *death's* soon from me pass (N.)

Vol. I, p. 165. HOLY SONNETS, XIII.

This beauteous form assumes a piteous mind. (v. 14.)
This beauteous form *assures* a piteous mind. (N.)

Vol. I, p. 169. THE CROSS.

Then doth the cross of Christ work faithfully. (v. 61.)

Then doth the cross of Christ work *fruitfully*. (N, S.)

Vol. I, p. 172. GOOD FRIDAY.

Could I behold those hands, which span the poles,
And tune all spheres at once. (vv. 21, 22.)

And *turne* all spheres. (N, S, C.)

Vol. I, p. 175. A LITANY.

As you distinguish'd, undistinct,
By power, love, knowledge be,
Give me a such self different instinct,
Of these let all me elemented be,
Of power, to love, to know you unnumbered three. (vv. 32-36.)

Give me such a self-different instinct
Of *Thee*; let all me elemented be
Of power to love, to know you unnumbered three. (N, S.)

Vol. I, p. 198. THE -LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMY.

Of all which here I mourn, none comforts me. (v. 81.)

Of all which *hear me* mourn none comforts me. (N.)

Vol. I, p. 205.

In a dungeon

They've shut my life and cast me on a stone. (vv. 251, 252.)

In a dungeon

They've shut my life and cast *on me* a stone. (N.)

Vol. II, p. 16. TO THE COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

For rocks which high to sense deep-rooted stick. (v. 19.)

For rocks which high-topp'd and deep-rooted stick. (N.)

Vol. II, p. 42. TO SIR HENRY WOTTON.

Nor shall I then honour your fortune, more
Than I have done your honour, wanting it. (vv. 23, 24.)

That I have done your noble *wanting-it*. (N.)

Vol. II, p. 46. TO THE COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

This, as an amber drop enwraps a bee,
Covering, discovers your quick soul, that we
May in your through-shine front our hearts' thoughts see.

(vv. 25-27.)

May in your through-shine front *your* heart's thoughts see. (N.)

Vol. II, p. 89. ELEGY ON MISTRESS BOULSTRED.

Th' earth's face is but thy table; there are set
Plants, cattle, men, dishes for death to eat. (vv. 5, 6.)

Th' earth's face is but thy table, *and the meat* (N.)

Vol. II, p. 178. SATIRE I.

And as fiddlers stop lowest, at highest sound,
So to the most brave stoops he nighest the ground. (vv. 77, 78.)

And as fiddlers *stoop* lowest at highest sound,
So to the bravest stoops he nighest ground. (C.)

Vol. II, p. 183. SATIRE II.

— but men, which choose
Law-practice for mere gain, bold soul(s) repute
Worse than embrothell'd strumpets, prostitute. (vv. 62-64.)

hold soul-repute (N.)

hold sole repute (S.)

Vol. II, p. 196. SATIRE IV.

The courtiers — "in flocks are found
In the presence, and aye, — God pardon me —
As fresh and sweet their apparels be, as be
The fields they sold to buy them." (vv. 178-181.)

in flocks are found

In the presence, and *I*, (God pardon me) (N, C.)

p. 197.

Feathers and dust wherewith they fornicate. (v. 203.)

wherewith they *fornicate*. (S.)

Vol. II, p. 209. SATIRE VII.

Too much preparing lost them all their lives;
Like some in plagues kill with preservatives. (vv. 123, 124.)

Like some in plagues, *kill'd* with preservatives. (N, S.)

To these examples of the emendations offered by the three manuscripts, others of a similar kind might be added, together with a large number of slight variations of reading by which the verse is bettered. But, altogether, the result they afford is disappointing. On the most obscure passages in the poems where some corruption of the text seems possible, they throw no light. Yet, on the other hand, the very multitude of the errors in which they all abound is satisfactory, as establishing by contrast the general trustworthiness of the text as we have it in the printed editions.

It is fortunate that there are no Shaksperian manuscripts like these. The 'quartos,' indeed, in some respects take their place; but it would be a dreadful calamity were there such manuscripts for the commentators to quarrel over.

On the whole the lover of poetry may accept Mr. Chambers' text of Donne as substantially correct. There are some allusions, such as that at the close of the *Elegy on Prince Henry*, which may never be explained, some dark phrases, like "the infant of London, heir to an India," which may not admit of elucidation, but these are not very many. Most of the passages which appear obscure at first reading are due to Donne's own tendency to subtlety of thought and fondness for conceits, — they are, as Mr. Lowell said of them, "like charades that first tease us, and then delight us with the felicity of their solution."

The main perplexity in the reading of Donne arises, indeed, from no difficulty of the text, but from uncertainty how far the poems are the expression of genuine feeling, or dramatic utterances of feigned emotion and fictitious sentiment. The poems on Mrs. Elizabeth Drury in regard to which Donne admits that he said, not what he was "sure was just truth, but the best that he could conceive," are but illustrations of a practice common with him and many of the poets of his time. Yet such was the vitality and vigor of his poetic and imaginative spirit that these exercises of wit fall little short, in power and passion, of verse inspired by actual spiritual experience. Not a few of Donne's lyrics and elegies, as well as his epithalamions are to be thus understood. But each student of his poetry will be likely, in this respect, to form a different judgment in regard to special poems, for Donne's nature was so complex and

variable that with him a true emotion to-day might be a fictitious one to-morrow.

Yet when all deductions are made, and when all the obscurities, harshnesses, and wilfulnesses of his verse are admitted, the lover of poetry will find himself in agreement with Ben Jonson in esteeming "John Donne the first poet in the world in some things."

FRANCIS BEAUMONT'S LETTER TO BEN JONSON.

In the preceding paper I mentioned that MS. N of Donne's Poems contained a transcript of two of the poems of Francis Beaumont, his *Ad Comitissam Rutlandiae* and his *Letter to Ben Jonson*, and both of them with improvements on the commonly printed text. This is true especially of the latter, the more important poem — a poem delightful and well known to all the lovers of the poetry of the Elizabethan age. It seems, therefore, worth while to publish the new readings afforded by the manuscript, and accordingly, the text of the poem as given by Dyce in his edition of *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, vol. XI, p. 500, is here reprinted in full, with the various readings from the manuscript in the margin.

MR. FRANCIS BEAUMONT'S LETTER TO BEN JONSON.

Written, before he and Master Fletcher came to London, with two of the precedent Comedies, then not finished, which deferred their merry Meetings at the Mermaid.

The sun (which doth the greatest comfort bring
To absent friends, because the self-same thing
They know they see, however absent) is
Here our best hay-maker (forgive me this;
It is our country's style): in this warm shine
I lie, and dream of your full Mermaid wine.
Oh, we have water mix'd with claret-lees,
Drink apt to bring in drier heresies

country

Than beer, good only for the sonnet's strain,	a sonnet strain
With fustian metaphors to stuff the brain;	
So mix'd, that, given to the thirstiest one,	
'T will not prove alms, unless he have the stone: ¹	
I think with one draught man's invention fades,	
Two cups had quite spoil'd Homer's Iliads.	quite marrd
'T is liquor that will find out Sutcliffe's wit, ²	
Lie where he will, and make him write worse yet :	where it will
Fill'd with such moisture, in most grievous qualms,	in a grievous qualm
Did Robert Wisdom ³ write his singing psalms ;	psalm
And so must I do this : and yet I think	
It is a potion sent us down to drink	
By special Providence, keeps us from fights,	
Makes us not laugh when we make legs to knights :	
'T is this that keeps our minds fit for our states,	
A medicine to obey our magistrates ;	med'cine
For we do live more free than you ; no hate,	
No envy at one another's happy state,	of another's
Moves us ; we are all equal every whit :	
Of land that God gives men here, is their wit,	
If we consider fully ; for our best	
And gravest man will with his main house-jest,	
Scarce please you : we want subtilty to do	
The city-tricks, lie, hate, and flatter too :	
Here are none that can bear a painted show,	a fainted show
Strike when you wince, and then lament the blow ;	winck

¹ Here the manuscript inserts the two following verses :

'T is sold by Puritans, mixt with intent
To make it serve for either Sacrament.

² Probably, as Dyce suggests, Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, first Provost of King James' College in Chelsea, of whom Fuller says (*Church History*, book x, lect. iii, §§ 25-27), "Dr. Sutcliffe [was] a known rigid anti-remonstrant; and when old, very morose and testy in his writings against them."

³ Robert Wisdom is said to have contributed the version of a single psalm (Psalm xxv) to Hopkins' and Sternhold's Psalms, and the hymn

Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word,
From Turk and Pope, preserve us, Lord.

"He died in 1568. The quaintness of his name as well as the poverty of his poetry caused him frequently to be ridiculed." Weber.

Who, like mills set the right way for to grind,	right way to grind
Can make their gains alike with every wind :	
Only some fellows, with the subtlest pate	fellow
Amongst us, may perchance equivocate	
At selling of a horse, and that's the most.	
Methinks the little wit I had is lost	
Since I saw you ; for wit is like a rest	
Held up at tennis, which men do the best	
With the best gamesters. What things have we seen	
Done at the Mermaid ! heard words that have been	
So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,	
As if that every one from whence they came	from whom
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,	
And had resolv'd to live a fool the rest	
Of his dull life ; then when there hath been thrown	has been
Wit able enough to justify the town	
For three days past ; wit that might warrant be	
For the whole city to talk foolishly	
Till that were cancell'd ; and when that was gone,	we were gone
We left an air behind us, which alone	an air behind, which was alone
Was able to make the two next companies	Able to make
(Right witty, though but downright fools) more wise.	Right witty, though they were downright cocknies
When I remember this, and see that now	
The country gentlemen begin to allow	
My wit for dry-bobs, then I needs must cry,	
I see my days of ballating grow nigh ;	are nigh
I can already riddle, and can sing	
Catches, sell bargains, and I fear shall bring	
Myself to speak the hardest words I find	
Over as oft as any, with one wind,	Over as fast
That takes no medicines. But one thought of thee	
Makes me remember all these things to be	
The wit of our young men, fellows that shew	
No part of good, yet utter all they know ;	
Who, like trees of the gard, ¹ have growing souls,	like trees and the guard have growing souls
Only strong Destiny, which all controls,	Only ; strong Destiny

¹ Dyce explains this 'gard' as equivalent to garden, a questionable interpretation. If the manuscript reading be right, it is a jest at some 'guard' which had no soul but the vegetative.

I hope hath left a better fate in store	
For me, thy friend, than to live ever poor,	evermore
Banish'd unto this home: Fate once again	; 't will once again
Bring me to thee, who canst make smooth and plain	wilt make
The way of knowledge for me, and then I,	
Who have no good but in thy company,	no good in me but simplicity
Protest it will my greatest comfort be	Know that it will
To acknowledge all I have to flow from thee.	all the rest to come
Ben, when these scenes are perfect, we'll taste wine;	
I'll drink thy Muse's health, thou shalt quaff mine.	

(The last two verses are omitted in the manuscript.)

C. E. NORTON.

THE INFLUENCE OF EMERSON.

THOUGH more than fourteen years have elapsed since the death of Emerson, it is hard to believe that his sunny smile and his gracious presence have disappeared. Were they still with us, they would reveal that which inspired his best thoughts, and which still lives in its influence on American character and American civilization. "He seemed to be," wrote Carlyle,¹ after their first meeting in 1833, "one of the most lovable creatures in himself we had ever looked on." Thirty years later he said: "I did not then" (at their first meeting) "adequately recognize Emerson's genius; but she [Mrs. Carlyle] and I thought him a beautiful transparent soul, and he was always a very pleasant object to us in the distance. Now and then a letter still comes from him, and amid the smoke and mist of the world it is always as a window flung open to the azure."² "It was good," says Hawthorne, "to meet him in the wood-paths, or sometimes in our avenue, with that pure intellectual gleam diffused about his presence like the garment of a shining one; and he so quiet, so simple, so without pretension, encountering each man alive as if expecting to receive more than he could impart."³ Father Taylor, the well-known preacher at the Bethel in Boston, when criticised by some of his fellow Methodists for making a friend of Emerson, who must "surely go to hell," replied: "It does look so; but I am sure of one thing, if Emerson goes to hell he will change the climate there, and emigration will set that way."⁴

Emerson's vocation as a teacher of men was fixed for him long before he was born. More than fifty of his family, it is said, were graduates of Harvard College, and more than twenty were ministers. He was a Puritan through and through. "Every tributary," in the

¹ Froude, II, 291.

² M. D. Conway, *Emerson at Home and Abroad*, viii, p. 77.

³ *Mosses from an Old Manse; The Old Manse*, Riverside edition, p. 42.

⁴ Conway, *Emerson at Home and Abroad*, vi, p. 66.

words of Mr. John Morley,¹ "that made Emerson what he was, flowed not only from Protestantism, but from 'the Protestantism of the Protestant religion.' When we are told that Puritanism inexorably locked up the intelligence of its votaries in a dark and straitened chamber, it is worthy to be remembered that the genial, open, lucid, and most comprehensive mind of Emerson was the ripened product of a genealogical tree that at every stage of its growth had been vivified by Puritan sap."

To distinction as a scholar, Emerson has no claim. With all his reverence for Plato, he did not read him easily in the original. With all his indebtedness to German writers, he studied them chiefly in translation. Montaigne, Plotinus, Swedenborg, Homer, as well as Hafiz, Saadi, and the Koran, he took at second hand. Something he knew of many departments of human knowledge; but he had made an exhaustive study of none, he was authority on none.

To this statement philosophy forms an apparent but not a real exception. Certain philosophers Emerson had read much and pondered deeply; but even German thinkers he studied less in their own works than in Coleridge. He was not familiar with the history of philosophy as a whole; he was not master of any one system of philosophy, and he had no system of his own. "I am not," he wrote in 1838, "sufficiently master of the little truth I see to know how to state it in forms so general as shall put every mind in possession of my point of view."² He had, it is true, if ever man had, the philosophic temperament; he was a philosopher, if ever man was, in habit of mind and conduct of life; he approached every subject with the deliberate step of a philosopher; and he loved philosophy for its own sake. He believed in that which transcends the senses. He talked often and much about the unity and the variety of creation, about the two poles between which all things oscillate, and about the identity of all things and the interdependence of all things.

He did not, however, spend much time in spinning philosophic cobwebs; for to him philosophy was of special value as a guide of

¹ In his excellent introduction to the English edition of Emerson.

² Conway, *Emerson at Home and Abroad*, xxii, p. 209.

life. What suited his genius in Oriental, Greek, or German writers, he appropriated in order to use it in the service of his genius ; and that service was moral, — not Puritanically moral, but moral in the sense of Milton's "divine philosophy." The poetical truth in the doctrine of the idealists is what commended it to Emerson. It submits "the shows of things," to borrow Bacon's phrase, "to the desires of the mind."

Not being a system-monger or a sect-founder, Emerson had no fear of being inconsistent. He would have deemed himself insincere had he altered a line or a syllable in one essay in order to adjust it to what he said in another. When, for example, prudence is his topic, he says more for it than fully accords with the views expressed in his essay on heroism: to understand his whole doctrine it is necessary to read the two essays together. In general, it is his practice to state the truth as it appears to him from one side, and then to state it as it appears from another side, and sometimes from a third or a fourth, leaving to his reader the task of reconciling these statements as best he can. This Emerson cheerfully admits, in so many words, more than once:

"A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."¹

"Why drag about this corpse of your memory, lest you contradict somewhat you have stated in this or that public place? Suppose you should contradict yourself: what then?"²

To a similar effect is the paragraph which begins the chapter on *Worship* in *The Conduct of Life*: "Some of my friends have complained, when the preceding papers were read, that we discussed Fate, Power and Wealth on too low a platform; gave too much line to the evil spirit of the times; too many cakes to Cerberus; that we ran Cudworth's risk of making, by excess of candor, the argument of atheism so strong that he could not answer it. I have no fears of being forced in my own despite to play as we say the devil's attorney. I have no infirmity of faith; no belief that it is of much importance what I or any man may say: I am sure that a certain truth will be said through me, though I should be dumb, or though

¹ *Intellect* (*Works*, Riverside edition, I, 267).

² *Self-Reliance* (*Works*, II, 58).

I should try to say the reverse. Nor do I fear skepticism for any good soul. A just thinker will allow full swing to his skepticism. I dip my pen in the blackest ink, because I am not afraid of falling into my inkpot. I have no sympathy with a poor man I knew, who, when suicides abounded, told me he dared not look at his razor. We are of different opinions at different hours, but we always may be said to be at heart on the side of truth.”¹

Since Emerson studied not for the sake of knowledge as an end but for its use to him as acting, thinking, and writing man, he was no more closely devoted to books of philosophy with a poetic quality in them, or to books of poetry charged with philosophic truth, than to books saturated with human nature,—as Homer, Plutarch, Shakspeare, Burns,—and to those which touched him on the New England, the Yankee side of his character, as Montaigne, Cervantes, Franklin. He would have been in no danger of becoming a mere thinker even if, like Southey, he had lived in his library; but he lived as much with nature and with men as with books. The woods and fields near his house, Walden Pond, and the little river, were to him what the Lake District was to Wordsworth; and his neighbors were to him what the men of the Lake District rarely were to Wordsworth—real men and women, not moulds into which to run his own notions, fancies, or moods. Into his healthy mind they entered as naturally as the men of London or of Stratford entered that of Shakspeare. He lacked the creative art of the dramatist; but he appropriated the wit and the wisdom of Yankeeland as thoroughly as he did those of Plato and Zoroaster.

Here we have the key of Emerson's originality. It lay neither in his old-world philosophy nor in his new-world shrewdness, but in the union of the two. He “hitched his wagon to a star,” as his own phrase runs,—a phrase significant of the rare combination that constituted his genius. “In the union of an even rustic plainness with lyric inspiration,” says Margaret Fuller, “religious dignity with philosophic calmness, keen sagacity in details with boldness of view, we saw what brought to mind the early poets and legislators of Greece—men who taught their fellows to plough and avoid moral

¹ *Works*, VI, 193.

evil, sing hymns to the gods and watch the metamorphosis of nature. Here in civic Boston was such a man — one who could see man in his original grandeur and his original childishness, rooted in simple nature, raising to the heavens the brow and the eye of a poet.”¹ “The practical shrewdness,” writes Mr. George Ripley in his journal, “the practical shrewdness interwoven with his poetical nature is one of the secrets of his power. You attempt to follow his lofty flight among the purple clouds, almost believing that he has ‘hitched his wagon to a star,’ when he suddenly drops down to earth, and surprises you with an utterance of the homeliest wisdom. On this account, when they get over the novelty of his manner, plain men are apt to find themselves at home with him. His acquaintance with common things, all household ways and words, the processes of everyday life on the farm, in the kitchen and stable, as well as in the drawing-room and library, engages their attention, and produces a certain kindly warmth of fellowship, which would seem to be incompatible with the coldness of his nature.”²

Plain men, moreover, were drawn toward Emerson by his manliness. The public never confounded him with the weaklings of culture, whose selfishness differs from that of ordinary men chiefly in the fact that it has less muscle. With Emerson culture meant true manhood :

“We are parlor soldiers. We shun the rugged battle of fate, where strength is born.”³

“In manly hours, we feel that duty is our place.”⁴

“Neither vexations nor calamities abate our trust. No man ever stated his griefs as lightly as he might.”⁵

“‘What has he done?’ is the divine question which searches men and transpierces every false reputation.”⁶

“Never strike sail to a fear.”⁷

¹ Conway, *Emerson at Home and Abroad*, xxvi, p. 296.

² Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *George Ripley*, chap. vii, p. 268.

³ *Self-Reliance (Works, II, 75)*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁵ *Spiritual Laws (Works, II, 126)*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁷ *Heroism (Works, II, 244)*.

“Valor consists in the power of self-recovery, so that a man cannot have his flank turned, cannot be out-generalled, but put him where you will, he stands.”¹

“A self-denial no less austere than the saint’s is demanded of the scholar. He must worship truth, and forego all things for that, and choose defeat and pain, so that his treasure in thought is thereby augmented.”²

“Do not craze yourself with thinking, but go about your business anywhere. Life is not intellectual or critical, but sturdy.”³

“What have I gained, that I no longer immolate a bull to Jove or to Neptune, or a mouse to Hecate; that I do not tremble before the Eumenides, or the Catholic Purgatory, or the Calvinistic Judgment-day,—if I quake at opinion, the public opinion, as we call it; or at the threat of assault, or contumely, or bad neighbors, or poverty, or mutilation, or at the rumor of revolution, or of murder? If I quake, what matters it what I quake at?”⁴

On Emerson’s second visit to England, he was asked who were his chief friends in America. He replied: “I find many among the Quakers. I know one simple old lady in particular whom I especially honor. She said to me, ‘I cannot think what you find in me which is worth notice.’ Ah!” continued Mr. Emerson, “if she had said yea and the whole world had thundered in her ear nay, she would still have said yea.”⁵

Another of Emerson’s characteristics that impressed plain people was his good sense. It was that which kept him from taking part in the Brook Farm experiment. “My feeling is,” he writes, “that the community is not good for me, that it has little to offer me, which with resolution I cannot procure for myself; that it would not be worth my while to make the difficult exchange of my property in Concord for a share in the new household. . . . I cannot accuse my

¹ *Circles* (*Works*, II, 288).

² *Intellect* (*Works*, II, 318).

³ *Experience* (*Works*, III, 62).

⁴ *Character* (*Works*, III, 99).

⁵ W. Hale White, *What Mr. Emerson Owed to Bedfordshire* (*The Athenaeum*, May 12, 1882, p. 603).

townsmen or my neighbors of my domestic grievances, only my own sloth and conformity. It seems to me a circuitous and operose way of relieving myself to put upon your community the emancipation which I ought to take on myself. I must assume my own vows. . . .

"I almost shudder to make any statement of my objections to our ways of living, because I see how slowly I shall mend them. My own health and habits of living and those of my wife and my mother are not of that robustness that should give any pledge of enterprise and ability in reform. Nor can I insist with any heat on new methods when I am at work in my study on any literary composition. Yet I think that all "I shall solidly do, I must do alone, and I am so ignorant and uncertain in my improvements that I would fain hide my attempts and failures in solitude where they shall perplex none or very few friends beside myself."¹

The same good sense which kept Emerson out of the Brook Farm community distinguished the master from the would-be disciples who flocked to him at Concord, — "hobgoblins of flesh and blood," as Hawthorne called them, "bats and owls and the whole host of night birds, which flapped their dusky wings against the gazer's eyes, and sometimes were mistaken for fowls of angelic feather."² Now and then this mistake was made by Emerson himself; but usually, while treating his followers with courtesy, he judged them justly. In a lecture on *New England Reformers*, for example, he gently ridiculed the "fertility of projects for the salvation of the world." "One apostle," he said, "thought all men should go to farming, and another that no man should buy or sell, that the use of money was the cardinal evil; another that the mischief was in our diet, that we eat and drink damnation. . . . Even the insect world was to be defended, — that had been too long neglected, and a society for the protection of groundworms, slugs, and mosquitoes was to be incorporated without delay."³

It was these apostles and others like them whom Hawthorne personified as Giant Transcendentalist in *The Celestial Railroad*:

¹ O. B. Frothingham, *George Ripley*, Appendix, pp. 315, 316.

² *Mosses from an Old Manse*; *The Old Manse*, p. 42.

³ *Works*, III, 240, 241.

"At the end of the Valley, as John Bunyan mentions, is a cavern, where, in his days, dwelt two cruel giants, Pope and Pagan, who had strewn the ground about their residence with the bones of slaughtered pilgrims. These vile old troglodytes are no longer there; but into their deserted cave another terrible giant has thrust himself, and makes it his business to seize upon honest travellers and fatten them for his table with plentiful meals of smoke, mist, moonshine, raw potatoes, and sawdust. He is a German by birth, and is called Giant Transcendentalist; but as to his form, his features, his substance, and his nature generally, it is the chief peculiarity of this huge miscreant that neither he for himself, nor anybody for him, has ever been able to describe them. As we rushed by the cavern's mouth we caught a hasty glimpse of him, looking somewhat like an ill-proportioned figure, but considerably more like a heap of fog and duskiess. He shouted after us, but in so strange a phraseology that we knew not what he meant, nor whether to be encouraged or affrighted."¹

The same strong common sense which kept Emerson above and apart from the fanatics and monomaniacs who gathered in his train inspired and sustained his hostility to the colonialism and conventionalism which infested the America of his day. All his life he preached the gospel of self-reliance:

"Whoso would be a man must be a non-conformist. . . . I shun father and mother and wife and brother when my genius calls me. I would write on the lintels of the doorpost, *Whim*. I hope it is somewhat better than whim at last, but we cannot spend the day in explanation."²

"Each man has his own vocation. . . . There is one direction in which all space is open to him. . . . His ambition is exactly proportioned to his powers."³

"Men descend to meet."⁴

¹ *Mosses from an Old Manse; The Celestial Railroad*, p. 224.

² *Self-Reliance (Works, II, 53)*.

³ *Spiritual Laws (Works, II, 134)*.

⁴ *The Over-Soul (Works, II, 261)*.

“Entire self-reliance belongs to the intellect. . . . It must treat things and books and sovereign genius as itself also a sovereign.”¹

“Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string.”²

“To be great is to be misunderstood.”³

Some of these epigrammatic sentences go much farther than Emerson's sweet and modest nature would ever have allowed him to go; but it is precisely these which are most likely to influence inferior minds. / Inferior minds, if they become possessed with the idea that they must look within for inspiration and depend upon their unassisted selves for intellectual and moral sustenance, are in danger of pushing self-trust so far that it becomes arrogant self-conceit and unwarranted self-assertion. Self-trust thus misunderstood accounts for most of the “reforms” which were hatched in the New England of 1830-1840. Self-trust thus misunderstood accounts for some of the delusions we have witnessed and are witnessing in the United States of to-day. Hence the blatant Americanism which would cut loose from associations with what is best in former times and distant countries. Hence current sneers at “literary fellers,” college professors, the traditions of the past, and the “noxious” influence of Europe. Hence the disposition to mistake crude notions and illiterate turns of phrase for originality. Hence the piercing and pathetic cries for an American literature and an American political economy. Hence the boast of this or that city that it has more square miles, or more inhabitants, or more public buildings than another, and is therefore its superior intellectually, socially, and morally. Hence the disposition to yield, without consideration of consequences, to an impulse that goes almost as soon as it comes, or to be hot about some little question which is of no importance outside the city or town or parish where it arises. Hence, in short, all the forms that provincialism assumes. ✓

Emerson himself would never have advised A, B, or C to follow his own whim, regardless of others, regardless of everything but the self of the moment. The self he speaks of, the self to be trusted,

¹ *Intellect* (*Works*, II, 320).

² *Self-Reliance* (*Works*, II, 49).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

is a self inspired, illuminated by the divine, a self "obedient to the heavenly vision" and to the laws of the universe :

"The soul gives itself, alone, original and pure, to the Lonely, Original and Pure, who, on that condition, gladly inhabits, leads and speaks through it."¹

"A great man is always willing to be little."²

"It was my privilege," says Miss E. P. Peabody,³ "being in Mr. Emerson's house when he was preparing his discourse of 1838 for the press, to see the original manuscript, where I observed a passage that he omitted in the public reading merely for want of time. This passage was a warning which, perhaps, had it been published then, would have saved many a weak brother and sister Transcendentalist from going into the extreme of *ego-theism*, which has discredited a true principle. It was a warning against making the new truth a fanaticism. Too soon, said he, we shall have the *puppyism* of a pretension of looking down on the head of all human culture ; setting up against Jesus Christ every little *self* magnified."

These passages are enough to show that Emerson had as little sympathy with self-idolatry and egotistical whimsies as with self-abasement and echoed opinions. Neither extreme commended itself to his judgment or his temperament.

Emerson's coolness of temperament, which has been imputed to him as a fault, was another of the characteristics which plain people liked. He was almost always master of himself. To the little men about him he seems to say what he makes Nature say in one of his early essays: "Nature will not have us fret and fume. She does not like our benevolence or our learning much better than she likes our frauds and wars. When we come out of the caucus, or the bank, or the Abolition-convention, or the Temperance-meeting, or the Transcendental club into the fields and woods, she says to us, 'So hot? my little Sir.'"⁴

¹ *The Over-Soul* (Works, II, 277).

² *Compensation* (Works, II, 113).

³ *Reminiscences of Dr. Channing*, p. 373.

⁴ *Spiritual Laws* (Works, II, 129).

Once or twice, indeed, — once or twice only in his life, — Emerson's ardor for a good cause overcame his habitual moderation of temper. One of these occasions was in 1838 when he wrote a letter to President Van Buren against the removal of the Cherokee Indians to the Indian Territory against their will, a letter which he afterwards termed a "shriek" of indignation, and refused to print in his works. Another occasion was when, during the Civil War, he wrote to Carlyle: "A few days here would show you the disgusting composition of the Party which within the Union resists the national action. Take from it the wild Irish element, imported in the last twenty-five years into this country, and led by Romish priests, who sympathize, of course, with despotism, and you would bereave it of all its numerical strength. A man intelligent and virtuous is not to be found on that side."¹

The fact that Emerson was occasionally thrown off his balance by feelings which he shared with the masses could not but form another tie of sympathy between him and them. He is like one of the gods of Olympus coming down to take a hand in the fight between Greece and Troy, and joining so heartily in the contest as to shriek and scold like the mortal combatants. At the bidding of a moral cause, he always came down from the airy heights where he loved to dwell. From his duties as a citizen he never held himself aloof. In the affairs of his town, state, or country, he spoke his word and did his part, quietly almost always, and courageously always.

In a lecture on *Heroism* delivered in Boston in 1837, shortly after the Abolitionist Lovejoy was shot by a mob in Illinois, he said: "Whoso is heroic will always find crises to try his edge. . . . It is but the other day that the brave Lovejoy gave his breast to the bullets of a mob for the right of free speech and opinion, and died when it was better not to live."² One who heard the lecture is reported to have said that some of Emerson's friends "felt the cold shudder that ran through the audience at this calm braving of public opinion."

¹ *Emerson and Carlyle Correspondence*, edited by Charles Eliot Norton, II, 285, 286.

² *Heroism (Works, II, 247)*.

I remember hearing Emerson lecture in Cambridgeport some years before the Civil War. In his audience were a number of law students ready to interrupt the speaker if occasion arose. "In Daniel Webster," he said, in a voice as if he were stating a plain matter of fact, "in Daniel Webster, where other men have a conscience, there is a great hole." The law students hissed vigorously, and Emerson paused as he would have done after applause. When the hissing was over, he went on, as he would have done after applause, without raising his voice or altering his position. On this occasion, as on others, he showed that he had the calm courage of his convictions—the same courage he evinced when, in 1831, he defied public opinion by giving the Abolitionists a hearing in his church, or when he estranged his "Transcendental" friends by refusing to join in the Brook Farm enterprise, and by speaking his mind freely about it.

Still another characteristic which brought Emerson close to the hearts of simple people was his tenderness. Behind the determination to be sincere at any cost, underneath apparent coldness, lay a fund of sympathy, which won the affection of every person who came in contact with him, which gave to his eloquence the indefinable quality called "personal magnetism," and to his smile that sweetness which all who knew him remember. It is this depth of feeling which adds to the value of all he has written about the common experiences of life,—from the *Threnody*, in which he bewails the early death of the son whom he described in a letter to Carlyle as a "piece of love and sunshine," to the chapter on domestic life in *Society and Solitude*, a chapter written early but not printed until 1860.

Another quality which commended Emerson to plain people was his persistent hopefulness and buoyancy of mind, in private matters and in public, in speculation and in practical life,—an optimism which made him shun deformity and sickness, the ugly facts and the discouraging problems of life, but which, on the other hand, kept his heart pure, his temper sweet, and his head sane, and enabled him to see signs of promise in the darkest hour, whether in his own experience or in that of his country. His lines in the poem called *The World-Soul* held true of him throughout life:

“Spring still makes spring in the mind,
When sixty years are told ;
Love wakes anew this throbbing heart,
And we are never old.
Over the winter glaciers,
I see the summer glow,
And, through the wild-piled snowdrift,
The warm rosebuds below.”

What a contrast between the spirit that animates these lines and the dark spirit of pessimism that makes so many living writers approach the end of the century as if it were the end of the world !

Such are some of the qualities which contributed to the rare personality of Emerson — the personality which inspired his best writing, spoke in his voice, irradiated his features, and was the master-light of all his seeing. Fully to feel the force and the charm of that personality, one must have known Emerson in the flesh. For those who have not had that privilege, the best way, perhaps, to find him in his writings is not consciously to look for him, but to read and enjoy. Then, as we look back upon these precious volumes, we may catch a glimpse of the man who wrote them, and who was even better than they. “Though it is only the other day,” says Mr. John Morley,¹ “though it is only the other day that Emerson walked the earth and was alive and among us, he is already one of the privileged few whom the reader approaches in the mood of settled respect, and whose names have surrounded themselves with an atmosphere of religion.”

To this high praise some of Emerson's countrymen would, no doubt, demur; but even those who are slow to admit that his name is surrounded by an “atmosphere of religion” must admit that he is among “the privileged few” of America, and that in his company one breathes a purer air than usual. In American history, he is among the figures which most deserve affectionate regard and reverence; and his are among the writings which the young should study most earnestly, for they are those in which the best thought of this country finds its best expression. If his work does not live

¹ Introduction to the English edition of Emerson.

in the printed form which he gave it, the reason will be that what he said was so sound in substance and was said so well that it has passed into commonplace, and is living a vigorous life in character, individual and national. The good which Emerson has done and is for some time to come likely to do in the United States of America, if not in the English-speaking world, can hardly be overstated. "As Wordsworth's poetry is, in my judgment," says Matthew Arnold,¹ "the most important work done in verse, in our language, during the present century, so Emerson's *Essays* are, I think, the most important work done in prose." This may be too much to say, too much at least when coupled with the rest of what Mr. Arnold says about Emerson; but it is certain that as a mental stimulus, as a moral force, as "the friend and aider of those who live in the spirit," Emerson stands among the foremost men of the nineteenth century.

What a change for the better in this country in less than fifty years! And how much of this change may be traced to Emerson! When he began to write, we were a vulgar people, pursuing vulgar ends in a vulgar spirit. The pictures of us drawn by our English visitors — Marryatt, Mrs. Trollope, Dickens, Fanny Kemble — are not much overcharged. We had plenty of force, to be sure; but it was the force of a big boy badly brought up, — a bragging, brutal, slovenly, hob-nailed boy. Of course there were Americans of a higher order; but the nation as a whole was unlovely. The country was in that border region between barbarism and civilization which is worse than either. Art, literature, culture, in a high sense, were almost unknown. The amenities of life were not thought of. We all know Americans who were brought up in this school and newspapers that represent it, — know and shun them, or strive to improve them, according to our natures. What Emerson did was to hold up a lofty ideal in his lectures and writings, and in his daily walk and conversation.

We have him to thank — him with others, of course, but him most of all among Americans — for our increasing faith in the spirit of Christianity as compared with its forms and creeds and

¹ *Discourses in America; Emerson* (Macmillan & Co., 1885), p. 196.

ceremonies, a spirit not confined to one church or one sect, but extending through all. His elevation of character, his purity of life, gave force and significance to his dissent from popular beliefs. "If," people asked themselves, "this be the outcome of unbelief in what I have been taught to regard as the essentials of life here and hereafter, unbelief is not such a bad thing after all. Is it possible, then, that the so-called essentials are not essential?"

When, however, we try to estimate the value of Emerson's contribution to religion as a body of beliefs, our obligations to him are less evident. To most minds his doctrine of the "Over-soul" is vague and mystical; to some it is a fine name for ignorance. As a protest against a personal God who was little more than an enlarged copy of the men who worshipped him, it did good work; but as an attempt to provide a substitute for the God of Christendom, it is unsatisfactory to the religious sense. Matthew Arnold's phrase, "something not ourselves that makes for righteousness," is quite as intelligible as Emerson's "Over-soul." Every man is conscious of an impulse from within to do the right, call it conscience or what you will. Every man can understand Tennyson's line about duty: "Because I knew the right and did it." Not every man can get out of himself to think, as it seems necessary to do if he would master the Oriental or Neo-Platonic philosophy which Emerson tried to domesticate in America. Fully to understand him, however, it is necessary to read those parts of his writings which speak of the unknowable; for with him the "Over-soul" is "a presence not to be put by."

In social manners, the way Emerson pointed out was that toward which his countrymen's best selves were blindly groping, and in which he himself, so far as externals are concerned, was not perfectly at home. He was one of nature's gentlemen; but he had not the finished manners which only the best descent combined with long familiarity with the best society can give. He had the essentials of a gentleman, but not all the superficial grace, not all the flexibility, the tact, the presence of mind, that belong to the best breeding. Beside Carlyle, he was as Apollo to Vulcan; but he was not Sir Philip Sidney. Neither in himself nor in what he said about manners did he present an ideal beyond the reach of any American

who comes of good stock, has been liberally educated, and has learned to respect himself and others in due measure; but his ideal was far in advance of the American as he was in 1840.

Much as Emerson had to teach his countrymen about manners, or the best way of manifesting character, he had still more to say of morals, the foundation of character. Whatever his subject, he came round at last to morality as the substratum of all grace as well as of all virtue. "The foundation of culture, as of character," says he, "is at last the moral sentiment. This is the fountain of power, preserves its eternal newness, draws its own rent out of every novelty in science. Science corrects the old creeds; sweeps away with every new perception our infantile catechisms, and necessitates a faith commensurate with the grander orbits and universal laws which it discloses. Yet it does not surprise the moral sentiment. That was older, and awaited expectant these larger insights. . . . When the will is absolutely surrendered to the moral sentiment, that is virtue; when the wit is surrendered to intellectual truth, that is genius. Talent for talent's sake is a bauble and a show. Talent working with joy in the cause of universal truth lifts the possessor to new power as a benefactor."¹

The doctrine of the supremacy of the moral sense, which Emerson never wearied of preaching, has done and is doing good service in a country and an age devoted to material pursuits. If Americans worship the Almighty Dollar a little less than they used to do, the change, though coming no doubt from many causes, is to be credited to Emerson more than to any other one person. At first his influence reached comparatively few; but through these few he gave direction and stimulus to private virtue and to public opinion. At first he addressed a small group of New England come-outers; at last everybody went to hear him lecture, and every reader of good books, however little in sympathy with him, found it necessary to know something of a man who counted for so much in the world of ideas and ideals. A listener, to be sure, sometimes carried away nothing which he could put into words, but he took out of the room a better self than he had brought into it; for a time his

¹ *Letters and Social Aims; Progress of Culture (Works, VIII, 216, 217, 218).*

whole being had been lifted above its ordinary level, as by an hour of fine music, or an hour on a mountain or by the sea. "We do not go," writes Lowell, "to hear what Emerson says, so much as to hear Emerson." Now as then, in his written as in his spoken words, the charm lies less in what he says than in what he is, less in the author than in the man.

ADAMS SHERMAN HILL.

THE BALLAD AND COMMUNAL POETRY.

BALLAD-CRITICS of eighty years ago, with the conspicuous exception of A. W. Schlegel, were fain to welcome the doctrine of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm that a song of the people is made by the people as a whole. The process, it was conceded, lay in mystery; but mystery had no terror for an age which delighted in abstractions and ideals. Critics of our own day, on the other hand, have closed accounts with the ideal and the abstract; they treat the vagaries of Grimm with an indulgent pity; and they are all of Schlegel's mind.¹ Grundtvig,² it is true, still held with Grimm, and the last words of ten Brink were for a modified form of Grimm's doctrine; but the main body of scholars have turned from the theory in any shape. The folk is out of favor, and democracy itself is put upon the defensive. Ballads for a while held out bravely; but now even ballads, like folk-lore in general, have been annexed to the domain of art.³

¹ There is a fine modern ring in the famous article (*Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1815, reprinted in Schlegel's *Werke*, XII, 383 ff.), a crisp finality of rejection: "Was man an Zeitaltern und Völkern rühmt, löset sich immer bei näherer Betrachtung in die Eigenschaften und Handlungen einzelner Menschen auf" (p. 385). Then follows the famous allegory of the tower and the architect. Later (pp. 390 f.) the modern theory of constant borrowing as main factor in the spread of popular tales, and of the love of entertainment as their chief cause, is clearly anticipated. W. Grimm's answer (*Altdeutsche Blätter*, III, 370 f.) denies Schlegel's assertions, but for lack of space gives no argument.

² To the regret of scholars everywhere, Professor Child has left nothing on the subject of ballad-origins which he wished to be quoted or regarded.

³ Mr. Joseph Jacobs, in a cheery paper which he wrote "as a stopgap" for *Folk-Lore*, June, 1893 (IV, 2, 233 ff.), says that there is no such thing as the folk behind what one calls folk-tales, folk-lore, popular ballads. "Artistry is individual. . . . The folk is simply a name for our ignorance," and is not even responsible for custom. He would break down all barriers between folk-lore and literature, and declares that in the music-hall will be found "the *volkslieder* of to-day." During the International Folk-Lore Congress of 1891 (see *Proceedings*, p. 64), Mr. Newell pleaded for his theory that folk-tales are a degenerate form,

If I venture to regard as still open a question so vehemently determined by all sorts and conditions of scholars, it is with no idea that the communal theory can be upheld as it was stated by the Grimms. There is, however, a theory of ballad origins quite opposed to the modern notion, and yet far from finding expression in those fantastic catchwords about the folk that composes, and about the song that sings itself. If, instead of such phrases as these, instead even of Steinthal's *dichtender volksgeist*,¹ we think of a process such as Lachmann implies when he speaks of *gemeinsames dichten*, is not a clearer question before us?² Does a single artist always make poetry, of whatever sort, or may one allow a concert of individuals in the act of composition? Is the folk-song brought to the folk, or is it made by the folk? Is the chorus, the communal song, essentially one

amid a low civilization, of something which was composed amid a high civilization. During the same congress Mr. Jacobs solved the particular problem by remarking (p. 86) that Scotch ballads "lack initials at the end." Mr. J. F. Campbell, in his delightful *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (new ed., IV, 114, 118), understands by the word "ballad . . . a bit of popular history, or a popular tale or romance, turned into verse, which will fit some popular air," and makes the sequence of origins begin with tradition, follow with a tale, and so into a popular ballad. He concedes "the stamp of originality and the traces of many minds." In another place (I, xxxiv) he seems to give precedence to singing, but he is evidently on the artist's side. Mr. Jacobs, again, in a well-known passage (*English Fairy Tales*, p. 240), thinks that verse and prose began together; the *cante-fable* "is probably the protoplasm out of which both ballad and folk-tale have been differentiated." I prefer to think (this is Campbell's unwitting concession) that "the older the narrator is, the less educated, and the farther removed from the rest of the world, the more his stories are garnished with" rhythmic passages, — originally "a bardic composition," — and while the original *raconteur* may have been a bit of an artist in verse as well, all this cannot affect the ballad with its communal elements of refrain, dance, and improvisation. Further material on this subject may be found in the Introduction to my *Old English Ballads*, Boston, 1894.

¹ *Zur Volksdichtung*, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie*, XI, 30.

² Lachmann's letter to Lehrs, quoted by Friedländer in his *Homerische Kritik von Wolf bis Grote*, Berlin, 1853, p. viii. Steinthal's comments (*Z. f. V.*, VII, 31 f.) are not at all clear. Lachmann simply opposes this *gemeinsames dichten* to the act of the single poet, while Mr. Jacobs relies on "some bucolic wit" — that is, an individual poet, however humble — for all poetry that has been attributed to "the folk."

with the composed poem as we now know it, — an individual, deliberate, and artistic work? Is there no real dualism in generative poetics,¹ in the “literary” section of that science which Renan put beside psychology and called the *embryogénie de l'esprit humain*, — a dualism of chorus and solo, of throng and poet, of community and artist? If a folk-song is brought to the folk, no matter how early the stage of composition, or how many additions and changes are afterwards made, then one must surrender the long-cherished and useful distinction of *volkslied* and *volksthümliches lied*, counting with the former, as Mr. Jacobs explicitly concedes, any concert-hall jingle caught up by a crowd. If a folk-song is made by the folk, the process must be clearly understood, and must be severed from those fantastic catchwords usually thought to express it.

It has been granted at the outset that a mere statement of this communal theory runs counter to the drift of modern thought. Nominalism is again in the lead; realism, the appeal to general ideas, to a species or a folk, is out of the running. Hence that open scorn expressed on all sides for the communal mind, and even for so respectable an abstraction as the spirit of the race. Professor Paul, in his excellent book on the *Principles of Language*,² condemns utterly the attempts of Steinthal and Lazarus to establish a psychology of the people as a whole, apart from the psychology of the single mind. “All psychical processes come to their fulfillment in individual minds, and nowhere else,” he says; and again, “*it never happens that several individuals create anything by working together with united forces and divided functions.*” Paul is talking of language and its making, but this terse denial applies directly to the relations of verse and throng. To uphold it successfully is to overthrow the theory of communal verse,³ however plausible and modern may be the argument for poetry that springs not from the artist, but from the

¹ See a sketch of the new science of poetics as it should be, by Eugen Wolff, *Vorstudien zur Poetik*, in *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Literatur*, VI (1893), 423 ff.

² See Strong's trans. of the 2d ed., pp. xxiv, xxxvi f., xliii f., and the whole chapter on *Original Creation*.

³ The straightforward assertion is slightly damaged later by a concession (p. xlv) that “in all the psychical processes there is very little voluntary effort and consciousness, and very little individuality displays itself.”

mass of men ; and we know that Paul elsewhere condemns in set terms the notion of gregarious composition.¹ Thus the master in philology; and with him, as quotations could readily prove, are such scholars as the late W. D. Whitney. Coming closer to our subject, we find Gerber, in his book on *Language as an Art*, taking a position similar to that of Paul; ² the maker of words, the maker of connected speech, of poetry itself, must be perforce an artist. Poetry by its very terms of existence is an art ; it implies an artist ; and an artist is always individual and deliberate.

In short, the communal origin of song finds almost no recognition from modern scholars. To show how remarkably critics agree touching this matter, although their work lies in widely sundered fields, two writers may be quoted who essay a positive theory of the artist as final cause, — one, an authority in sociology, M. Tarde; the other, a *débutant* in poetics, M. Kawczynski. Language, says the former,³ is originally an invention of the single mind made lasting by imitation on the part of the throng.⁴ This law of individual invention and communal imitation is true not only of speech but, if one will believe M. Tarde, of trades and arts, of literature, poetry, religion. We are

¹ *Grundriss d. germ. Philol.*, I, 73, 231.

² *Die Sprache als Kunst*, 2. Ausg., I, 246 ff. "Sprache nimmt ihren Ausgangspunkt von den Individuen." So (I, 30) the art of speech comes "aus Einzelbestrebungen"; and see I, 124. It is a dangerous concession, however, when Gerber speaks (I, 131) of "die Entwicklung des Menschen von der Natursprache, in welcher ein Minimum des Ich sich bethätigt, bis zur Sprache der Kunst, welche den Menschen wesentlich ausspricht," and concedes (I, 309) that "die Kunstthätigkeit welche sie [*i.e.*, 'Sprachkunstwerke'] schuf, keine bewusste war." Take away individuality and conscious art, and spontaneous or communal art seems no wild hypothesis.

³ *Les Lois de l'Imitation*, Paris, 1890. See pp. 3, 16, 30, 32, 230 ff., 265, for remarks which bear upon the present subject.

⁴ "Un sauvage de génie . . . a donné lieu, dans une famille unique, aux premières manifestations linguistiques. De cette famille comme d'un centre, l'exemple . . ." (p. 279); and in the same spirit (p. 48): "A l'origine un anthropoïde a imaginé . . . les rudiments d'un langage." All this is in the early eighteenth-century strain; for an antidote, see Renan, *De l'Origine du Langage*, p. 77, and his query (p. 92): "Qui oserait dire que les facultés humaines sont des inventions libres de l'homme? Or, inventer un langage eut été aussi impossible que d'inventer une faculté."

all Dogberrians together if we dare to assert that anything came by nature. Even among the lower animals, it is not instinct common to a species, but imitation of the individual leader, — and of the precedent invention, — which explains alike the song of birds and the ingenious operations of bees.¹ Evolution itself is not radical enough to suit the views of M. Tarde. The evolution of the arts is not, as Mr. Herbert Spencer would have us believe, a progress from exterior and general to interior and particular.² In the amazing words of Tarde, poetry, for example, “begins (*débuté*) always with a book, an *épopée*, some poetical work of a remarkably great relative perfection, — the Iliad, the Bible, Dante, — some high initial source.”

This is startling enough; one feels that one is losing old landmarks, and is swept by strange currents into a chartless and unsounded ocean; but the lead sinks lower yet in M. Kawczynski's essay on the origin and history of rhythms.³ Here one learns definitely that verse is never spontaneous. It is an art — not as John Fletcher called it, one of the “improper” or universal arts, “such as nature is said to bestow, as singing and poetry,”⁴ — but an art which is always imitated, borrowed.⁵ European poetry has been borrowed partly from the East, partly from Rome; and there are no exceptions to the rule, not even ballads, which the writer hopes to treat, as Cosquin treated popular tales, by drawing them into daylight out of “the night of spontaneity.” Now, to put the ballad, by its very name product and property of a dancing throng, into one class with the popular tale, by its very name a thing told or recited with sharp distinction of teller and hearers, is a task to be accomplished only by a suppression of

¹ Tarde, p. 74, with reference to views of Darwin and Romanes.

² See *Popular Science Monthly*, May, 1895, pp. 34 ff., for Mr. Spencer's sane account of origins.

³ *Essai Comparatif sur l'Origine et l'Histoire des Rythmes*, Paris, 1889. Another radical in this subject is Dr. Ernst Meurmann, in Wundt's *Philosophische Studien*, X (1894), 249-322, 393-440, whose praiseworthy effort to reorganize the science of rhythms on the basis of psycho-physics is somewhat marred by his contempt for earlier investigators. The future, however, seems to him big with promise.

⁴ *Faithful Shepherdess*, “To the Reader.”

⁵ *Essai*, pp. 10, 13, 15.

those communal elements which went to the making of ballads, and by constant harping upon imitation and upon that far more difficult matter of invention. The people, of course, must be swept from popular poetry precisely as Mr. Jacobs sweeps away the folk from folk-lore. The "bucolic wit" of Mr. Jacobs does not appear in M. Kawczynski's list; but organists, "sacristans of the parish," and inevitable beggars and blind men, "who always went through an apprenticeship, a sort of schooling," are responsible for that mysterious "secondary invention" of the ballad which follows upon the primary imitation. Whence this imitation is derived, M. Kawczynski fails to inform us, save that we are never to look to the people. His pet aversion is "the false principle of spontaneity." To banish spontaneity from every phase of poetry is a lively task, and leads the writer into such vivacities as his statements about early German poetry in particular, and Germanic verse in general. Otfried, for example, founded German literature because he first put it upon the sacred path of imitation.¹ The Nibelungen Lay — thanks, we suppose, to Otfried — is a palpable imitation of the classics, and Siegfried merely a disguised Jason, with some dash of Achilles and Perseus thrown in! "Historic influences," the writer explains, "are stronger than the natural and proper gifts of any people."² Or, take the matter of beginning-rime, the "alliteration" of Germanic verse. Since the Germanic brain was notoriously unfit to invent this, or even to transmit it from Aryan origins, one must therefore fall back upon imitation. It is easy to see that "alliteration was developed in the classical languages, and was handed over from the Latin to the Irish; Irish gave it to Anglo-Saxon, and Anglo-Saxon artists taught it to the Germans and the Scandinavians." And Germanic verse itself? An imitation of the hexameter.³

Evidently it is going to be a bagatelle for M. Kawczynski to dispose of the general fact of poetry, and of its fundamental element

¹ *Essai*, p. 25.

² This merry process of poetizing the world over, without the investment of any home capital, has some resemblance to the device known among brokers as "kiting cheques."

³ *Essai*, pp. 102, 104. I cannot quite understand the praise given to this essay by a reviewer in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. XI.

of rhythm and harmony. Spontaneity, of course, is to be dismissed altogether from the reckoning. Rhythm, we are told, was a discovery, an invention made like any other invention; and it is to be considered without reference to instinct or natural impulse. Dancing, for example, was no instinctive matter, no inborn sense of rhythm expressing itself in outward movement, and thus timing spontaneously the voice of joy or sorrow that was fain to go with it; dancing was invented.¹ One is thus led to think gratefully, too, of whatever *sauvage de génie* first hit upon laughter, or upon tears, as an outlet for that rash humor, itself invented — who knows? — by some earlier anthropoid.

To this favor, then, we must come in poetics if we reject spontaneity, — the only possible basis for any assumption of communal authorship, — and hold that the formula of invention and imitation explains all progress in the arts of life. The thorough-going nominalist is bold to affirm that singing, shouting, laughing, even erect walking and jumping, were inventions of the artist. It is not too much to say that man thus invented himself, and has since filled history with a series of imitations and “secondary inventions.” But must “the false principle of spontaneity” be banished? Is it a false principle? Renan held with Schlegel and the moderns that “poetry of the people, which is so thoroughly anonymous, always has an author;” but Renan saw spontaneity writ large over the entire life of primitive man.² Few critics, indeed, have had the hardihood to deny a fact about which so much evidence lies at hand; and when one considers further into what mazes one is led by such a denial, there seems to be every reason for adhering to the belief in certain spontaneous movements of the human mind, particularly as regards rhythmical expression. But this rhythmical spontaneity furnishes the

¹ *Essai*, p. 79. Of course, as every one admits, the artist in dancing was early on the scene; dances were often (and are often now among our own Indians) intricate enough, and had to be taught, explained, conducted: see Bastian, “Masken und Maskereien,” in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych.*, XIV, 347. But, in spite of M. Kawczynski, we are sure that there was and is spontaneous dancing.

² “L’absence de toute réflexion, la spontanéité . . . doit être rappelée toutes les fois qu’il s’agit des œuvres primitives de l’humanité.” — *De l’Origine du Langage*, pp. 21 f.

chief argument for the assumption of early communal song; and it seems even to make difficulties for those who look upon poetry from the artistic point of view alone.

Aristotle is justly regarded as a fountain of common sense, if not as a final authority, in matters poetic; it is worth noting that he has indirectly and briefly touched upon the question of communal verse. Poetry and music, he remarks,¹ are imitation by means of rhythm, language, and harmony; dancing is rhythm alone. "Imitation, then, is one instinct of our nature. Next there is the instinct for harmony and rhythm, metre being manifestly a species of rhythm. Persons, therefore, with this natural gift little by little improved upon their early efforts till their rude improvisations gave birth to poetry. Poetry now branched off in two directions, according to the individual character of the writers." Again: "Tragedy, as also comedy, was at first mere improvisation," — that is, was not poetry at all, but, as we learn elsewhere, mere communal excitement of the throng, breaking into rhythmic utterance and dances.² Presently comes the often-quoted statement that "Aeschylus . . . *diminished the importance of the chorus,*" while "the iambic measure replaced the trochaic tetrameter, which was originally employed when the poetry was of the satyric order, *and had greater affinities with dancing.*"

Waiving all question about the meaning of "nature" and of "imitation," one must admit that Aristotle sets up an antithesis between artistic and communal poetry. True, it is only the work of an artist that he will recognize as poetry at all; but he opposes to this the vast range of improvised festal and choral verse, that communal song which we regard as still lingering, though crossed and disguised by manifold strains of art, in the ballads of Europe. Restore to the ballad its ancient rights. Give it again the dance as its source and condition; consider the jubilant throng, with its refrain steadily encroaching, as we retrace the course of development, upon the domain of the artist and his stanzas; take into account the constant repetition of words, phrases, verses; and, above all, note the fact of improvisa-

¹ *Poetics*, trans. S. H. Butcher, London, 1895, pp. 15 ff.

² "A wild religious excitement," says Butcher in a note, p. 252, "a bacchic ecstasy. This aimless ecstasy was brought under artistic law."

tion joined with a universal facility in rhythmic utterance,¹— here is something which Aristotle did well to sever from the category of art. It will be remembered that Gerber² makes a dangerous concession to the spontaneity of primitive song. In point of fact, he is forced to exclude spontaneous verse, or what he calls improvisation, from his definition of poetry; for he defines poetry as “deliberation” added to “enthusiasm,”³ and remarks that “the improvisator cannot be a poet.” To explain this improvised verse, Gerber makes shifty sentences about “natural art,” and what not; ballads, he declares,⁴ when they are improvised, belong merely to the art of language, not to the art of poetry, because the makers have a certain command of language, can juggle with words, and astonish us, as Archias astonished Cicero, with feats of mere diction.⁵ But we do not care for Archias; our eyes are fixed on the dancing, singing, improvising multitude; and Gerber’s explanation breaks down utterly, because he does not recognize this dualism of the artist and the throng. Spontaneous composition in a dancing multitude— all singing, all dancing, and all able on occasion to improvise— is a fact of primitive poetry about which we may be as certain as such questions allow us to be certain. Behind individuals stands the human horde. Preceding the beginnings of artistic drama, and in some fashion a founda-

¹ An important element in the question. See for evidence my *Old English Ballads*, pp. xc f.; Bielschowsky, *Geschichte d. deutschen Dorfpoesie im 13ten Jhdt., passim*; J. F. Campbell, *Pop. Tales*,² I, xxxvii and IV, 164 f., with his reference to the *Niallsaga* ballad, “composed and sung at a meeting of neighbors.”

² See above, p. 44, note.

³ *Besonnenheit; begeisterung*. See *Sprache als Kunst*, I, 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 77.

⁵ Cicero’s tribute, *Pro Arch.*, VIII, is distinctly nobler than Gerber’s reasoning would allow; but it is communal improvisation, after all, with which we are concerned,— the verse which Aristotle rightly denied to art and conceded to “instinct” and nature. Schopenhauer, in his interesting discussion of poetry (*Welt als Wille u. Vorstellung*, I, § 51), treats even artistic lyric as a kind of improvisation, and couples Goethe’s best lyric with a folk-song from the *Wunderhorn*. All critics, it seems to me, fail to fix their attention on those elements and conditions of the ballad for which evidence is so plentiful. Hence even Steinthal fails in his effort to show the *dichtender volksgeist* at work, by tracing one of Uhland’s ballads in its progress among the people.

tion for it, Aristotle evidently saw such a horde or throng. An insistent echo of this throng greets us from the ballads. The liberation of artistry excluded, it simply remains to ask how verse was made in, or even by, this mass of "enthusiastic" men. It remains, in other words, to study the rhythmic and emotional expression of a throng.

It is by no means certain that psychology must be a matter of the single soul. Crowds, communities, races,¹ have an individuality of their own, and this is a legitimate object of study. While Paul denies the fact of "demopsychology," Wundt, in a long article,² justifies it, and names, as its fundamental problems, speech, myth, custom,—the three products of the communal mind. To these we must certainly add communal poetry, giving it a domain which Wundt divides between speech and myth. For the present day, communal poetry is merely a trace, a hint, a survival from the misty past analogous, in its logical and chronological relations to artistic poetry, with the relations of those faint traces of the ancient village community to the modern individual ownership of land. For primitive times we are to reverse all this. Communal poetry was doubtless the rule, with here and there a hint of artistry. We face, for the true study of our problem, a horde of primitive men; and we must remember that, contrary to old notions, the individual was not the father of society, but, as Reclus puts it, society was the mother of the individual.³ It is only fair to carry this distinction into our idea of primitive institutions. Primitive religion was collective, a thing of rites and ceremonies, communal even in the sentiment which began, perhaps in earliest times, to cover the hard rock of cult with that

¹ J. Darmesteter and others have protested against this word, but races are not necessarily connected by common descent. The "historic race" is successfully defined and defended by G. Le Bon, *L'Évolution des Peuples*, Paris, 1894.

² Defending the *Gesamtgeist*, and entitled "Ueber Ziele und Wege der Völkerpsychologie." *Philosophische Studien*, IV (1888), 1 ff. See particularly pp. 11 ff. and p. 17, where Wundt concedes that "die Volksseele" is "an sich ein ebenso berechtigter, ja nothwendiger Gegenstand psychologischer Untersuchung wie die individuelle Seele."

³ "All felt, thought, and acted in concert. Everything leads us to believe that at the outset collectivism was at its maximum and individualism at its minimum." Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, p. 57.

moss of poetry and myth which so many critics have mistaken for the real basis of religion. By all evidence, poetry must also be regarded for those times as collective and communal. If civilization, which has spent its main energies to accent the individual, still finds its way barred by communal oppositions, and vainly applies to them the solvent which acts so readily upon the individual mind, — if M. Le Bon¹ still sees in the throng of our own day “a single being, governed by the law of communal mental unity,” a “sort of collective mind,” — what shall one think of this collective mind, its inceptive and productive power, under primitive conditions, with the individual at his feeblest, thought immeasurably subordinated to emotion, and spontaneity almost absolute? If enthusiasm and deliberation, — enthusiasm as of a throng, deliberation as of the artist, the solitary maker, — are ultimate factors of poetry as we know it, shall we not assume, and does not Aristotle bid us assume, for earliest poetry a maximum of enthusiasm with a minimum of deliberation, or, in other words, communal spontaneity in such force as almost to exclude every trace of individual artistry? To use Matthew Arnold’s figure about Celt and German, are we not to think of modern poetry as a vast obscure communal basis with a vast visible artistic superstructure? To make poetry first and last a matter of the artist, to insist with Scherer upon poet and public, from the anthropoid’s tree-platform down to Browning societies, is tempting enough, simple enough, plausible enough, until one considers instead of aesthetic principles the stubborn facts of historical and generative poetics. Universality of the poetic gift among inferior races,² spontaneity or improvisation under communal conditions, the history of refrain and chorus, the early relation of narrative songs to the dance, — these, I believe, are not to be referred to that offhand explanation of artistry about which Mr. Jacobs feels so confident. Grimm erred in asserting a com-

¹ See his *Psychologie des Foules*, pp. 12, 15.

² Material such as I have collected in proof of this assertion — all evidence, in fact, drawn from the customs of savages and inferior races — is too cumbrous to be inserted here, and needs, in addition, so many allowances, balances, comments, as to deserve separate treatment. The reader may turn the pages of Spencer’s unfinished *Descriptive Sociology* and find plenty of raw material. See note 1, p. 49.

munal origin for poems of comparatively modern date,—in calling that a wild flower which, although sprung from wild stock, is nevertheless dependent on a certain measure of cultivation. But it is no absurdity to insist upon *the origin of poetry under communal and not under artistic conditions.*

For poetry began in a human throng, in the horde. The hard saying is not here, but in the assertion of simultaneous composition, of human beings working together “with united forces and divided functions,” and creating something. Yet this difficulty is more apparent than real; for while nobody thinks it possible for a crowd to compose offhand and simultaneously a ballad like *Sir Patrick Spens*,¹—and a deal of scorn has been wasted over this pretty feat,—it is quite another question when one reflects upon two facts which may be assumed as fundamental in primitive culture. The first of these relates to human speech. The sentence, the proposition, was the unit of speech,² just as the verse was and is the unit of poetry; and speech in the first instance was an immediate assertion of contemporary action. The second fact, proved by specimens of savage song the world over, is that repetition, endless repetition, was the chief element in primitive verse. To repeat a sentence was poetry, for the very foundation of harmony or rhythm is secured simply by saying a given sentence, and then saying it again. Add to these facts the lack of individuality, the homogeneous mental state of any primitive throng, the absence of deliberation and thought, the immediate relation of emotion to expression, the accompanying leap or step of the dance under conditions of communal exhilaration,—surely the communal making of verse is no greater mystery than many another undoubted feat of primitive man. The wail of sorrow expressed spontaneously by the throng in a word or phrase, and repeated indefinitely to the motions of a funeral dance,³ is poetry for the student of primitive culture, if not for the young lions of the Brown-ing cult. Add the great fact of reproduction, upon which ten Brink

¹ Folk-poetry was a survival of prehistoric gregarious or communal song, the verse of the horde; ballads are a crossed and disguised survival of folk-poetry.

² Paul, *Principles*, § 128.

³ See R. M. Meyer on the Refrain, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Lit.*, I, 34 ff.

laid such stress,¹ as vital in ancient poetry as original production is vital in our own, and the case is yet stronger. Language itself, strenuously claimed by Professor Paul for artistic origins, has been referred directly to this mentally homogeneous throng. A suggestive article by Donovan on "The Festal Origin of Human Speech"² asserts that the earliest expressions of communal interest were in bodily play, in the excitement "found in all grades of development from that of the lowest Australian or American aborigines up to the choral dance out of which the first glorifying songs of the race and its heroes are found growing." This "play excitement," added to communal elation following success in some tribal enterprise, has its natural result in rhythmic motions, in excited cries, out of which come music and speech,—sounds connected with the origin and purpose of the excitement. Here, then, was the birth of poetry.³

Communal in its origin, poetry must have felt betimes the influence of artistry. An instructive essay by Dr. Krejci⁴ contrasts the

¹ Paul's *Grundriss*, II, i, 512 ff., and in ten Brink's *Beowulf* (*Quellen u. Forschungen*, LXII), p. 105 f.

² In *Mind*, XVI (1891), 498-506. I have to thank Prof. F. H. Giddings for reference to this article.

³ On the decrease of individual divergences as one retraces history, see Le Bon, *L'Évolution des Peuples*, pp. 37 ff. "Contrairement à nos rêves égalitaires, le résultat de la civilisation moderne n'est pas de rendre les hommes de plus en plus égaux, mais, au contraire, de plus en plus différents." On p. 43 this is proved from physiology (of the skull); see also p. 167. Even Tarde (work quoted, p. 230) admits communal spontaneity,—in a faltering fashion, one must confess,—and mutters something about "hypnotized" crowds, "suggestion," *electrisation psychologique*, and what not. See also the president's address of Mr. Andrew Lang at the International Folk-lore Congress, 1891. Sir Henry Maine and Mr. Herbert Spencer agree in this matter: see Spencer, *Sociology* (3d ed.), I, 702; II, 289, 311: "organisms which, when adult, appear to have scarcely anything in common, were in their first stages very similar; . . . all organisms start with a common structure." Further, see Giddings, *Sociology*, p. 262. On the special evolution of the artistic dancer, musician, poet, see Spencer, *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, 1895, pp. 364 ff., 433 ff., especially the quotation from Grote, p. 368. But Mr. Spencer fails even here to recognize the importance of the chorus. More satisfactory for our purposes is his "Origin and Function of Music," in *Illustrations of Universal Progress*, New York, 1867, pp. 223 ff. See pp. 224, 232.

⁴ "Das charakteristische Merkmal der Volkspoesie," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych.*, XIX (1889), 115 ff.

involuntary or mechanical element of poetry with the opposite element of logical or voluntary creation. The course of poetry runs steadily, he asserts, from a preponderance of the involuntary or mechanical, that is, of spontaneity, to a preponderance of the voluntary, logical, deliberate. The note of popular poetry, of course, is this element of spontaneity and lack of deliberation; if we could catch a glimpse of primitive conditions, we should find poetry entirely ruled by the mechanical, the spontaneous, the unreflecting element.¹ We may go further and carry the antithesis to its proper expression, the dualism of artist and throng. Individuality is the result of reflection; only when he combats spontaneity, curbs his communal impulse, and deliberates upon it, mingles emotion with thought, and separates himself from the shouting, swaying, dancing mass, does the communal singer begin to be a poet. Evidently, then, the history of poetic development is not a course of artistry with some savage or anthropoid artist at one end and a civilized artist at the other. That anthropoid artist is as unscientific, unwarranted an assumption² as the communal creative power which Grimm defended for comparatively modern times. The formula to be applied to all poetry is the measure of communal element and the measure of artistic element. Taken as a whole, the ballads of Europe show far more of the communal than of the artistic element; but it is clear that a new classification is needed, and should be based upon the character and weight in any given ballad of those elements which are distinctly of communal origin.

Modern emotion, then, is of the individual, and poetic emotion is now almost wholly artistic and therefore saturated with thought.³ The prevailing sense of individuality, even under the most elaborately

¹ See *ibid.*, p. 120.

² Germs of artistry, assertions of the individual, but without real control of the mass, nobody calls in question.

³ There is a very valuable paper by Krohn on "La Chanson Populaire en Finlande," in *Proceedings*, Int. Folk-Lore Cong., 1891, pp. 134 ff. In modern songs of the people Krohn notes this invasion of thought: "La poésie s'est réfugiée dans la pensée, mais elle n'a pu se maintenir intacte de trivialité." Again, "La poésie lyrique est remplacée par la musique lyrique,"—communal poetry, in other words, going to pieces.

objective mask and the prevailing intellectual bias in emotion, are the chief marks of poetry to-day. Other poetry is regarded as childish, a fad, and the lover of ballads is often drawn by this contempt into an admiration of his own ware which he can hardly justify, while critics go on rebuking him as for "the love of little maids and berries," for a go-cart passion, and feel a sincere concern for the stunting of his better faculties. But the docile bairns of knowledge, as King James called sensible scholars in his day, are of kinder heart. They know that to assert the communal origins of poetry is not to degrade the poet, but rather to dignify him. To follow poetry back to that aboriginal wildness, that ecstasy of the horde, first utterance of unaccommodated man, is not a study that need deafen its student to the charm and melody of art. We search for poetry before the poet, somewhat in the spirit of Donne's fine conceit:

I long to talk with some old lover's ghost,
Who died before the god of love was born.

We find it in the throng. From this dancing throng came emotion and rhythm, the raw material of poetry. The poet added thought.¹ When Schopenhauer² complains of modern poetry that thought is too often subservient to rime, he says in other words that even now the artist cannot free himself from that haunting cadence of the throng. Mr. Spencer says³ that "cadence is the commentary of the emotions upon the propositions of the intellect,"—surely an inversion! Our modern poetry is the commentary of the intellect upon the cadence of the emotions. Primitive man had emotions, and emo-

¹ Gerber (I, 50) calls poetry "die Kunst des Gedankens."

² *Welt als Wille u. Vorst.*, II, 489.

³ *Origin and Function of Music*, as above, p. 232. One is tempted to tamper a little with Goethe's (*Dauer im Wechsel*)

"Danke dass die Gunst der Musen
Unvergänglichliches verheisst:
Den Gehalt in deinem Busen
Und die Form in deinem Geist,"

and to search for that muse who once presided over communal emotions and wrote *pandēmos* after her proper name.

tions tend to converge ; his poetry was communal. Modern men have thought, and thought tends to divergence of paths. We see the poet

πολλὰς δ' ὁδοὺς ἐλθόντα φροντίδος πλάνοις,

but behind this vividly lighted I or Thou or He of modern poetry lurks in shadow the We of that early throng. In the ballads one comes closer to this presence ; one feels it, but one cannot clearly see it.

F. B. GUMMERE.

COTTON MATHER AND AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE.

IT is probably not too much to say that the following record of the relations of Cotton Mather to one of the founders of German Pietism contains the earliest expression of sustained interest, on the part of Americans, in German affairs.¹

It covers with more or less fullness the period from 1709 to 1724, or the larger part of the last third of Cotton Mather's life.² The material I have collected, apart from matter already printed, from Mather manuscripts preserved in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester (AS), the Congregational Library at Boston (CL), and the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS). I give it here in chronological order.³

¹ Still earlier, but sporadic only, are manifestations of interest in the Thirty Years' War, contained in such passages as the following. John Winthrop, Jr., to his father, London, Apr. 16, 1631: "The King of Sweden prvaileth in Germany, he hath lately given Tilly an overthrow wth a small army agt his mighty army. Some say he received some light wounds in pursuite of Tilly, & had his horse slaine under him." *Coll. of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Fifth Series, VIII, 30. Edward Howes to John Winthrop, Jr., London, June 21, 1636: ". . . the plague, sword, & famine looks with a gashly aspect vpon Germany." *Ibid.*, Fourth Series, VI, 500. Cf. also Th. Prince, *Annals of New England*, s. a. 1631: "In Germany, This being a most critical Year, wherein the Settlers of New-England, as well as all Europe, were greatly concerned," etc.

² Cf. Samuel Mather's *Life of Cotton Mather*, Boston, 1729, p. 81: "From the Year 1712 to his Death, he had a free Correspondence with a Gentleman, at *Glauch* near *Hall* in the *Lower Saxony*, a Gentleman in whom I know not which is greatest, whether his shining Goodness, sincere unaffected *Piety* and miraculous *Charity*; or else his very *great Learning*; I mean Dr. *FRANCKIUS*; one of whose pleasant long letters to Dr. MATHER is printed in *Pietas Hallensis*." The authenticity of these dates seems doubtful; cf. Mather's letter to Boehme of May 15, 1718.

³ It does not seem that the biographers either of Mather or of Francke have been duly aware of the relations of the two men with each other. Even in G. Kramer's *Beiträge zur Geschichte August Hermann Francke's* no light is shed on this subject.

1709. Mather's Diary (AS).

Dec. 9: "My Intention was, to lodge these Treatises¹ in ye Hands of many Ministers, throughout ye country. I represented ye Methods of *piety* proposed in these Essayes, as being ye new American *pietism*. I shall also endeavour to send these things unto Dr. *Franckius*, in Saxony."

1711. Mather's Diary (AS).

Mar. 12-13: "Yea, I would send my *Orphano-trophium* & some other such things, with a present of Gold, as far as ye Lower *Saxony*, for ye use of ye University, & ye Orphan-house there."

Mar. 25: "When I send unto Dr. *Franckius* in the Lower *Saxony*, I would enclose a present of Gold, for his *Orphan-house*, which may be to the value of four or five pounds in that Country."

Apr. 7: "Having received a collection of good and great Things doing of later years in *Germany*, (excellent Advances of ye kingdom of God,) I think it may not only glorify God, in ye praises of His people, but also animate ye like Things among ourselves, to publish it unto ye country."²

Nov. 10: "I am again writing to ye University of *Hall* in ye Lower *Saxony*; sending a present of Gold for ye *Orphan-house* there. I would move translating some English Books of piety, into their own Language."

1714. Francke's letter to Mather of Dec. 19, published, in an English translation,³ by Boehme⁴ in Part III of the English *Pietas Hallensis*, London, 1716.

p. 1 f.: "*Reverend Sir*, It was the first of April, 1713, when I receiv'd your Letter, dated the 10th of *January* 1712,⁵ in the *West-*

¹ *The Heavenly Conversation and Dust and Ashes.*

² It is strange that the entry of May 28, 1711, does not contain a mention of a letter of Mather's to Francke which is referred to in Francke's letter of Dec. 19, 1714, as bearing that date. This seems to have been the first communication sent by Mather to Francke.

³ Some passages in the original Latin are inserted in Mather's *Nuncia Bona*, pp. 9-11.

⁴ For this man, the chief promoter of German Pietism in England and intermediary between Francke and Mather, cf. Jöcher's *Allg. Gelehrten-Lexicon*, I, 1170; also, H. E. Jacobs, *History of the Lutheran Church in the United States*, pp. 143 f.

⁵ Since the year 1712 of Mather's Diary is lost, our only information about this letter from Mather's side is the entry of Nov. 10, 1711.

1714. *Indies*; together with the Packet of Books, and the Piece of Gold accompanying them: But as for those you sent me the 28th of *May*, 1711, (the Copy whereof I find also inclosed in the Packet just mentioned) they are not come to my Hands. Both your Letters have been very acceptable to me, not only on Account of the Present of Money and Books, so unexpectedly sent to our Orphan-house from the remote Parts of the *West-Indies*; but especially, because I perceived you are of the Number of those, (of which, God be prais'd, I know not a few) who make it their Business to promote the Honour and Glory of God on all Occasions. . . . And thence it is, that the Encouragement you give me . . . hath wonderfully excited both myself and my Fellow-Labourers, to extol the unspeakable Goodness of God on that Account."

There follows a detailed description of the various institutions established by Francke at Halle and of the methods pursued in maintaining them. Then

p. 57: "I have in my Hands a Letter, dated at *Boston July 12, 1687*, and writ by one *Crescentius Mather*,¹ to *John Leusden*, heretofore a famous Philologer at *Utrecht in Holland*. I suppose the Writer to be one of your Relations. In this Letter he mentions one *John Eliot*, and his unwearied Labours, in spreading Christian Knowledge among the Heathens there. He speaks likewise of some entire Congregations, made up of such Persons as were gained over to our Holy Religion by the Diligence of that Labourer. All which I have read with singular Satisfaction, and wish to be fuller inform'd of the present State of all such Endeavours as have a Tendency that Way."

p. 59: "As for the charitable *Presents* you have been pleased to bestow on our Hospital here, (though the first of the two you mention is not come to my Hands), I am, *Reverend Sir*, unfeignedly thankful, and beseech you to accept of the Treatise here inclos'd,² as a small Token of my Candour and Gratitude. I assure you, that from the Time I have received your Letters, frequent mention hath been made of your Name in my Applications to the Lord, and hope

¹ Cotton Mather's father.

² I have been unable to find any trace of this treatise. The Harvard University Library possesses six manuscript copies of theological lectures delivered by Francke between 1705 and 1714; but these can hardly be meant here.

1714. I shall not be wanting in so Christian a Duty, even hereafter. And I do most heartily intreat you, that, according to your Promise, you would reciprocally shew the same Christian Favour to me, and to my Fellow-Labourers in the Work of the Lord: The Consequence whereof will be, that at so vast a Distance of Places, our Hearts will be, nevertheless, more and more united into [60] one; till we shall see one another in these celestial Mansions, &c. Which, that God would grant us, for the Sake of our common Saviour, *JESUS CHRIST*, is the hearty Wish of, &c."

1715. Letter by Mather, without date or address, but undoubtedly a copy of a letter sent to Boehme (AS).

"It was a great consolation of God, that I received, when I was favoured with your most obliging Letters, & those of ye Incomparable Dr. *Franckius* that accompanied y^m, & ye most acceptable Treatises which were bright Satellites to y^m. The amiable piety breathing in your excellent writings, has endeared you with me beyond expression; and by ye communications which I have made thereof, your endearment unto other Servants of God in this country, is what, I hope, you will take pleasure to find me mentioning. . . . Happening to be just now in some uncommon Hurries, my Letters to my Excellent *Franckius* are more unpolished & unfinished than otherwise they should have been. However, such as they are, I leave y^m & ye packetts in which I have enclosed y^m, open for your perusal, and I entreat that when you have perused y^m, you would seal y^m up, and send y^m away, with ye bits of gold in y^m, unto ye marvellous man, unto whom I have directed y^m. In ye packetts, there are some Duplicates; and on such, you will find your dear Name Inscribed, that you may reserve them for your own Disposal. . . . While I was in ye midst of these Thoughts your Letters, with those of my admirable *Franckius*, arrived unto me, and with an agreeable Surprise give me a confirmation of my Apprehensions."

1715. Mar. 18. Mather's *Nuncia Bona e Terra Longinqua. A Brief Account of some Good and Great Things Adoing for the Kingdom of God in the Midst of Europe.* Boston (Samuel Gerrish), pp. 13. 12°.

p. 1: "Sir. SUCH is the *Candor* to be found in Persons of a Superior Character on the other side of the wide Atlantick, that they will admit us Obscure *Americans* into *Correspondencies* with them;

1715. from which our *Informations* of such Things, as are most worthy to be Known, and perhaps also our *Opportunities to do Good* in the World, may be very much befriended, and enlarged. . . . By the Mediation of that Excellent Person Mr. *Antony William Boehm*, late Chaplain to Our Prince *George of Denmark*, One of Your Country-Men, hath been lately honoured with very Copious Letters from that Admirable and Illustrious Person, the Professor *Franckius*, and his Collegues, at *Hall* in the Lower *Saxony*; which enable him to give You the Refreshment of *Good News from a Far Country*. [2] Dr. *Franckius* is a Person truly Wonderful for his vast *Erudition*; but much more so for his most shining *Piety*; and yet more so for his most peerless *Industry*; and most of all so, for the Astonishing *Blessing of God* upon his Undertakings to advance His Kingdom in the World.

“Were there any Hazard of his having a Sight of the Letter, wherein I do this Justice to him, I might fear my Venerable Friend, who for ever breathes nothing but the deepest Annihilations of himself, would with Displeasure call to me, *Ignem auferto*. But I cannot suppose any Copy of this Paper ever will reach unto him.

“Of this Great Man, who yet lies for ever in the Lowest *Humility*, and will know nothing but *Self-abasements*, a Gentleman¹ writes me this brief and just Account: ‘Professor *Franck* is the Wonder of *Europe* for the vast *Projects* he has laid for Religion and Learning, and his Success in Executing of them. Whoever considers what he has done in the Compass of about *Thirty Years* past, would compute it to be the Labour of *One hundred and Fifty Years*, under a Succession of as able Men as himself. He has such an art in recommending his Great Designs, that there is scarce a Protestant Prince in *Europe* that is not, as it were *Tributary* to him; and some even of the Romish Princes have been allured by his Charitable Charms.’”

There follows a detailed account of the Franckian establishments at Halle, based upon the account given by Francke himself. Mather’s just appreciation of the importance of these undertakings is shown in the passage,

p. 9: “The World begins to feel a Warmth from the *Fire of God*, which thus flames in the Heart of *Germany*, beginning to extend

¹ Boehme?

1715. into many Regions; the whole World will e're long be sensible of it!"

Oct. 2. Letter from Mather to Boehme (AS).

"Several Months are passed, since by way of return for ye Favours, which accompanied those of our dear *Franckius*, I addressed you with a large Number of packetts, which had in y^m some scores of American Treatises, besides a few small presents of Gold, unto ye Orphano-tropheum. All which, I hope, have long since reached you. I am extremely desirous of maintaining a correspondence with a person of your excellent Spirit & Intention; And therefore you must give me leave to lay hold as frequently as I can on opportunities to entertain you, with such Books of piety as are published in our countrey; In which, perhaps, you will find something of ye Spirit of that vital Religion which you have so wisely chosen to cultivate & Inculcate. . . . My Request therefore is, That you would please, to disperse these little engines of piety,¹ as fast & as far as you can. Some of y^m, to our Invaluable Friends at *Halle*; some of y^m, to y^e Malabarian Missionaries; And if you can do it, some of y^m into *France*."

1716. Mather's Diary (CL).

Mar. 7. (He casts a retrospect over his former life and mentions among the blessings with which it has been graced)

"My correspondencies abroad, especially with the universities of *Glasgow*, & of *Glauchau*,² and giving me, tho' I am a sorry and an obscure creature, a Name among ye great men of ye Earth."

Mar. 8: "Is there no possibility, for me, to find ye Time, that I may contrive a System of the Sciences, wherein they shall be rescued from vanity & corruption . . . ? If I see, that I cannot obtain the leisure for it, I will address my Friends in the *Frederician* University."³

Apr. 19: "Quaere, whether ye *Marvellous Footsteps of ye Divine Providence*,⁴ in what has been done in ye *Lower Saxony*, have not

¹ Copies of the *Lapis excisus*.

² Suburb of Halle.

³ Halle University.

⁴ Allusion to Francke's *Segensvolle Fussstapfen* (1701-1709).

1716. such a voice in ye World, that I may do well to think of some farther methods, to render it more sensible unto these American Colonists."

Apr. 27: "I will make a present unto our poor Colledge¹ of certain Books, that are of great Improvement & Influence in ye famous *Frederician* University, & of a Tendency to correct ye present wretched methods of education there; As, ye works of, *Arndt*, and *Franckius*, and *Langius*, and *Boehm*."²

June 6. Letter from Mather to Boehme (AS).

"Reverend Sr. Your Letters, dated about Ten Weeks ago, accompanied with our dear *Ziegenbalgh's*,³ and a most obliging present of Books, have arrived unto me, and are as *cool waters to a Thirsty soul*. . . . I rejoice to find the *Magnalia Christi Americana* fallen into your hands; And I verily believe, ye *American puritanism* to be so much of a piece with ye *Frederician pietism*, that if it were possible for ye Book to be transferred unto our Friends in ye Lower *Saxony*, it would be . . . a little serviceable to their glorious Intentions."

Mather's Diary (CL).

Aug. 2: "In ye astonishing things done at *Hall* in ye Lower *Saxony*, under ye Influence of my incomparable *Franckius*, our SAVIOUR has preached a loud & a living sermon, on His own precious Text, ye *Sixth of Matthew*, and the *thirty third*. . . . I believe, I shall do a thing pleasing to Him, & a sensible service to ye kingdome of God, if I preach a Sermon on this famous Text, in the hearing of ye General Assembly of the province, and conclude it with a relation of those marvellous occurrences."

¹ Harvard College.

² Of John Arndt's *De vero Christianismo*, the Harvard University Library possesses an edition of 1704; but nothing in this copy points to Mather as its original owner. Joachim Lange (cf. Jöcher, II, 2249) is represented by his *Medicina Mentis* of 1715, Boehme by a copy of his *Discourses* of 1717, marked "The Gift of the Revnd Author to Harvard College, A.D. 1718." The Boston Public Library has a copy of Boehme's translation of the *Pietas Hallensis*, marked in Cotton Mather's handwriting, "Matheri, Cl. Boëmi Donum."

³ The most prominent of the Franckian missionaries in Malabar. Cf. Jöcher, IV, 2196.

1716. Oct. 9: "In and to my Family, I would cause to be read over, on some Lord's-day evening, ye last Accounts of God providing for ye *Orphan-house*, at *Hall*. And make remarks upon ye Story that shall be Incentive to piety."

Oct. 16: "To have ye Footsteps of God, in what is done for ye *Orphan-house* at *Hall*, read over in my Family, with agreeable Remarks thereupon, may be of great use to my Domesticks."

Nov. 19, in a letter to John Winthrop (*Coll. of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Fourth Series, VIII, 425), Mather says:

"I have added a curiosity, Entituled, *Pietas Hallensis*; which if you please to permit it, I should ask that it may Return, by some safe hand, in a fortnight or two."

1718. Jan. 10, in a letter to Boehme (AS) Mather asks him to give "the most sure & safe conveyance unto a packett, for our excellent *Ziegenbalg* wherein I have left my letter open for your own perusal."

Mar. 20, Diary (MHS).

"I am writing to the famous *Franckius* and ye *Frederician* University."

May 15, in a letter to Boehme (AS), Mather speaks of the "long, long time" he has not heard from him, refers to his gifts for *Ziegenbalg*, then :

"But what I have now principally to request of you, is, that by your mediation, there may be again convey'd a small testimony of an *American* Remembrance for ye *Orphan-house* at *Glauchau*. Tho' I have had no letters from our Excellent Friends in ye *Frederician* University, ever since that rich & long one, which you have, highly to my satisfaction, translated & published, yet I take it for granted, that our small civilities may still be seasonable & acceptable to y^m. I am now gott into ye way of doing what little I can do for the children of God, & His Kingdome there, by Bills of Exchange; And such a Bill I now send unto Mr. Henry Newman; for ye sum of Ten pounds sterling; with my Directions that he wait upon you, and that by your methods in concert with him, it may be transmitted in what specie & manner you think fit unto our dear Dr. *Franckius*, for the use of his *Orphan-house*."

1718. Mather's Diary (MHS).

May 16: "I am now again sending to the Lower *Saxony*, for ye Encouragement of what is doing at *Hall*, by my dear *Franckius* there. I must gett some Assistance of Money here, on ye occasion."

July 3: "I am sending to my Friends in the *Frederician* University many things that may have a Tendency to serve ye Kingdome of God. Among the rest a copy of my letter to *Malabar* may be of some good consequence."

Oct. 25: "For my Remittences to ye *Orphan-house* at *Glaucha*, I gathered eight pounds of our money; for which Mr. *Belcher* generously furnishes me with a Bill of Ten pounds Sterling; sent by me now, to Mr. *Boehm* & Mr. *Newman*."

1720. May 4, in a letter to John Winthrop (*Coll. of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Fourth Series, VIII, 439), Mather thanks him for pecuniary assistance in bringing out his *Cohemoth*.

"In this publication I have had the Experiment of my dear *Franckius* renew'd unto me. For, having prepared the Treatise, but being at an utter loss how to publish it, *Just Then* your Bounty arrived."

May 8, in a letter to Boehme (AS), he again laments over the long time he has not heard anything of "the dear Brethren in the Lower *Saxony*," sends half a dozen copies of his *Cohemoth*, and adds:

"I entreat you, that one or two thereof, may by your mediation reach ye *Frederician* University."

Oct. 26, in a letter to John Winthrop (*l. c.*, p. 446).

"My dear *Franckius* has taught me, to go on with useful undertakings, and believe in a glorious CHRIST for the carrying of them thorough, with seasonable Interpositions of His Almighty Providence."

1721. Mar. 9, Diary (MHS).

"I intend to send some of my poor Treatises to ye *Frederician* University."

1721. Apr. 17, letter to John Winthrop (*l. c.*, p. 448) :

“My admirable *Franckius*, bids me, proceed & prepare, things to serve the Kingdome of God.”

1724. June 25, Diary (MHS).

“I am this week writing Letters to my dear *Franckius*, & ye Professors in ye *Hallensian* University.”

This seems to be the last evidence of any intercourse between Cotton Mather and August Hermann Francke. It is interesting to note that the sons of the two men, Samuel Mather and Gotthilf A. Francke, continued the relations established by their parents. In 1733 Samuel Mather published and dedicated to the Harvard authorities a *Vita B. Augusti Hermanni Franckii* (Typis Samuelis Kneeland et Timothei Green, pro Thoma Hancock, Bostoni Nov-Anglorum), the manuscript of which had been sent to him by the younger Francke. In the preface, page iii, he speaks in the following manner of his German friend :

“Mihi transmissa fuit vita per *Filium* celeberrimi *Franckii*, Amicum mihi desideratissimum, qui, sicut in variis Negotiis, in Doctrina etiam ac Virtutibus amplissimis *Patrem sequitur, et passibus aequis*. Magnopere me delectat, Fratrem meum pretiosum nimis, Patrem suum *Patris* mei Amicum dilectissimum *beatum praedicandi* inter Nov-Anglos sic praeuisse occasionem.”

It may be added that Francke's example had an unquestionable influence upon another American worthy of the early part of the eighteenth century, George Whitefield, the founder of the famous Bethesda College near Savannah. In his pamphlet, *A Continuation of the Account of the Orphan-House in Georgia*, Edinburgh, 1742, Whitefield mentions Francke in the following manner (p. 17) :

“God can help us in *Georgia*, as well as he helped Professor *Franck* in *Germany*.” p. 19: “Professor *Franck* met with unspeakably more contempt and calumny [than I] whilst he was building the Orphan-House in *Germany*. He began very low, and left behind him an Orphan-House which contains now, if I mistake not, 2 or 3000 Students, notwithstanding the erecting it was attended with as many Improbabilities as this in *Georgia*. He has been dead

about 14 or 16 Years. His Son now succeeds him in the care of the Orphan-House; I have had the Pleasure of corresponding with him. An Account of this Orphan-House was printed in his Life-Time. It has been very strengthening and beneficial to my Soul; and in Hopes that it may do Good to others, I have annexed some Extracts out of it to this Continuation of my Accounts, and have marked such particular Paragraphs as I think are more peculiarly applicable to my present Circumstances.”¹

KUNO FRANCKE.

¹ The extracts from the *Pietas Hallensis* that follow are from a translation “printed in Edinburgh in the Year 1727, in order to promote the Erecting of an *Orphan-house* in that City, which since has been happily effected” (p. 26).

ON ANGLO-FRENCH AND MIDDLE ENGLISH *AU* FOR
FRENCH *A* BEFORE A NASAL.

AMONG other things contained in Professor Karl Luick's interesting *Beiträge zur englischen Grammatik* (*Anglia*, XVI, 451-511) is a discussion of the Middle English *au* and its later history in words corresponding, for instance, to modern English *aunt*, *haunt*, *lamp*, *danger*, *chamber*, which in many respects is similar to views expressed by me in a paper prepared for the meeting in commemoration of Friedrich Diez at New York in March, 1894, and read in part at that meeting, but never printed.¹ Inferior as that paper was in several respects to Professor Luick's work, it yet contained some considerations which, in more or less modified form, it may be well to present here. I may also add a few other remarks. Briefly stated, my conclusions were that the Middle English *au* in the words in question was or soon became in the prevalent pronunciation a true diphthong; that it afterwards lost its labial element by absorption in the following *m* or *n*, but, if the consonant was *n*, only when a following consonant was pronounced, the absorbing power of the *n* being due to its *u* quality.

Let us first consider how this diphthong might have come into existence. The Old French *a*, it may be safely assumed, was of a somewhat palatal nature, resembling modern French *a* in *patte* (this sound I write *â*).² In native English words, such as *land*, *lamb*, the variation in spelling between *a* and *o* points to a pronunciation of *a* as a back vowel, like Sweet's low-back-wide, rounded (*o*) or unrounded (*â*), as probably in frequent use. The *u* quality or resonance³ of Eng-

¹ Cf. also *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VII, 416.

² Compare the history of Latin *a* in French, and also G. Paris, *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, 5th ed., § 6.

³ I say this rather than labialized *n* because I wish to allow for a possible organic difference at the back of the mouth; *u* is a back vowel as well as a labial vowel; compare the varieties of *l*.

lish *n* (at least after back vowels) was probably not so energetic in its action as the labial quality in *m*, either in developing the *u* glide before it, or later in absorbing such a glide; but both with *n* and with *m* such a development may have been aided, in the case of persons whose native speech was English, when they began to hear frequently, and themselves to use, many French words. Under the influence of native habits of speech, such speakers, beginning such syllables as those that concern us with the French *à* or a more or less successful imitation of it, may then have reverted to their own *â* (or *o*) as the voice glided on to the *n* or rather *n^u*. We may suppose that some said, for example, *ân^{ut}*, others *àn^{ut}*, and others *dân^{ut}* or *aon^{ut}*. Hence a diphthong *âu* or *au* is an easy result, coming in the first place from a mispronunciation of French words by English speakers, and naturally appearing in both Middle English and Anglo-French. The diphthongal pronunciation probably soon became the usual one. It is easy to see how, allowing for the strong influence of the traditional French spelling, and also for the habits of Anglo-French scribes who wrote *u* or *o* for French close *o* (in England at least sounded as *u*), we can explain all the spellings mentioned by Behrens (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der franz. Sprache in England*, pp. 77, 78), both for the words from French and for similar native words; and we can see why, though both classes of words have a variable spelling, there is so little confusion.¹

There seems to be no reason for introducing nasality as a factor into the process either of the development or of the later loss of *u*.²

¹ Can a similar explanation be offered when *aun* or *aum*, instead of *an*, *am*, appears in other places where Romance and Germanic speech came into contact? For Rhaeto-Romance dialects the somewhat palatal quality of *a* is indicated by the palatalization of preceding *c* and *g*. For *aun* in France, see Neumann, *Laut- u. Flexionslehre des Altfranz.*, p. 14. Notice also the words of Behrens in *Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache u. Litt.*, XIV, *Referate u. Rezensionen*, p. 32: "Nach Fleury s. 24 lautet dort [im nördlichen Teile des Département de la Manche] *en* heute = *ã*, urspr. *ãn* dagegen = portug. *ão*."

² Except in so far as this may be a reason for greater length of the vowel in England, and thus may explain why no *u* was developed between *a* and other consonants than *m*, *n* in words from French. If the *n* was the guttural nasal the vowel perhaps regularly remained short; cf. ten Brink, *Chaucers Sprache u. Verskunst*, § 70.

If the French *a* was ordinarily \grave{a} , then the French \tilde{a} may be supposed to have been ordinarily nasal \grave{a} , and not, as now, what may be called nasal \hat{a} . (This may also make it easier to understand why in so much of Old French \tilde{e} and \tilde{a} were confused in the same sound.) It does not appear that nasality of French vowels exercised any influence on the Middle English resulting sounds; French *en*, *em* have regularly developed like oral *e*, and so it is with all the other vowels. In English *range*, *rank*, *tamper*, *taunt*, of course the English basis was *a*, the words coming from or having been influenced by a form of French which gave to *en* the sound of *an*. In the case of *tawny* I suspect the influence of a later French pronunciation *tāné*, at a time when \tilde{a} had acquired the modern sound (nasal \hat{a}). It is highly probable that vowel nasality, which is now common, though often slight, in both England and America,¹ existed also in Middle English, and that therefore there was nothing very strange or remarkable to an Englishman about French nasality, which may not have been then so strong as it is now; we must remember that the consonant *n* or *m* was also pronounced after the nasal vowel.

I see no sufficient reason for assuming that no diphthong existed in words like *lamp*, *sample*. The pronunciation with long *a* in *sample*, *example* (cf. *ample* with ω), seems to me a very modern and by no means universal development from older short ω , *mp* having regularly caused the short sound to appear before it, even though the diphthong was at an early period present. There can be no doubt of the early diphthong in *vamp*, where I believe all speakers pronounce short ω .

It still seems to me best to ascribe the reduction of *au* to *a* before *n* followed by another consonant to an absorption of the *u* in the *n^u*, the loss of the *u* quality in *n^u* coming later.² We can hardly assume

¹ Cf. Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics*, p. 63 (§ 180); and *Dialect Notes*, I, 24.

² Perhaps *n^u* exists now as much as it ever did, occurring in some syllables with vocalic *n*, and in others with *n* following a back vowel, *n* after a front vowel having a similar raising influence, tending to produce an *i* glide. In modern English pronunciation some speakers do not always diphthongize "long *o*" and "long *a*." This is the case with me, but I have diphthongs in both cases when the vowel is stressed and a pause follows the syllable, especially if the vowel is final or before a nasal, as in *so*, *a* (name of the letter), *tone*, *pane*. Compare the

both steps to have been taken at once; such phonetic changes are generally assumed to take place one at a time.¹ It seems to me also very doubtful whether *n^u* after a diphthong ending in *u* could have lost its *u* quality, unless there was a strong pull, so to speak, towards palatal quality on the other side of the *n*, which is, generally speaking, not the case (the commonest following consonant is *t*, which can be either labialized or palatalized). But if the *n^u* could thus lose its *u* quality, we should then have *aun* where *au* should apparently develop as before a consonant which exerts no special influence, like *t*; compare *haughty*. This is, however, not the case when the following consonant is retained, as in *aunt*, and it is, I believe, in the presence of this final consonant combined with the *n* that we are to seek the real cause of the absorption (or at least disappearance) of the *u*, or of the reduction of *au* to *ä*. The greater number of sounds, the greater organic action called for in the same syllable, combined with the not very strong absorptive power of the *n^u*, it seems to me, strengthened the effect of *n^u* and caused the absorption, which the latter, when a following consonant was not present, was not able to produce alone. Hence the difference in the development of *lawn* as compared with *aunt*. Considerations of sentence stress and possibly resulting double forms for the same word may also be appealed to, and, though I too think the influence of the spelling is the main cause for the sound *ɔ* often heard in the less familiar words now spelt with *au*,² yet it is conceivable that *au* under sentence stress, aided perhaps by a *zweigliplige Aussprache*, might have been retained long enough to produce *ɔ*. And if we consider cases like *acton*, with its early reduction of original *au* to *a*, *fauzet*, when pronounced with short *æ* (see the forms in the *Oxford Dict.*), the vulgarisms *darter*, *sarce*,

influence of early Germanic *n*, as still seen in German *binden*, *gebunden*, compared with *helfen*, *geholfen*, and corresponding words in English.

¹ I find the same difficulty with Luick's assumption (p. 493) that *auχ* became "zunächst" *ǣf*; it may be difficult to determine what the intermediate form was, but there surely must have been one.

² Only in the less familiar ones; not, except in cases which are strongly under suspicion of a special dialect development, in *aunt*, the most popular of all these words. Compare in this connection *Anglia*, VII, 236, no. 13, for *a* pronounced apparently as *ɔ*: "*Nauncy, dawonse, awnt, Chawmberlin* (Tidewater, Virginia . . .)."

sarcer, sarcey, sassage, for *daughter, sauce*, etc., mentioned by Walker in the *Principles of English Pronunciation* (prefixed to his dictionary), § 218, and the vulgarism, less closely connected with standard English, 'kase (*keiz* or *kêz*) for *because* (which, as only local, need not perhaps be taken into account at all), we must perhaps admit that nothing but considerations of accent can explain them.

But the explanation offered above for *aunt* as compared with *lawn* is not so obviously applicable to dissyllabic forms like *saunter*, where the *t* is in the next syllable. We can urge for these the analogy of derivative and inflexional forms like *haunter, haunting*, which would naturally keep the vowel of the primitive form, and we can also see that the following unaccented syllable is even a direct help to shortening the accented one that precedes. Compare the greater length of *l* in *build* alone or before a pause as compared with the shortening of *l* in *builder, building, build it*, or the long *au* sound in *count*, which is noticeably less long in *counting-house*, where *house* is much less strongly accented than *count*,¹ and many other similar cases.

I have a few remarks to add on some possible cases of absorption of the final *u* of a diphthong, and some additional cases, not all of which were in my own earlier list of such cases of absorption, but have been noted since. First I will call attention, for *ha(u)lm* (by which word *shawm* may have been influenced; both are merely book-words to me) to the words "[or *hame*, or *halm* . . .]" in Johnson's *Dict.*, ed. of 1755, *s. v. haum*. Professor Marsh tells me that in Newport, Rhode Island, some old people pronounce the proper name *Almy* as *ami*, while others say *eimi* (with "long *a*," exactly like *Amy*); the common pronunciation is *almi*. Perhaps we should not add *Auchinleck*, pronounced *æflek* (cf. also *baffle*).²

My list of not quite certain cases of absorption of *u* in *eu* contained also the word *leopard*; compare the spellings in Mätzner's

¹ The word *house-breaker* I have heard pronounced so that the first syllable sounded like *hâs* (with short *â*), and, like some others present at the time, I at first thought the word meant was *horse-breaker*.

² Here I am reminded also of the spelling *Aufrike* (*Africa*); it may conceivably be a case of *au* developed before a labial out of *a*. The spelling *auf-* for *af-* seems to occur also in continental French; it may have been caused by confusion with *au* from the Arabic article.

Wörterbuch; the forms *leupart* and *lepart*, it may be mentioned, both occur in the Oxford manuscript of the *Roland* (728, 733), cf. also Old French *liepart*. If it were quite certain that *jeu* was the only form in which *jocum* came through French into English, of course *jeopardy* would be a clear case as Luick gives it, but *jü*, which was also Old French, is indicated as one form by Middle English spellings, and is it quite certain that a later pronunciation of *jeu* as *džö* or *zö* may not be the source of the modern pronunciation? If *feoff* (cf. Luick, p. 500) really is from an Old French form with pronounced *ieu* followed by *f*, then it can be considered a case of absorption, but this is far from being certain; the spellings, and to be sure also the pronunciation, may be due to the influence of *fieu* or of *feudum*, *feodum*, and the spelling *feff* seems to be about as old as that with *eo* in English. We may notice also the proper names *Leonard* (cf. Old French *Lienart*), and compare *Theobald* with a pronunciation *tib-* and the form *Tybalt*, which seems like *libbard* (*leopard*), and corresponds to French *Tiebaut*, *Tibaut*; also *Leopold*, "formerly [pronounced] *lěp'öld*" (Webster's *International Dict.*, p. 1903), *Teddy*, the nickname for *Theodore*, pointing with its *t* to a French origin, and finally the place name *Leominster* (*lem-*). Doubtless other proper names can be found; *Belvoir*, pronounced *bivə(r)*, is mentioned by Beljame.¹

A puzzling word is the proper name *Geoffrey*, *Jeffrey*. Is the *e* sound instead of *o* in *Jofrei*, *Jofroi* due to a palatalizing influence exerted by the preceding consonant when the syllable was still unaccented? Possibly it is worth while to mention the modern vulgar *jes(t)* for *just*. The spellings *Gefreid*, *Geifreid* are in the Oxford manuscript of the *Roland* (vv. 106, 3545).

Are, however, the cases with following *ts* and *dž* (*sage*, *Beauchamp* = *bětsəm*, etc.) possibly to be considered as cases of absorption (as I formerly did consider them)? In many of Luick's examples the earlier sound in French appears to have been a palatal *s*, whence the sound *ʃ* developed in English, and we might say that the palatalizing action took place while that earlier sound was still heard, and we might also say that the *i* sound in *machine* and some other words is to be explained by the influence of modern French. But these arguments

¹ In *Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris*, p. 505.

are not sufficient to explain all the examples, and it seems best to adopt Luick's view that the loss of *u* before these sounds was due to a conflict with the palatal element in the following sibilant, *ʃ* or *ʒ*.

How far similar laws can be shown for Old French it would be interesting to examine. In many of the cases of variation between *au* and *a* there seems clearly to be influence of a following labial. One is reminded of such variant spellings as *Guillaume*, *Guillame* (cf. for such instances in rhyme, Servois, *Guillaume de Dole*, p. xli, n. 1), *evangile* and *euvangile*, *diable* and *diabule*, and the variants for Foerster's *l'aubagu* in *Erec*, v. 4129 (4131 in the small edition; cf. also Paris in *Romania*, XX, 150). See also Suchier, *Aucassin u. Nicolette*, 3d ed., p. 65 (no. 17), Apfelstedt, *Lothringischer Psalter*, §§ 9, 17, 30, 80, Foerster, *Lyoner Yzopet*, §§ 9 (p. xxvi), 17, 79, 80, *Chev. as deus espées*, p. xlvi, etc. Perhaps I shall return to this subject at some future time.

E. S. SHELDON.

THE FRENCH HISTORICAL INFINITIVE.

IN a dissertation, *Der historische Infinitiv im Französischen* (Berlin, 1888), I attempted to show that the Historical Infinitive in French was not a continuation of the same construction in Latin. This, as far as I know, is now acknowledged on all hands. Then I sought to explain the French construction as a sort of transposition into indirect discourse or narration of the Old French imperative use of the infinitive with *or de* and the article (see Diez, *Grammatik*, p. 917, or III, 211, of the third edition), the latter expression being shortened from (*or*) *n'i a que de* plus the article and infinitive (Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, 18, 19).

In a review published in *Romania*, XVIII, 204, Gaston Paris says: "Pour l'expliquer (*i.e.* cette construction), M. M. la rattache à l'ancienne construction *or de l'aler, or du bien faire*, par une transition qui m'est absolument inintelligible. Notons que, dans la construction avec *or* à sens impératif, on trouve toujours l'infinitif avec *de* précédé de l'article, tandis qu'on ne trouve jamais l'article dans la construction qu'étudie l'auteur. Cela me paraît suffire à montrer que ces deux constructions n'ont rien à faire ensemble (*or du bien faire* s'explique pour M.M. par la réduction de la phrase complète: *or n'i a que de bien faire*, mais dans cette phrase l'infinitif ne prend pas d'article; j'y vois la réduction de la phrase: *or pensons (pensez) du bien faire, de l'aler*, etc., dans laquelle l'infinitif est habituellement précédé de l'article)."

That I should have expressed myself so obscurely as to be unintelligible to a person of Gaston Paris's great perspicacity is a matter of deep regret to me, and I can only hope that, if his attention is again called to the subject, he will acknowledge that my explanation is at least a conceivable one. As to the origin of the expression *or du bien faire*, A. Schulze has already pointed out,¹ in an article

¹ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XV, 505, n.

devoted to this subject, that in the phrase *or n'i a que de*, the article is used with the following infinitive, so that Paris's objection to connecting the two expressions falls to the ground. As to Paris's explanation of *or du bien faire* as a shortening of *or pensons du bien faire*, Schulze says (*l.c.*, p. 506): "Dagegen erregt die an ihrer Stelle vorgeschlagene [Auffassung] G. Paris' und Engländer's Bedenken. Mag man prinzipiell von Ellipsen zu reden geneigt sein oder nicht, der Beweis dafür wird schwerlich erbracht werden können, dass das Altfranzösische — und von anderen Sprachen wird Gleiches gelten — etwas zum Verständnis irgend Wesentliches ohne angemessenen Ausdruck gelassen habe, dass in der alten Sprache nicht genau gesagt wurde, was dem Redenden vorschwebte, nicht weniger und nicht mehr. Eine Ergänzung der anscheinend lückenhaften Wendung *or du faire* halte ich aber auch deshalb für unthunlich, weil der Sprechende selbst an die Person, die aufzufordern wäre, offenbar nicht denkt; nur die Handlung, die zu vollziehen ist, schwebt seinem Geiste vor, nur dass sie zu vollziehen sei, will er zum Ausdruck bringen."

In spite of these objections, I think, on the whole, that Paris's explanation of *or du bien faire* is more probable than mine, though both are conjectural merely. One meets *or pensons du* and the simple *or du* used in exactly the same way, as far as can be seen, in the same poem. That the speaker, when using *or du*, does not think of the person who is to perform the act may be true, but for this very reason, if he were in the habit of using *or pensons du*, the *pensons* would soon become weakened in force as being by far the less important of the two verbs in the clause, and might then easily drop out.

Paris, as we have seen, objects further that the article is never found with the historical infinitive, while it is always used with the *or du bien faire* construction, and that therefore the two constructions can have nothing in common. In the first place the oldest case of the historical infinitive that has been found (see *Der historische Infinitiv im Französischen*, p. 11), "et le senglier se couche, et cil du grater" (*Roman des Sept Sages de Rome*, publié par Le Roux de Lincy, Paris, 1838, p. 23), which belongs to the thirteenth century, has the article, and, on the other hand, Diez (*Grammatik*, p. 917, or III, 211

of the third edition) gives, as Schulze observes, a case of *or de* . . . without the article, so that we may well suppose that the article was sometimes used and sometimes not used with both constructions, and that, as time went on, the historical infinitive without the article prevailed. And then, too, even supposing these two cases to be unreliable, the number of well-edited Old French texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is too small for us to be able to argue that because a link in a chain of constructions is missing it does not exist.

Schulze (*l.c.*, p. 508), after declining to accept Paris's objections, raises some of his own, which I do not despair of overcoming. He says: "Doch kommen andere Schwierigkeiten hinzu. In der mit *or* beginnenden imperativen Wendung liegt es, wie wir sahen, im Interesse des Redenden, sich der auf bestimmte Personen nicht bezüglichen Verbalform, des Infinitivs, zu bedienen. Gerade dies scheint mir beim historischen Infinitiv nie der Fall zu sein. Weder ist über die Person, welche als Träger der durch den Infinitiv bezeichneten Thätigkeit zu denken ist, je ein Zweifel möglich, noch kann irgend einmal dem Erzähler daran liegen, in dem oben angedeuteten Sinne sich der von bestimmten Personen absehenden Form des Verbs zu bedienen. Weiter ist zu bedenken, dass der Infinitiv in der imperativen Redeweise nur in direkter Rede möglich ist, also stets auf die unmittelbarste Gegenwart Bezug nimmt, was wiederum in der Konstruktion des historischen Infinitivs undenkbar ist. Hätte die erstere Wendung diesem zum Vorbilde gedient, so wäre als Zwischenglied mit Sicherheit eine Konstruktion zu erwarten, welche etwa beim Anblick fliehender Feinde gestattete sich des Ausrufs *Les ennemis de s'enfuir!* zu bedienen. Und das ist nie erlaubt gewesen." How, if I may ask, does Schulze know that this has never been allowed? It so happens that in Spanish the development seems to have been arrested just at the stage which Schulze is sure can never have existed in French. As is well known (see Diez, *Grammatik*, p. 916, or III, 211 in the third edition) the infinitive is used in Spanish affirmatively in the sense of an imperative. This infinitive in Spanish is more or less forcible according as it is used with or without the preposition *á*. Diez quotes two cases without the preposition from *Don Quixote*; here is another from Calderon:

Pues sufrir, temer, penar,
Corazón, hasta tomar
Por entero la venganza.

El pintor de su deshonra, act iii, scene 25.

With *á* we have first the common Spanish expression *á ver*, let us see. Here is a case from Calderon which shows well the dative form and connotation of the expression :

Don Luis. No hay que responder.
O á mi casa, ó á no ser mas amigos.

El pintor de su deshonra, act i, scene 1.

Other examples might easily be given from Calderon and from recent writers of this imperative use of the infinitive with *á*, which seems to have driven out the imperative without a preposition which is found in *Don Quixote*. Now in the opening scene of Calderon's *Alcalde de Zalamea*, the infinitive with *á* is used in narration, describing what usually happens, and especially what is just about to happen. The whole passage is worth quoting :

Soldado 2º. No muestres deso pesar,
Si ha de olvidarse, imagino,
El cansancio del camino
A la entrada del lugar.

Rebolledo. ¿A qué entrada, si voy muerto?
Y aunque llegue vivo allá,
Sabe mi Dios si será
Para alojar; pues es cierto
Llegar luego al comisario
Los alcaldes á decir
Que si es que se pueden ir,
Que darán lo necesario.
Responderles, lo primero,
Que es imposible, que viene
La gente muerta; y si tiene
El concejo algún dinero,
Decir : " Señores soldados,
Orden hay que no paremos :
Luego al instante marchemos."

Y nosotros, muy menguados,
 A obedecer al instante
 Orden, que es en caso tal,
 Para él orden monacal,
 Y para mí mendicante.

El Alcalde de Zalamea, act i, scene 1.

Adolf Kressner, who has edited this play, takes *responderles* and *decir* as historical infinitives, though I suppose it would be barely possible to make them depend on *es cierto*; but *nosotros . . . á obedecer* he would explain by supposing that *marchamos* is understood. I do not think that *marchamos á obedecer* is Spanish; one is forced, it seems to me, to take this expression as a genuine, though perhaps unique, case of the historical infinitive in modern Spanish. Rebolledo tells what he expects they will be doing in a very short time, but without any distinct reference to time; it is very nearly the missing link which Schulze cannot find in French, but which may have existed there nevertheless. A development almost exactly identical with this process seems to have taken place in modern colloquial French. In the *Souvenirs d'un Matelot*, by Georges Hugo (*Nouvelle Revue*, 15 mai, 1895, p. 290), a quartermaster, after calling the roll of the watch, says: "A se coucher qui n'est de quart!"—"Let him who is not on guard go to bed,"—the exact equivalent of the Spanish use of the infinitive with *á* for the imperative; and in an article entitled *Entre Parisiens*, and signed Maxime Parr, in the *Petit Journal pour Rire* (No. 436, 39^e année, p. 3), occurs this sentence: "Et nous voilà à rire et à hausser les épaules de concert,"—a genuine historical infinitive with *à*.¹ As Theodor Kalepky, in an article entitled *Zum sogenannten historischen Infinitiv im Französischen*,² says, it seems as if *de* before the historical infinitive in modern French has lost whatever force it once had in Old French, and so the people have, so to speak, recreated an historical infinitive of their

¹ I find another case of an historical infinitive with *à* in a letter of M^{me}. de Sévigné to M^{me}. de Grignan (18 Sept., 1680): Le père de Madame . . . est mort. Un gros Allemand le dit à Madame à peu près de cette sorte sans aucune précaution. Voilà Madame à crier, à pleurer, à faire un bruit étrange, à s'évanouir; . . .

² *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XVII, 287.

own with *à*, which still has a strong dative, pointing force. Kalepky, it seems to me, disposes, in this article, of Schulze's explanation of the development of the French historical infinitive, and I do not propose to discuss it here.

I will merely add a case of the historical infinitive with *a* in Italian, from Ariosto, as Diez (*Grammatik*, p. 925, or III, 222 in the third edition) mentions it only as existing "in der neueren Litteratur":

Indi i Pagani tanto a spaventarsi,
Indi i Fedeli a pigliar tanto ardire ;
Che quei non facean altro che ritrarsi.

Orlando Furioso, xvi, 70.

Finally, certain phenomena in modern and Middle English, to which my colleagues Professors Sheldon and Kittredge have called my attention, may be mentioned here as showing a parallel tendency. First, in both Middle and modern English we have certain exclamatory adverbs used as finite verbs in vivid narration, a transition analogous to that from the exclamatory *or du . . .* to the historical infinitive.

In the preface of K. Breul's *Sir Gowther* (Oppeln, 1886), we find, p. viii: "*up* und andere adverbia finden sich nicht selten ohne verbalen Zusatz," and he gives two examples: "*De foules up and song on bonz*," *Lai le Fr.* (*Anglia*, III, 419, 131); and "*Gamelyn vp with his staf, that he wol knew, and gertē him in the necke, that he ouerthrew*," *Gamelyn*, 535.

To these may be added:

Whanne þis was don þis Pandarrus up a-noon,
To tellen in short, and forth gan for to wende.

CHAUCER, *Troilus and Criseyde*, ii, 1492-3 (2577-8), p. 93 F.

But Pandarus up and . . .
He straight a morwe onto his nece wente.

Id., iii, 548-552 (3390-4), p. 122 F.

This Pandarus up þerwith and that be tyme
On morwe & to his necys paleys sterte.

Id., ii, 1093-4 (2178-9), p. 79 F. (reading of the Camb. MS.).

Likewise in modern English :¹

"May 14. Saw five armed boats pulling towards us from Monte Cristo. Out sweeps to protect convoy."—*The Autobiography of a Seaman*, by Thomas, tenth Earl of Dundonald, I, 95.

"Saw another vessel lying just within range of the forts ;— out boats and cut her out, the forts firing on the boats without inflicting damage."—*Id.*, I, 97.

Thet last word pricked him like a pin,
An' . . . Wal, he up an' kist her.

J. R. LOWELL, *Biglow Papers, The Courtin'*.

Then passages occur in Middle English which look as if imperative expressions like "and now to fight" had become real historical infinitives in narration. In Skeat's Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, ii, l. 1107–8, we read :

'By god' quod he, 'I hoppe alway bihinde !'
And she to-laugh, it thoughte hir herte breste.

But Stoffel suggests that we should read *to laughe*, as historical infinitive, and quotes other examples which establish the construction (see also Skeat's note, VI, 403, and cf. Kaluza, *Engl. Stud.*, XXII, 287, 288).

P. B. MARCOU.

¹ Cf. also the German "und er husch über den Graben," quoted by O. Behaghel in *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 1895, col. 335, and his reference there.

WHO WAS SIR THOMAS MALORY?

THAT a person so important in literary history as Sir Thomas Malory should still remain a mere name is surprising. Yet such seems to be the state of the case.¹ Dr. Sommer, in his invaluable edition of the *Morte Darthur* (II, 1, 2), remarks that "the name 'Malory' occurs in Leland's time in Yorkshire, and is quoted in the next [the seventeenth] century in Burton's 'Description of Leicestershire,' but no clue can be found to connect the author of the 'Morte Darthur' with the bearers of his name."² Mr. Sidney Lee refers to a Sir Thomas Malory of Kirkby Malory, Leicestershire, who, he says, is too early, and to a Thomas (not Sir Thomas) Malory of Northamptonshire (d. 1552), who is too late to be our author, and gives up the problem.³ Professor Rhÿs, whose theories I shall discuss presently (pp. 97 ff., below), is inclined to regard Malory as a Welshman,

¹ The conjectural identification discussed in the present paper was made public by the writer March 15, 1894, at a meeting held at Columbia College in honor of Friedrich Diez (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, April, 1894, IX, 253). It was put on record by the writer in a brief article on Malory published, in 1894, in vol. V of *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia* (p. 498). In July, 1896, Mr. T. W. Williams suggested (*Athenæum*, no. 3585) that the author of the *Morte* might be a "Thomas Malorie miles" whom he had found mentioned in a document of the eighth year of Edward IV, but concerning whom he had no information except the single fact furnished by the document itself. Mr. Williams's interesting note will be discussed later (pp. 88 ff., below), when it will appear that his Thomas Malory and the writer's are probably one and the same person.

² "W. Burton, 'Description of Leicestershire,' 1st. ed. 1622, 2d. ed. Lynn, 1777, folio, p. 140, Thomas Malory; p. 262, Sir Thomas Malory, knyght of Winwick, Newbould and Swinford, 19, 27." Sommer's foot-note. I have not seen Burton's book and do not quite understand these entries. Dr. Sommer says nothing more about them, obviously regarding them as of no consequence; yet we shall find that the second Malory mentioned would have repaid investigation.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. *Sir Thomas Malory*. Mr. Lee mentions "four families" named Malory as connected with the Midlands, but can find no author for the *Morte* in any of them. These are: (1) that represented by William Malore of Hutton Conyers; (2) that of Kirkby Malory, Leicestershire;

relying partly on a random assertion of Bale's, partly on a mistaken etymology of the name; but he does not identify him with anybody in particular. There is, then, at this moment, no candidate in the field,¹ and if a Sir Thomas Malory can be discovered who fulfils all the conditions required, such a person may reasonably be advanced as the writer of the *Morte Darthur*, at least till some other claimant offers. What the required conditions are, may be seen from the three places in the work which mention the author:

(1) Caxton's preface, in which he says he has printed "after a cotype vnto me delyuerd, whyche cotype Syr Thomas Malorye dyd take oute of certeyn bookes of frensshe and reduced it in to Englysshe." (Sommer, p. 3.)

(2) The concluding words of the last book: "I praye you all Ientyl men and Ientyl wymmen that redeth this book of Arthur and his knyghtes . . . | praye for me whyle I am on lyue that god sende me good delyueraunce | & whan I am deed I praye you all praye for my soule | for this book was ended the ix yere of the reygne of kyng edward the fourth | by syr Thomas Maleore knyght as Ihesu helpe hym for hys grete myght | as he is the seruaunt of Ihesu bothe day and nyght | " (Sommer, p. 861). These are obviously not the words of Caxton, as Dr. Sommer takes them to be, but the words of Malory himself.

(3) Caxton's colophon, which says that the book "was reduced in to englysshe by syr Thomas Malory knyght as afore is sayd² | and by me deuyded in to xxi bookes chapytred and enprynted | and fynysshed in thabbey westmestre the last day of Iuyl the yere of our lord | M|CCCC|lxxxv | " (Sommer, p. 861).

From these passages it appears that any Sir Thomas Malory advanced as the author of the *Morte Darthur* must fulfill the following conditions: (1) He must have been a knight;³ (2) he must

(3) that of Walton on the Woulds, Leicestershire; (4) that of Lichborough, Northamptonshire. He refers to Nichols, *Leicestershire*, and Bridges, *Northamptonshire*. See below, p. 90, n. 4.

¹ Except as indicated above (p. 85, n. 1).

² That is, in Caxton's Preface.

³ "Sir priest" is out of the question, though some have absurdly suggested it (see the reference in Sommer, II, 2, n. 1).

have been alive in the ninth year of Edward IV, which extended from March 4, 1469, to March 3, 1470 (both included); (3) he must have been old enough in 9 Ed. IV to make it possible that he should have written this work. Further, Caxton does not say that he received the "copy" directly from the author, and his language may be held to indicate that Malory was dead when the book was printed. In this case he must have died before the last day of July (or June),¹ 1485, and we have a fourth condition to be complied with.

All these conditions (including the fourth, which can hardly be regarded as completely imperative) are satisfied by a fifteenth-century Warwickshire gentleman, an account of whose career, in outline, has for many years been accessible to all in Sir William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*.² I refer to that Sir Thomas Malory, knight, of Newbold Revell (or Fenny Newbold), who was M.P. for Warwickshire in 1445.

(1) This Sir Thomas was certainly a knight.³

(2) He survived the ninth year of Edward IV, dying March 14, 1470 (10 Ed. IV). This fits the closing passage in the *Morte Darthur*.

(3) He was quite old enough to satisfy the conditions of the problem, for he was not under fifty-seven at the time of his death, and he may have been seventy or above.

(4) He died some years before the *Morte Darthur* was published.

So far as can be seen, there is nothing against our ascribing the *Morte Darthur* to this Sir Thomas Malory. He belonged to that class to whom the Arthurian stories directly appealed: he was a gentleman of an ancient house and a soldier.⁴ His ancestors had

¹ As to the question whether *Inyl* in Caxton's colophon is *July* or *June*, see Sommer, III, 336. The point is of no consequence in the present discussion.

² I, 83. First published in 1656. I have used the second edition, revised by the Rev. Dr. William Thomas, London, 1730.

³ *Rot. Fin.* 23 Hen. VI, m. 10 (Dugdale, *l.c.*).

⁴ Cf. Caxton's Preface: "Many noble and dyuers gentylnen of thys royaume of England camen and demaunded me many and oftymes wherfore that I haue not do made & enprynte the noble hystorye of the saynt greal and of the moost renommed crysten kyng . . . kyng Arthur."

been lords of Draughton in Northamptonshire as early, apparently, as 1267-68, and certainly earlier than 1285;¹ and the Malores had been persons of consequence in that county and in Leicestershire from the time of Henry II or Stephen.² Sir Peter Malore, justice of the common pleas (1292-1309) and one of the commission to try Sir William Wallace,³ was a brother of Sir Stephen Malore, the great-grandfather of our Sir Thomas, — that Sir Stephen whose marriage with Margaret Revell brought the Newbold estates into the family.⁴ Thomas's father, John Malore, was sheriff of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, Escheator, Knight of the Shire for Warwick in the Parliament of 1413, and held other offices of trust.⁵ It is not to be doubted, then, that Sir Thomas received a gentleman's education according to the ideas of the fifteenth century, which are not to be confounded with those of an earlier, illiterate period. That he should learn to read and write French, as well as to speak it, was a matter of course.

Sir John Malory seems to have died in 12 Hen. VI (1433 or 1434),⁶ and Sir Thomas succeeded to the ancestral estates. We have, however, some information about Sir Thomas in his father's lifetime: when a young man he served in France, in the military retinue of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, — a fact to which I shall soon revert. In the twenty-third year of Henry VI (1445) we find him a knight and sitting in Parliament for his county.⁷ Some years later he appears to have made himself conspicuous on the Lancastrian side in the Wars of the Roses, for in 1468 "Thomas Malorie,

¹ See p. 91, note.

² See p. 99.

³ See p. 103.

⁴ Margaret Revell is sometimes made the wife of John, Stephen's son; but this is clearly an error. Dugdale (I, 82) contradicts himself. The settlement by fine (1392) cited in Le Neve's note in Thomas's Dugdale (I, 83) shows that John's wife was named Alice. There is much confusion here, but the matter is of no consequence in the present argument.

⁵ Dugdale, I, 83.

⁶ I infer the date of his death from the year in which he no longer appears "in commission for the peace" (12 Hen. VI). He had been a justice from 6 Hen. V (see Dugdale, *l.c.*).

⁷ Dugdale, *l.c.*

miles," is excluded,¹ along with "Humphry Nevyll, miles,"² and several others, from the operation of a pardon issued by Edward IV. We know nothing of the matter except this bare fact. Whether or not Malory subsequently obtained a special pardon, cannot now be determined. If he did not, we must suppose that he was relieved by the general amnesty of 1469,³ since, on his death in 1470, there seems to have been no

¹ Wells Cathedral MSS., *Liber Albus*, III. fo. 228, in *Report on the MSS. of Wells Cathedral*, 1885 (Appendix to the *Tenth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*), p. 184. The pardon is dated at Westminster, Aug. 24, anno regni 8^o. For this reference I am indebted to a letter of Mr. T. W. Williams, printed in *The Athenæum* for July 11, 1896, no. 3585, pp. 64, 65. Mr. Williams conjectures that the Malory mentioned in the Wells MS. was the author of the *Morte Darthur*, but has no further information about him. The brief article by the present writer published in 1894 (see p. 85, n. 1, above) had, very naturally, escaped his eye. No one need hesitate to identify the "Thomas Malorie miles" of this pardon with the Warwickshire gentleman whom we are now considering. There appears to have been but one Sir Thomas Malory, knight, alive in England in 8 Ed. IV. Whether the Thomas Malory mentioned among the "*milites*" in the list of noblemen and gentlemen who accompanied Edward IV in his northern expedition in 1462 (*Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, ed. Gairdner, p. 157) was a knight or not, it is impossible to decide, for the term *milites* is perhaps loosely used in this record. The person meant may have been Thomas Malory, armiger, of Cambridgeshire (see p. 96, n. 1). In a second letter to *The Athenæum* (July 18, 1896, no. 3586, p. 99), Mr. Williams notes the fact that in Warkworth's account of the Battle of Edgecote (July 26, 1469) "William Mallerye, squyere" is mentioned as one of the slain "of the North party" (Warkworth's *Chronicle*, ed. Halliwell, p. 7), *i.e.*, the party who, under "Robin of Redesdale" (Sir John Conyers of Hornby), fought against King Edward's forces. Mr. Williams is in error, however, in identifying the general pardon mentioned by Warkworth with the pardon preserved among the Wells MSS. The latter preceded the former by rather more than a year. I suspect that the William Mallerye killed at Edgecote belonged to the Studley Royal Malorys. Can he have been the second son of William Malory, lord of Studley 1452-1475? There are grave difficulties (see Walbran, *Mem. of Fountains Abbey*, II, i, 316-17, *i.e.*, 216-17) in the way; but these Malorys were related to Sir John Conyers of Hornby, the leader of the revolt.

² Sir Humphrey Nevil was beheaded in 1469 (Warkworth's *Chronicle*, ed. Halliwell, p. 7). See for the events of these years Sir J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, II, 339 ff.

³ "And in the same yere made a proclamacyone at the Kynges Benche in Westminster, and in the cyte of Londone, and in alle England, a generale pardone tyllle alle manere of men for alle manere insurrecyons and trespasses." Warkworth, p. 7. As to Malory's coming under this amnesty, observe that "Robin of

question as to the inheritance of his estate. Malory died, as has been already noted, March 14, 1470, and, when Dugdale wrote (about 1656), lay "buried under a marble in the Chappell of St. Francis at the Gray Friars, near Newgate in the Suburbs of London."¹ He left a widow, Elizabeth Malory, who lived until 1480,² and a grandson, Nicholas, about four years of age. This Nicholas was alive in 1511.³ He died without male heirs.⁴

Redesdale" himself, on responding duly to Edward's general summons to the gentry of Yorkshire to come to York and do homage, in 1470, found no difficulty in making his peace with the king. (See Ramsay, II, 351.)

¹ Dugdale, *l.c.*, referring to MS. Cotton. Vitell. F. 12 (which contains a "registrum eorum, qui sepeliuntur in ecclesia et capellis fratrum minorum London"). (*Cat.*, 1802, p. 432.) In Stow's list of "the defaced [*i.e.*, destroyed] monuments" in this church I find: "Thomas Malory, Kt. 1470." *Survey of London*, ed. Strype, 1720, bk. iii, ch. 8, p. 134 (ed. 1754, I, 632).

² The *inquisitio post mortem* on the estate of "Elizabetha quae fuit uxor Thomae Malory militis" was taken in 20 Ed. IV (*Calend.*, IV, 400). It declares the heir to be Nicholas, son of Robert, son of Sir Thomas, and gives his age as thirteen and more on Sept. 30, 1479. See Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, I, 83; Nichols, *Leicestershire*, IV, 362; Bridges, *Northamptonshire*, ed. Whalley, I, 603.

³ See Nichols, IV, 233.

⁴ For the descendants of Nicholas Malory in the female line see Dugdale, I, 83; Bridges-Whalley, I, 604; Nichols, IV, 361, 364; Metcalfe, *Visitations of Northamptonshire*, p. 12. The Malory genealogy is not easy to work out. There are three branches of the family that seem more especially to concern us: the Malorys of Kirkby Malory, Leicestershire; those of Walton on the Wolds, in the same county; and those of Draughton and Winwick, Northamptonshire, and afterwards of Newbold Revell (Fenny Newbold), Warwickshire. The historians of the counties mentioned have collected much valuable material with regard to these branches, and pedigrees will be found as follows: for the Kirkby branch, in Nichols, *Leicestershire*, IV, 761; for the Walton branch, in Nichols, III, 501; for the Draughton-Newbold branch, in Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, ed. Thomas, I, 82; in Bridges, *Northamptonshire*, ed. Whalley, I, 604, and in Nichols, IV, 364. These pedigrees, however, are not entirely consistent with each other, or with the evidence elsewhere furnished by the antiquaries mentioned. But some of the errors are easily corrected, and it is possible to establish many steps with absolute certainty. The Kirkby and Walton Malorys unquestionably descend from Anketill Malory, constable of Leicester, who resisted Henry II in 1173, but finally surrendered Leicester Castle to him in 1174 (see below, p. 99, n. 3). The Kirkby line may be traced with hardly a break from this Anketill to a Sir Thomas Malory of Bramcote, Co. Warwick, who died as early as 1412 (see Nichols, III, 685; A. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, pp. 57, 110), leaving

The most interesting of these biographical fragments is the association of Sir Thomas Malory with Richard of Warwick. Dugdale states the fact in the following words: "*Thomas*; who, in *K. H.* 5.

no male heir. The Walton line may be traced down to Henry Malory, who died in 1553 (see Nichols, III, 234). The Draughton line goes back, in all probability, to a Simon Malore of "Drastofi" (*i.e.*, Draughton) mentioned in a roll of 52 Hen. III, 1267-68 (see *Rot. Select.*, ed. Hunter, p. 176); but whether this Simon, or indeed, the Draughton branch at all, can be connected with the other two branches seems doubtful. Nichols, who begins the Draughton line with "Simon, lord of Drayton, 1277" (IV, 364), makes this person a son of Henry Malore, who is known to have been the son of Anketill, the Leicester constable; but a 1277 Simon seems at least a generation too late to be Henry's son, and Nichols adduces no evidence. The father of Sir Anketill Malore is usually thought to have been that Richard who is the earliest bearer of the name Malore yet discovered. This Richard held land in Swinford (Co. Leicester) in the time of King Stephen (Nichols, II, 379; cf. Dugdale, II, 1066), and in Northamptonshire in the time of Henry II (Bridges-Whalley, I, 96). The Draughton Malorys were lords of Swinford as early as the fourteenth century, but this, of course, proves nothing. The fact that the Draughton Malorys bore different arms from the Kirkby Malorys is also to be considered (see Nichols, IV, 361, 761). Altogether, I see no means of tracing the Draughton Malorys farther back than 1267-68 (Simon), and no way of proving their connection with the Kirkby and Walton families. It is to the Draughton family that our Sir Thomas belongs. The pedigree of this line has never been made complete; it is confused and impossible as set down by Nichols (IV, 364), and fragmentary in Dugdale (I, 82-3) and Bridges-Whalley (I, 604). Beginning with the last male representative, Nicholas, the grandson of our Sir Thomas, we may trace the following steps with tolerable certainty: Nicholas, Robert, Sir Thomas, John (died 1433-34), Sir John (living in 1377-78), Sir Stephen (lord of Winwick, 1316), Simon (dead in 1285-86). This Simon was the father of Peter Malore, the justice, and seems to have had a son Simon, who was living, apparently, in 1329-30, and perhaps later (see Bridges, I, 75, II, 29). This last Simon I make out to be a brother of Peter and Stephen. Nichols, whose pedigree is at this point confusion worse confounded, puts him down as Stephen's father (IV, 364), which is inconceivable. The Malorys of Lichborough (Northampton) appear to be connected with those of Draughton and Newbold. They can be traced back (with some breaks) to Richard Malore, who died in 1329-30. See Bridges-Whalley, I, 63, 75, 76, 234; *Rot. Parl.*, VI, 397, 526; Wm. Campbell, *Materials for Hist. of Reign of Henry VII*, II, 187; *Northampton and Rutland Wills* (Index Library), p. 42; *Descrip. Cat. of Anc. Deeds*, II, 246 (B. 1934, 1939), 427 (B. 3661). There was also a family of Malorys of Welton (Northampton) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see Bridges-Whalley, I, 97; *Cat. Anc. Deeds*, II, 150, 155, 159; A. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln*

time, was of the retinue to *Ric. Beauchamp* E. Warr. at the siege of Caley's, and served there with one lance and two archers; receiving for his lance and 1. archer xx. *li. per an.* and their dyet; and for

Wills, p. 57). On the Malorys of Woodford (in the same county), see *Visitations of Northamptonshire*, pp. 35, 36, 112, 113. For the Cambridgeshire Malorys see below, p. 96, n. 1. For the Malorys of Hutton Conyers and Studley Royal, Yorkshire, see *Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. Norcliffe, pp. 195, 196; *Heraldic Visitation of the Northern Counties*, ed. Longstaffe, pp. 51, 52; and, in particular, Walbran, *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, II, i, 214-244 (314-344 by error of pagination); cf. *Depositions from York Castle*, ed. Raines, pp. 75 ff., 210, 211.

There are scanty records of a family of Malorys settled in Bedfordshire at an early date. In 4 Ed. III (1329-30) jurors find that "quidam Joñes Malory" holds the manor of Magna Holywell, in this county, by inheritance from one "Bertramo Malore quinto antecessore suo," to whom the Abbot of Westminster had granted it after Henry III (Nov. 26, 1224) had granted the liberties of the manor to the church of Westminster. (*Placitu de Quo Warranto*, Records Comm., pp. 61, 62.) This appears to carry the Bedfordshire Malorys back to about 1224, and, in fact in 1225 (9 Hen. III) Alicia Mallore is on record in connection with this manor, called "Holewest" by some error (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, ed. Hardy, II, 83 a). In 1195 (7 Ric. I) is recorded the settlement of a suit between Simon Malhore and Alicia his wife on the one side and the Abbot of Westminster on the other, by which the Abbot acknowledges the advowson of the church of "Helewell" to belong to Simon (*Three Rolls of the King's Court*, ed. Maitland, p. 127, Pipe Rolls Soc., *Publ.*, XIV; the entry of the same case in *Abbrev. Placitorum*, p. 81 a, is wrongly dated). Cf. *Cal. Pat. R. 1334-38*, p. 360. For a later Bedfordshire family, see below p. 96, n. 1.

Whether the armorial bearings of these various families show evidence of relationship is a question which must be left to those learned in heraldry. The Kirkby Malorys bore, *Or, a lion rampant Gules* (see Nichols, IV, 761, pl. CXX, fig. 1). The Walton branch (known to be related to the Kirkby family) bore *Or, a lion rampant queue fourchée Gules*, (*id.*, III, 499). The Studley Royal Malorys bore *Or, a lion rampant with two tails Gules, collared Pearl* (Flower's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1564, ed. Norcliffe, p. 195). The Woodford Malorys bore *Purpure, a lion rampant Or, collared Gules, a fleur-de-lis for difference* (*Visitations of Northamptonshire*, ed. Metcalfe, p. 35). The Cambridgeshire Malorys bore *Or, a lion rampant Gules, collared of the first* (Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. Nuttall, I, 252). The Malorys of Shelton (see p. 96, n. 1), a branch of the family last mentioned, bore *Or, a lion rampant queue fourchée Gules, within a bordure of the second; crest, a horse's head coupéd Gules, charged with a fleur-de-lis* (*Visitations of Bedfordshire*, ed. Blydes, p. 122). The similarity in all these cases is certainly striking. The Winwick-Newbold Malorys bore *Or, three lions passant guardant Sable* (Dugdale, I, 79, fig. 11 in plate; I, 83, and fig.; Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. Nuttall, II, 247, 524).

the other archer, x. marks and no dyet."¹ I can find no siege of Calais in Henry V's time.² Perhaps the agreement was merely to serve *at Calais*. In that case, the likeliest date for Malory's covenant is perhaps 1415, when Warwick indented "to serve the King as Captain of Calais, until *Febr. 3. An. 1416* (4 *Hen. 5.*) And to have with him in the time of Truce or Peace, for the safeguard thereof, Thirty Men at Arms, himself and three Knights accounted as part of that number; Thirty Archers on Horsback, Two hundred Foot Soldiers, and Two hundred Archers, all of his own retinue. . . . And in time of War, he to have One hundred and forty Men on Horsbak," etc.³

Dugdale also assigns them *A fesse between three boars' heads couped* (I, 82, on the authority of Kniveton) and *Argent, on a canton a boar's head couped Or* (I, 79, fig. 18 in plate; see also *Index of Arms Blazoned* at end of vol. II). It is noteworthy, however, that among the arms figured by Dugdale as occurring in the windows of the church at Kirby, in which parish Newbold Revell lies, occur the following, which Dugdale cannot identify: *Sable, a lion* [with two tails] *Or*. May one guess that beneath this confusion lurks evidence of a connection between the Newbold and the Kirkby Malory families?

¹ *Warwickshire*, I, 83. Dugdale's authority is a roll which I have not identified ("Rot. in Bibl. Hatton."). Perhaps it was a retinue roll. He gives no date.

² One thinks of the unsuccessful attack on Calais by the Duke of Burgundy in the reign of Henry VI (1436). See J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth*, II, i, p. xlix. But this will hardly do.

³ Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 244, from the original document. This is, I think, the beginning of Warwick's service in this capacity *under an indenture*. He was first appointed captain of Calais Feb. 3, 1414 (*Rot. Franc.* 1 Hen. V; *44th Report of the Deputy Keeper*, pp. 550, 551), but a few days earlier (Jan. 31) he was ordered, in that capacity, to proclaim a truce (*Rot. Franc.* 1 Hen. V; *Report*, p. 551; Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 111). Oct. 20, 1414, he was commissioned to go to the Council of Constance (Rymer, IX, 167), and this caused an interruption in his captaincy. When he resumed the office, it seems to have been under this indenture of June 19, 1415. (See for significant dates Rymer, IX, 178, 179, 319; *Report*, pp. 554, 556, 558, 562; *Proc. Privy Council*, ed. Nicolas, II, 169.) Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 243 ff., and Mr. Gairdner, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, have done much for the chronology of Beauchamp's life, but several difficulties remain. In particular, it is not easy to reconcile Monstrelet's assertion (*Chron.*, ed. Douët-Arcq, III, 54; cf. Waurin, *Recueil*, ed. Hardy, II, 164) that he was present at the coronation of Sigismund at Aix, Nov. 8, 1414 (accepted by M. Lenz, *König Sigismund*, 1874, pp. 63, 64) with the documents in Rymer, IX, 178, 179.

In our uncertainty with regard to the year of this service, we can draw no solid inference as to the date of Malory's birth. We have already seen that he was probably of age and over in 1433-34 (see p. 88, above): if he served with Beauchamp in 1416, he was doubtless born as early as 1400, but not much earlier. This would make him seventy years old at the time of his death.

The service of Malory with Richard of Warwick is, however, peculiarly significant in view of the well-known character of the Earl. No better school for the future author of the *Morte Darthur* can be imagined than a personal acquaintance with that Englishman whom all Europe recognized as embodying the knightly ideal of the age. The Emperor Sigismund, we are informed on excellent authority, said to Henry V "that no prince Cristen for wisdom, norture, and manhode, hadde such another knyght as he had of therle Warrewyk; addyng therto that if al curtesye were lost, yet myght hit be founde ageyn in hym; and so ever after by the emperours auctorite he was called the Fadre of Curteisy."¹

The history of Warwick's life, as set down by John Rous, chantry priest and antiquary, and almost a contemporary of the great earl, reads like a *roman d'aventure*. One exploit in particular might almost have been taken out of the *Morte Darthur* itself.² "Erle Richard," we are told, ". . . heryng of a greet gaderyng in Fraunce, inasmoche as he was capteyn of Caleys he hied him thidre hastely, and was there worthely received; and when that he herd that the gaderyng in Fraunce was appoynted to come to Caleys, he cast in his mynde to do sume newe poynt of chevalry; wheruppon," under the several names of "the grene knyght," "Chevaler Vert," and "Chevaler Attendant," he sent three challenges to the French king's court. "And anone other 3 Frenche knyghtes received them, and graunted their felowes to mete at day and place assigned." On the first day, "the xii day of Christmase, in a lawnde called the Park Hedge of Gynes," Earl Richard unhorsed the first of the French knights.

¹ John Rous, *Life of Richard Earl of Warwick*, as printed from MS. Cotton. Julius E. IV, by Strutt, *Horde Angel-cynnan*, 1775-6, II, 125, 126. Rous died Jan. 1492; Beauchamp, May 31, 1439.

² For similar incidents in romance, see Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 733 ff., with which cf. Malory's *Morte Darthur*, bk. vii, chs. 28, 29, Sommer, I, 257 ff.

Next day he came to the field in another armor and defeated the second French knight, "and so with the victory, and hymself unknown rode to his pavilion agayn, and sent to this blank knyght Sir Hugh Lawney, a good courser." On the third day the Earl "came in face opyn . . . and said like as he hadde his owne persone performed the two dayes afore, so with Goddes grace he wolde the third, then ran he to the Chevaler name[d] Sir Colard Fymes, and every stroke he bare hym bakwards to his hors bakke; and then the Frenchmen said he was bounde to the sadyll, wherfor he alighted down from his horse, and forthwith stept up into his sadyll ageyn, and so with worshipe rode to his pavilion, and sent to Sir Colard a good courser, and fested all the people; . . . and rode to Calys with great worshipe." (Strutt, *Horda*, II, 124, 125.)

This romantic adventure cannot be dated with any certainty. The *days* are settled by the text of Rous: they are January 6, 7, and 8 (Twelfth Day and the two days following), but the *year* is not easily fixed. By a process of elimination we may arrive at the date 1416 or 1417,¹ either of which may be right. One likes to imagine

¹ Rous's chronology is not easy to make out; but this is not surprising or suspicious, for his text, we must remember, is not a connected biography, but merely a running commentary on his pictures. He certainly puts the adventure after Warwick's return from his pilgrimage and after his appointment as captain of Calais. It therefore cannot be earlier than Jan. 24, 1414, and this rules out 1414 altogether, since the tilt took place Jan. 6, 7, and 8. Jan., 1415, is impossible, for Warwick was apparently at the Council of Constance throughout that month. Jan., 1418, is also out of the question, for the final struggle between Henry V and the French was then at its hottest: the siege of Falaise by Henry lasted from Dec. 1, 1417, to Jan. 2, 1418, and the citadel held out till Feb. 16; Warwick was serving in the army. Jan., 1419, is excluded for a similar reason: the siege of Rouen by Henry lasted from June, 1418, to Jan. 19, 1419, and Warwick was with the king. That Jan., 1420, and Jan., 1421, are also out of the question, may be seen by a glance at the state of affairs in France (see Sir J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, 276-278, 287, 288). So of Jan., 1422, when the Earl was with the king at the siege of Meaux (*id.*, I, 297 ff.). Henry V died Sept. 1, 1422 (*id.*, I, 304). Besides, 1420 and 1421 would disjoint Rous's narrative too much. He tells of the tilt before he describes Richard's going to the Council of Constance, though he does not expressly say that the two events happened in that order. We at once perceive that the tilt could not have preceded Richard's departure for Constance (which took place in Nov., 1414) if Rous is right in saying that

Thomas Malory as serving in Warwick's retinue on this occasion, and I know of nothing to forbid our indulging so agreeable a fancy.

It may, I think, be safely asserted that we have before us a Sir Thomas Malory who, so far as one can see, fulfils all the conditions¹

Richard was captain of Calais. To postpone the tilt till 1420, or later, however, would entirely disturb the order of Rous's narrative. We have, then, two years left—1416 and 1417. Jan., 1416 (the date adopted by Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 244), is apparently possible. Warwick had returned from Constance and had (June 19, 1415) indentured to serve the king as captain of Calais (see p. 93, above). He received Sigismund at Calais, April 27, 1416, and there is no reason to suppose that he was not at his post in January. This date makes the smallest possible disturbance of Rous's order necessary: it simply forces us to assume that he has reversed the order of the tilt and the embassy to Constance. We can even see a reason for this slight confusion on his part. If the tilt was in Jan., 1416, it took place shortly after Warwick's return from Constance, and shortly before his meeting with Sigismund at Calais: Rous makes it occur shortly after Warwick's return from his pilgrimage to the East, and shortly before his meeting with Sigismund at Constance. Nothing would be easier than such a slip, since Warwick and Sigismund were actually at Constance together, and since Rous tells of Sigismund's reception at Calais in the same sentence in which he describes the courtesy extended to Warwick by the "emperour" at Constance (Strutt, II, 125): formal histories are full of much less natural errors. Jan., 1417, seems also to be a possible date. It was a time of truce (Oct. 3, 1416, to Feb. 2, 1417), in which both parties were actively preparing for war, and the rumor of a French demonstration against Calais would not have been incredible. Warwick was still captain of the town; his indenture of June 19, 1415, expired Feb. 3, 1417, and he was reappointed on the same day (cf. Dugdale, *Baronage*, I, 245, with *Rot. Franc., Forty-Fourth Report*, p. 587). 1417 does not fit Rous's narrative quite so well as 1416. Both dates are entirely consistent with the supposition that Thomas Malory was in the Earl's retinue when the tilt took place.

¹ Curiously enough there was another Thomas Malory who died at almost the same time. He belonged to a Cambridgeshire family, and was lord of the manor of Papworth Anneys (Papworth St. Agnes, on the Huntingdonshire border). His death appears to have taken place in 1469 (cf. *Calend. Inquis. p. M.*, IV, 347, 9 and 10 Ed. IV, with *Index of Wills proved in the Prerog. Court of Cant.*, II, 351). This Thomas, however, was not a knight, but merely an *armiger*, and this rules him out, even if he did not die too soon to satisfy the conditions. The pedigree of the Papworth family is not quite clear (cf. *Cal. Inq., p. M.*, IV, 221, 231, 250, 351, 392; *Cant. Wills*, II, 351; St. George, *Cambridgeshire Visitation*, ed. Phillipps, 1840, p. 22; Fuller, *Worthies*, ed. Nuttall, I, 244, 252, 253). The Malorys of Shelton, Bedfordshire, were a younger branch of this family (see *Visitations of Bedfordshire*, ed. Blaydes, p. 122, and cf. Blaydes, *Genealogia Bedfordiensis*, p. 253).

required of a claimant for the honor of having written the *Morte Darthur*. There is absolutely no contestant, and until such a contestant appears, it is not unreasonable to insist on the claims of this Sir Thomas.

Before dismissing the subject, however, we must examine the credentials of a kind of supposititious claimant, Professor John Rhÿs's hypothetical Welshman *Maleore* or *Maleor*, who differs from the Sir Thomas just introduced to the reader in that he is a mere inference, not a man who has a place in the records. His parentage is (a) a random guess of Bale's, and (b) an etymological *aperçu* implying, as we shall soon see, a complete lack of acquaintance with the forms and history of the name *Maleore*, *Malore*, *Malory* in England and in English.

The author's name, it will be remembered, is thrice mentioned in the *Morte Darthur* (as issued by Caxton). Twice it is spelled *Malory* (in Caxton's Preface and in his colophon); once *Maleore* (in the author's own valediction to the reader). Bale,¹ writing Latin, calls him *Mailorius*, and remarks that he was *Britannicus natione*. This assertion Professor Rhÿs is inclined to accept, proposing, in addition, to connect his name with that of "two districts on the confines of England and Wales," *Maylawr*, *Maelawr*, or *Maelor*.² The trisyllabic form *Malory* Professor Rhÿs seems to derive from the Latinized *Mailorius*. The form *Maleore* he regards as dissyllabic (that is, as merely a bad spelling for *Maleor* or *Maelor*), and he refers it directly to the Welsh place-name, comparing the name of a twelfth-century Cymric lord of the districts in question, *Gruffud Maelwr* or "Griffith of Maelor."³

To Bale's evidence no one can attach the slightest weight.⁴ Nor are Professor Rhÿs's etymologies more convincing. To assume

¹ *Illust. Mai. Brit. Script. Catal.*, quoted by Sommer, III, 335. Dr. Sommer attaches no importance to Bale's note. See below, p. 104, n. 6.

² In this he follows a hint of Bale's.

³ Preface to the edition of Malory's *Morte Darthur* published by J. M. Dent & Co. (London, 1893, vol. I, pp. xj, xij).

⁴ Bale's biographical statements are of the good old-fashioned sort ("inter multiplices reipublicae curas, non intermisit hic literarum studia," etc.) and convey no information. He admits that he does not even know under what king

that *Maleore* is dissyllabic — that is, to refuse to pronounce this form in accordance with the by-form *Malory* — is dangerous *a priori*; and it is still more dangerous to explain the form *Malory* as an Englishing of the Latinization of the dissyllabic *Maleor(e)*. The natural way to deal with *Malory*, *Maleore* is to regard the *-e* in *Maleore* not as silent (and due to a vicious spelling), but as representing an Old French *-é* (from Lat. *á*). *Malory* would then come from an earlier *Malorē*, just as we have *plenty* from M. E. *plentē* (O. Fr. *plentē*), *honesty* from *honestē*, and so on, the rule being one of the best known in English phonology. That an *-e* form should survive, as an archaic spelling, after the *-ē* had become *-y*, is not surprising, and, as all will admit, does not in the least indicate that *Maleore* was ever a word of two syllables.

Phonological arguments, however, are not the only ones that can be brought against Professor Rhys's theory: the history of the name *Malore* (*Malory*) in England at once disposes of it. Professor Rhys knew of no bearer of the name earlier than the author of the *Morte*

Mailorius flourished, — something that he might have discovered from the closing words of the *Morte Darthur*. He seems not to know that he was a knight. In short, he *knows* nothing. The form *Mailorius*, like Leland's *Meilorius* (in his list of authors, *Assertio Arturij*, 1544, opp. fo. 1, r^o, cited by Sommer, III, 335), is obviously made up to suit *Mailoria* (*Meiloria* in Leland, *Syllabus et Interp. Antiq. Dict.*, 1542, fo. f iii, r^o, as cited by Sommer, *l.c.*), the Latinized form of the place-name *Maelwr* (see below, p. 104, n. 6), though a spelling *Maillere* does occur (see below, p. 101, ann. 1383). Bale's idea of making *Malory* a Welshman was probably suggested by Leland's catalogue of authors in the *Assertio*. Leland divides his authors into two classes, — *externi* and *Britannici*, — and mentions *Thomas Meilorius* (whom he does not call a knight; cf. Bale) in the second list. By *Britannicus*, however, Leland does not mean *Welshman*, for he includes under this head several Englishmen (Bede, for example). The whole of Bale's information about *Malory's* book (including the title that he gives it) comes from Leland's *Assertio*, fo. 19 v^o. Cf. the passages: "Vnde in historiarum lectione diu versatus ex uariis autoribus undique selegit, de fortitudine ac uictoriis inclytissimi Brytannorum regis Arthuri *Collectiones Anglicas li. 1.* Alia ipsum edidisse non legi, nec in cuiusquam bibliopolae officina uidi. Aptissimum inter historicos hunc ei designauit locum, donec inuenero sub quo claruerit rege. Ab eius opere interim sunt reiciendae fabulae quibus abundat." (Bale.) "Libri de eius [*sc.* Arturij] cum fortitudine, tum uictorijs, impressi, vt ego didici, Italicè legantur, Hispanicè etiam, & Gallicè. Vnde & collectio Anglica, autore Thoma Mailerio, prodijt. Dixit aduersarius in illos mendacia irrepsisse multa. Pernoui." (Leland.)

Darthur. With this in view one can understand how he thought it possible that Sir Thomas was a Welshman, who took his surname from the district *Maelwr*. If Professor Rhŷs had known — what is the fact — that the name *Malore* (*Mallore*, *Malure*, etc.) had been common in England for three hundred years when Caxton published the *Morte Darthur*, he would probably never have put forth his hypothesis. The earliest *Malore* yet found is Richard Malore, who is known to have been a landholder in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire in the reigns of Stephen and Henry II.¹ A Geoffrey Malore received lands in Botley, co. Warwick, temp. Henr. II.² Anketill Malore, constable of Leicester, is well known to history in the revolt against the same king (1174).³ From this time to the present day the name occurs again and again. I give a rather large number of examples, partly to illustrate the spelling. In almost every instance, it will be observed, the authority for the form is a contemporary record.

1189–90 (1 Ric. I). Roß Mallore, Rič Mallore, Lauř Mallore (*Pipe Roll 1 Ric. I*, ed. Hunter, pp. 117, 122, 164). — 1195 (7 Ric. I).⁴ Siñ Malhore (*Rot. Curiae Regis Ric. I*, no. 4, in *Three Rolls*, ed. Maitland, Pipe Roll Soc., *Publ.*, XIV, 127). — 1199 (1 Joh.). Henř Mallore (*Rot. Curiae Regis*, ed. Palgrave, I, 239, 240). Hñř Malore (*Rot. de Obl. et Fin. temp. Reg. Joh.*, ed. Hardy, p. 24). — 1200 (1 Joh.). Hñř Mallore (*Rot. Curiae Regis*, II, 232). — 1201–2 (3 Joh.). Ralph Mallore (Nichols, IV, 722). Roß Mallore, Wills Mallore, Henř Mallore (*Rot. Canc. de 3 ann. Joh.*, pp. 3, 4, 7). — 1202–3 (4 Joh.). Henrič Mallore (*Fines*, ed. Hunter, I, 220). — 1204 (6 Joh.). Henř Mallore (*Rot. Litt. Pat.*, ed. Hardy, I, i, 48 a). — 1208 (9 Joh.). Anketill Maulore (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, 106 b). — 1206 (8 Joh.). Wiř de Malores (*Rot. Litt.*

¹ See Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, II, 1066; Bridges, *Northamptonshire*, ed. Whalley, I, 96; Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, 379. Dr. Marcou calls my attention to the occurrence of the name, in the form *Malory* or *Mallory*, in the pretended Roll of Battle Abbey, as given by Stowe, *Annals*, p. 106, ed. 1631; Holinshed, II, 7, ed. 1807; Grafton, I, 158, ed. 1809. As is well known, no authority attaches to this document. [See Additional Note, p. 106, below.]

² Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, II, 820 (“ex autog.”).

³ Benedict of Peterborough, ed. Stubbs, I, 68, 73; Roger de Hoveden, ed. Stubbs, II, 57, 65; Brompton, in Twysden, *Scriptores Decem*, col. 1093.

⁴ According to Professor Maitland’s dating of the roll (*Introd.*, p. xxviii).

Claus., ed. Hardy, I, 73 b).—*c.* 1210. Richard, son of William Mallore (*Descrip. Cat. Anc. Deeds*, II, 461, C. 1901; cf. II, 462, C. 1909, and II, 468, C. 1972).—12— (temp. Hen. III). Richard Maulore, son of William Maulore (*id.*, II, 475, C. 2036).—1220. Gilbert Malore (Nichols, III, 455).—1225 (9 Hen. III). Alič Mallore (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II, 83 a).—1229 (14 Hen. III). Anketil Mallore (*Excerpta e Rot. Fin.*, ed. Roberts, I, 191).—1230. William Malore (Nichols, III, 455).—*c.* 1240. Roßs Mallore (*Testa de Nevil*, 116, p. 26 b), Roßs Malhore (*id.*, 289, p. 64 a), Roßs Mallure (*id.*, 314, p. 67 b), Roßs Maulore (*id.*, 340, p. 73 b). Anketil (-til) Malore (*id.*, 486, 537, 552, pp. 109 b, 122 b, 126 a; cf. 686, p. 377 a).—1244 (28 Hen. III). Anketil Malore (*Cal. Docs. relating to Ireland, 1171-1251*, p. 399).—1246 (31 Hen. III). Anketil Malore (*Excerpta e Rot. Fin.*, II, 4).—1248 (32 Hen. III). Anketil Malore (*Cal. of Docs. relating to Ireland, 1171-1251*, p. 436).—1267-68 (52 Hen. III). Rob's Malure, Simon Malore, Gilbs Malure (*Rot. Select.*, ed. Hunter, pp. 171, 176, 184).—*c.* 1267-68. Joß Malore (*id.*, p. 253), Roß Maloure (*id.*, p. 255).—1270 (55 Hen. III). Simon Mallore (*Esch. R.*, in Nichols, III, 372).—1273. Ric. Malore (*Reg. Ric. Gravesend Episc. Linc.*, Bridges-Whalley, I, 584).—1274-75 (3 Ed. I). Nicholas filius domini Anketini Malore (*Cal. Geneal.*, ed. Roberts, I, 221).—1278-9 (7 Ed. I). Rob Maulere (*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*, I, 34 b), Rogerus Malore (*Inq. 7 Ed. I.*, in Nichols, IV, 73; cf. IV, 361).—1280 (8 Ed. I). William Malure (*Cat. Anc. Deeds*, II, 246, B. 1934).—1282 (10 Ed. I). J. Malure (*Cal. of Docs. relating to Ireland, 1252-1284*, p. 420). John Maleure (*id.*, p. 446; *Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1281-1292*, p. 34).—1283. Nicholas Malore (Nichols, II, 611).—1285 (13 Ed. I). Ralph Malore (*Cat. Anc. Deeds*, II, 362, B. 3053).—1286 (14 Ed. I). William Mallore, William de Maulore (*Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1281-1292*, pp. 240, 246), Henry de Maulore (*id.*, p. 246), Richard Mallore (*id.*, p. 259).—1287-88 (16 Ed. I). Sarra filia Anketini Malore *alias* Malure (*Cal. Geneal.*, I, 388; cf. I, 398).—1289 (17 Ed. I). John Maloure, Gilbert Maloure (*Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1281-1292*, p. 328).—1291-92 (20 Ed. I). Thomas (de) Maulore (*Esch. R.*, in Nichols, II, 527). William Malure (*Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1281-1292*, p. 495).—1295-96 (24 Ed. I). Roger Mallore (*Lib. Feod. Mil. MS. Cardigan*, Bridges-Whalley, I, 601). Rogerus Malore (*Inq. 24 Ed. I*, Nichols, IV, 361).—1297 (25 Ed. I). Stephen Malore, Richard Malore (*Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1292-1301*, p. 262).
1300 (28 Ed. I). Ralph Mallore (*Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1292-1301*, p. 533).—1309 (2 Ed. II). William Mallorre (*Cal. Pat. R. Edw. II, 1307-1313*, p. 97).—1313 (7 Ed. II). Stephen Malore (*Cal. Cl. R. Edw.*

II, 1313-1318, p. 82).—1314 (8 Ed. II). Simon Malore (*id.*, p. 134).—1316 (9 Ed. II). Stepħus Malore, Simon Malore (*Nom. Villar.*, in Palgrave, *Parl. Writs*, II, iii, 390), Riĉus Malore (*id.*, p. 392), Joħies Malore (*id.*, p. 368, cf. 392).—1320 (13 and 14 Ed. II). Reginaldus Malore (*Parl. Writs*, ed. Palgrave, II, ii, 533), Rađus Mallore, Malore (*id.*, pp. 228, 229).—1322 (15 Ed. II). Joħis Mallore (*id.*, p. 596).—1324 (17 Ed. II). Johannes Mallore (*id.*, p. 655), Rađus Mallore (*id.*, p. 639).—1325 (18 Ed. II). Rauf' Malore (*id.*, p. 701).—1328 (2 Ed. III). Simon Mallore (*Cal. Cl. R. Edw. III, 1327-1330*, p. 381).—1332 (6 Ed. III). Margaret, late the wife of Richard Malore (*Cal. Pat. R. Edw. III, 1330-1334*, p. 239).—1336 (10 Ed. III). Stephen Mallore (*id.*, 1334-38, p. 221). John Malore (*id.*, pp. 251, 255, 360).—1337 (11 Ed. III). John Malure (*id.*, p. 388). John Malorre (*id.*, p. 399).—1346 (20 Ed. III). Henry, John Malore (*Rot. Aux.*, in Nichols, II, 731, III, 497).—1366-67 (40 Edw. III). Joħ Malore (*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*, II, 289 a).—1369 (43 Ed. III). Stephen Malore (*Esch. R.*, in Nichols, II, 612).—1374-75 (48 Ed. III). Egidius de Malore & Johanna ux' ejus (*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*, II, 330 b).—1376-77 (50 Ed. III). Egidius de Malore (*id.*, II, 342 a).—1378 (1 Ric. II). Antel *alias* Angetil Malorre (*Cal. Pat. R. Rich. II, 1377-1381*, p. 172).—1379 (3 Ric. II). Giles Malure (*id.*, p. 416).—1380 (3 Ric. II). Giles Mallore (*id.*, p. 470), Anketin Malore, Mallore (*id.*, p. 472; cf. pp. 514, 560).—1381 (4 Ric. II). John Mallore (*id.*, p. 612).—1383-84 (7 and 8 Ric. II). Antonius Maillere chivaler (*Rot. Scot.*, II, 58 a, 67 a).—1388 (11 Ric. II). Anketillus Mallory (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 400 b).—1388-89 (12 Ric. II). Anketiħ Malore (*Cal. Pat. R. Rich. II, 1377-1381*, p. 584).

1412 (14 Hen. IV). Thomas Malory knight (*Esch. R.*, Nichols, III, 685).—1418 (6 Hen. V). William Mallere knight (*Rot. Franc., 44th Report*, p. 606).—1415 (3 Hen. V). Willelmus Maleore, Christoferus Maleore (*Darnborough MS. xlii*, J. T. Fowler, *Mem. of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, I, 287).—1432 (10 Hen. VI). Johannes Malory, Simon Malory (*Rot. Parl.*, IV, 412).—1434 (12 Hen. VI). Robertus Malore (*Rot. Scot.*, Rymer, X, 585).—1435 (13 Hen. VI). Robertus Malorre (*Rot. Franc.*, Rymer, X, 600).—1438 (17 Hen. VI). Robertus Mallorre (*Rot. Scot.*, Rymer, X, 711).—1440 (18 Hen. VI). Robertus Malore (*Offic. Corresp. of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. Williams, I, 78).—1442-43 (21 Hen. VI). Simon Malorre (*Index of Cant. Wills*, ed. Smith, II, 351).—1444-45 (23 Hen. VI). Will'us Malory (*Cal. Inq. p. M.*, IV, 221).—1446-47 (25 Hen. VI). Will'us Malory (*id.*, IV, 231).—1449 (27 Hen. VI). William Maillore (Bodl. Charter 34, Turner and Coxe, *Calendar*, p. 648).—1450-51 (29 Hen. VI). Will'us Malory, Thomas Malory filius . . . Willielmi Malory (*Cal.*

Inq. p. M., IV, 250). — 1469 (9 Ed. IV). Thomas Malory (*Cant. Wills*, II, 351; *Cal. Inq. p. M.*, IV, 347). William Maleore (Mem. in hand of Greenwell, Abbot of Fountains, Walbran, *Mem. of Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, I, 148, note). — 1471-72 (11 Ed. IV). Johannes Malory (*id.*, IV, 351). — 1478-79 (18 Ed. IV). Rob'tus fil' Thomae Malory (*Cal.*, IV, 392). — 1487 (3 Hen. VII). John Mallery (Privy Seal Writ, in Wm. Campbell, *Materials for a Hist. of Reign of Henry VII*, II, 187). John Mallary, Robert Mallary, Gyles Mallary, William Mallary (*Rot. Parl.* VI, 397). — 1488 (3 Hen. VII). John Mallery (Campbell, *Materials*, II, 251). — 1489 (4 Hen. VII). William Mallery (*Rot. Pat.*, in Campbell, II, 458).

The regular forms in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, it will be observed, are those in *-e*.¹ In the fifteenth we have,

¹ A very few *-y* (*-i*) forms are recorded as occurring early. Thus *Ricardo* [abl.] *Mallori* occurs as a witness to a charter of the Countess of Leicester in 1194 (Jones and Macray, *Charters and Documents illustrating the Hist. of Salisbury*, p. 53). Cf. (1287) *Robert Malori* (in *Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1281-1292*, p. 267); (1316) *Joñes Malory* (*Nom. Villar.* in Palgrave, *Parl. Writs*, II, iii, 392); (1322) *Joñnes Mallory* (Palgrave, *Parl. Writs*, II, ii, 588). These may be errors of the copyist or the printer. *Mallori*, *Mallory*, and *Maulerey* are found in the Records ed. of the *Testa de Nevil* (pp. 36 b, 37 a, 71 a), a compilation made about 1330. Such forms as *Malloř*, *Mauloř* (with a mark of contraction) are of course no evidence for a dissyllabic pronunciation (see *Rot. de Obl. et Fin. temp. Reg. Joh.*, p. 23; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I, 106 b; *Great Roll of the Pipe for 19 Hen. II*, Pipe Roll Soc., *Publ.*, XIX, 180). *Mallor* (which occurs frequently, as well as *Malore*, in a Latin register of the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, as printed by Nichols, IV, ii, 762, from MS. Laud, H. 72, fo. 69-71) is a mere error, and the same is doubtless true of *Mallor* in Sweetman's *Cal. of Docs. relating to Ireland, 1285-1292*, p. 144 (see *Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1281-1292*, p. 267, where, in calendaring the same document, the editors read *Malori*). There are, it should be remembered, one or two other names that bear some resemblance to *Malore* (*Malory*), and may at times have been confused with it in the records. One of these is *Mallerž* ('hammerer,' from M. E. *mallen* 'malleare'), which would regularly lose its *-ž*. Thus "Wih's fil' Wihi le Malore de Hovedeñ," 1318 (Palgrave, *Parl. Writs*, II, ii, App., p. 131); *Rob'tus le Mallore, Wihtus le Mellore*, 1326 (*id.*, II, ii, 746); "de domibus Walteri Zynegare et Williemi le Maliare," *Chron. Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. Macray, p. 284; "one Maller," 1574 (*Acts of the Privy Council*, N. S., VIII, 242). So perhaps John Maler, 1582 (*id.*, N. S., XIII, p. 307); but this may be the Christian name *Maler* used as a surname. The form *Mauleur*, which occurs twice in 1338 (*Rot. Scotiae*, I, 547 b, 549 b), may or may not be connected with *Malore*: observe that a mark of contraction would turn it into *Mauleverer*, a common name. *Maleshwre*, 1178 (J. H. Round, *Anc. Charters*, I, 75), I do not understand: is it for *Maleseweres*, i.e., *Maleseveres* or *-overes*?

as we should expect, both *-e* and *-y*. By the end of that century,¹ it may be added, the *-y* form was by far the commoner, and it has survived to the present day as a well-known family name in England and America.

With this list before us we shall not be tempted to believe that Sir Thomas, in the fifteenth century, was a Welshman, and was sur-named Maleore because he came from Maelwr.

That the forms just catalogued were trisyllabic in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, nobody will deny. That the final *e* was *-ē*, and not *-ĕ*, is proved, not merely by the development to *-y* (p. 98, above), but by three pieces of documentary evidence. Sir Peter Malory was probably the most distinguished member of that branch of the family to which our Sir Thomas belonged. He was Justice of the Common Pleas from 1292 to 1309,² one of the special commissioners for the trial of William Wallace in 1305, and was constantly engaged in public affairs. His name is therefore a familiar one in the records. It appears, not only in the forms *Malore*,³ *Mallore*,⁴ *Malorre*,⁵ *Mallorre*,⁶ *Malure*,⁷ *Malurre*,⁸ *Maulure*,⁹

¹ Late instances of *-e* forms are: 1504, Nicholas Malore (*Rot. Parl.*, VI, 541); 1545-48, Thomas Malare, Thomas Malere (Phillimore, *Calendar of Northampton and Rutland Wills*, p. 42). I have not thought it necessary to give a list of *-y* (*-ye*, *-ie*) forms (*Malory*, *Mallory*, *Malery*, *Malary*, *Mallery*, *Mallerie*, *Mallerye*, *Malari*, *Maalary*, etc.) in the sixteenth century and later; they are of course abundant.

² Stubbs, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, I, 149, note.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. I, 1281-1292*, pp. 481, 507, 511, 515; *Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1292-1301*, pp. 16, 46, 81, 162, 166, 170, etc.; *Rot. Parl.*, I, 44 a, 201 b; *Cat. Anc. Deeds*, I, 109 (A. 927); *Anc. Kal. and Inv. of Excheq.*, ed. Palgrave, III, 116. The form *de Malore* also occurs: *Rot. Parl.*, I, 179 b (cf. *Memoranda de Parl.*, ed. Maitland, p. 300).

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. I, 1292-1301*, pp. 161, 316, 423, 461, 462, etc.; *Cal. Close R. Edw. II, 1307-1313*, pp. 16, 74; *Rot. Parl.*, I, 337 b, 338 a, 460; *Rot. Orig. in Curia Scacc. Abbrev.*, I, 134 b.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. I, 1292-1301*, pp. 356, 382, 459, 463, 464, 544, 628, 630; *Cal. P. R. Edw. II, 1307-1313*, pp. 25, 40, 42, 85, 261, 276, 314, 483; *Cal. Close R. Edw. II, 1307-1313*, pp. 104, 116, 166, 192, 214, 306; *Rot. Parl.*, I, 189 b, 196 a, 210 b, 218 b, 338 b.

⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. I, 1292-1301*, p. 541; *Cal. P. R. Edw. II, 1307-1313*, pp. 2, 19; *Cal. Close R. Edw. II, 1307-1313*, p. 145; *Rot. Parl.*, I, 201 b.

⁷ *Annales de Dunstaplia*, ad ann. 1295 (*Ann. Monast.*, III, 394); *Annales Londonienses de Temp. Edw. I*, ad ann. 1307 (Stubbs, *Chron. of the Reigns of Edw. I and Edw. II*, I, 149).

⁸ *Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1292-1301*, p. 312.

⁹ *Annales de Dunstaplia*, ad ann. 1295 (*Ann. Monast.*, ed. Luard, III, 394).

Molorre,¹ but, by good luck, in a form in two *e*'s, — *Maluree*,² which leaves no room for doubt as to what *-e* we are dealing with. Another welcome piece of testimony is furnished by the name of Giles Malory, as recorded shortly before and shortly after 1400. This person is mentioned thrice³ in the *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, once in 1389 and twice in 1401. On the first occasion his name is spelled *Maloree*; on the second, *Malorry*; on the third, *Malory*.⁴ Again in the will of Alice Basset, Lady of Bytham,⁵ widow of Sir Anketil Malory of Kirkby Malory, the name is spelled *Maloree* three times.

The supposed dissyllabic *Maleor(e)* is, then, out of the argument, and with it disappears the derivation from the place-name *Maelwr*,⁶

¹ *Cal. Pat. R. Edw. I, 1292-1301*, p. 378. The variant forms *Malore*, *Mallore*, *Malorre*, *Mallorre*, are all found in *Parl. Writs*, ed. Palgrave; see I, 722; II, iii, 1136.

² This spelling occurs in *Annales Londonienses de Temp. Edw. I*, ad. ann. 1305 (Stubbs, I, 139) in the text, and also in the copy here given of the commission to Peter Malore and others to try Wallace; so again in the record of the trial in a copy given at p. 140. Bishop Stubbs's edition is based on an eighteenth-century transcript, but at this point the earlier MS. (first half of the fourteenth century) has been preserved (see *Introd.*, p. xiii), and I infer that the form *Maluree* is found therein. If this is not the case, the Giles Malory record is sufficient to establish the point.

³ *Proceedings*, ed. Nicolas, I, 14 b, 158, 160. He is probably identical with the *Egidius de Malore* mentioned, 48 and 50 Ed. III (1374-75, 1376-77), in *Rot. Orig. Abbreviatio*, II, 330 b, 342 a.

⁴ No student of English will ask for evidence that *-y* (of various origins) was often written *-e* in the fifteenth century. A good example of a proper name is *Trelawne* for *Trelawney* in *Rot. Franc.* 5 Henr. V, m. 2 (*44th Report of the Deputy Keeper*, p. 602). Cf. Elmham, *Liber Metricus de Henrico Vo*, v. 970: "Hic dominus Morle moritur — Deus huic miserere."

⁵ A. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, p. 110.

⁶ The place-name *Maelwr* occurs often enough in the English records, but always as a dissyllable. See, for example: Maylor Saxneyth (1283), *Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. I, 1281-1292*, p. 60; Maillorsaxeneyth (1289), *id.*, p. 328; Meyllor Seisenek (1291), *id.*, p. 424; Meilurseisnek (1292), *id.*, p. 521; Mailor Saiseneik (1314), *Cal. Close Rolls Edw. II, 1313-1318*, p. 102; *id.*, 1318-1323, Maillour Seisenayk (1322), *id.*, p. 421; Mellorseisenek (1323), *id.*, p. 645. It must now be obvious that Bale's *Mailorius* is a spelling devised to fit *Mailoria*. The etymology of *Malore* is far from clear. The name, as we have seen, occurs in various spellings (*Malore*, *Mallore*, *Malorre*, *Mallorre*, *Malure*, *Maluree*, etc., besides forms in *-y*), but the earliest form found is the twelfth-century *Malore* (see p. 99, above).

carrying with it the supposititious Welsh Sir Thomas Malory. This leaves, so far as appears at present, the Warwickshire Sir Thomas

The word is obviously French, the first part being *mal* (whether *malus* or *male*). It is hardly a place-name, like *Maupas* (*de Malo Passu*), *Mulai* (*de Malo Lacu*), *de Malalney* (*de Malo Alneto*), etc. To be sure, it sometimes occurs with *de*; for example: *William de Maulore*, 1286 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. I*, p. 246); *Henry de Maulore*, 1286 (*ibid.*); *Petrus de Malore* (*Rot. Parl.*, I, 179 b); *Anketill de Malory*, 1346 (*Rot. Auxil.*, 20 Ed. III, as cited by Nichols, *Leicestershire*, IV, 762), *Egidius de Malore*, 1374-75, 1376-77 (*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*, II, 330 b, 342 a). But this is not significant, for, in the first place, there is no *de* in the vast majority of instances, and in the second place, *de* is sometimes used in names that are not of local origin: a striking example is *Malebisse* = *Mala Bestia* (cf. Guil. Neubrigensis, *Hist. Rerum Angl.*, iv, 10, ed. Howlett, I, 321: "Ricardus, vero agnomine Mala-Bestia"), also occurring as *de Malebisse* (e.g., *Calend. Geneal.*, ed. Hardy, I, 273). Probably *Malore* is in origin a nickname, like so many other names in *mal-*. Such are *Malemeyns*, *Malenfant*, *Malregard*, *Maufe*, *Mauluvel*, *Maulerc* (all found in vols. I and II of *Excerpta e Rot. Finium*, Records Commission), *Malfilast*, *Malnoury*, *Mauchevaler*, *Malveisin*, *Maussaint* (which occur in *Rot. Normanniae*, ed. Hardy, vol. I), *Maleseveres* (*Calend. Geneal.*, I, 60, etc.), *Maloyse* (*id.*, I, 226), *Malcovenanz* (Gervas. Cantuar., *Chron.*, ed. Stubbs, I, 264), etc. Professor Sheldon has favored me with the following conjectures: *maleüré*, *mal oré* ('storm,' 'wind'), and the participle *oré* of *orer* ('to pray,' 'to wish'). "Only the first of these," he adds, "looks attractive, though we should expect, if it is the source of the name, to find the spelling *Maleuré* oftener and earlier than we do find it." There are, to be sure, forms of the name which might favor an *-eü-* (John *Maleure* is mentioned in 1282, *Calend. of Documents relating to Ireland 1252-1284*, ed. Sweetman, p. 446; *Maleore* occurs at the end of the *Morte Darthur* and in documents referred to in the list, pp. 101-2, above, under 1415, 1469; *Malliore* occurs several times in the will of Wm. Malory of Studley Royal, dated 1472, Walbran, *Mem. of Fountains Abbey*, II, i, 316, *i.e.*, 216); but these are rare and are perhaps only graphic variants, the oldest form known being, as has been said, *Malore*, with a simple vowel in the penult. The variation between *u* and *o* in the penult (*Malore*, *Malure*) seems to point merely to an obscuration of the vowel; but it is worth noticing that in a document of 1287-88 we have a distinction pointed out: Sir Anketill Malore of York (not to be confounded with the twelfth-century constable of Leicester Castle, or the fourteenth-century lord of Kirkby Malory, Leicestershire) is registered as "Anketinus Malore *alias* Malure" (*Calend. Geneal.*, I, 388). The spelling *Maloure* (1289, see *Cal. Pat. Rolls Edw. I*, p. 328) is hardly significant. "The loss of the indistinct vowel *e*, and probably even the appearance of *u* or *o* for the French *u* (or a possible monosyllabic *eu* in England) may be admitted for the latter part of the twelfth century in the localities we have to consider (cf. Behrens, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der franz. Sprache*

in possession of the field, for, out of all the families examined in the present investigation, he is the only person found who fulfils the conditions of the problem.

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in England, pp. 117-123, Grass, *Adamsspiel*, p. 122), especially if we reflect that the *u(o)* was not accented either in French or English pronunciation, and further that the pronunciation expressed by *o* was perhaps only a vulgarism at first. It is conceivable that some of the early bearers of the name were quite willing to have its origin forgotten, if, indeed, they really knew what it was, and so readily adopted or sanctioned a spelling which tended to conceal it and which represented an existing pronunciation." (E. S. Sheldon.) The derivation of *Malore* given in *The Norman People*, p. 436, and repeated by the Duchess of Cleveland, *Battle Abbey Roll*, II, 280-281, is valueless; these two books have confused the names and the families of *Malore* and *Malesoveres*. [After this paper was in type, Professor Sheldon gave me the following important note: "An eleventh-century form of the name *Malore (Malory)* is, I believe, 'Gaufridus *maloret*' in the so-called *Exeter Domesday (Domesday-Book*, Rec. Comm., IV, 42, l. 1). The final *-et* is a perfectly good spelling for later *-é*, though F. Hildebrand, to whose article I am indebted for mention of the name *Maloret*, apparently considered *-et* as a diminutive ending (*Zt. f. rom. Philol.*, VIII, 357). Examination of the various spellings of names in Domesday mentioned by him shows that either interpretation is quite possible as far as the scribal usage is concerned. If this *Maloret* is, as seems to me most likely, the earliest form yet found of the name *Malory*, we may feel reasonably certain that the source is not a French *Maleüré(t)*, but a trisyllabic *Maloré(t)* or *mal oré(t)*, with (in the eleventh century) a final spirant consonant which was later lost." The Gaufridus Maloret in question is mentioned in Domesday (*l. c.*) as holding property in Devonshire. I take this opportunity to add a reference to Principal Rhŷs's address at the Powis Provincial Eisteddfod, 1896 (*Bye-Gones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, XIII, 362 ff.), in which he insists strongly on his theory that Sir Thomas Malory was a Welshman.]

ON THE DATE AND INTERPRETATION OF CHAUCER'S
COMPLAINT OF MARS.

WERE the *Complaint of Mars* a more important poem than it is, the attempt made in 1886 by Professor Turein (see *Anglia*, IX, 582-84) to fix the date of composition would probably not have remained so long unexamined. Professor Skeat has, indeed, pointed out (*Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, I, 60) that the result "is not wholly satisfactory"; but the feature to which he calls attention as failing to meet the conditions of the problem is not the only, nor even the most important, defect in Professor Turein's result. Professor Skeat, one may perhaps infer, felt little confidence in the applicability of this method of solution to this problem, or he would have brought to bear upon it his wide knowledge of mediæval astronomy. His lack of confidence will be justified, I conceive, by the present paper.

Professor Turein's results are as follows: 1371 and 1379 are the only years between 1370 and 1390 in which, on or near April 12, a conjunction of Mars and Venus occurs in the neighborhood of the sign Taurus (then lying between long. 23° and 53°); in 1371 Venus is in long. $13^{\circ}.8$ and Mars in $3^{\circ}.9$ on April 12, and they come into conjunction in long. 9° on April 20; in 1379 Venus is in long. $10^{\circ}.3$ and Mars in $7^{\circ}.17$ on April 12, and the conjunction occurs in long. 9° on April 14; as the Sun has advanced 7° in Taurus by April 20 and has only just entered Taurus on April 14, the year 1379 is the more probable date.

[Now the most obvious conditions demanded by the poem are: (1) that the conjunction shall occur within the mansion of Venus, that is, the sign Taurus (ll. 54-55); (2) that it shall be brought about by the direct motion of Venus, that is, by Venus, the swifter planet, overtaking Mars, the slower (ll. 54-55, 65, 69-70); (3) that the separation from the conjunction, by the flight of Venus into Gemini, shall nearly if not exactly coincide with the entry of the Sun into Taurus

on April 12 (ll. 80-83, 105, 139-40); (4) that a few days after leaving Mars, Venus shall have reached the second degree of Gemini (ll. 113, 119-21).

Professor Skeat pointed out (*loc. cit.*) that condition (3) is not fulfilled by Professor Turein's results; in other words, that a conjunction which begins on April 14 does not answer the requirement for one which is broken up on April 12. Examination will show further that not one of the other conditions is fulfilled: (1) in neither 1371 nor 1379 does the conjunction occur in Taurus, but in long. 9° , which, according to Professor Turein's method, would be 16° of Aries; (2) in neither year is the conjunction brought about by the direct motion of Venus; in both Venus is retrograde, moving from long. $13^{\circ}.8$ to 9° in 1371, and from $10^{\circ}.3$ to 9° in 1379; (4) in neither year does Venus, since she is retrograde, move forward into Gemini after separating from the conjunction. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Professor Turein was inadequately informed as to the conditions to be fulfilled.

Closer examination of these results indicates that an error of some sort has occurred in passing from the positions for 1371 to those for 1379. As I have not yet been able to procure a copy of Professor Turein's Tables, I cannot point out the source of the error, but its existence can be shown thus: the number of days between April 12, 1371, and April 12, 1379, is 2922, in which time Mars would perform four complete orbital revolutions of 686.98 days each, with a remainder of 174.08 days; as this remainder is slightly more than one-fourth of his period, the place of Mars in his orbit on the latter date should be about 90° ahead of his place on the former date; and it is obvious that, the place of the Earth being approximately the same for the two dates, the difference between the geocentric positions of Mars, a superior planet, cannot possibly be only $3^{\circ}.27$, as Professor Turein gives it. This requirement of a difference of nearly ninety degrees in the two orbital positions of Mars is confirmed — if it need confirmation — by a recalculation of these positions. Using Vince's Tables of Mars,¹ I obtained as the mean

¹ *A Complete System of Astronomy*, by the Rev. S. Vince, vol. III, 2d ed., London, 1823. The Tables of Mars by the U. S. Naval Observatory have not yet

orbital position of Mars at mean noon, April 12, 1371, $254^{\circ} 02' 48''.7$ and for April 12, 1379, $345^{\circ} 22' 56''.5$, giving a difference of $91^{\circ} 20' 07''.8$.

We may therefore be prepared to find that the geocentric positions obtained by Professor Turein are inaccurate. I find the geocentric long. of Mars for mean noon, April 12, 1371, to be $284^{\circ} 22' 10''$, and for April 12, 1379, to be $6^{\circ} 28' 35''$.¹ The geocentric positions of Venus obtained in the same way are: for 1371, $52^{\circ} 49' 19''$; for 1379, $49^{\circ} 58' 39''$. By the use of Newcomb's Tables of Venus and Tables of the Sun,² and logarithms of seven places, I obtained somewhat more accurate positions for Venus, *viz.*, for 1371, $52^{\circ} 43' 35''$, for 1379, $49^{\circ} 54' 44''$.³

appeared; Vince's were the best accessible to me when I made my calculations, and although since 1823 some of the perturbations of Mars have been more accurately determined, the sum of the errors in Vince cannot exceed a few seconds.

¹ The mean long. in Orbit has been given already. For 1371 the true long. in Orbit is $243^{\circ} 41' 27''$; the true long. on the Ecliptic, referred to the mean equinox of the date, is $243^{\circ} 40' 54''$, subject to a correction of $-13''.4$ for nutation; the logarithm of the Curtate Distance is 10.172672. The true long. of the Earth is $209^{\circ} 59' 40''$; log. Rad. Vector 10.003275. The geocentric long. was obtained by the well-known formula: $\tan \frac{1}{2} (A - E) = \tan (45^{\circ} - \theta) \tan \frac{1}{2} (A + E)$. For 1379 the data are: true long. in Orbit = $349^{\circ} 36' 55''$; true long. on Ecliptic from M. Eq. = $349^{\circ} 37' 45''$; log. C. D. = 10.143929. True long. Earth = $210^{\circ} 03' 54''$; log. R. = 10.003349. Inasmuch as in these calculations, as well as those which follow, the long. is referred to the mean equinox of the date, the correction for the precession of the equinoxes applied by Turein to the positions of the signs of the zodiac is already accounted for in the results here given.

² *Astronomical Papers prepared for the use of the American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac*, vol. VI; pt. i, *Tables of the Sun*; pt. iii, *Tables of Venus*; Washington, 1895. For the trigonometrical functions I used Georg's *Freiherrn von Vega Logarithmisch-Trigonometrisches Handbuch*, 62^{te} Aufl., bearb. v. Dr. C. Bremiker, Berlin, 1878.

³ Perhaps I ought to state that I did not think it necessary to take account of corrections for aberration; in view of the fact that in a calculation made for April 12, 1372, I found by Newcomb's method the aberration of the Sun corrected for the secular variation to be $-20''.336$, and that our problem gives us leeway of twenty-four hours, this seemed a superfluous refinement, as did also the correction of the results by Vince and Newcomb for the difference in long. between Greenwich and Oxford.

Venus and Mars are, therefore, not very near a conjunction at either date. In 1371 the distance between them is 128° , in 1379 43° . In both years, it is true, Mars is direct and Venus retrograde;¹ but in 1379 the conjunction will not occur until May 20, thirty-eight days later, at which time Venus will have ceased to retrograde and will be moving direct very slowly, while Mars will be moving swiftly enough to overtake her; and in 1371 the indicated conjunction will not occur at all, as Mars becomes retrograde and Venus direct.

The question of the date of the poem must be regarded as still open for discussion. If the astronomical tables used by Chaucer himself were accessible, they would obviously, in the present problem, take precedence of all others, for we are concerned to know, not what the actual positions of the planets were, but what Chaucer supposed them to be. The tables "of the reuerent clerks, frere I. Somer and frere N. Lenne," cannot, however, be found this side of London, I suppose; I have therefore been obliged to content myself with a set of the *Alphonsine Tables*, printed at Venice in 1524.² That there are differences of any importance between these tables and those used by Chaucer will hardly be believed by any one who has compared several of the older tables. The results thus obtained for Venus and Mars are as follows:

¹ This may be ascertained by inspecting the heliocentric positions of the Earth and the two planets. An inferior planet is retrograde when in its inferior conjunction with the Sun, and for a short time before and after. Venus, it will be observed, is in both instances very near to such a conjunction. A superior planet is retrograde when in opposition or near it. But even in 1371, Mars will not be in opposition until more than two months later.

² *Alfonsi Hispaniarum Regis Tabulae et L. Gaurici Artium doctoris egregii Theoremata*. These tables were, of course, constructed for the longitude of Toledo; in the ensuing calculations, in applying the correction in time for the longitude of Oxford, I have followed the table in this volume in making the correction 32 m. 53 s., although the true difference is, according to the *Connaissance des Temps* for 1893, only 10 m. 57 s. In a problem like ours, in which the time of day is not stated, a much greater difference than either of these might obviously be neglected without affecting the result materially; but the inclusion of the correction entailed little extra labor. The equation of the time for the inequality of days might also be neglected; and, indeed, I have made only an approximate equation; the limits being 3 m. 30 s. and 3 m. 44 s., I have been content to apply the former throughout the calculations.

	VENUS.	MARS.
April 12, 1369,	2 ^s 01° 29' 33''	8 ^s 00° 24' 56''
“ “ 1370,	0 06 46 29	1 25 42 04
“ “ 1371,	1 23 11 21	9 15 27 38
“ “ 1372,	1 14 30 50	2 09 36 01
“ “ 1373,	11 21 10 20	10 12 44 31
“ “ 1374,	2 14 13 17	2 22 57 51
“ “ 1375,	0 25 11 49	11 02 45 24
“ “ 1376,	11 15 32 26	3 07 35 29
“ “ 1377,	2 02 04 28	11 20 48 45
“ “ 1378,	0 07 24 42	3 23 20 56
“ “ 1379,	1 20 32 38	0 06 26 30
“ “ 1380,	1 15 10 31	4 13 31 12
“ “ 1381,	11 21 41 12	0 22 05 26
“ “ 1382,	2 14 27 26	5 13 29 46
“ “ 1383,	0 25 52 11	1 06 13 34
“ “ 1384,	11 15 20 58	7 06 26 37
“ “ 1385,	2 02 40 04	1 20 38 36
“ “ 1386,	0 08 02 57	9 01 21 31
“ “ 1387,	1 17 41 07	2 03 58 39
“ “ 1388,	1 15 49 44	10 03 37 17
“ “ 1389,	11 22 11 59	2 17 49 40
“ “ 1390,	2 14 39 34	10 25 28 43
“ “ 1391,	0 26 32 07	3 01 35 50
“ “ 1392,	11 15 10 51	11 14 22 30
“ “ 1393,	2 03 14 13	3 17 02 36
“ “ 1394,	0 08 41 17	0 00 36 05
“ “ 1395,	1 14 38 12	4 04 55 39
“ “ 1396,	1 16 39 02	0 16 32 39
“ “ 1397,	11 22 43 01	3 00 02 28
“ “ 1398,	2 14 51 07	1 00 55 04
“ “ 1399,	0 27 11 55	6 13 15 57
“ “ 1400,	11 15 04 49	1 15 32 14

The trustworthiness of these results may be tested by comparing the positions here given for 1371 and 1379 with those obtained by modern methods.¹ The agreement is obviously not such as would satisfy a modern astronomer, but it is as close as could be expected between tables that are reasonably accurate for any epoch and

¹ It may be worth recording that for 1372 the geocentric place of Venus obtained by the use of Newcomb's Tables and the method explained above is 1^s 14° 52' 56'', and that of Mars obtained from Vince is 2^s 09° 55' 50''.

tables that were not scrupulously accurate even for the epoch of their calculation. Accepting the results as approximately correct, we may proceed to the inquiry whether there was any year between 1369 and 1400 when Chaucer would have had presented to his eyes a conjunction that fulfilled the conditions stated in the poem.

It appears at once that there are only four years that have the slightest claim to consideration, 1374, 1385, 1392, and 1394. Three of these may be disposed of by the single circumstance that the conjunction does not occur in the proper sign. In 1374 both planets are in Gemini, and eight degrees apart; the daily motion of Venus is $+62'31''$, that of Mars is $+34'54''$;¹ Venus will therefore overtake Mars in about sixteen days, when he is just entering Cancer. In 1392 they are in Pisces, and only one degree apart; they are therefore still in conjunction, and have been for some time, as the daily motion of Mars is $+50'25''$ and that of Venus $+51'38''$. In 1394 they are at the beginning of Aries, eight degrees apart, and both direct of motion; this conjunction, therefore, also occurred in Pisces. The situation in 1385 demands closer scrutiny: Mars is in Taurus, Venus occupies the position which in the poem she is supposed to occupy, not on the day of the entrance of Phœbus into Taurus, but several days afterward. There is, so far as I can see, nothing to prevent any-one of a speculative turn from holding that this situation may have suggested to Chaucer the idea of his poem; but not even the most accommodating of interpreters could maintain that the actual situation agrees with that set forth in the poem. The actual partile conjunction² had taken place twenty-four days earlier, on March 19, when the planets were both at the beginning of the fifth degree of Taurus. As both were direct of motion, and Venus moving about $32'30''$ more in a day than Mars, they remained within a degree of each other for nearly two days. That is to say, the separation from the conjunction occurred, if the conjunction be partile, twenty-two days before the entrance of Phœbus into Taurus. If,

¹ I indicate direct motion by +, retrograde by —.

² Venus and Mars are in partile conjunction when they are posited in the same degree; they are in platic conjunction when less than six or eight degrees apart; see below for a discussion of the question.

however, it be argued that it was not partile, but platic, we must then face the fact that the platic conjunction began some sixteen days earlier than the partile, when both planets were in the house of Mars, not, as the poem requires, in that of Venus. Moreover, the separation even from the platic conjunction would occur some eight days before the entrance of Phœbus into Taurus. As the position of Mercury at this time may seem to some to have a bearing upon the problem, it may be recorded that on April 12 the place of Mercury is $1^{\text{s}} 19^{\circ} 35' 09''$. A fuller discussion of the situation of this planet as described in the poem may be found below, p. 123; here let it suffice to note that he precedes Phœbus and would, therefore, if the situation were transferred to the poem, warn the lovers of his approach. On all these grounds, therefore, but mainly on the ground that Venus leaves Mars long before the entrance of Phœbus into the *paleys*, it seems impossible to accept the situation in 1385 as agreeing with that described; and this carries with it the conclusion that to draw from the astronomical data any inference as to the year in which the poem was composed would be, to say the least, hazardous.¹

If Chaucer had in mind an actual conjunction, he may have found it in some list of observations or calculations, such, for example, as that of Ebn Jounis, printed in part in Delambre's *Histoire de l'astronomie du moyen âge*. But it may well have been an entirely imaginary case. That this is probable, will, I think, be suggested by the details which a careful examination of the poem discloses. I shall follow the order of the poem itself, commenting upon matters astrological, as well as astronomical.

Precisely the manner in which Mars by "hevenish revolucioun" has "wonne Venus his love" (ll. 30-31), I do not understand. It is to be noted, however, that, according to astrology, Venus is the only planet that is friendly to Mars.² It seems probable, therefore, that

¹ It will perhaps be asked whether, after the usage then current, Chaucer may not have had in mind a mean conjunction rather than a true one. The reply to this is that the old astronomy makes the mean motions of Venus and the Sun identical.

² "Mars diligit venerem solam et ipsa eum: ceteros odit." Guido bonatus de forliuio. [*Liber Astronomicus.*] *Decem continens tractatus Astronomie* [Augsburg, 1491], fol. i, 8 b. "Et amica martis est Venus et ceteri planete odio habent

he has come into a good familiarity (either trine or sextile aspect) with her;¹ and the ascription of this to "heavenish revoluciuon," rather than to the motions of the planets themselves, would seem to suggest that the reference here, though in no other passage of the poem, is to the mundane rather than the zodiacal aspects.² This might help to explain how the nature of Mars is changed by Venus (ll. 32-42). Certainly in nativities the influence of Mars may be entirely changed by the aspect of Venus.³ Although this will explain

eum et plus Iupiter et sol." Abdilazi, fol. cc, 7 b. As this edition differs from that used by Professor Skeat, I will give the title and colophon: "LIBELLVS YSAGOGICVS ABDILAZI. ID EST SER- | VI GLORIOSI DEI: QVI DICITVR ALCHABITIVS | AD MAGISTERIVM IVDITIORVM ASTRO- RVM : | INTERPRETATVS A IOANNE HISPALENSI. SCRI | PTVMQVE IN EVNDEM A IOHANNE SAXONIE | EDITUM VTILI SERIE CON- NEXVM INCIPIVNT." "Finitur scriptum fuper Alchabitium ordinatum per Iohannem de | faxonia in villa parifiensi anno. 1331^o. Correctum per artium et | medicine doctorem dominum Bartholomeum de Al- | ten de nufia. Impreffum arte ac diligentia Erhardi rat- | dolt de Augusta Imperante Iohanne Mocenico Ve- | netiarum duce. Anno falutifere incarnationis. 1485. | Venetijs | "

Cf. also *Isagogæ astrologiæ iudiciariæ*, p. xli a, *Opera Math.* I. Schoneri, Norinbergæ, MDLI.

¹ "Aspectus quartus & quintus dicuntur Trini, inter quos est distantia centum & uiginti graduum, Tertij siue trini autem dicuntur hi aspectus, quia tertia Zodiaci pars est inter ipsos, & hi aspectus sunt integræ amicitia, sed sextus & septimus aspectus dicuntur sextiles, quia distant per sexaginta gradus quæ est sexta pars Zodiaci, atque hi aspectus sunt amicitia semiplenæ." Ioannis Hispalensis *Isagoge in astrologiam*, cap. xxii (*Epitome totius astrologiæ*, conscripta à Ioanne Hispalensi Hispano Astrologo celeberrimo, ante annos quadringentos, Ac nunc primum in lucem edita . . . Nori[n]bergæ, MDXLVIII).

² "Aspectus etiam fit paribus modis, scilicet per gradus æquales, uel per latitudinem terræ. Per gradus æquales est, ut quot gradus compræhendit de signo, totidem prospiciat alterius signi, uel aspectu oppositionis, uel quadrati, uel tertij, uel sextilis. Sed per latitudinem fit, sicut per modum directionis domorum, in quacunque regione. Vt per quot gradus fuerit, in aliqua domo totidem gradus prospiciat alterius domus inuentæ, secundum terræ latitudinem." I. Hisp., *Isagoge*, cap. xxvii.

³ Cf. Schoneri *Isagogæ*, xci b: "Si Mars dispositor spiritus, fortunatus fuerit, et associatus Veneri fortunatæ, natus amabit socios suos, amabit uoluptates, gaudia, & tripudia, & iocos moderatos, parcus, quietus, uerecundus & sapiens."

In his *commemoratione uniuersarum partium* Alchabitius discusses "Pars dilectionis et concordie, id est pars ueneris. . . . Pars animositatis et audacie id est martis." Abdilazi, fol. dd, 8 b.

most of the statements in ll. 29-49 (see especially 39-40 and 41-42), I am by no means confident that some other supposition might not be more satisfactory. The rest of the allusions are less difficult.

Thus be they knit, and regnen as in heven
By loking most (ll. 50-51).

The phrase "as in heven" may be intended to direct the reader's attention henceforth to the zodiacal, or celestial, aspects and relations. By "loking" no doubt only the favorable aspects,¹ trine and sextile, are intended, as Professor Skeat suggests.

From the agreement, l. 53, that "Mars shal entre, as faste as he may glyde, into her nexte paleys," I think we may infer not only, as Professor Skeat does, that Mars was direct of motion, but also that he was swift of course; swift he certainly was, as being less than 90° from the Sun.² This would, to be sure, involve some inconsistency with l. 129, in which, when even nearer the Sun, he is said to pass "but oo steyre [= degree] in dayes two"; but Chaucer may have assigned to him there only his mean motion. That Venus, too, is swift of course is shown, not only by the fact that she overtakes Mars, but also by the expression, "And he preyde her to haste her for his sake" (l. 55), by her position in her epicycle, and by the express statement in ll. 69-70, where, indeed, the poet may again be thinking of the mean motion.³

¹ It may be noted that a conjunction is not, by most astrologers, called an aspect. It is, indeed, treated with the aspects by Messahala (see Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, ed. Skeat, p. 101); but it is excluded from the seven enumerated by Johannes Hispalensis, *Isagoge*, cap. xxii; Schöner, *op. cit.*, xxxiii b, distinguishes them; and Wilson, *Dict. of Astrol.*, ed. 1885, p. 100, says expressly: "Many authors, however, deny the conjunction to be an aspect, because the stars do not behold each other."

² "Est autem mediocris, cum ab una die in alium uadit tantum, quantum est cursus planetæ mediatus unius diei, uelox est, cum plus uadit, tardus cum minus. . . . Tres superiores distantes, à Sole minus nonaginta gradibus sunt ueloces, si nonaginta mediocres, si plus tardi." I. Hisp., *Isagoge*, cap. xxiii. The marginal gloss to this passage gives the mean motion of Mars as 31'27" and that of Venus as 59'08", which are the amounts ordinarily given.

³ Professor Skeat seems to have forgotten, in the latter part of his note on these lines, that Chaucer could not possibly allude to, or know anything about, the orbital periods of the planets. The motions of the Excentric and the Epi-

Professor Skeat's interpretation of "into her nexte paleys" (l. 54) seems to imply that the agreement was made in Aries. I am not sure that the expression means more than "the nearest of her two houses, Libra and Taurus." Taurus was especially appropriate for the meeting, for it is the nocturnal mansion of Venus, whereas Libra is the diurnal,¹ and it is an unfortunate, hurtful, crooked sign, whereas Libra is straight, sweet, and fortunate.²

The waiting of Mars in the mansion of Venus is said to be especially painful, for two reasons. In the first place, because he is there in great peril (ll. 58-60). This is because Taurus is in general an unfortunate sign, and in particular is the detriment, or fall, of Mars.³ "Planets in detriment," says Wilson (p. 26), "are reckoned unfortunate and weak, and it is a symbol of poverty, distress, loss, and subjugation." This can be removed or overcome only by a *donatio virtutis* from Venus, which would occur if Mars could see Venus; that is, if he were configured with her in a favorable aspect.⁴ The second cause of his distress is that he is in solitude. This is defined by

For hit stood so that ilke tyme, no wight
Counseyled him, ne seyde to him welcome.

Venus herself cannot say welcome to him, for a welcome or recep-

cycle were, of course, known to him, and he would have given the former as (nearly) 487 days for Mars and one year for Venus, and the latter as 779 days for Mars and 583 for Venus; cf. Thomas Blundeulle, *The Theoriques of the seven Planets*, London, 1602, pp. 69, 72, 111, 112.

¹ Cf. Wilson, *Dict.*, pp. 21, 294, and Schoneri *Isagogæ*, xxxvii, xxxviii. It is also the sign in which Venus is said to rejoice: "Signa autem in que planete dum intrant dicuntur gratulari in eis et domini eorum secundum dorothium sunt hec. Saturnus dum intrat Aquarium gaudere dicitur . . . Venus in Tauro." Abdilazi, fol. aa, 3 b. Cf. *Decem tract.*, fol. c, 1 b.

² Cf. Wilson, pp. 364, 366; Schöner, xxvii; and J. Hispalensis, capp. ii, vii.

³ According to Schöner, p. xliiii a, a debility of two degrees attaches to the "Domus septima à domo planetæ, id est detrimentum"; cf. also p. xxxii a. Skeat, *Astrolabe*, p. lxxvii, follows the marginal gloss to Johannes Hispalensis in making *detrimentum* equivalent to *occasus* and *dedecus* to *casus*: "Honorem uocat quod alij exaltationem, dedecus id quod alij casum, occasum uero, quod alij detrimentum appellant." — *Op. cit.*, cap. i.

⁴ See the long explanation and example given by Schöner, p. xxxiii (*i.e.*, xxxviii) b.

tion is established, when one planet is in the dignity of another, by the other planet coming into sextile or trine with it,¹ and we have just seen that it is the absence of this configuration which leaves Mars in distress. No other planet, we may infer, in one of whose dignities Mars is at that time, is so configured with him. If the position of Mars within the sign were accurately given, it would be easy to draw up a list of these planets; the possible ones are the Moon (by exaltation and triplicity), and Mercury, Jupiter, and Saturn (each by a term). We must certainly regard the Moon as inconjunct, and probably also Mercury, as Mars seems, from later indications, to have advanced at least as far as the term belonging to that planet (7° - 14°). The situation of Mars, it will be observed, could hardly be worse; he is peregrine and feral, in his fall, in an evil house.

In ll. 79, 85 we are told that the conjunction took place in a "chambre amid the paleys." I cannot find that chamber was ever an established technical name for any of the subdivisions of the sign as house. Ptolemy, however, says, after speaking of terms: "The signs have been subdivided by some persons into parts still more minute, which have been named places and degrees of dominion. Thus the twelfth part of a sign, or two degrees and a half, has been called a place, and the dominion of it given to the signs next succeeding. Other persons again, pursuing various modes of arrangement, attribute to each planet certain degrees, as being aboriginally connected with it, in a manner somewhat similar to the Chaldaic arrangement of the terms."² From Johannes Hispalensis and his commentator we may learn what these subdivisions were. The latter says, commenting upon the expression "dominus primæ partis" in chapter i: "Partes hoc loco uocantur trientes, siue decani signorum," and continuing, "Nouena nona pars signi est, complectens 3 gradus cum triente unius. Sic dodecatomerion duodecima pars signi est 2 gradus cum semisse." If we examine all the subdivisions of Taurus,

¹ On the possibility of the establishment here of a reception by Mars and Venus being each in the house of the other, see below, p. 123, n. 3.

² Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos or Quadripartite*, trans. J. M. Ashmand, London, 1822, p. 53. See also the remarks on "Cylenius tour," below, p. 119.

as given by Johannes Hispalensis, chapter ii, we shall find that Venus has a term, consisting of degrees 1-8, a decanate, consisting of degrees 1-10, a novene, $13\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$ - $16\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$, and three dodecatemoria, 1° - $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, $17\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ - 20° , and 25° - $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. That the second dodecatemorion is indicated here, is perhaps little better than a guess. Some confirmation of the guess I once thought might be derived from the fact that upon the chamber of Venus the rays of the Sun are said to strike *lightly* as he enters the palace gate.¹ According to Wilson (p. 401) and Heydon² (p. 59), a planet is under the Sun's beams when within seventeen degrees of that luminary. This would agree fairly well with the distance of the second dodecatemorion of Venus; but Schöner (p. xxxvi a), Johannes Hispalensis (capp. xiii, xxiii), Alchabitius (fol. bb 7 b), and Guido Bonatus (fol. g 3 a), give fifteen degrees as the limit within which a planet is *sub radiis solaribus*.

That this chamber, whatever it may be, should be decorated with paintings of bulls, is not strange; but, inasmuch as the colors of Taurus are red and citron, it may seem strange that the bulls should be white. White, however, is one of the colors signified by Venus.³

The weeping of Venus (l. 89) at her separation from Mars could of course be sufficiently accounted for on non-astrological grounds; but it is at least interesting to observe the appropriateness of what is here said about her, and of the statement in l. 94 of Mars that "his nature was not for to wepe." Johannes Hispalensis says: "Mars est calidus et siccus absque temperie." "Venus est humida et frigida temperate." "Cæterum Venus significat humiditatem, . . . Mars uentos à dextro seu meridie, et calorem à septentrione sinistro." "Et quoties Saturnus coniungitur uel corpore uel radio

¹ Of course "with torch in hand" is clear enough; but interesting illustrations of the conception may be found in the figures of the Sun given by Schöner, pp. xxxiii a, xxxiii b. It is curious, but perhaps not significant, that one of the old names of Aldebaran, the eye of the Bull (the constellation, not the sign), is *Facula*, in Greek *Λαμπαδίας* and *Λαμπαύρας*; see *Tabula Resoluta*, p. lxxiii (Schoneri *Opera*), Ptolemy, p. 25 and n., and Liddell-Scott, *s. v.* *Λαμπαδίας*.

² *The New Astrology*, by C. Heydon, Jr., 2d ed., London, 1786.

³ On both points, cf. Wilson, p. 16, and Schoneri *Isagogæ*, p. xxx a. "Et ex coloribus habet [Venus] album." *Decem tract.*, fol. g 4 b.

Soli uel Lunæ, aut Iupiter Mercurio, uel Venus Marti, significant pluuiam futuram.”¹

In connection with ll. 97-102, it may not be amiss to refer to the armed figure of Mars in the plate given by Schöner, p. xxxiii. Lines 103-4 and 107 are explained by what has already been said about the motion of Mars as compared with that of Venus, and his relations to the sign Taurus.

“Half the stremes of thyn yen” (l. 111) may be, as Professor Skeat says, “fanciful,” but it is not particularly obscure. It does not allude to “the fyry sparkes” of l. 96, but to the *lux*, or rays, or *medietas orbis*, of the planet. There is, indeed, some disagreement among astrologers as to the extent of these rays in the case of Mars. Johannes Hispalensis gives it as eight degrees.² According to Wilson (p. 314) and the editor of Ptolemy (p. 55), it is only 7°30'. We may assume the more ancient of these views as correct, and conclude that Venus has separated from Mars by four degrees. How much time has elapsed since the conjunction was perfect, could be determined with precision if we knew the exact positions of the two planets, from which their daily motions could be ascertained. At the rate of their mean motion, the time required for a separation of four degrees would be about eight days. As they are both swift of course, we may safely infer that Venus is now more than eight degrees ahead of the place of the conjunction, and Mars more than four.

It is apparently still later than this that Venus flees “into Cylenius Tour” (l. 113). “Tour” is, I take it, not a mere synonym for mansion, as Professor Skeat suggests. I know no other example of the use of the word as an astrological expression, but Ptolemy says (p. 54): “Each planet is also said to be in its proper chariot, or

¹ I. Hisp., *Isagoge*, capp. xvii, xviii; *Libri quatuor, de iudicijs Astrologicis*, lib. I, cap. vi (printed with the *Isagoge*). See also Schoneri *Isagogæ*, pp. xiii b, xxx; Ptolemy, p. 46; and Wilson, *s. vv.* Planets and Weather.

² “Lux octo graduum,” *Isagoge*, cap. xvii. Cf. “sed secundum ueritatem incipit aspectus, per tot gradus ante coniunctionem, quot sunt gradus lucis superioris, et tantundem perseverat, per totidem gradus post coniunctionem.” *Ib.*, cap. xxii. “Quam hic uocat lucem planetæ, eam alij medietatem orbis appellant.” *Ib.*, cap. xiii, gloss. Alchabitius, Guido, and Schöner also give eight degrees.

throne, or otherwise triumphantly situated, when it holds familiarity with the place which it occupies by two, or more, of the prescribed modes of connection." Now we know from a later passage (l. 121) that Venus is at this time in the first two degrees of Gemini, which is the mansion of Mercury (Cylenius¹); but the first six degrees of the sign form a term which belongs to Mercury; and these six degrees, it should seem, are what is meant by "Cylenius tour," since they are his by a twofold right.

"With voide cours" (l. 114) is a technical phrase meaning that, after separating from the conjunction, Venus passed through the rest of the sign without coming into a familiarity with any planet.²

Alas! and ther so hath she no socour,
For she ne fond ne saw no maner wight (ll. 115-16)

explains itself, and it also confirms the interpretation of "no wight counseyled him" (67), as including not only familiarity by conjunction, but also familiarity by aspect.

The "litol might" which Venus is said (l. 117) to have in her present situation in Gemini depends not upon the fact that she is "half-way from her exaltation to her depression," but rather upon the small number of dignities and large number of debilities which she now has. In this part of Gemini Venus is peregrine, and has no dignity from her position; her only *fortitudines*, indeed, are independent of her position, and arise from her direct motion (valued at 4), and her swiftness of course (valued at 1); but these are more than overbalanced by her *peregrinatio* (a debility of 5), her *evacuatio cursus* (2), and probably also by a *feralitas* (3); certainly shortly afterwards she acquires another debility of 2 by entering the *gradus*

¹ There could, of course, be no question as to the meaning of *Cylenius*. If one were fully persuaded that it was from Statius that Chaucer took the story of the "brooch of Thebes," the occurrence of Cyllenius in the *Thebaid* might be brought into connection with this passage; but the name is not uncommon in mediæval Latin.

² "Cum planeta separatur ab aliquo per coniunctionem uel per aspectum, & non iungitur alteri per corpus uel per aspectum, quamdiu fuerit planeta in eodem signo, dicitur cursu uacuu, hoc tamen debet intelligi iuxta orbis uel radios planetarum." Schoneri *Isagogæ*, p. xxxvii b; cf. Wilson, *sub* Void of Course.

putealis.¹ Moreover, Venus is said to be *debilis* when in a masculine sign; and Gemini is masculine.²

Professor Skeat's explanation of the "cave" (l. 119) is, as has been assumed above, entirely correct. He is also certainly right in holding that "derk" (l. 120) implies no real diminution of the light of Venus. The connection of "derk" and "smoking" would lead one to think of the fact that besides *gradus puteales* there are *gradus tenebrosi* and *gradus fumosi*;³ but unfortunately no astrological authority, so far as I have been able to discover, assigns any smoky degrees to Gemini; and the first four degrees (in one of which Venus now is) are light (*lucidi*), not dark. If "derk" and "smoking" here are suggested by the astrological expressions, we must assume on the part of Chaucer either temporary forgetfulness or poetic license.

That Venus remains "a natural day" in the cave depends upon the fact that her mean daily motion is 59' 08".

Mars waxes so feeble that he nearly dies (ll. 127-28), because of the approach of the Sun. He comes first *sub radiis solaribus*, whereby

¹ A planet does not cease to be *vacuus cursu* until it is joined to another "corpore uel aspectu," says Schöner, *loc. cit.* A planet is peregrine, says Wilson (p. 310), when it is "posited in a sign where it has no essential dignity of any kind"; but this is certainly inaccurate, for the term is an essential dignity (see Wilson, p. 27), and every planet (excluding the luminaries) has one term in each sign (see Wilson, p. 379). Schöner (p. xxxiii, *i.e.*, xxxviii) defines it better: "Peregrinus dicitur planeta, cum non fuerit in aliqua suarum dignitatum essentialium." The term in Gemini belonging to Venus is at the very end of the sign. Schöner (*loc. cit.*) defines *feralis*: "Feralis autem dicitur, cum fuerit planeta . . . in aliquo signo solus, absque radijs aliorum." Alchabitius (fol. cc 5 a) says: "Et cum fuerit planeta in aliquo signo: et aliquis planeta non aspexerit hoc signum alter planeta quamdiu in eodem fuerit dicitur feralis uel agrestis." "De gradibus putealibus. Et in signis sunt quidam gradus qui uocantur putei; cum fuerit planeta in aliquo eorum dicitur esse in puteo." *Ib.*, fol. bb 1 a. Cf. the comment of John of Saxony (*Ib.*, fol. gg 8 a): "Et si ceciderit in gradu tenebroso significat duritiam et tarditatem et horribilem rem et tenebrosam et malam. Et cum ceciderit in gradu fusco uel vmbroso uel fumoso uel in gradu vacuo significat modicum horribile. Et si ceciderit planeta in gradu putei abibit eius pulchritudo et aspectus et debilitatur in significatione sua."

² Schoneri *Isagogæ*, xliii b and xxviii a.

³ See the table, Schoneri *Isagogæ*, xli b.

he suffers a debility of 4, and later he is combust, a debility of 6.¹ When combust, says Wilson (p. 17), "its influence is then said to be burnt up or destroyed."

Mercury is certainly swift in motion, and it may be that, as Professor Skeat suggests, this swiftness is the basis of the application to him of the word *chevauche* (l. 144); but it is possible that the basis is rather that in a poem in which the planets are personified, he is appropriately made a knight, who welcomes to his castle a distressed lady. He is away from home,—is, indeed, returning after an absence of a year; what more fitting than to speak of his expedition as a *chevauche*?

I have little doubt that Professor Skeat has given the proper explanation of "Venus valance," which he rightly calls the most difficult expression in the poem. It is possible, however, that "valance" is from *valentia*, and is used here for the place of Venus's power, that is, her mansion Taurus; for the arguments produced by Professor Skeat (*op cit.*, I, 501) to prove that Mercury must be in Aries are by no means convincing. Mercury can, to be sure, never get more than twenty-nine degrees away from the Sun, and consequently is in either Aries or Taurus; moreover, it seems a just inference that if Mercury had preceded the Sun at his entrance into Taurus, that fact would have been mentioned.² But it is now several days since this entrance; that it is only two, as Professor Skeat assumes, I see no reason to maintain; but even were it only two, Mercury might be following the Sun so closely as to be now in Taurus. What persuades me that Professor Skeat's explanation is, after all, correct, is that Mercury, from his position, sees his palace, and, saluting Venus, receives her as his friend. I cannot think, with Professor Skeat, that in astrology

¹ "Combustus dicitur planeta, quando est cum sole per sex gradus ante uel post. Sed post sex gradus uel ante, usque in 15 gradus, dicitur oppressus. . . . Estque ea maxima debilitas, quæ planetis contingere potest. . . . Agnoscitur autem planetarum combustio per suorum orbium medietates." Schoneri *Isagogæ*, p. xxvi a, *i.e.*, xxxvi a. Wilson gives the distances as 7° 30' and 17°. In either case the combust area must be reduced by the sixteen minutes immediately before and after the Sun which constitute Cazimi, wherein a planet is relieved of its debility and receives a fortitude of 5.

² Cf. p. 113, above.

or in this poem a planet can see anything at the distance of a sign — or less. Seeing must mean being in aspect with,¹ and — disregarding the innovations of Kepler — can be accomplished only at the definite distances of two, three, four, and six signs, plus or minus half the sum of the planetary half-orbs. The relations of Venus and Mercury to the Sun make it impossible that they should ever be in any other aspect than the sextile. The sum of the half-orbs of Venus and Mercury is 14° .² Mercury is therefore somewhere between 60° and 53° distant from Venus and his mansion. This distance is also necessary to establish the reception mentioned.³ This would necessitate the movement of the planets by several degrees, and the lapse of several days, since the Sun entered Taurus on April 12 and put an end to the conjunction of Mars and Venus; but there is nothing in the text to interfere with this assumption, if

¹ I do not mean by this to deny the validity of the configuration called *almug(u)ea*, or *visio facie ad faciem*; but most astrologers seem to have confined it to the relations of the planets to the luminaries. Guido Bonatus says (fol. h 7 b): "De almuguea vero aliorum planetarum non curauerunt sapientes facere mentionem: quia non crediderunt in eis esse magnam vim: tamen quilibet eorum habet suam almugeam." Alchabitius and his commentator agree with the majority; cf. foll. cc 4a and kk 3 a.

² This is according to Ioann. Hisp., capp. xviii, xix. Modern writers (see Wilson, p. 317) give the half-orb of Venus as eight degrees. Johannes Hispanensis counts an aspect as perfect when the distance from partile (or agreement in degree) is not greater than the half-orb of the inferior planet. If we accept seven degrees as the half-orb of Venus, the mode of counting the platic aspect is immaterial, as the half-orb of Mercury is also seven degrees. In the discussion on page 112 above, I adopted, for the sake of argument, the mode most advantageous to the view I was examining.

³ Wilson, it is true, says (p. 340) that a reception is established when two planets are "posited in each other's houses"; but Wilson appears not to believe in reception and probably does not understand it. Something more is required. In each of the modes of reception defined by the older authors, the planets must "see" each other; cf. Schoneri *Isagogæ*, p. xxxviii b. The reception in question here is, I think, that of which Schönner says: "Maiorem uocant, quando planeta iungitur alteri per corpus uel aspectum, aut per applicationem, & unus eorum est in domicilio, uel exaltatione alterius, tunc ille, cuius est domus uel exaltatio, recipit alium quasi in suo hospitio, & hanc dicunt esse perfectam & mutuam receptionem." That Venus is the friend of Mercury may be learned from any list of the *amicitiæ planetarum*.

indeed it is not distinctly indicated in more than one passage of the poem.

I have no doubt that I have overlooked¹ a number of astrological allusions, and have failed to bring out the full significance of some that I have discussed. But I think I have shown that the poem is so packed with astrological allusions and conforms so closely to astronomical relations and movements, that it can hardly be regarded as anything else than a mere exercise of ingenuity in describing a supposed astronomical event in terms of human action and emotion. With the converse of this process we are familiar, and there are more or less remote resemblances to the process itself which will readily arise to the minds of all. Whether there may lie behind the poem some hidden ligature connecting it with an amour² of John Holand and Isabel Langley, can perhaps never be definitely decided. But we know how easily the existence of this poem and

¹ I purposely omit several in regard to which I can add nothing to Professor Skeat's notes.

² The possibility that this occurred in 1379 is still far from being proved; but I shall not discuss the matter, for I have no wish to attempt the feat of proving its impossibility for every year between 1372 and the date of Isabel's reformation, and that not for April 12 only, but for the whole year, — which is what would have to be done in the absence of a definite date in the charge against them.

I cannot see, however, that the discovery of a year within the limits of Chaucer's literary activity for the conjunction of the planets would in the slightest degree affect the determination of the date of the supposed meeting of John Holand and Isabel. The assumption that two such notable events occurred, either by chance coincidence or by enforced obedience of planetary influence, in the same year, and indeed, as some have seemed to argue, on the same day, would tax the credulity of a Zadkiel.

The assumption that 1382 is the upper limit of the possible dates seems to have no other foundation than Professor Skeat's hint that the brooch of Thebes may be a sly allusion to the tablet of jasper given to Isabel by the king of Armenia. If I believed the poem to allude to a human amour and could accept a tablet as a brooch, I should incline rather to make 1382 the lower limit; for if guesses were in order, I should guess that Livon gave the brooch to Isabel when they met in Spain, where she was from July, 1381, to October, 1382, and whither Livon of Armenia went after escaping from the prison in which he had been confined for seven years. Isabel mentioned the brooch in her will, not, I should guess, because it had been much talked about, but because it was an interesting object which she had recently — perhaps only a few months before — acquired. But this is neither here nor

the reputation of Isabel for brightness would suggest the connection of the two; gossip was probably governed by the same laws that govern it to-day, and I am aware of no reason why a bit of gossip should acquire sanctity by five centuries of existence.

One wop'd certainly expect that the description which Mars gives of his mistress would — if the poem indeed allude to a man and a woman, — be free from astrological lore; but examination discloses the fact that, if not the sole, at least the sufficient, basis of this description is the conventional set of qualities and accomplishments attributed to the planet Venus. Mars says:

This is no feyned mater that I telle;
My lady is the verrey sours and welle
Of beaute, lust, fredom, and gentilnesse,
Of riche aray — how dere men hit selle! —
Of al disport in which men frendly dwelle,
Of love and pley, and of benigne humblesse,
Of soun of instruments of al swetnesse;
And therto so wel fortunèd and thewed,
That through the world her goodnesse is yshewed. (ll. 173-181.)

Compare: "If well dignified, the temper is even, quiet, mild, kind, engaging, and sweet, very merry and cheerful, neat, dressy, fond of music and every elegant amusement."¹ "Et ex magisteriis [habet Venus] instrumenta ludorum ornamenta quoque et figuras pulchras et ludos alearum et schacorum et saltationes et ocia . . . et universa genera luxurie et compositiones coronarum et usus earum et pulchritudinem ac mundiciam uestimenta etiam et ornūmenta. Aurum et argentum et dilectionem ludos risus et gaudium et unguentis diuersisque speciebus uti potationes et ebrietates: seque credit omnibus: largitatem quoque signat et dilectionem diligentiam et amorem iusticiam et domos orationis retinet quoque fidem: et signat magisterium omnium signorum ueluti musicam etc. . . . Et ex substantia que acquiritur propter pulchritudinem, ut sunt ornamenta mulierum: et uestimenta earum margaritas atque picturas. Et ex

there. Even on the current assumption, are we to suppose that a tablet once mentioned in a will ceases thereby to be obnoxious to allusion?

¹ Wilson, p. 17; cf. p. 288.

qualitate animi suauitatem et amicitiam et commestionem et his similia.”¹

All this emboldens me to think that the proper interpretation of 169-72 is also astrological. “Sheweth his presence” would then mean “comes into the world.” Any treatise on astrology will give the information requisite for the interpretation of the passage, and it is so well known that I will quote only one: “Nam si [Venus] aspexerit eum [*sc.* dominum primi domus] de septimo a trino aspectu diligetur natus ab uxoribus dilectione perfecta. Et si aspexerit eum inde a sextili aspectu diligetur ab uxoribus sed non dilectione perfecta: immo erunt aliquando inter eos altricationes et iurgia et aliquando diligent se inuicem: aliquando vero non: modo hoc modo illud. Et si aspexerit eum de septimo quadrato aspectu tunc parum gaudebit natus cum uxore: et ut multum erunt inter eos aliquales altricationes et non bene associabuntur simul. Si vero aspexerit eum de oppositione nunquam gaudebit natus cum uxore et magis timetur hoc cum prima nec bene erit ei ab ea: et semper erunt rixe atque discordie inter ipsos.”² This conclusion is, perhaps, also confirmed by the only possible interpretation of ll. 164-65.

Whatever one may think of the poem as a poem, it—perhaps more than the treatise on the Astrolabe itself—makes clear that even though Chaucer says of “retrograd,” “combust” and “aspecte infortunat”: “theise ben obseruaunces of iudicial matiere & rytes of paiens, in which my spirit ne hath no feith, ne no knowyng of hir horoscopum,” he is hardly open to the charge of ignorance, usually brought by astrologers against those who have no faith.

JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY.

¹ Abdilazi, foll. bb 7 b and 8 a; cf. the comment, *ib.*, fol. ii, 7 b, and *Decem tract.*, fol. g 4, where the same statements appear in even greater detail.

² *Decem tract.*, fol. g 4 a.

THE MESSENGER IN ALISCANS.¹

IN the *Chanson d'Aliscans*² there are the following difficulties and inconsistencies which touch the purpose of this article :

1. Guillaume leaves Guiborc alone and practically defenceless in Orange, yet she holds out against the immense army of the besiegers. After the defeat of Aliscans, Orange is without defenders. Guiborc says in the Porter's scene : "Toute sui seule, n'ai ot moi home nés Fors cest portier et .i. clerc ordenés" (ll. 1623-24). In the same scene Guillaume liberates a body of prisoners, whom we may add to the garrison of the city. The number of these prisoners varies in the MSS., being 200 in the MS. of the Arsenal, and 30 in all or nearly all of the others. Their number is also stated in the episode of Orléans, where the MS. of the Arsenal gives 100, the others generally 15. The correct reading is probably 30. With no garrison save women and these released prisoners, who, as Guillaume says (2237), are too feeble to be of any value, Guiborc is supposed to defend Orange during the time necessary for an army to be mustered and to come to the rescue. According to l. 5370 this period was four months.

¹ The nucleus of this article formed part of a paper read in March, 1895, before the higher *conférence* of M. G. Paris, in the *École des Hautes Études*. That I am greatly indebted to M. Paris all who are familiar with his *conférences* will feel sure, and I take this opportunity of thanking him publicly, and with him Professor Sheldon, whose kind criticism and many suggestions have been invaluable.

² There are the following editions of *Aliscans* : in *Guillaume d'Orange*, edited by Jonckbloet, La Haye, 1854, two vols. ; *Aliscans*, by Guessard and Montaiglon (*Les Anciens Poètes de la France*, X, Paris, 1870) ; *Aliscans*, by Rolin, Leipzig, 1894. Unless otherwise stated, the edition of Guessard and Montaiglon will be quoted (line 5336 is counted twice in this edition, so that later numbers are too small by one ; the necessary corrections have here been made). The basis of this text is the MS. of the Arsenal.—The MSS. referred to will be indicated as in Rolin (pp. lxii, lxiii) : MS. of the Arsenal, *a* ; of Venice, *M* ; of Berne, *C* ; of Boulogne, *m* ; of London, *L* ; *Bibl. Nat.*, 24,369, *V* ; *Bibl. Nat.*, 368, *B* ; *Bibl. Nat.*, 774, *A* ; *Bibl. Nat.*, 1448, *e* ; *Bibl. Nat.*, 2494, *d* ; *Bibl. Nat.*, 1449, *b*.

2. Guillaume leaves Orange disguised in the armor of Aerofle, a Saracen whom he had killed. Thanks to this armor he had already deceived the friends even of Aerofle (1410-17, 1704). Similarly, he passes for Aerofle on leaving Orange (2053-61), but, arriving at Orléans, he has so little the appearance of a Saracen that he is suspected of being a spy (2092). A spy would certainly be dressed like a Christian. Neither in the episode of Orléans nor in the description of Guillaume's appearance at Mont Laon (2317-50) is there anything to indicate that he is wearing the armor of Aerofle.¹

3. The beautiful Arabian horse ridden by Guillaume and taken by him from Aerofle (1172-75, 1252-55, 1313 ff.) can hardly be the one so ridiculed by the people of Mont Laon (2290-95).

4. The episode of Orléans is full of inconsistencies.² It serves only to delay the action.³ Two of the difficulties are these: Ernaut, commissioned to find Ermengart and Aymeri and inform them of the defeat of Guillaume, finds them, and comes with them and three of his brothers to Mont Laon. We are surprised to see, however, that none of them shows any knowledge of the sudden disaster of Aliscans. Secondly, when Guillaume and Ernaut take off their helms and embrace, the knights of Ernaut's suite come riding up. MS. *a* reads: *Quant le counurent, cascuns li rent salu*. The better reading is found in Rolin (2097): *Guillaume voient ne l ont pas couneu*,⁴ which is followed by the line just quoted. According to *a*, *le* should refer to the subject of *toucha*, two lines before, which indicates that there is in *a* a gap of one line at this point. Especially is it probable that Rolin has adopted the best reading in view of the fact that at Mont Laon no one recognizes Guillaume.

5. The fact that Guillaume is not recognized at Mont Laon constitutes the fifth grave difficulty. As will be seen from lines 2323,

¹ Rolin, p. 73, note 1, mentions this inconsistency. He believes, however, that at Mont Laon Guillaume wears the armor of Aerofle. If one compares the description of this armor in Jonckbloet, 1309-50, with the lines above mentioned (Guessard, 2317-50),—one will see that there is no resemblance. This point will be discussed later.

² See Rolin, p. liv, *Die Orléansepisode*.

³ Guessard attempts a defence of this episode, p. lx.

⁴ So in *d*; see Rolin's *Varianten*, l. 2220.

2330, 2345-55, and the context, it is not until he tells his name that it is known who he is (2362-69). This point is made more clear from the reading of Rolin (2241, 2242)¹: "Vint a Guillaume sous l olivier rame; Ne le connut, mes il l a salue." This again is the better reading, since it avoids the abruptness of address shown in *a*, an abruptness not in keeping with the fear felt by all at sight of the unknown knight. It is surprising that Guillaume, by tradition the central figure of the court for so many years, should be unrecognized.

6. We are further surprised at the humility of this terrible Guillaume, the scourge of his enemies, the terror of the whole court. That the king and the courtiers should dare to insult him is in itself astonishing, but the words spoken to the court underlings,

Dame Guibors, ki tant vos a amés,
Par moi vos mande ke vos le secores.
Por Dieu, signer, prenge vos ent pité;
Secorés nos, grant aumoune ferés

(2435-38), are well-nigh incredible in the mouth of Guillaume.²

7. Lines 2379-86, in which Guillaume sends word to the king to come out of the palace with his court to do him honor, contain an unheard-of request,³ and go as much too far in one direction as the humble words just quoted go in the other.

8. The king, learning that the strange knight is Guillaume, and that he asks him and his court to come forth to meet him, bursts into a rage, declaring with an execration that he refuses to see him again, and that Guillaume is a demon, not a man. It seems, therefore, that the king either knows or has a suspicion that there is some danger or distress at Orange which is the cause of Guillaume's coming, presumably to ask aid. If, however, Guillaume has ridden almost without stop from the field of Aliscans, how can the news of the defeat just sustained have arrived ahead of him? We have seen in the Orléans episode that Ernaut, who had just left the king (2155), knew nothing of his brother's disaster. Then the king cannot have known.

¹ Also from that of A according to Jonckbloet, variant of 2615 ff.

² Cf. Rolin, p. 75, note 5. The words *m'envoia*, 2683, are also hard to accept. Is Guillaume reduced to hiding behind the authority of Guiborc?

³ Cf. Rolin, p. 74, note 4.

9. The manner in which Guillaume enters Orange on his return from the court is unnatural. On arriving before the city he finds that the Saracens have captured and burnt it. Their purpose being to secure possession of Guiborc, who has taken refuge in the palace *Gloriette*, they go away "por faire engin dont la tors fust quassée," etc. We read,

Rois Desramés a sa barbe jurée,
Ke Guibors ert à cevas traïnée,
Et en la mer noïe et esfondrée

(3994-96). With an immense army at his disposal he finds no better way to capture Guiborc than temporarily to abandon the siege. Thanks to this abandonment Guillaume enters Orange without difficulty, and from the walls of *Gloriette* he sees the arrival of the divisions of the army from France.

10. Guiborc, in encouraging her husband to go for aid to Louis at St. Denis, tells him that his father will come with all his sons (1902-30). Having learned that the king is at Mont Laon, Guillaume goes thither and finds four of his brothers. One other turns up at Orange before the battle, but the remaining one, Garin, nowhere appears; hence there take part in the battle only five brothers of Guillaume. None the less, the text mentions several times the number six in describing the battle (see, for instance, 5972, 6252).

The general explanation which scholars would give of these inconsistencies would be that *Aliscans*, as we possess it, is a composite poem. There can be no doubt of the truth of this explanation, which was first put forth by Paulin Paris,¹ supported by Jonckbloet,² and opposed — though to a less degree than is commonly thought — by Guessard and Montaiglon.³ It is my purpose in this article to try to determine several of the elements which unite in *Aliscans*, by showing that the messenger who goes for aid was, in the primitive

¹ *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXII, 515.

² *Guillaume d'Orange*, II, 50.

³ *Aliscans*, pp. xxxiv, xxxv, lx-lxxi, lxxvi. Cf. Rolin, *Aliscans*, p. lx; Gautier, *Épopées Françaises*, IV, 473. Cf., however, Becker, *Die altfranz. Wilhelmsage*, 1896, p. 48, whose words are not necessarily inconsistent with this view.

form of the story, Bertrant (or Bertram), not Guillaume. I shall try to prove incidentally that the defeat of *Aliscans* is posterior chronologically to the victory of *Aliscans*, and that Vivien fought in both battles. The data used will be principally the variants of the poem, and the external evidence to be derived from an Italian source as yet unutilized, the *Storie Nerbonesi*.¹

The *Storie Nerbonesi* of Andrea da Barberino is a vast prose compilation, the sources of which are directly or indirectly, *la matière de France*.² It recounts the fortunes of the family of Aymeri de Narbonne. In a study of the French epic, a legend preserved abroad is of great value. It is even probable that, at a given date, of two variations of a legend, one of which is preserved in France and the other abroad, the latter will prove the more primitive.³ The account given by Andrea da Barberino, therefore, merits at least a fair examination.

The parts of the *Nerbonesi* which concern *Aliscans* will now be passed rapidly in review. These parts are not consecutive, but sometimes widely separated. One's first feeling is that *Aliscans* occupies a very small place in the compilation,⁴ and we at once observe that in the *Nerbonesi* the main events are in a different order from that in the poem.

The opening scenes of *Aliscans* are found in vol. II, pp. 150-75. The main points of difference, aside from the greater clearness in the geography, are these: (1) the leader of the Saracens

¹ *Le Storie Nerbonesi*, ed. Isola (in the *Collezione di opere inedite o rare*), Bologna, vol. I, 1877, vol. II, 1887.

² With regard to Andrea, see Rajna, *Ricerche intorno ai Reali di Francia*, Bologna, 1872, pp. 313, 314; Gautier, *Épopées*, IV, 470, 473, and cf. Rolin, *Aliscans*, pp. lxxv, lxxvi; the preface to *La Seconda Spagna e l'Acquisto di Ponente*, by A. Ceruti, Bologna, 1871; *La Légende de Pépin le Bref*, by G. Paris, in the *Mélanges Julien Havet*, pp. 603-32; *Anseïs de Carthage et la Seconda Spagna*, by the same scholar, published in the *Rassegna Bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, anno I, n. 6; and D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della letteratura italiana*, I, 611.

³ For illustrations of this, see *Anseïs de Carthage*, already cited, p. 8; Rolin, *Aliscans*, p. lxxvi; Rajna, *Ricerche*, p. 49, also p. 139; cf. *Nerbonesi*, I, 437, *Willehalm*, III, 17-25; *Nerbonesi*, II, 513, *Willehalm*, 328, 9, and 364, 4.

⁴ Such is the complaint of Gautier, *Épopées*, IV, 473: "Le compilateur italien ne s'est pas douté un seul instant de l'importance d'*Aliscans*."

is Tibaut; (2) Vivien's army is defeated and he himself is slain before the arrival of Guillaume; (3) Bertrant is not present; (4) Guillaume kills Baudu; (5) there is no Porter's scene; (6) Guillaume finds at Orange on his return from the fight, a garrison of 1200 men. From this point on the story becomes totally different from that of *Aliscans*.

The remainder of *Aliscans*, excepting in the main only such parts as are due to the introduction of Renouart,¹ is found in vol. I of the *Nerbonesi*, pp. 416-61, 497-518. This account, which stands out in the Italian compilation in a manner to indicate that its original constituted a separate poem, perhaps with the title *Siège d'Orange* or *Prise d'Orange*, is briefly as follows: Guillaume, having taken Orange² and married Guiborc, finds himself besieged by Tibaut, who has sworn vengeance. The siege lasts for seven years, with all the events usual in such circumstances. The defenders finally become so reduced in numbers that they post the armor of the dead on the walls to give the appearance of a good garrison. Guillaume keeps expecting aid from France, but none comes. One day Bertrant, who is at Orange, thinking himself alone, bursts out into imprecations against Louis and the Nerbonesi, who desert Guillaume in his sore need. Guiborc overhears Bertrant, and coming forward, urges him to go for aid. She reminds him of the strong horse Serpentin, which he himself took from the Saracen Arpin, and which he had supposed dead from starvation. She has taken care of this horse, among whose remarkable qualities is that of being able to live principally on earth.³ This animal has a mouth not unlike that of a serpent, and a long tail without bristly hairs (*sanza setole*) but hairy like a dog's. Guillaume gives his consent to Bertrant's going. At the moment of departure, Guiborc addresses to Bertrant words like those which she addresses to Guillaume in the beautiful passage

¹ The story of Renouart is found in vol. II, pp. 481-528.

² The story of the taking of Orange is very different from that of the present poem, *Prise d'Orange*; see *Nerbonesi*, I, 383-415.

³ The supernatural is very rare in Andrea; he can hardly, therefore, have invented this. We may, perhaps, see here a trace of the traditionally miraculous powers of Guiborc; cf. *Aliscans*, 4282.

beginning, "Or t'en iras en France l'alosée" (*Aliscans*, 1970-80), and he answers with the same vow that Guillaume makes in 1988-2003.

Bertrant succeeds in passing the enemy's lines. Instead of proceeding directly to Paris, he hastens to his father and his uncles, the brothers of Guillaume, urging them to raise troops and to go to Paris to support his request for aid. There come to Paris with this intention, Bernart, Beuve, Ernaut, Guibert, and Garin. Bertrant's request is at first refused by Louis. Thanks to the influence of his uncles and the prayers of Blanchefleur, the king begins to waver, but for that day does not yield. That night, however, the queen by her tears leads him to promise aid.¹ The next morning a council is held and most of the lords seem in favor of relieving Orange. One noble who speaks against this becomes involved in a quarrel with Bertrant. Both draw their swords, but Bertrant is the quicker, and slays his opponent. He then forces his way to the door, hastens to his lodgings, and leaves Paris at once, going to Spain in order to warn the remaining brother, Aïmer.

The French army is soon ready. Louis accompanies it. At Pietrafitta a junction is made with the troops which the Nerbonesi have sent. Bertrant, Aïmer, and Vivien arrive from Spain. Aïmer is made captain. The army marches into the plain below Orange and confronts the immense host of the Saracens. The battle lasts two days. Early in the morning of the second day, Bertrant and Vivien with a convoy of provisions force their way to the gates of the city. Guillaume is thus able to enter the battle, where he is sorely needed. When night comes it is found that the Christians have the worst of it. Guibert and Garin are dead, Aïmer is fatally wounded, Vivien has received a severe wound at the hands of Tibaut. Luckily for the Christians, Tibaut has himself been dangerously wounded by Vivien, and the next morning he asks for a truce of several days. Before the expiration of the truce Tibaut abandons the siege because of his wound, and takes his departure.

That the long siege here described is the same as the short siege in the present *Aliscans* cannot be doubted in view of the great resem-

¹ Perhaps a trace of this remains in l. 3048.

blance of the two accounts, not only in general, but in a number of highly significant details.¹

The following differences will be noted between the events in the *Nerbonesi* and the corresponding ones in *Aliscans*: (1) the siege is already of long duration when the messenger starts, while in the poem it has just begun and lasts, all told, but a few months; (2) the messenger is Bertrant, not Guillaume; (3) all six brothers appear; (4) there is no Renouart; (5) Vivien plays an important rôle.

A few moments' thought shows that in the light of the events as narrated in the *Nerbonesi*, most of the difficulties mentioned at the beginning of this article vanish. The difficulty of Guillaume's leaving his wife defenceless disappears; also that of the armor. The difficulty of the horse is removed by the uncanny beast which Bertrant rides. As to the episode of Orléans, it is easy to explain this as a trace of Bertrant's visits to the brothers of Guillaume to induce

¹ 1. The principal heroes who have to do with the Siege of Orange in *Aliscans*, or who appear later in the battle in a manner to indicate no connection with Renouart, are nearly all found in the chapters of the *Nerbonesi* which describe the long siege and the succeeding battle. Observe further that (a) the combatants named in the opening scenes of *Aliscans* are for the most part found in those chapters of the *Nerbonesi* which describe the defeat; and (b) the important heroes in *Aliscans* who have to do with Renouart appear in a group in those chapters which treat of him. When it is seen that in the Italian compilation there are sometimes three or four hundred pages between the parts corresponding to the above-mentioned three divisions of *Aliscans*, one is driven to admit the force of this argument from names.— 2. In both versions Guiborc suggests to the messenger that he may forget those whom he has left behind him, and in both she is answered with a vow couched in substantially identical terms.— 3. The messenger in the *Nerbonesi* goes first to arouse Guillaume's brothers, an incident of which a trace is still seen in *Aliscans* in the mysterious episode of Orléans.— 4. The coming together of the brothers at Paris is exactly the same in the two accounts, save for Garin, for whose absence in *Aliscans* an explanation will be offered later.— 5. The strange separation of the brothers on their way to Orange (ll. 3944-51), and their meeting afterwards at Orange are almost exactly reproduced in the Italian.— 6. The presence of Aïmer at Orange, whose coming surprises us in view of line 2601, is perfectly accounted for in the *Nerbonesi*.— Other similarities could be adduced, but these are surely sufficient to establish the identity of these two sieges. It is then inadmissible to contend that the siege in the Renouart part of the *Nerbonesi* (II, 490) is identical with that in *Aliscans*.

them to come to Paris.¹ The next difficulty — that the messenger is not recognized — is much less great in connection with Bertrant, who can hardly have been so well known at court as his uncle.² With regard to the humility of the messenger, so inexplicable in Guillaume, we can understand it better in Bertrant, especially in view of the final warning of his uncle (“non ti turbare contro a lui, nè contro a’ baroni,” p. 443). The king’s bursting into a passion at the announcement of the messenger’s name — thus indicating that he already knew the cause of his coming — is intelligible in view of the long duration of the siege: if the siege had lasted nearly seven years every one must have known of it. Again, Guillaume’s reëntry into Orange gives no further trouble: if he never left Orange we may expect that the poet would have some difficulty in getting him back. Finally, the six brothers all appear, and this indicates that the lines (such as 5972, 6252) in the poem which mention all six brothers where there are apparently only five, repose on a sound tradition.

In view of all this it becomes necessary to discuss at some length the five main differences just noted (p. 134, above) between the account in the *Aliscans* and that in the *Nerbonesi*, in order to determine, if possible, whether the *Nerbonesi* has in any or all of these particulars preserved an earlier tradition than that found in the poem.

I. Was the Siege of Orange short (as in *Aliscans*) or long (as in the *Nerbonesi*)?

In the first place, was there ever any long siege of Orange known to tradition? There certainly was some tradition of this kind. In the *Vita Guilelmi*,³ we read of Guillaume and of Orange: “ipsam facile ac brevi caesis atque fugatis eripit inuasoribus, licet postea et in ea et pro ea multos et longos ab hostibus labores pertulerit.” There is also a well-known passage in the *Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois*, 4106, 4107: “Senhors, remembre vos Guilhelmet al cort nes, Co al seti d’Aurenca suffri tans desturbiers.” Again,

¹ Cf. also *Nerbonesi*, II, 447: “e trovati certi paesani fu assalito, ma egli,” etc.

² According to *Nerbonesi*, I, 449, Bertrant, the messenger, is unrecognized by his uncle Guibert. On p. 451, we see that his own father did not recognize him, nor did his mother until after several moments.

³ *Acta Sanctorum*, May, VI, p. 812.

the siege is treated at much greater length in the *Willehalm* and the prose versions than in the *Aliscans*, — a fact which suggests that it originally had at least a greater relative importance. The passage in the *Charroi de Nîmes*, where Guillaume receives as his fief lands still in possession of the Saracens, on the condition that Louis shall not be called on for help, “Fors seulement un secors en vii anz” (v. 591), is valuable. There must have been a tradition that our hero resisted the Saracens unaided by Louis for seven years (cf. *Willehalm*, 298, 11). The lines 3118–20 of *Aliscans* are probably a reference to this same promise by Louis. The testimony of the *Nerbonesi* on this point is especially interesting. The compiler apparently knows nothing of any time limit set by the king. We learn from vol. I, p. 370, that Louis promised Guillaume two thousand men to conquer Nîmes and Orange, and that he warned him not to expect further aid except to the amount of three thousand men. Guillaume, however, besieged in Orange, holds out for nearly seven years; then, as the seven years are nearly at an end, he sends Bertrant for aid.¹

The tradition of a long siege of Orange may, then, be regarded as well established. If, now, the short siege in the *Aliscans* is derived from this long siege by some change or confusion in the story, we should expect the poem to give evidence of the fact. Such evidence is not wanting.

1. The siege as now described is impossible. Guiborc says in the Porter's scene: “Toute sui seule, n'ai ot moi home nés” (1623). Orange, then, has only the women and the few prisoners (see above, p. 127) whom Guillaume recaptured in the Porter's scene to offer defence for four months against the large and determined army of the besiegers. This is inconceivable. There must have been more defenders or the messenger would not have left Guiborc.

2. There were perhaps more men in Orange than this passage indicates. At the moment of Guillaume's entry we read,

Atant es vous les gardes aprestez,
Qui ont la porte et les huis defermez.²

¹ Close of chap. xx, p. 436, chaps. xxi (Come fu la fame in, etc.), and xxii.

² In MS. *L*, at least; see Rolin's *Varianten*, I. 1762.

In line 2028 we read,

Toute sa gens est avec lui armée,

and in lines 2039-41,

Et sa maisnie a à Dieu commandée,
De Guiborc proie k'ele soit bien gardée,
Et la cité vers Sarrasins tensée.

3. The matter of the recaptured prisoners contains probable evidence of a long siege. Guillaume, just before entering Orange, releases a band of prisoners whom a foraging party of Saracens had captured. Guillaume says of these prisoners: "Tant par sont foible n'ont force ne vertu" (2237). MS. *m* has *maigre*. Why should these men who have just been taken prisoners be so weak or emaciated as to be of little value for defence? It is more than probable that these words originally applied to the condition of defenders reduced by long famine. The number of these prisoners ranges in the MSS. from 15 to 200. In the *Nerbonesi* (I, 437) there remained only 300 men at the time when the messenger set out. Of these it is said: "parevano più morti che vivi, tanto erano magri." It seems likely that to the words used by Guillaume is due the creation of the episode of the released captives.¹

4. Guillaume in the *sale vautie* uses words which would apply admirably to Orange if already besieged for a long time, but which cannot well apply to the circumstances of the siege in *Aliscans*. He says to his sister,

Ne vos ramenbre de noif ne de gelée,
Des grans batailles et de la consieurée
Ke nos souffrons en estrange contrée,
Dedens Oreng, vers la gent desfaée.

(2790-93.)

5. Line 2682, "Dedens Oreng va vitaille faillant," strikes one as singular. If there are so few people in Orange newly besieged, and

¹The mention made by certain MSS. of women who were also released lends additional support to the above argument. Guillaume thus gives a more general description of all who remain in Orange.

if, in the Porter's scene, a large convoy of provisions was captured, how can it be as stated in this line?

6. In the scene of the *olivier* (2297 ff.), Guillaume, being asked his name and business, says that he is Guillaume, and that he comes from Orange. He adds that he is poor and woebegone. The king, on being told his name, bursts into a passion, but betrays no curiosity as to the causes which have brought him thither in such a plight. This seems to indicate that he is well acquainted with the general situation at Orange and assumes that Guillaume has come to ask for aid (cf. particularly line 2397), while as we have seen (p. 129) no knowledge on his part of a recent disaster in the field before or near Orange is to be assumed. If we suppose Guillaume to have ridden, as in *Aliscans*, almost directly from the field of slaughter to Mont Laon he would be the first to bring news of his misfortune. If, however, as in the *Nerbonesi*, the messenger comes from Orange, which all France knew to be undergoing siege, everything is plain.

7. Our messenger complains, in lines 2876-79 of Jonckbloet's edition, that he is not saluted by his mother, whom he has not seen for seven years.¹ This, of course, does not prove that he had been besieged all this time, yet, taken with points already cited, it is worthy of mention.

8. Guillaume's remark at the court that "Dusqe a vii ans est li sieges jurés" by King Desramé (2434), may well be a reminiscence of the long siege.

9. We learn in lines 3267, 3300 (cf. also Rolin, *Varianten*, 7554, p. 123), that Renouart has been in Louis's possession more than seven years. According to the usual legend, Renouart left the Orient after his father Desramé had departed to lay siege to Orange. If, then, seven years have elapsed since Renouart's arrival in France, we seem to have here an indication of the length of the siege. The story of Renouart, however, was originally independent of *Aliscans*, as most scholars agree. Shall we suppose, then, that the siege in the *Renouart* lasted seven years? Conventional as is this number, it is probable that the siege was not of this length. According to the *Nerbonesi* (II, 490), it lasted about a year. We must suppose, therefore, that

¹ So all the MSS. save *a* and *d* (cf. Rolin's *Varianten*, 2631); *a* has vi, *d*, v.

the number of years in the *Renouart* was changed to seven when that poem was amalgamated with the hypothetical *Siège d'Orange*. But another question arises. If *Aliscans* is derived from three principal sources,—the *Siège d'Orange*, the *Renouart*, and the primitive poem on the defeat of Aliscans,—how does it happen that *Renouart's* original stay of one year (or whatever it was) at Louis's court was changed to seven years? The explanation may be that the *Siège* and the *Renouart* were first amalgamated, that the *Siège* was of sufficiently greater importance to dictate the chronology of the resultant poem, and that later this poem was fused with the primitive one on the defeat of Aliscans.

From all these considerations we may feel sure that the siege described in the *Aliscans* was originally much longer than it is in the present text of the poem.

II. Who was originally the messenger, Guillaume or Bertrant?

The following points, several of which have already been touched upon, may be mentioned :

1. In proportion as it may have been proved by the preceding arguments that the siege of *Aliscans* is really the long siege of the *Narbonesi*, the authority of the latter is strengthened and the probability that Bertrant, not Guillaume, was the original messenger is increased.

2. If the tripartite origin of the present *Aliscans* be admitted, it becomes probable that Bertrant was with Guillaume in Orange, for in the early poems these two are constantly together.¹

3. We can understand how cyclic centralization may, at the time of the composition of our present *Aliscans*, have robbed Bertrant, a lesser hero, to the profit of the head of the *geste*, but the inverse process would be unusual between two primitive heroes.

4. The armor of the messenger is worthy of further comment. In the poem Guillaume goes away wearing the armor of Aerofle, which, as we have seen, is distinctive. None the less, on his return to Orange,

¹ Cf. the opinion of Demaison, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, I, p. cxxxi; also Suchier, *Ueber die Quelle Ulrichs von dem Türlein*, Paderborn, 1873, p. 27, *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, ll. 507, 565, etc.; Becker, *Die altfranzösische Wilhelmsage*, pp. 51-57, and *Romania*, XXV, 494, 495.

he is so little recognized that Guiborc compels him to take off his helmet before she will open the gate (4062-78). In the *Nerbonesi*,¹ similarly, Bertrant is compelled to uncover his face, but here the explanation is easier: on his way for aid, Bertrant had slain a Saracen, whose armor so pleased him that he put it on,² hence he was not recognized on his arrival at the gates of Orange. The device on this armor was a red lion on a field of gold. The line in the description of the unknown messenger, "Et s'en y a de rouge com carbon" (2340), may refer to this. In the armor of Aerofle nothing of the kind is mentioned. There is possibly here an explanation of the inconsistency whereby in *Aliscans* the people of Orléans remark nothing of the Saracen in the messenger. It is clear from the Italian account that Bertrant acquired this armor several days after leaving Orange. There would have been time, then, for the episode of Orléans between his departure and the acquiring of the armor. Again, in the description of the armor at Mont Laon, while there are certain things evidently of Saracen workmanship, there is nothing which distinctly recalls the armor of Aerofle. Another point of some importance in this connection is the sword *Joieuse*.³ For Guillaume to be without this sword is almost unheard of. Why should he set off on this perilous enterprise without it? To be sure, he disguises himself, but certainly the sword would not betray him. What finer scene could be imagined for *Joieuse* than that where Guillaume stands with his sword hidden under his mantle (2568, 2737 ff.)? Are we to suppose that he did not take his precious sword with him? We shall learn something further of *Joieuse* in our discussion of the messenger's return and the subsequent battle (see p. 144, below).

5. The argument of the horses already mentioned is a strong one in Bertrant's favor. The messenger's horse formerly occupied more attention than is now given it. The prose version of *Aliscans*⁴

¹ I, 508.

² See *Nerbonesi*, I, 449; also II, 395.

³ Lines 2116, 2117 being the only ones in the messenger part where *Joieuse* is mentioned, and recalling 1339 (*Jonckbloet*), it seems probable that the correct reading (without mention of *Joieuse*), is found in other MSS. See Rolin's *Varianten*.

⁴ *Bibl. Nat.* (1497, fol. 382 vo.). This citation is due to the kindness of Mr. Densusianu.

thus describes the horse: "C'est grant, mesgre, long, estroit, devant et derriere, hault a la main, et leger par samblant, car il a menue teste, assez longuete, oreilles droites, croupe aigue et trenchant, menu couart, et jambes longues, et samble myeulx que il ait mestier de repaistre que de dormir." This animal, especially in view of the last dozen words, seems rather the Serpentin of Bertrant than the Folatise of Guillaume.¹ The satanic character of Bertrant's horse is, perhaps, still indicated in line 2294: "Deable l'ont si haut fait encroier (cf. *Deable l'ont isi haut encrucie*, Rolin, 2175).

6. The messenger's vow (ll. 1988-2003), in which food and drink have such a part, would be more forcible if made by one half-famished, as is the messenger in the *Nerbonesi*.²

7. Perhaps the *laisse* beginning 1946 was originally addressed by Guillaume to Bertrant:

Sire Guillames, dist Guibors en plorant,
Car i alés, par le vostre commant,
Je remanrai en Orenge le grant
Avec les dames, etc.

MS. *d* has *nostre* for *vostre*, and *M* has *A nos les dames*. If we suppose Guillaume to be addressing Bertrant, either reading would be perfectly satisfactory. Similarly, the line, "Car i ales par le vostre [*or nostre*] commant" would fit admirably the scene as described in the *Nerbonesi*. Under the present setting, *nostre* is almost impossible, and with *vostre* the line is the merest commonplace. Furthermore, line 1958, "Par Saint Denis que je trai a garant," seems to indicate clearly Guillaume, whose patron is St. Denis. Scarcely any other saint is ever appealed to by him. See *Couronnement de Louis*, ed. Jonckbloet, 1247, 1631, 1746, 1930, 2599; *Charroi*, 741, 1293, "Par Saint Denis qui est mes avoez"; *Aliscans*, ed. Jonckbloet, 1569.

8. In line 2267, Ernaut, in speaking to the messenger, says *mes pere*; if the messenger were his brother we should look for "nostre

¹ For the description of Serpentin, see *Nerbonesi*, I, 425.

² Though it may seem to us more natural for the words of Guiborc and the messenger's reply to be a conversation between husband and wife, yet there is nothing really surprising in such an expression of sentiment on the part of Guiborc and her nephew in a mediaeval writer. Cf., to be sure, *Prise d'Or.*, 285 ff.

(or nos) pere." Similarly, in *Mm*, the messenger says to Ernaut (l. 2254), "la vostre (*instead of* nostre) mere." These passages are of little import alone, but taken with others, such as 3064, where Ernaut says to the messenger, "Jo et mi frere ensamble o toi iron," they may be traces of a text in which Guillaume was not the messenger. The host, Guimart, speaking to the messenger (2549), says *vostre seror*, meaning Blanchefleur. MS. *d* has *vostre nesien* (cf. *ne cien* in Godefroy).¹

9. The arguments drawn from the scene of the *olivier* are particularly strong, but most of them have already been mentioned (see pp. 128, 129, also no. 11, p. 143). An additional point occurs in lines 2435, 2436: "Dame Guibors, ki tant vos a amés, Par moi vos mande ke vos le secorés." It is very possible that *Guillaumes*, and not *Guibors*, originally stood in this line. As it is, the picture of Guillaume hiding behind the authority of Guiborc is painful rather than pathetic. This theory is supported by the reading of *C*, which adds after the above lines: "U se cou non, ia mais ne le veres." We may perhaps infer from this line (cf. also the words of Louis, "Je ne puis mie a ceste fois aler," 3128) that the person in danger has been aided several times before, in what predicaments is not stated. Now we know that Guillaume has several times come for aid,² but we know of no occasion when aid was asked for Guiborc.

10. Evidence of the messenger's not being Guillaume is seen in the fact that nowhere does he swear by St. Denis. We have already seen how in all the primitivè poems of the cycle Guillaume swears by this saint. Surely, no circumstances would give him a better opportunity than the events at Orléans and at Mont Laon. It is not until line 3437 (Jonckbloet, = Guessard, 3196) that we find the messenger employing this oath.³ In this passage, however, it is really Guillaume that speaks, for these lines come from the *Renouart* beyond doubt, and in this story Guillaume was the messenger.⁴

¹ Fol. 232. Similarly for *ton serouge* (1913) *m* has *ton seignor*.

² See 1932, 2397, 2696-99. Cf. *Nerbonesi*, I, 404 ff.

³ Even here not all the MSS. have this oath; see Guessard.

⁴ The point where the *Renouart* begins is probably with line 3374 or 3386 in Jonckbloet, the latter point being that adopted by Rolin (cf. p. 91 of text, n. 4; p. 96, l. 2880 = Guessard, 3146. Cf. also *Nerbonesi*, II, 492 ff.).

11. Line 2345, "Haut a le nes par deseur le gernon," occurring in the description of the messenger given to Louis in the scene of the *olivier*, is surprising. If this describes the nose of *Guillaume au cort nes*, then the adjective must apply to the *boce* mentioned elsewhere (see, for example, *Charroi de Nîmes*, 146; *Prise d'Orange*, 338), and Guillaume ought to have been recognized at once. Cf. the passage (*Charroi de Nîmes*, 1192 ff.) in which the Saracen king, who has never seen Guillaume before, recognizes him by this feature, though he is disguised as an English merchant. If, on the other hand, *haut* refers to an ordinary Roman nose, the messenger cannot be Guillaume.

In the reëntry of the messenger at Orange, and in the subsequent battle, there are the following further points, which indicate that the account of the *Nerbonesi* is correct and that Bertrant was the messenger :

(1) The extreme improbability of the manner of Guillaume's entrance into Orange when he returns from the court has already been cited (p. 135) as evidence that he had never quitted the city. The *Endementiers* scene (including approximately lines 4125-4251) stands out in language, substance, and form from the surrounding passages, and is clearly a remnant of a very ancient poem.¹ The original setting of the scene was probably this: Guillaume and Guiborc, who have been besieged for a long while, see the arrival of the armies from France. Guillaume recognizes the standards² and tries to encourage Guiborc. In line 4139, *C*, we read, "Gentius contese, dist li quens ounores, Soies ioians si ne vous dementes," which fits this setting far better than the present one. Line 4226 is followed in *C* by two lines of the greatest interest, as has been remarked by Rolin: *De l'encombrier ne del cruel trespas Qu il souferont ains que viegne li mars*. That this *mortel encombrier* cannot be the jaunty battle

¹ Cf. Rolin, p. 117, n. 7.

² It is barely possible that originally Guillaume did not recognize the standards, but thought a new Saracen army had come. I once asked a scholar, than whom few are greater masters, to read the *laisse* beginning with line 4209. This scholar, not having the context in mind, said, "The lines are clear. Those who are besieged mistake the newly arrived army, thinking it a new detachment of the enemy, when in reality it has come to relieve the siege."

decided by Renouart, all will agree, for what Christian hero of note dies in that battle? But no words would better describe the battle, which, according to the *Nerbonesi*, terminated the seven years' siege. In that battle perish two of Guillaume's brothers, a third dies later of his wounds, and Vivien receives an all but fatal wound in the breast.

(2) If, in an earlier form of the poem, Guillaume was not the messenger, at what point in that poem, if any, did he leave Orange to join in the battle? The answer is: at the time corresponding to that when, in the present *Aliscans*, the prisoners are released by Renouart. (This episode of the release was, of course, originally independent of the poem on the long siege.) In the earlier form, Guillaume probably entered the battle when a detachment of Christians forced its way to the gates of Orange.¹ There were also, doubtless, certain prisoners, whose release in the present poem (after the *Renouart* was combined with it) was achieved by Renouart. It is, therefore, in lines 5337-5690 that evidence of Guillaume's entrance into the battle may be sought, and if there has been in the messenger a replacing of Bertrant by Guillaume, we may here look for some indications that the released prisoner called Bertrant is really Guillaume. In fact, line 5639, which is lacking in *a*, although necessary to the sense, reads in *L*: "Li quens Guillaume leit le cheval aler." The other MSS. have *Bertrans*. The succeeding line reads: "Tant com il pot le ceval randoner," which may allude to the physical weakness of the rider. See *Nerbonesi*, I, 509, for the weakness of Guillaume when he mounts and rides into the battle. As in 5642 ff. Bertrant kills his first Saracen after his release, so Guillaume on page 509 just cited, where the Saracen's name is Boeter, a name which would rhyme in the *laisse* in question.

(3) An indication (such as it is) that Guillaume does not leave Orange until the freeing of the prisoners, is this, that there is no mention of Joieuse in connection with the supposed Guillaume until after the freeing of the prisoners. See 5959, the first mention of Joieuse in the battle.

¹ Cf. *Nerbonesi*, I, 506-8 (see p. 133, above).

(4) There are passages where the person called Guillaume is mentioned in a manner to indicate that he was not a son of Aymeri :

Et d'autre part contreval li Archans
Se recombât Guillaumes li vaillans,
Et Aymeris, et toz ses vi enfanz

(6250-52). The substitution of *Bertrant* for *Guillaume* would give these lines a much more natural air.

III. How many sons of Aymeri are present in *Aliscans*? It is probable that five brothers of Guillaume are present at Mont Laon. We learn in lines 2596-2601 that Ernaut, Beuve, Bernart, and Guibert are present: "Mais n'i ert pas Aïmers li caitis." From the fact that the absence of Aïmer is carefully explained (*En Espagne est*, etc., 2602, 2603), while no word is said of Garin, we must assume either that Garin is not supposed to be a son of Aymeri, or that he is present. The latter is probably the case.

On the battlefield are present five brothers; for Aïmer, whom we supposed in Spain, appears, to our surprise.¹ These five are mentioned by name in lines 5215-19. From line 5972 and the preceding lines we might suppose there were six brothers, but these lines may perhaps be interpreted to mean five if we choose to say that Guillaume is included. Lines 6250-52 (quoted above under 4), indicate that there were six without counting Guillaume.² MS. *C* has "vii," which means that all the sons of Aymeri took part in the battle. Lines 6646, 6647 indicate five sons, not counting Guillaume. The excellent MS. *m* is more consistent, — six sons, not counting Guillaume, are always mentioned³ where numbers are given.

It is clear, then, that according to some MSS. there are present all the brothers of Guillaume, as in the *Nerbonesi*. The fact that some MSS. attempt to reduce the number to five (without in general being able to avoid contradiction) may be taken to mean that it was thought necessary for some reason to reduce the number by one.

¹ Another indication that the siege and victory in *Aliscans* are those mentioned in the *Nerbonesi*, is seen in the explanation in the latter of this unexpected appearance of Aïmer (I, 479-99).

² MS. *d* has "v."

³ See Rolin, *Varianten*, 558, 1915, 6646 (p. 106, l. 7); see also p. 109, l. 14.

Why? No good reason is apparent, unless that the replacing of Bertrant the messenger by Guillaume rendered this change desirable. This change would explain the confusion introduced into an enumeration which in *m* and in the *Nerbonesi* is most simple. As a matter of fact, no one can doubt that the appearance of the old Aymeri with so many of his sons indicates that originally they all came, as in the *Mort Aymeri*. Just as in line 5222: "Or fu li quens ensamble od ses v fis" (which was perhaps preceded somewhere in the poem by a similar line with "iv"), so there was probably a subsequent line with "vi," then, when Guillaume was liberated, a line with "vii." Such a series of related passages is not infrequent in the ancient epic.¹

IV. In that portion of the *Nerbonesi* corresponding, as is here maintained, with the siege and victory in *Aliscans*, Renouart does not appear. Is his appearance in the poem a later introduction? Inasmuch as it is now generally admitted that Renouart played no rôle in the primitive poem, we may dismiss this question. It should be observed, however, that this means accrediting with accuracy the portion of the *Nerbonesi* involved.

V. Did Vivien take part in the battle which closes *Aliscans*? Inasmuch as Vivien dies in the opening scenes of the poem, this question may seem absurd. None the less, the version of the *Nerbonesi* is beyond doubt right: Vivien fought in the battle which relieved Orange; he later won a realm for himself in Spain, *et i porta coroune* (last line of *Aliscans*), and was killed some years later in the terrible rout of *Aliscans*. A full discussion of this question would require a special article. All that can be done here is to show that the rôle played primitively by Vivien is in the present *Aliscans* ascribed in the main to Renouart. This can be most simply done by taking a single Saracen, Haucebier, and pointing out his relation to these two heroes in the *Aliscans* and in the *Nerbonesi* respectively.

Haucebier is in the *Nerbonesi* called Maltribal (Maltribol). He first appears at the siege of Vivien's stronghold in Portugal.² He and Vivien have several encounters in battle, and become bitter enemies.³

¹ Something similar is seen in lines 2593, 4148, 4176, 4205.

² *Nerbonesi*, I, 471.

³ *Nerbonesi*, I, 473-75, 480-87, 489-96; II, 159.

Vivien, being succored, succeeds in escaping, and betakes himself, in company with Aïmer and Bertrant, to aid in relieving Orange. Maltribal follows him immediately, and both arrive in time to engage in the battle.¹ Vivien, after the defeat of the Saracens and his own recovery from a severe wound in the breast, goes to conquer a realm for himself. He becomes king of Ragona and Aliscante. Tibaut organizes an expedition against him, and is assisted by Maltribal. There ensues a battle in which Vivien is killed² and Guillaume terribly defeated; this corresponds to the rout of Aliscans. As in the *Willehalm*, Vivien and Nöupatris kill each other in battle, so here Vivien and Maltribal.

Of the above-mentioned three wars in which Vivien and Maltribal met, *Aliscans* preserves records of two, the second and the third.³ The third meeting is that in the opening lines, the second is in the battle at the close of the poem. But how does it come about that in this latter meeting Vivien is replaced by Renouart? This substitution was necessitated by the compiler's uniting in reversed chronological order two separate poems. When these poems were united, there were difficulties with heroes who, being common to both poems, were killed in the chronologically later one. Heroes who fought through the first battle (that for the relief of Orange) and were killed in the second (the rout of Aliscans) are, to mention the most important, Vivien, Haucebier, Baudu, and Aquin.⁴ In the case of Haucebier, for instance, who in reality was slain in the opening scenes of *Aliscans*, how could he be allowed to disappear when he had an important rôle to play in the poem to which these opening scenes were to be prefixed? The compiler was obliged to reverse matters. He had to make one poem look forward to another, whose events, far from following those of the first, really preceded them. Evidence

¹ *Nerbonesi*, I, 498-99, 502 (variant 1), 510; *Aliscans*, 6670, 6671.

² *Nerbonesi*, II, 159.

³ Haucebier says in ll. 372, 373, speaking of Vivien: "Se n'en avoie reproce de Mahon, Ja l'averioe tué a .i. baston," which is a reference to a previous meeting with Vivien in the "*Sizge*." This other meeting is found in ll. 6689-90, 6704-5, where Haucebier refuses to fight with Renouart (*i.e.* Vivien), because the latter is on foot and poorly armed.

⁴ See Rolin, p. lxi.

of the inevitable awkwardness with which this was done is still to be seen on a careful comparison of the opening part with the subsequent events of *Aliscans*. Critics have seen in the latter nothing but the preparation and execution of vengeance for Vivien. In reality nothing of the kind is the case. Vivien disappears brusquely from the scene. His whole episode could be omitted, and *Aliscans*, essentially, would remain as now. For the purpose and motive of the main part of the poem is to take Orange and wreak vengeance on Guillaume and Guiborc: Guiborc is another Helen, Orange another Troy. The line spoken by Guiborc, "Tante jovente est par moi afinée,"¹ is as it were the "device" of *Aliscans*, as it was that of the primitive poem on the siege of Orange.

Is there no internal evidence that Vivien fought in the battle which concludes the poem? The next to the last *laisse* in the poem contains several bits of evidence. In the list of those who remain at Orange with Guillaume occurs in *L* and *d* the name *Anseïs* (see Rolin, *Varianten*, 8391). Inasmuch as we know nothing of any *Anseïs* in this poem, and inasmuch as Vivien's name is found in the corresponding list in the *Nerbonesi*, we are led to ask whether *Anseïs* may not be the conjecture of some copyist surprised to see the name Vivien.

In the poem we are told that *Gaudins li bruns* has not yet recovered from his severe wound in the breast.² Is it Gaudin (as in *Aliscans*) or Vivien (as in the *Nerbonesi*) who was wounded in the breast? The description of the *mêlée* in which this wound was received is in the *laisse* beginning with line 5868. The internal evidence of this *laisse* shows that Renouart, not Gaudin, should fight with Desramé. The whole first half of the *laisse* clearly prepares the way for a duel between these two. We expect nothing else, and are surprised when Gaudin, whose name has not been mentioned for three thousand lines, comes in to receive the blow of Desramé. If any Christian receives a wound in this duel it should certainly be Renouart, or if Renouart is playing the rôle of Vivien, this latter, in the original poem, should have received the wound (cf. 5932, 5933,

¹ *Aliscans*, 1835.

² Lines 8385-91. Cf. *Nerbonesi*, I, 514-16; II, 91.

7364-67, 905). This is just what actually happens in the *Nerbonesi*.¹ Vivien attacks Tibaut, the leader of the Saracens, who has given their death blow to two of his uncles and to his father.² Vivien receives a severe wound in the breast, but at the same moment wounds Tibaut in the arm, and this wound proves so serious that Tibaut asks for a truce the next day.

Are there traces that such was formerly the state of things in *Aliscans*? Such evidence is easily found. From

Hui te feré veincu et recreant.
Perdu avez Vivien le vaillant ;
Desoz cel arbre gist mort sor .i. estant,

etc. (5930-32), — words addressed to Guillaume by Desramé, who has just given an apparently fatal wound to — Vivien? no, to Gaudin, — we see that Vivien, whom we supposed dead months before, appears to have been just killed. The difficulty vanishes if we suppose that in the preceding single combat with Desramé Gaudin's name has been substituted for Vivien's.³

A final indication that Vivien's name belongs among those who remained at Orange after the battle is seen in the variant, *Li quens Bertrans, Renouars l'alosez*.⁴ The term *alosé*, although of general import, is so extensively applied to Vivien as to constitute almost a title; see *Covenans Vivien*, 106, 283, 291, 827, 1821, 1894; *Aliscans*, 684, 5306.

It may be said in general that Renouart's assuming the rôle of Vivien explains several of the most surprising things in connection with this burlesque character, such as the extraordinary respect and

¹ *Nerbonesi*, I, 513, 514. If the elements that compose *Aliscans* are to be at all correctly divined from the *Nerbonesi*, Gaudin would be an impossibility in this passage.

² A discussion as to the part of Tibaut and Desramé in the poem would take too long, but would offer material evidence that the siege in *Aliscans* is the long siege of the *Nerbonesi*. Desramé probably owes his introduction to the *Renouart*.

³ Cf. ll. 7364-67, where Guillaume finds the body of Vivien under a tree and has it buried. The author seems to suppose it to have lain there ever since ll. 904, 905. No stress need be laid on the reading of *M*, *Viviens ne chenuz* instead of *juenes ne chenuz*, in l. 5919.

⁴ See Rolin, *Varianten*, 8436 (ll. 12 and 13 from the foot of the page).

affection with which he is treated, his incredible marriage with a princess, and his becoming the wearer of a crown in Spain.

The certainty that the messenger was Bertrant, not Guillaume, is assured in proportion as the general accuracy of the *Nerbonesi*, touching *Aliscans*, can be shown. The admission that the siege in the poem is the long siege of the Italian story, that the first part of the poem is different in origin from the remainder, that that remainder is composed of two elements originally totally different, one of which concerns Renouart, that Renouart plays the part belonging primitively to Vivien, — the admission of these statements or of any part of them renders it more or less certain that the *Nerbonesi* version is right, and that in the central portion of the poem Guillaume has usurped the rôle of Bertrant, the original messenger.

The argument briefly outlined in these pages would be strengthened or weakened by a study of the language of *Aliscans*. We should thus see whether there are visible in the language of the poem any indications of the discoveries supposed to be made in the course of this article. This study, to make its results most valuable for comparison, should be prepared by some one unacquainted with the conclusions of the present argument. Such a study is said to exist, and it will probably soon be published.

RAYMOND WEEKS.

STUDIES ON CHAUCER'S HOUSE OF FAME.

I. THE CONCLUSION OF THE POEM.

HOWEVER one may regard the efforts to prove a special imitation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* in Chaucer's *House of Fame*, it is difficult to exclude an impression that the English poem represents in some sense, as the *Divine Comedy* does, a series of personal experiences, or impressions of some human life.¹ These are not to be identified with any external events; but the very fact that the poem is an allegory demands a meaning unexpressed; devoid of this and regarded as a mere story, the poem becomes especially clumsy in structure, as well as somewhat aimless and unattractive in treatment. Chaucer was in an allegorical stage of artistic interest; he was testing his powers in the allegoric form. He had just accomplished a masterpiece in allegory, the *Parliament of Fowls*; and, when the *House of Fame* was dropped, he was to achieve another permanent success in the allegorical Prologue to his *Legend*. We are therefore somewhat more justified in seeking unexpressed meanings in this poem than when he is engaged in telling a story merely for itself, or in drawing character. Chaucer's other allegories have been fully interpreted: shall not the *House of Fame* receive like attention?

A suspicion that the meaning is the inner experience of a man, with whom the poet chooses to identify himself, is produced, in the broadest terms, by the fact that the first part of the poem is concerned with a Temple of Venus, and the latter part with a Temple of Fame. For, if the former be understood to represent the peculiar interests of youth, — love and its affairs, — and the latter, the special interest of mature life, — ambition and the winning of a name, — a striking plan and purpose begin to emerge.²

¹ "A process of mental liberation." ten Brink (trans. Kennedy), II, 107.

² See p. 174, n. 1, for a similar arrangement in the *Architrenius*. Early in the poem the poet is in the Palace of Venus; later, in the course of his wanderings, he visits the Mount of Ambition. The allegory is evidently an account of a man's inner experiences passing from stage to stage of life.

One might suggest as a working hypothesis, that the poem is allegorical of the successive interests, intellectual or literary, of the person who calls himself "I," with glimpses of his inner development in a more intimate sense. We know that Chaucer had ahead of him a stage of thought and art in which human life and character were his absorbing interest as never before: to search for stories allowing the embodiment of this interest must soon have become his pleasantest study. In striking correspondence is the fact that the whole tendency in the *House of Fame* is in that direction:—in his present position he gets little news of people (ll. 644–51); the eagle comes to give him the chance to learn more of men (664, 673–98); his object in looking through Fame's House is the same (1088, 1885–89); and that object he appears to attain when he reaches the House of Rumor (1910–15; 1997 ff.; 2121–30). The poem appears, then, like a summing up of the poet's past experience made just before he entered the new stage referred to.

The probability of this view may be somewhat increased by observing that from time to time the poet evidently draws close to conditions of his own life, permitting thin spots to occur in the texture of his allegory, where reality shows through. The well-known passage on his custom-house labors (ll. 622–660), acknowledged by all to be autobiographical, is of course the best instance. Ll. 1876–82 represent the literary attitude of a great poet as regards fame so exactly that one feels convinced that Chaucer is speaking *in propria persona*; and if ll. 644–51 are autobiographical, ll. 1886–89 must necessarily also represent the poet's actual wishes; furthermore, ll. 2011–18 represent the other side of his feelings, the extreme despondency produced by the burden of his custom-house drudgery. These hints are so woven into the texture of the story that they cannot be regarded as mere parenthetical innuendoes regarding his actual experience, as the possible allusions to his wife (ll. 115–18, 560–66) certainly are.

Following our clue in a more general way through the poem,—without claiming, be it observed, more than a fair degree of probability for this interpretation of the allegory,—can we in the end reach a solid theory as to what Chaucer intended the *conclusion* of the poem to be?

The Temple of Venus stands for the stage where love was the end of existence (cf. ll. 616-19); in connection with this, Chaucer chooses the story of the *Aeneid* to represent his intellectual interests, with possibly already a desire to efface the effect of his *Troilus* by a contrary instance of fidelity and desertion.¹ Issuing from the temple he stands in a plain of unusual desolation, where he fears malign demonic influence: this must represent a period of especial unhappiness and of doubt approaching despair; it may well stand for the dreary listlessness, the disillusion, of love outgrown. Without appealing to any "lost love," one might well take it to represent a man emerging from a life of idle gaiety to find himself facing realities and linked to a wife who at best did not satisfy his ideals or sustain his love. But as he looks toward heaven a new and greater interest swims into his ken. The eagle is by many acknowledged to represent philosophy; indeed Chaucer says as much in ll. 972-75, with special allusion to Boethius. We know from other evidences that *The Consolations* had been one of Chaucer's intellectual liberators. It is also noteworthy that the passage dealing with the eagle is full of "natural philosophy,"—the theory of sound-waves, the Aristotelian views of tendencies or attractions of matter,—

Light thing up and downward charge,—

meteorology (if not demonology), with an approach to astronomy, but a recession from it as "an harde thyng and yuel for to knowe."

This period of philosophic interests having included if not occasioned some of Chaucer's best literary work, the possibility or partial realization of national fame is now presented to him. The arrival at Fame's House by aid of the philosophic eagle strikingly corresponds to this stage of progress.

¹ Rambeau, *Engl. Stud.*, III, 217, takes somewhat the latter view: the Temple and its pictures are the consolations of study, especially of reading Virgil, and the barren waste outside is simply the dreariness of life apart from those consolations. But why is this a Temple of *Venus*? Rambeau's interpretation of the barren waste, moreover, does not satisfy any chronological experience, which the poem as a whole seems to demand; and why should Chaucer so extremely fear "fantome and illusioun" away from his books?

This brings us to a special modification in his original, made by Chaucer to bring it into correspondence with his allegorical intention. The description of Fame's House in Ovid is far closer to Chaucer's House of Rumor than to his House of Fame; Ovid's House is, indeed, the residence of Fame, but it is of maze-like structure, and full of incessant murmurings, echoes, and reports; no convocation of famous men is there. Chaucer has apparently split the conception into two for some special purpose. Evidently he wishes to bring the allegory closer to the actual experience he aims to trace. He represents himself as being allowed to enter, provisionally as it were, into the convocation of great men; the prospect does not please him, the taste of fame does not promise to satisfy him, it is manifestly not what he craves; and so a further step is devised, and he is brought into a place more like the real world condensed, a place where amid infinite scandals, meannesses, and lies, there is the incessant appetizing chance of hitting upon exactly what he longs for. It is not easy to explain this splitting of Ovid's conception, unless it was done for the requirements of the personal allegory.

This presence in the House of Rumor represents at its fullest development the stage of interest in human beings, and the artist's instinctive desire and search for stories embodying their lives and characters.

We are now in a position to infer something of what the continuation of the poem would have been. Its whole tendency has been in the direction indicated; the writer has been lifted up by a series of "liberations" to an exalted vantage-ground of life, to a supreme opportunity to learn "some good,"—that is, to Chaucer's artist mind, some stories or story that may embody his highest ideals.

As the poem breaks off we feel that its real object has not been reached; we are cheated of the fulfilment of this long pursuit; and yet the scene of intense and excited expectancy in the last few lines leads us to think that the moment had just come when the cap-stone was to be placed. The poem could not have been better cut off if it had been a serial. Here is a portion of the multitude entirely devoted to telling anecdotes and tales of love. What other subject could claim Chaucer, the humanist and servant of love (cf. ll. 615-27)? The expected story, to embody Chaucer's ideal, must be one

of ideal human love, bordering on the divine and almost leading into it. Then appears a man of great authority, whom Chaucer does not know. What is he to do but to tell one more story? And, as he is above all the crowd, what shall the story be but the greatest of all love stories?

Now we are fortunate enough to know what story of love Chaucer preferred above all others at this time,—one sufficiently familiar; perhaps because of its very simplicity Chaucer hesitated to bring it in after all the wealth and circumstance of preparation, and so broke off his poem. This is the story of Alcestis. Near the end of *Troilus* he makes his hero say to Cassandra (*Troil.* v, 1527 ff.):

As wel thou mightest lye on *Alceste*,
That was of creatures, but men lye,
That ever weren, kindest and the beste,
For whanne hir housbonde was in jupartye
To dye himself, but if she wolde dye,
She chees for him to dye and go to helle,
And starf anoon, as us the bokeš telle.

Again Chaucer speaks for himself in defending his advocacy of Criseyde (*Troil.* v, 1777 f.):

Gladlier I *wol wryten*, if yow leste,
Penelopeës trouthe and good *Alceste*.

These are the expressions of his taste just before beginning the *House of Fame*. That this preëminence of interest in Alcestis did not fade till after the *House of Fame* was abandoned, is completely certain from the preëminent use made of her personality in the *Legend*, closely following. The story of Alcestis, then, was probably to form the chief part of the continuation.

To those who see in the *House of Fame* a plan suggested by Dante, this use of Alcestis will form a counterpart to Beatrice.¹ Each is the poet's highest ideal of womanhood and of human magnanimity; a long, strange journey leads up to each. In Dante's

¹ The lack of a clear parallel to Beatrice drives Rameau to queer devices; he makes her a compound of the humorous eagle and the man who asks Chaucer his business! See *Engl. Stud.*, III, 235, 244-45.

case Beatrice leads to the Beatific Vision; similarly, if Chaucer had allowed the thought of Alcestis to lift him out of his worldly-mindedness into a higher seriousness, and out of this fantastic heaven of Fame and Rumor into the presence of the Virgin Mary, the poem might fitly have concluded with an invocation similar to that transferred to the beginning of the *Second Nonnes Tale* (C. T., G., ll. 36-77).¹

A few further considerations may be added to increase the probability that the story of Alcestis was to have been the chief part of the conclusion of the *House of Fame*.

The incompleteness of the poem gains a new significance, and the reason for it becomes clearer. The third book was already disproportionately long; masses of elaborate description had protracted the action, so that the poet repeatedly expresses weariness (cf. ll. 1255 ff., 1329 ff., 1517 f., 2136). If, now, the most important character still remains to be introduced and the episode which is the object of the whole poem has yet to be developed, the attempt to keep any proportion, while adhering to three books as the form, becomes desperate; and, on account of the reader's weariness, the danger of anti-climax and of doing injustice to the best of tales becomes imminent. Furthermore, when the poet's liberation from his custom-house duties occurred by the queen's intervention, it would quickly suggest itself to him, as a supreme compliment to her, to identify her with his highest ideal of womanhood, and by so crowning her in a sense Queen of Love, to associate forever with her the greatest story of love. In this way the intention first aimed at in the *House of Fame* would be fulfilled in the more effective form of an occasional poem of personal bearing, and more nearly resembling the recent success of the *Parliament of Fowls*. All Chaucer's interest in the completion of the *House of Fame* would then cease.

¹ This, as being one of the most notable borrowings from Dante, suggests a possible connection with the *House of Fame*, so full of reminiscences of that poet, in point of time and in stage of literary interest. Could it even be conceivable that it was intended, in this or other metrical form, as the conclusion of that poem? That it occurs in the last Canto of the *Divine Comedy* (Par. 33), which Chaucer might have specially in mind at the end of his poem, adds interest to the suggestion.

Finally, it is noteworthy, in increase of the probability that our poem should end thus, that in the passage which might be called the germ¹ of the *Legend of Good Women* (*House of Fame*, 383-426), since in it the list of Love's martyred ladies, as such, first appears, Alcestis, the foremost figure in the *Legend*, is omitted, — in spite of the fact that we know she was Chaucer's favorite. This seems well-nigh inexplicable unless we suppose that her name was held in reserve for the end of the poem. The device is then the same as that used for purposes of surprise in the B-version of the Prologue to the *Legend*, in which the name of Alcestis is omitted (cf. A-version) from the *Balade* (l. 255) in order to be held in reserve till the end of the Prologue, ll. 511, 518 (excepting, of course, the oversight, l. 432).

More than a fair degree of probability cannot, perhaps, be claimed for the view of the conclusion of the *House of Fame* here presented; but, though direct facts for scientific proof are scanty, circumstantial evidence appears to favor it.

II. A FURTHER SOURCE SUGGESTED.

No single source has been proposed, so far as I am aware, for the main framework of the action in the *House of Fame*; indeed it is so simple and obvious as easily to pass for original with Chaucer. The several parts have been fairly well accounted for; but the uniting of them into something like a single plot has been usually ascribed to Chaucer's invention. That some folk-tale, however, may have furnished him a hint will appear a possible suggestion when one recalls two not unfamiliar folk-tale motives resembling motives in the poem. One of these is the "Glasberg" of German folk-lore, with a palace on its top: this inevitably forces comparison with Chaucer's crag or hill of ice (ll. 1116, 1165). The other is the motive of the "Hero carried off by an Eagle," familiar everywhere from the Greek myth of Ganymede to the tales of the North Amer-

¹ Seven of the names in this list occur in the list of 19 conjecturally restored by Skeat (vol. III, p. xxvii), viz., nos. 3, 9, 19, 4, 5, 17, 7 of the latter list; five of these are actually treated in the *Legend*. The remaining name of the former list (Oenone-Paris) may be compared to no. 12 (Helen) of Skeat's list; and his no. 15 (Lavinia) is also mentioned at l. 458 of the *House of Fame*.

ican Indian "thunder-bird."¹ If we disregard the long descriptions of the two great temples, the Temple of Venus and the House of Fame, these two motives contain the gist of the action of the poem. If we can find a folk-tale in which they are *united*, and can make it probable that the material had general distribution, the plausibility of our theory will be greatly increased.

○ Ovid's description, — the only source yet suggested for the location of the House of Fame, — places the House midway in the air, between heaven and earth and sea. The alteration of this to a position on a hill of ice is too startling a change, too little indispensable or natural to the development, to be regarded as Chaucer's unaided invention. Why should not the eagle simply drop the poet at the door of the Temple, if Ovid alone was furnishing suggestions? This, indeed, seems to have been nearly Chaucer's first intention, for, in l. 1049, the eagle is said to set him down in a street; but later we find the conception altered, and Chaucer speaks of himself as climbing up the hill with difficulty (ll. 1118, 1165). The poet has remembered something more which he wished to represent. If the ice were an inevitable element in the allegory, if the outward story here step by step fulfilled every need of some inner signification, one might with more confidence say that it was Chaucer's invention for his special purpose. But the motives for using a rock of ice — to make the ascent difficult, and to represent the names of great men as melting away — are quite subordinate in the plot as a whole, and do not sufficiently account for so striking a situation. The strangeness of the conception altogether outbalances any rational motives for introducing it. For Chaucer was not struggling after Fame, — he asserts that he did not want it; and to make his ascent difficult and perilous

¹Cf. a remarkable American Indian parallel in S. T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, pp. 81 ff. Of much greater antiquity and significance are instances of the motive connected with the Alexander cycle, called to my attention by Mr. G. L. Hamilton; in Ethiopic versions, Alexander is carried long distances through the air by eagles; Arabic tradition assigns the same adventure to Nimrod; and Babylonian records of circ. 650 B.C., if not earlier (cf. Aelian, *Nat. An.*, xii, 21), relate it of a hero of Babylonia. See E. A. W. Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (1896), pp. xxxvii-xl. That Chaucer had in mind some version of this cycle, telling of a heavenly flight, is proved by his ll. 914-5.

was in no sense necessary. Again the names of famous men are of much less moment than the men themselves whom he is soon to see. These hints therefore look like traces remaining from some original; they are still made slightly suggestive by an artful explanation, but are now become subordinate in the plot.

The "Glasberg" is one of the trials used in folk-tales, either for purposes of expiation or for the attainment of some difficult but desirable end. The trace of this motive is evident in l. 1118,

But up I clomb, *with alle paine,*

a trait which is still suggestive, but is no longer essential, and is not dwelt upon. Furthermore, though the hill is of ice, the poet is at first in doubt, and his first impression was,

For hit was lyk a thing of *glas*, —

possibly a reminiscence of the material in some folk-tale. By altering it to ice Chaucer improved matters in every way; the ascent was more slippery, names could melt away, and above all, ice accords better with nature.¹

Let us trace some of the varieties of these two motives as they occur in folk-tales. The extent of their geographical distribution and the frequency of their occurrence cannot but increase the proba-

¹ A peak reaching halfway from earth to heaven must of course be covered with snow and ice; yet it also resembles the glittering beauty of a supernatural region. The whole conception was, probably, in a subconscious way influenced by the ideas of the Terrestrial Paradise, often on a high mountain, between heaven, earth, and sea, forty fathoms above the highest earthly peak, and untouched by Noah's flood, etc. Chaucer reaches a sort of mock heaven, a limbo of famous men. Similarly Rambeau, *Engl. Stud.*, III, 249 ff., *passim*; who, however, agreeably to his thesis, ascribes the whole conception to Dante's Purgatory. The House of Nature in Alain de l'Isle's *Anticlaudianus*, l. 1, c. 4, is on a mountain ("montis ardua planities" is all the description); the House gleams with gems, gold, and silver; it has paintings of such men as Aristotle, Virgil, Nero, Ajax, Paris. *Ibid.*, l. 4, c. 7, is the smoking and flaming House of Mars situated among the spheres; again, l. 8, c. 1, occurs the House of Fortune, clinging to the brink of a precipice; this House is also partly made of gems, gold, and silver, the rest of mean materials. The descriptions in these cases are very brief, and there is no trace of glass or ice about the sites. My attention was called to these passages through the kindness of Professor Kittredge. See similar material in the *Architrenius*, p. 174, n. 1, of this article.

bility that Chaucer had met with them. The exact locality of the forms is, as is held by recent students of the diffusion of oral tales, of subordinate importance ; when a tale or motive is in general frequent, it may have appeared in almost any country of Europe, even if it has not been recorded. Should cases be found in which our two motives appear combined, the probability that Chaucer's combination was due to such a tale is, of course, vastly increased.

Perhaps the commonest and most typical form of an eagle carrying the hero is that in which the latter is rescued from a subterranean region. Take the instance from J. T. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, no. 16. A king's three daughters are carried off by three giants. A widow has three sons, who successively undertake the rescue. The first two fail. With three companions the youngest travels till he reaches the place under which dwell the giants who hold the princesses. A hole down into the earth is there, and the hero with his three men is lowered to the under-regions in a basket. The first giant challenges to a contest in drinking ; the hero's first companion takes him up, and before he is half satisfied the giant bursts. The second giant challenges to eating, and before the second companion is half satisfied that giant bursts. The third giant demands a year's service of the hero ; therefore the companions, taking the princesses, leave him there. At the end of the year the giant gives him a huge eagle to bear him back to the upper world, with bullocks to feed it on. Several unsuccessful attempts are made, but at last, with sixty bullocks, they get just below the top. The bullocks are all eaten, the eagle is about to drop back, when the hero cuts a steak from his own thigh, gives it to the eagle, and thus reaches the top. The eagle gives him a pipe with which to summon him at need. The hero then returns home and apprentices himself to a smith. One day the eldest princess demands of the smith just such a gold crown as she had when with the giant. The apprentice uses his pipe to summon the eagle, and sends for the crown itself. The second princess demands a silver crown, and the third a copper crown,¹ both of which are obtained. By this means the apprentice is discovered to be their true deliverer.

¹ Cf. note 3, p. 162.

From the south of Europe comes a form in L. Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, no. 61. Three king's sons discover a deep ravine, into which the eldest is lowered; horrible noises, chain-rattling, thunder, etc., terrify him, and he signals to be drawn up. So also the second brother. The youngest is lowered, and undismayed explores the ravine; he finds three princesses, slays a Wild Man, and has the princesses drawn up by the rope. The youngest princess tries to get him to go first for fear of betrayal by the brothers; he refuses; she gives him a magic wishing-girdle, and he gives her a ring that will glow at his approach. The brothers do betray him, leave him in the chasm, and take the princesses. He then wishes for an eagle; one instantly comes; he asks to be carried out on its back. The eagle will do it for meat, so he kills an ox and fills his sack. In the flight all the meat is exhausted; at the top he has to cut off both of his legs and give them to the eagle to avoid being dropped and dashed to pieces. Arrived at the top, the eagle disgorges the limbs and heals him. He then goes home and apprentices himself to a tailor. The youngest princess has refused to marry; but now the king is going to have a tournament, and she must be in a balcony and drop her kerchief upon the knight she accepts. A splendid robe is ordered for her of the tailor; he cannot make it, but the apprentice gets one with his wishing-girdle. The first and second days the apprentice refuses to go to the tournament; the kerchief is not dropped. The third day he is persuaded, and passes, dirty and ragged, under the balcony; the princess's ring glows, and she drops the kerchief on him. She is mocked for her choice and turned out of the palace. They are married, but have to live in a mean little house opposite. At last the hero uses his girdle to transform the house into a splendid abode, and restore himself to his princely guise.¹

¹ For other instances of the "eagle motive," see the references in J. Jacobs's very useful glossary of folk-tale motives in *International Folk-Lore Congress, Transactions*, 1891, p. 88, s. v. "Eagle carries hero"; viz.,—R. Köhler, in *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VII, 24; the same, in Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, II, 239; the same, in *Orient und Occident*, II, 296; E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, II, 141; T. F. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 40, 336 (n. 14). About 30 further instances can be developed from these references.

Turning to the other motive, that of the Glass Mountain, let us take as typical of a considerable class one from F. Kreutzwald, *Esthnische Märchen*, pp. 160, 361. A king's daughter to all appearances dies; but an enchanter says she may be restored. He bids them put her in a glass coffin,¹ and then gather all the glass vessels that can possibly be found; he will construct an immense furnace, melt all the vessels, and make a high mountain of glass; upon this the glass coffin must rest for seven years. At the end of that time a proclamation is to call all the young knights together, and one of them is destined to succeed in riding up the mountain and awaking the princess. A peasant has three sons, the youngest supposed to be a lazy, useless fellow. The father on his death-bed bids each one watch for one night on his grave. The older sons neglect this, and the youngest watches all three nights. On the first, the father speaks from his grave, asking who is on the watch; learning that it is the youngest, he bids him, if ever in need of help, to come to the grave and ask for it. The promise of help is repeated each night. At last the king's proclamation is made. The elder brothers go to try riding up the Glass Mountain; the youngest longs to go and betakes himself to the grave; suddenly, upon his demand, a bronze horse with bronze armor stands beside him. He arrives late in the concourse of baffled knights, but rides straight up the mountain more than a third of the distance to the top, then turns, descends, and rides away; the princess is seen to move. Next day, in the same manner, he receives a silver horse and armor, and rides more than halfway up; the princess moves more.² On the third day, with a golden horse and armor, he reaches the top, awakes the princess, and restores her to her parents.³

¹ Cf. Grimm, *Household Tales*, trans. Hunt, no. 53, *Snow-white*, and the Viennese variant given in notes.

² In Asbjörnsen, no. 52 (see next note) the princess holds three apples, one of which she throws to the successful rider each day. This in conjunction with versions having a balcony, shrine, or turret, carries us back to the balcony, kerchief, and three days' tournament in Gonzenbach, no. 61 (before cited), showing a bond between the two sets of tales.

³ Cf. Asbjörnsen og Moe, *Norske Folkeeventyr*, no. 52, p. 317 (Peasant's grass is eaten by supernatural horses, with copper, silver, and gold trappings; "youngest

There is another cycle of Glass Mountain tales in which the means of ascent is what is known as the "finger-ladder" and related devices. Take as typical A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen*, p. 282. Eight brothers are cursed into swan-shapes and fly away to the Glass Mountain. Their little sister, going in search, wanders till she comes to the Wind's house, then to the Moon's house and the Sun's; at each she gets a meal and saves the chicken-bones. The Sun knows the way, so the little girl reaches the mountain. There she makes a ladder of the bones; but as it is just too short she is compelled to cut off her little finger and make the last round of the ladder with it. Then she gets up.¹ She can release her brothers if she will remain speechless for eight years and will weave eight shirts of thorns and thistles. One day a king sees her and marries her. The story then resembles the Constance cycle.²

We may now proceed to cite cases where there are signs of some connection, intermingling, or possibly direct combination, of the two chief motives, the Glass Mountain and an Eagle carrying the Hero.

best" watches and captures them); E. Sommer, *Sagen*, etc., aus *Sachsen u. Thüringen*, I, 96 (very similar); M. R. Cox, *Cinderella*, p. 448; K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen*, etc., aus *Schleswig*, etc., p. 437 (note to his no. 13, "Copper Mountain, Silver Mountain, and Gold Mountain," with which cf. "Three Kingdoms, — Copper, Silver, and Golden" in J. Curtin, *Myths and Folk Tales of the Russians*, p. 1, and A. Dietrich, *Russische Volksmärchen*, no. 5, to be given more fully later); W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, p. 256 (similar to Kreützwald, but hero must leap horse up to shrine on top of twelve pillars; cf. Russian parallels on p. 260 and Campbell, III, 263-66); Miss Frere's *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 32, 76 (leaping over a river, to win a princess in a glass palace); A. Stier, *Ung. Märchen*, 1850, no. 14 (leaping to top of pole). These show the weakening of the conception. Further, Sigurd takes Brynhild from a Glass Mountain according to a Danish ballad, *Sivard og Brynild*, in Grundtvig, I, 16; the hero-tale has here borrowed this trait from folk-tales according to Grundtvig (p. 15). The heroine is enchanted beyond a fiery brook in one of these tales with a swan-maiden introduction (see later), viz. A. and A. Schott, *Walachische Märchen*, no. 19, p. 201.

¹ Cf. Grimm, no. 25, where the brothers are ravens, *inside* the Glass Mountain, which is to be opened with a drumstick, but as that is lost the finger is cut off and used as a key instead. Cf. also the variant on p. 373 of the notes.

² One of its most striking episodes closely resembles the birth of Sigurd-Sigfried in the *Þiðrekssaga*, ch. 160 (ed. Unger, p. 163). Cf. also Thorpe, *Yule-tide Stories*, p. 89.

That the hero in the latter sacrifices portions of his body to accomplish with great difficulty the last stage of his journey, must have been already noted as very similar to the sacrifice of the little finger to supply the last step in ascending the Glass Mountain. In both series, furthermore, there are persons, often three princesses, under enchantment in another world,—in one case, it is the under world, in the other, an upper world: these persons are to be released. That another world situated on the top of a high mountain should be reached by the flight of a bird seems like an almost inevitable combination of the two motives. Yet the intermediate steps are so numerous and important that they must receive especial attention.

In Grimm, *op. cit.*, no. 127, we find the Glass Mountain, not as the ultimate goal, but merely as one difficulty in the search; sharp swords and a lake must also be passed by the princess searching for her prince. She gets up the mountain by means of needles given her by a family of toads met on the way.¹

In Gonzenbach, *op. cit.*, no. 60, there is no ascent at all; the hero fails to win a princess, and in the exhausting quest to which he is then doomed an eagle helps him forward a long distance in return for being fed on the hero's left hand, arm, foot, and leg. Obtaining a magic girdle from an old woman, by its means he raises a splendid palace opposite the royal residence (as in Gonzenbach, no. 61) in the city which was his destination, and becomes its inmate. The princess sees him at a window, falls desperately in love, and after a time recognizes and marries him.²

Very similar to the latter part of Gonzenbach, no. 60, cited above, is the end of a story given by A. Dietrich, *Russische Volksmärchen*,

¹ In the variant given on page 426 of Grimm, a girl saves King Swan from the Glass Mountain (cf. Müllenhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 387) by throwing bacon and bread into the jaws of a lion and a dragon guarding it.

² In J. G. v. Hahn, *Griechische u. Albanesische Märchen*, no. 70,—a very full form of the under-world story,—we find that the three brothers, before they discover the entrance to the under world, have to *ascend a high mountain*, on the top of which is a heavy marble slab covering the entrance; the youngest is lowered down the hole by a rope, and after many adventures gets out again by aid of an eagle, flesh, and his own leg, as usual. That the mountain is identical with the Glass Mountain will soon appear.

no. 5,—a story of much importance as exhibiting at several points combinations between the two main series of tales we are considering. A queen is blown away by a violent wind, and her three sons go in search of her. They come to a great mountain too steep to climb. The youngest, exploring its sides, finds a door, inside of which are some iron hooks,¹ and with the help of these he climbs the precipices. Walking along the top, he comes to three successive tents, the first with a copper ball on top, and copper-colored embellishments, the second with the same in silver, the third in gold; in each he gives drink to guarding animals and kills a dragon, releasing a princess in each, and obtaining from them respectively a “copper, silver, and gold kingdom.”² Travelling on with his three princesses, he finds a castle in which his mother is held by an enchanter, and releases her. The four women now slide down the mountain in a linen cloth; the elder brothers receive them, and then jerk down the cloth, leaving the youngest brother helpless on top. A familiar spirit, however, having been obtained, takes him to his father's city. Here he apprentices himself to a shoemaker; the spirit does his work for him, making such wonderful shoes that the princesses, hearing of them, order an impossible number. The spirit fills the order. The princesses then demand that a golden castle shall be built in one night opposite theirs. The spirit performs this, and the youngest prince, his master, having become its inmate, is seen by the princesses at a window, and is thus discovered to be the true deliverer.

The most important trait in this tale is the abandonment of the hero by his treacherous brothers through withdrawal of the linen cloth by which the princesses were rescued; this belongs especially to tales of a subterranean deliverance, but here appears in connection with a mountain, ascended, like some of the Glass Mountains, by aid of hooks.³ The same trait appears more clearly in the version

¹ Cf. the needles in Grimm, no. 127, chicken bones in no. 25, as well as bear's or lynx's claws, iron shoes, diamond horseshoe nails, etc., later; on the meaning of these, see Grimm's *Myth.* (trans. Stallybrass), pp. 835 f. and note.

² Cf. note 3, p. 162.

³ Cf. important parallel from Spain, in A. Duran, *Romancero General* (ed. 1856), no. 1263; but the three princesses are in an enchanted tower instead of on a mountain; youngest brother climbs up by sticking in some nails, and lets down

given by Hahn, *op. cit.*, no. 26. A king's daughter is carried off by a dragon to the top of the mountain so high that even a bird could not fly to its summit. The youngest brother goes in pursuit. Seeing two serpents fighting, he kills the stronger and the other takes him up the mountain tied to its tail. Having killed a dragon, he frees three princesses, whom he lets down by a rope; the elder brothers receive them, and cut the rope. The hero, returning home, apprentices himself to a goldsmith, and the tale ends much as usual.

Another tale from Hahn, no. 15, is a mingling of a number of motives of importance to us, and furnishes a starting-point for new parallels. A prince is reared in the close confinement of a glass castle. One day he finds a bone in his food, with which by patient scratching he works his way out through the wall.¹ Later he goes hunting, is led off by a strange hart, and is lost for days. Finally he meets a Jew, who promises to show him his way if he will first go to the top of a steep mountain and get gold which is there. Consenting, he is sewed up in a buffalo skin, and being taken for carrion is carried off *by an eagle to the top* of the mountain. He lets the gold down, and the Jew having received it mocks him and leaves him on the top. After days of despairing search, he finds a ring and a door under the turf, and beneath it a stair going down into the base of the mountain. At the bottom is a palace, and in it an old man chained to the wall, who gives him keys to thirty-nine rooms and bids him amuse himself. He longs to enter the fortieth room. In this three swan-maidens are bathing. He seizes the clothes of the youngest and fairest of these, and thus gets her into his power. The old man gives him a winged horse, with which he takes his bride home. There he gives his aunt the magic clothes to keep; but the swan-maiden entreats, the aunt yields, and the bride, having put on her magic dress, flies away crying out, "Farewell, and seek me in the Glass City." He returns to the old man in the mountain to enquire

princesses by a *cord*; the brothers jerk the cord from him; he is saved by three horses, who give hairs to burn to summon them; apprenticed to alchemist; princess demands gold collar like one she had in tower, etc., — as in other tales cited. (Cosquin, I, 16, and Gonzenbach, no. 60, n.)

¹ For this curious use of chicken bones upon glass, cf. Gonzenbach, nos. 26, 27, 28.

after this city. The man summons all the birds and asks them where it is ; at last a "Schnapphahn" is found who knows. With a stock of provisions the prince starts on its back ; the provisions give out and he is compelled to give his own foot in order to reach his destination.

This tale shows another point of contact between the "Eagle" and the "Mountain" motives ; for the under world is here placed *within the mountain*, and a double ascent is necessary, one to the mountain-top, the other out of the under world. This becomes still clearer from a version of the tale in A. Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen*, pp. 128 ff. This begins with a powerful little bearded Woodman, who, being caught by his beard in the cleft of a tree, escapes and is traced up a mountain and down a hole. The hero pursues and is let down into the mountain on a hide thong. After he frees three princesses, the thong is cut by his comrades. He gets out by help of a great dragon, to which he has to give his legs.

The means of ascent by being sewed in a skin occurs in Nisbet Bain's *Russian Tales*, p. 3, where the hero is sewed into a dead horse and carried by crows¹ to the top of the Golden Mountain to gather gold ; also in Gonzenbach, no. 6. The hero's being taken for a corpse and carried up as prey occurs in a more important tale to be cited later. Another version of the idea occurs in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie*, I, 312. A sister is turned into a dove and lost. Her brother goes to the Wind, the Raven, and the Sun to enquire ; the last finds she is high up on a mountain-like island in a lake ; a steep *glass bridge* leads up to this, which, by aid of chicken bones and his finger cut off, he ascends. He fails to perform all that is

¹In another tale (Hahn, no. 97), the hero fastens flesh under his belt, and so is carried off by crows ; the ascent is from the under world. A hero sewed up in a camel's skin is carried to the top of a high mountain by an "aquiline vulture," in the Story of Hasan of El-basrah, Lane's *Arabian Nights*, III, 397. Professor Francke points out this motive in the M. II. G. *Herzog Ernst*, ed. Bartsch, ll. 4165-4335. Here men sewed in walrus hides are carried by griffons to the top of high rocks. Griffons are common elsewhere, carrying off knights, children, etc., but pursuit of them seldom repays ; see Bartsch's Introduction, pp. clii-clx, for parallels in M. II. G. Another instance of carrying off in hides occurs in *Huon de Bordeaux* ; see Liebrecht's Dunlop, p. 129, and note 209.

necessary for the disenchantment, and his sister is removed to the World of Darkness. Following, he comes to a mill on a great water; the World of Darkness is on the farther shore; the miller tells him a great raven comes each day from over the water for three barrels of meal; in one of these the brother conceals himself, and is carried nearly over; the raven drops his barrel, but it washes ashore, and the brother finally releases his sister.

The incident of calling a council of birds is frequent. In MacInnes and Nutt's *Hero Tales of Argyllshire*, pp. 151 ff., the birds are summoned for a soldier engaged in a search. Last of all comes an eagle, who can take him to his destination, the Kingdom of the *Green Mountains*, if enough meat is provided. The soldier starts out on the eagle's back; the meat gives out, and the soldier has to give his thighs in order to reach the Mountains. In Hahn, *op. cit.*, no. 25, the youngest prince, searching for his bride in a mythical place with marble cliffs and crystal fields, reaches the Court of the Eagle; the latter calls all the birds together,¹ and at last a lame hawk arrives who knows the way, and takes the prince thither, (apparently on foot); the prince has an iron shoe and a crutch or crook (*Krücke*) to climb up with.

The incident of the swan-maidens is a not infrequent accompaniment of stories of the Glass Mountain. In A. Waldau, *Böhmische Märchen*, p. 248, is an especially beautiful story of this sort, which is also of importance for us. A youth who works in the king's gardens discovers three swan-maidens in a secluded pond; he secures the veil of the youngest and takes her home; his mother proves an untrue guardian of the veil, and the maiden, having put it on, flies away to the Golden Mountain. The youth, pursuing the search through great forests, meets three hunters; these summon all the crows by blowing a pipe, and last of all comes a lame crow who knows of the Golden Mountain. He bids the youth provide him-

¹Can some such folk-tale have suggested to Chaucer the modification of Alain de l'Isle which results in the *Parliament of Fowls*? Cf., however, Koeppl in Herrig's *Archiv*, XC, 149 f., and Marie de France, Fable 22. In J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Märch. u. S.*, no. 1, the assemblage of birds enquired of is presided over by a *queen* on a splendid throne in beautiful feather robes (p. 4). Cf. also Campbell, IV, 289 (bottom), and Lechler's *Wielif* (Engl. trans.), I, 217-8.

self with three acorns, takes him on his back, and away they fly. Their path lies over the ocean; ¹ the crow, becoming exhausted, bids the youth drop one acorn; at once an oak springs up from the sea, and the crow rests himself upon it. So with the other acorns. At last they reach a cliff; the mountain is a hundred miles further, and the crow leaves him. After a time the youth sees two giants quarreling on the shore; he approaches them and offers to be umpire; they are quarreling for possession of a wishing-saddle bequeathed by their father.² The youth sits down on it, wishes himself on top of the Golden Mountain, and away it flies with him to his destination.

A similar saddle occurs in J. Wenzig, *Westslavische Märchen*, p. 112. Two brothers are transformed by curses into ravens, and removed to the Glass Mountain. Their sister, on her search, enquires of the Sun, Moon, and Wind; the Wind knows, and bidding her take three pebbles, sets her on the "Wind-saddle," and starts for the mountain-top. When the Wind becomes tired blowing her up the glass slope, she sets a pebble down, it sticks, and they rest on it. They barely reach the top after all the pebbles are gone and the wind is nearly exhausted.³ The girl, to free her brothers, has to wander three years without speaking; her adventures again contain hints of the Constance and Griselda cycles.

Again, the swan-maiden incident occurs in combination with a clearer instance of reaching the top of the Glass Mountain by a bird's flight, in T. Vernaleken (1864, translated 1884), *In the Land of Marvels*, p. 274. A peasant sees three maidens spring from a lake and fly away as ducks. Lying in wait, he gets the clothes of one,

¹ In MacInnes and Nutt (note to pp. 151 ff.) the eagle is given three apples while crossing the sea.

² Cf. Zingerle, *Tirols Volksdicht.*, etc. (Erster Band, *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*, 1852), no. 37, where two boys are quarreling over the saddle; also, Schott, no. 19 (before cited), where three devils are quarreling over the wishing-cloak.

³ Eagle and raven in myths are regarded by some mythologists as symbols of the wind. This tale taken in conjunction with those following would seem to favor their interpretation. Cf. E. H. Meyer, *Germ. Myth.*, p. 112, §§ 152, 153. For a parallel to the above tale, see the lead, silver, or gold dumplings (!) used exactly as the pebbles above in *Folk-Lore Journal*, VI, 199 ff. (Hungarian).

which he hides in a chest. She goes and gets them, and flying away, leaves a note, which says her home is on the Crystal Mountain. In his search he meets a man, who with a pipe summons all the animals; last of all, a lame hare limps up who knows the way. After conducting the youth a long distance, the hare vanishes in a wood. The youth then comes upon a bear, a wolf, a raven, and an ant, quarreling over a dead horse. He makes a just division among them, and each gives him a magic token. Proceeding, he sees the Crystal Mountain sparkling and flashing through the forest; it has a fine castle on top. First he turns himself into a bear and tries to scratch steps with his claws, but the glass cuts him; then into a wolf, and tries his teeth, but with no better success; then into a raven, and flies to the top. His transformations and tasks in dealing with the witch-mother in the castle are interesting but irrelevant.¹

Finally, I will cite the clearest case I have yet found of the hero's being carried to the top of the Glass Mountain in the claws of a bird of prey. It is in K. W. Woycicki, *Polnische Märchen* (translated by F. H. Lewestam), pp. 115 ff.² The great beauty of this tale makes one suspect literary embellishment; the bare incidents must, however, partake of the usual antiquity of true folk-tales. An enchanted princess waits seven years for a deliverer in a golden castle on the top of a great Glass Mountain. Many knights have ridden part way up, but have slipped and been dashed to pieces at the bottom. Three days from the end of the seven years, a knight in golden armor succeeds in riding halfway up, then turns round, and comes safely down; next day he tries once more, and has almost reached the summit when an immense *falcon* flies at his horse and tears out its eyes; the horse leaps, falls with its rider, and both are dashed to pieces. On the last day a fine young fellow, a scholar, appears on foot; he has heard of the difficult ascent, has killed a lynx, and now has its *claws* fastened to his hands and feet. With the greatest exertion he climbs till sunset, and is then only halfway up; he is

¹ Closely related to these tales is Grimm's no. 93. A very mild form of the story occurs in O. Knoop, *Volkssagen, etc., aus Hinterpommern* (1885), p. 104, "Hühnerberg."

² Also given in H. Kletke, *Märchensaal*, II, 106.

exhausted, and hangs there in extreme peril all night. Next morning the great falcon, circling the mountain, takes him for a fresh corpse, and seizing him in its talons, carries him above the summit. An apple-tree with golden apples stands in front of the castle; having cut off the falcon's feet with his knife, the youth falls into the tree. By help of the magic apples he gains access to the castle, overcomes a dragon, and wins the princess.

In a note to this tale the editor states that it was a belief among the old Lithuanians that the souls of the dead had to climb a steep mountain; claws of lynxes or bears were therefore buried with the dead.¹ The rich found great difficulty, the poor got up with ease; sinners were brought up in other ways; a great *dragon* bore up rich sinners, and on the way devoured their limbs; poor sinners were wafted up by the *wind*.²

The wide dissemination of tales regarding the Glass Mountain³ and an Eagle carrying a Hero to an upper world has now perhaps been sufficiently illustrated.⁴ If Chaucer knew much of "old wives'

¹ The collection of Lithuanian beliefs by E. Veckenstedt, *Mythen der Zamaiten*, which has been proved unreliable (cf. *Mélusine*, II, 166; V, 121), contains a crystal castle on a mountain, between heaven and earth, I, 38, 86, 91, 118; a golden eagle carries a demigod on its back to a mountain, I, 87, and another eagle carries a shepherd-boy to heaven, I, 159 f. The accounts are meagre, and it would be difficult to say how much is genuine.

² Cf. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, I, 492, and note, with references; Grimm, *Myth.* (trans. Stallybrass), p. 820, note, and p. 1544, with references.

³ Other references to this material are: Sv. Grundtvig, *Gam. dan. Minder*, I, 211; J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Hausm.*, pp. 206 ff.; *Deutsche Märch. u. S.*, no. 1; E. Veckenstedt, *Wendische S. u. M.*, pp. 122-5; M. Winther, *Dan. Volkeev.*, p. 20; A. N. Afanasev (*Pop. Russ. Fairy Tales*), VII, 209 ff.; new ed. 1873, I, 497 ff.; II, 452; Thorpe's *Yule-tide Stories*, p. ix; M. R. Cox, *Cinderella*, p. 525; Liebrecht's *Gervasius v. Tilbury*, pp. 151 ff.; Raszmann, *Heldensage*, I, 151 ff.; Mannhardt, *Germs. Myth.*, pp. 330-343, 426, 447. (Full reference in Cox, Thorpe, Liebrecht, etc.)

⁴ The treatment is, of course, not complete; ramifications are infinite. The fullest example of what might still be done is the extraordinary assemblage of references to untranslated Russian collections containing material related to our enquiry, made by W. Wollner, in Leskien and Brugman's *Litauische Volkslieder u. Märchen* (1882), on pp. 525 ff.; a glass mountain, a glass bridge, a palace in the air, etc., are mentioned; on p. 531 are cases where a flying wolf helps the hero, one from Poland (*Lud*, VIII, 20) where a raven does so; p. 556, a bird rescues a man for flesh.

fables," he could scarcely have failed to meet with some of these; for such wide extension doubtless also implies great antiquity, as is commonly acknowledged. In the *House of Fame* it is not to be pretended that the description of Jove's great golden eagle taking the poet through the upper air is not strongly influenced by Chaucer's knowledge of the story of Ganymede (l. 589; cf. Ovid, *Met.*, x, 160; Virgil, *Aen.*, i, 28);¹ but, on the other hand, this does not preclude the likelihood that the first hint of the plot of his poem came to Chaucer from a fairy tale, which was then expanded and embellished according to literary models. In this connection I may cite from a tale in Jones and Kropf's *Folk Tales of the Magyars*, "Prince Mirko," pp. 64 ff. The "youngest best" has a magic mare; when he mounts her and shuts his eyes, she goes like a hurricane; then she stops, stamps her foot, and says to him: "Open your eyes! what can you see?" "A great river and a copper bridge." The process being repeated, he sees a silver bridge; these bridges had been visited and plundered by his two elder brothers. Again they ride on; now he sees a gold bridge, guarded by four lions; they ride over it. Further on, the mare stops and stamps; he opens his eyes and sees an immense steep *glass rock*; the mare says they must go over it; but she has diamond nails² in her shoes, so up they go. On top she says, "Open your eyes! what do you see?" They are on a perilous ridge. He sees "Below me a small blackish object,

¹ That the eagle had golden feathers and swooped down like a thunderbolt doubtless comes from Dante (*Purg.* ix), as pointed out by ten Brink (*Studien*, p. 92) and Rambeau (p. 232). This need not mean more than another literary contribution like the story of Ganymede. The confluence of literary models in Chaucer is familiar, and is an argument frequently resorted to by Rambeau. Chaucer's mentions of Boece (l. 972) and of Marcian and Anticlaudian (ll. 985-86) certainly are introduced as if afterthoughts. The order of recollection as Chaucer composed may, however, have been this: a first suggestion from Dante (*Purg.* ix), supplemented by the Ganymede story, and the other accounts of heavenly flights; then the subconscious folk-tale motives may have led him to introduce the ice-hill, with its palace, great witch, etc., as he neared his destination.

² Cf. A. Stier, *Ungarische Volksmärchen*, 1857, no. 6 (p. 48). Three horses are bought, black, yellow, and white, shod with gold shoes and diamond nails, in order to get from a castle on the Glass Mountain a gold-embroidered cloth, gold apple and ring, and then the princess herself.

the size of a dish." "That is *the orb of the earth*," she replies. They go on and have exciting adventures, at last driving some enemies into the glass rock. Reaching the top, the prince finds a trap-door and a winding stair to the lower regions; there is a glittering diamond castle, and in it a hideous witch weaving troops of soldiers (!); he kills them, gets more diamond nails, burns up the witch, etc.¹

Here is evidently a tale containing detritus of our material (I have cited it only by excerpts); the looking down upon "the litel erthe that heer is," is rather startling when one compares it to Chaucer, ll. 556, 580, 888 ff., 906, 907. That this tale could have any literary connection with Macrobius is hardly conceivable; it is more likely that the literary accounts of heavenly flights rest upon an oral substratum of popular tales, of which this is a representative. Thus the Ganymede story must be studied in connection with our folk-tales of "Eagle carrying Hero," just as the Perseus story is fully proved to rest upon the widest "sea of story."² The probability that Chaucer knew something as well of the oral tale as of the literary myth can scarcely be avoided.

The citation of tales that I have given, must make evident not only the diffusion of the separate motives, but the abundance of complex forms of union, in which the motives inevitably belong together. We can scarcely deny that at some time there existed a folk-tale in which an eagle carried a man engaged in an ardent quest to the top of a glass mountain, on which was a wonderful palace; that in this dwelt a great witch,³ and that the object of the quest was obtained, either there or soon after. There may also have been more

¹ Similar is Asbjørnsen and Moe's no. 37, about the great horse "Grimsborken," where the mountain, "smooth as glass," is more like others in our series. One or two traits connect it with Grimm's "Golden Bird," which also contains a very mild version of the subterranean adventure.

² See E. S. Hartland, *Perseus*, 3 vols., 1894-96.

³ It seems better to ascribe the goddess Fame to such a source; Rambeau's comparison (*Engl. Stud.*, III, 254 ff.) of this hideous and vindictive monster with the "Mother of God" seems impossible as well as offensive. Of course Virgil's description of Fame fills in many of the details, as was suggested of Chaucer's eagle episode and Ganymede. The whole atmosphere of the *House of Fame* is that of an enchanted palace, such as fairy tales describe; cf. especially ll. 1288-92 and 1493-96.

than one enchanted dwelling visited, in the last of which the object of the quest was found (*e.g.*, in Dietrich, no. 5, pp. 164-5 above).¹

Even if one should feel inclined to deny any source but the story of Ganymede to Chaucer's eagle episode, the improbability of such an opinion of the source becomes enormous when one considers the *combination* of that episode with the ice mountain, and its correspondence to the same combination found in the folk-tales. The two motives evidently belong together, and should stand or fall together. As was remarked at the outset, Chaucer's alteration of Ovid's location of Fame's House to a hill of ice is too extraordinary, too unaccountable, to be the poet's unaided invention. The recital also contains traits which, being unessential to Chaucer, appear to be reminiscences of essential traits in the fairy-tale original. Lastly, the ice-hill, though evidently of vital importance, has not been otherwise accounted for. Whence did it come? Amid countless other borrowings, that one striking trait remains unexplained; and if the hill of ice be of folk-tale origin one can scarcely deny that the associated traits are probably also of such origin; the *connected action* thus established, closely resembling the action in Chaucer, forms something of a presumptive claim for the folk-tale; it gives the link to

¹ A similarity to the *House of Fame*, in general plan, though apparently without traces of either the Eagle or Glass Mountain motives, exists in the important Latin School Poem *Architrenius*, by Johannes de Altavilla (or Anville), c. 1184. The author was a Norman well acquainted with England, and his allegory seems to have been very popular in the 13th and 14th centuries; it may therefore have been known to Chaucer. The hero of the poem starts on a quest after the Goddess Nature: he soon reaches the Palace of Venus; then visits the Abode of Gluttony; then Paris, with its student life full of hardship; then the Mount of Ambition, with a stately palace on its summit, decked with tapestries and paintings; not far off, the Hill of Presumption, inhabited by ecclesiastics; there he beholds Cupidity, an ugly monster whose head reaches the sky: after a time he is transported to distant Thule, and hears the ancient philosophers discourse; at last he beholds a beautiful woman before him, and learns that it is the Goddess of Nature, the object of his quest. On the *Architrenius* and its author, see the edition by Thos. Wright in his *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the 12th Century*, I; also his *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, II, 250; *Forsch. z. Deutschen Gesch.*, XX, 475 ff.; Gröber's *Grundriss d. rom. Philol.*, II, 1, 381. This analogue to the *House of Fame* was kindly called to my attention by Professor Francke.

join hitherto scattered originals; for the passages from Ovid, Virgil, and Dante then take their natural position of embellishments.

The nature of Chaucer's debt is clear; it is in no sense literary copying, but is a more or less distinct recollection of an oral tale, heard perhaps in boyhood. When we consider the evident love for folk-lore which characterized Shakspeare's youth, it seems inconceivable that Chaucer was not familiar as a boy with the multitudes of folk-tales rife in early days. Wherever an imaginative mind was free from monastic bonds, it must have met with great quantities of such material; Chaucer, as one of the first great authors thoroughly so emancipated, may well show traces of such knowledge, outgrown perhaps, but undestroyed.¹

In the study of the earlier periods, when books were fewer, the reckoning which the student must make with *oral* transmission of knowledge necessarily becomes greater. This fact is not always kept in mind by those investigating the 14th. century. Though the thesis here maintained with regard to the *House of Fame* should fail of acceptance in many of its details, I hope to have called to mind a few points of probable contact between Chaucer and oral literature.

A. C. GARRETT.

¹The clearest forms of our material seem to come from east Germanic and west Slavonic regions; the connection of England with Bohemia in Queen Anne's time should therefore be borne in mind. But any hint from that source would of course belong to Chaucer's mature life. Fragmentary or related motives are to be found in the British Isles, however, and that there may have once been completer forms which simply escaped record would be acknowledged as possible by all folklorists. The eagle episode is of course complete in Campbell, no. 16; references to a glass house high in the air occur (cited by Grimm) in Fr. Michel's *Tristan*, II, 103; cf. I, 222; tales of glass stairs exist in Holderness, according to Jones and Kropf, footnote, p. 350; a "finger ladder" used for a high tree, for which the last finger was sacrificed, occurs in Campbell, I, 31; a princess is to be delivered from a turret on three pillars on a hill (dun) on the "Green Island" in Campbell's no. 76 (III. 263 ff.). Best of all, in Campbell, IV, 292 ff., we find that a prince, being pursued, takes refuge on "a mountain covered with glass (*or ice*) in winter," having with him a magic sword and a sceptre. Later the sword and sceptre must be brought down from "glass mountains," and his sister is successful in this. Cf. parallel verses cited from Lincolnshire, in *Folk-Lore Journal*, III, 188.

ON TWO MANUSCRIPTS OF LYDGATE'S GUY OF
WARWICK.

LYDGATE'S writings are not of a quality to invite enthusiastic study, but they are of great importance for the investigation of the age just after Chaucer. They are widely scattered in manuscripts and early prints, and up to this time only a few have been published in satisfactory editions. A great deal remains to be done in the preparation of texts, the establishment of chronology, and the study of sources. Some account, therefore, of two neglected manuscripts will not be useless as a contribution to Lydgate bibliography.

My first plan was to print the *Guy of Warwick* from a manuscript now in the Harvard University Library, with a description of the volume and some account of the information it furnishes about the poet. This work was delayed, and I learned in the meantime of another copy of the poem at Leyden, which I have since been able to look up. I can now add a collation of the Leyden text, and a list of the contents of the Leyden manuscript.

There are two reasons for republishing the *Guy*, already edited by Zupitza. In the first place, the Harvard text represents a different group of manuscripts; in the second place, it is the work of an important scribe, John Shirley, and contains an interesting chronological rubric.¹

The Leyden manuscript is principally interesting for the additional testimony it gives to support Lydgate's authorship of some

¹ Zupitza's edition has escaped the notice of at least one Lydgate scholar, as appears from the following statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXIV, 314: "Guy of Warwick (unprinted), about 1420, from the lost Chronicle of Girardus Cornubiensis." Zupitza pointed out (*Sitzb. der kais. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Wien, LXXIV, 647) that the chapter of the Chronicle which Lydgate used is preserved and printed in Hearne's *Chronicon Prioratus de Dunstable*. A better text is accessible in the *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, ed. by Edward Edwards (Rolls Series), 1866. Of the date I shall have more to say farther on.

doubtful pieces, such as the *Stans Puer ad Mensam*. It contains two poems now assigned to Chaucer (the balades "This wrecched worldes transmutacioun" and "Fle fro the press and dwell with sothfastnesse"), but nearly everything else is traditionally ascribed to Lydgate. The relation between the Leyden manuscript and Lansdowne 699 in the British Museum¹ is striking, and suggests the possible existence of a kind of canon of Lydgate's shorter pieces. The *Guy of Warwick* corresponds closely to Zupitza's edition, and I have printed simply a list of variant readings.

My work is necessarily incomplete in many respects. I could not construct a critical text of the *Guy*, or make a classification of the manuscripts, without having access to the copies which have not been fully described. I have also made no attempt to give complete lists of manuscripts and editions of the pieces considered. With the imperfect published catalogues at my disposal, such a bibliography could not be made satisfactory. But I have tried to give a full and serviceable report of the two manuscripts which I have examined. The investigation of the texts will have to be carried to completion in the English libraries. I hope it will be possible before long to publish some of the other pieces in the Harvard manuscript.

I. *The Harvard Manuscript.*

The Harvard MS., since it has been in America, seems to have dropped out of the sight of European scholars. The only reference to it that I have seen is in Furnivall's edition of *Gyl of Brentford's Testament*, etc. (printed for private circulation, London, 1871). In the prefatory note to *A Balade or two by Chaucer* four of Shirley's MSS. are mentioned, — Harl. 7333; Add. MS. 16,165; Ashmole, 59; Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3.20. "Mr. Bradshaw," the editor goes on to say, "had seen a fifth Shirley MS. — of Lydgate's Poems — that the late Mr. Lilly had on sale for £120; but as no English buyer would give that sum for it, it went to the United States."² There

¹ See p. 188, below.

² Professor Kittredge called my attention to this statement. Mr. Furnivall had printed the same list, with the exception of the Harvard MS., in the *Athenæum*, Feb. 18, 1871. Professor Skeat (*Oxf. Chaucer*, I, 25) mentions other Shirley MSS.

can be no doubt that this is the Harvard MS., for a letter of Bradshaw's to Lilly has been inserted in the volume.¹ Mr. Lilly appar-

¹ The letter is of interest enough in itself, and as a scrap of Bradshaw's correspondence, to be printed in full.

“ King's College, Cambridge

“ 31st July 1866.

“ Dear Mr. Lilly,

“ I hope the book has reached you safely before this. I sent it off yesterday morning by fast train. I cannot thank you enough for allowing me the use of it to examine.

“ I shall be sorry if the MS. goes really into private hands for it ought to be in the British Museum or in the Record Office. The Chronicle is the most interesting part—then the Guy of Warwick. The *Compleynt of Cryst* is common enough. We have two MS. copies here, & one printed by de Worde (somewhat altered). There is another (different) edn., also by de Worde in the Grenville Library called the *Remorse of Conscience* (Part I, page 162.) It has been recently printed by the Early English Text Society from two copies at Lambeth, MSS. 306 and 853. Most of the copies however are imperfect. Yours wants *one* leaf at the beginning, and the leaf which now stands *first* should follow that which your binder has placed *second*.

“ Of the *Three Kings of Coleyne* we have two or three MS. copies, besides one printed by de Worde.

“ The *Government of Princes* I have not traced; I don't know whether it is the same as any ordinarily known treatise.

“ Of the *Serpent of Division* by Lydgate we have an early printed copy.

“ Of the *Guy of Warwick* there is a copy among the Laud MSS. in the Bodleian, & in the Brit. Museum MSS. Harl. 7333 (acc. to Ritson). Of the *Chronicle* there are heaps of MSS. everywhere.

“ You will say why are those pieces which are commonest those which give this MS. its chief value. The reason is that few MSS. have anything like the full (I might almost say *gossiping*) rubrics which John Shirley the scribe of your MS. so much delighted in.

“ It is of great importance to fix the date of a poem, particularly to get some landmarks in the poetical life of so voluminous a writer as Lydgate. Your rubric here tells you that it was written at the request of Margaret Countess of Shrewsbury &c. so that it cannot have been earlier than 1442. She was a daughter of the Earl of Warwick—and the books will tell you when she died, which gives a small compass for the possible date.

“ The copy of the Chronicle shows that the *original* extended to the death of Edward III, that the reign of Rich. II was written in French in Paris, and translated into English by John Lydgate. The rubric on leaf clxxx *verso* is most interesting. I don't know that it is generally known that this part was written in Paris—the translation is certainly not ascribed to Lydgate in any other book I ever heard of.

ently sold the MS. to Mr. William Medlicott of Longmeadow, Mass., and it was bought by the University Library at the Medlicott sale, Sept. 2, 1878.¹

The volume is large quarto, rather closely clipped in binding, and contains 211 leaves. It is imperfect at both beginning and end, and lacks a leaf or more between fols. 43 and 44. Leaves 2 and 3 have been interchanged in binding. The whole is on paper; at the beginning is a parchment leaf covered with scrawls, and containing a few Latin verses.² The date cannot be far from 1450. Bradshaw seems to have regarded the whole MS. as the work of John Shirley, and his deliberate judgment in such a matter would be practically decisive. But two of the pieces (the *Governaunce of Princes* and the *Serpent of Division*) seem to me to be in a different hand from the

“John Shirley is said by Stow to have died in 1456 at the age of 90. It is to him more than to any one else that we owe our knowledge of most of Chaucer’s and Lydgate’s smaller pieces. He is the only *circumstantial* copyist I know. There is one of his collections in the Bodleian (MS. Ashmole 59.2); one at least in the Harleian Colln. (I forget the number); another in the Brit. Museum MS. Addit. 16165; and one in Trinity College Library here. You will see something about him in Warton’s *Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, vol. 2, page 389 (ed. 1840).

“I wish our Library had any funds for buying such things and then I should have no hesitation in asking them to buy it.

“Yours very much

“HENRY BRADSHAW.”

¹ See *Catalogue of a Collection of Books formed by William G. Medlicott of Longmeadow, Mass.*, Boston, 1878, p. 281.

² Floruit Arthuro sub rege, Britannia quondam
Gallia sub Carolo, floruit illa suo,
Non minor his, ibat magnus godfridus in armis
Quo sese iactat Belgica terra vetus
Hector Alexander romanae gloria gentis
Iulius eximie nobilitate viri,
Et valida virtute pares dignissima turba
Quam vehat arguta fama canora tuba
Iosua dux Israell david Macabeus Iudas,
Quos Iudae tellus protulit alma viros
His domiti quondam reges pepere triumphos
Insignes et nunc fama perenna vehat.

(A list, it will be seen, of the Nine Worthies.)

180¹

Gods moste myghty hande put my to have such speche
to write his name and affe in memorye.
At which tyme of the first of the good knyghte
called Colborne and had of hym victorie.
This battelle seems to be of gods hande
and to the manhode of this noble knyght
that of Donndels and the covendunt hande.
had passed adwille and take per day myght
to ward theys lande ney stades nor light
per Donnyde and per pompe off offid
kyngs of the ston thio be first myght
in chole recorde do so to for offid.
And of the pryde of some per offid
be any of chawndels do make so maner
per kyngs per clergy devontely how de offid
prync of a byone a byone of the towne
in our assambly of per de offid
tooths by and loke to speche in generall
any to conveye with per possession
unto per myght and the offid and the offid
per noble knyght per the offid in his end
with great maner made his chawndels
of per same day of the offid affe per he
had of Donndels stades per her chawndels
which depend per the offid alle per the offid
per so he called the day of great colborne.
And kept amonge men of the offid
in the offid of the offid.
Whiche alle was done the so no may to per
any in alle last edst of his armye.
and the offid of the offid the offid of the offid
kyngs of the ston and his bye any
per he myght per the offid
of the offid to tell him and not to speche
in per offid to speche his armye
his name to him plainly per to dectly

that it pute i his garde for god that hys of hys moost outier chertie
 by the offision of his done yelde ransom & save his people would
 be pleasd no have speable the lede the whiche shewith of enaunces
 and caulesse onto the people that he shuld have in his kepynge and
 widdnes takinge from them that they shuld lye upon the deth
 shewith that god doeth the people greeth whiche he hath so
 de woorthly shaddowforned that is to say by deth and by offision
 shewing of his done blade

Of the my vertue necessarye for
 the good gouernance of a prince

In this my consideration of gode gouernance that the kynge or
 prince shuld have for the safe garde & gode gouernance of his
 Realme his people & his kinde & the people of god it is full
 conuenient that the lord abouefode haue & be endued wth my vertues
 principally in him self, in his wylle & in his entendement / And f^r
 he doe diligently the feates & the Opurours that these my vertues
 becometh of the whiche the first is Science / (The seconde is
 prouidence / The thirde is Justice / The myth is wyseworde //
 The my first that is to say Science and prouidence doeth kno =
 wledge how a prince that woul worche / And the othr wyse =
 Justice & Mysericorde worcheth and doeth the sed wectis /

How the vertu of Science is
 necessarye to a prince

If the vertue of Science that shuld ben in a kynge or prince for
 to gouerne his people his kinde & his subiects well and Justly
 afore god shuld saye prince ben endued the whiche vertue & all
 othr counsell of god wth wite whom no gode may come / And
 the lord the kynge or the prince to that ende & intent that he may
 haue wite & knowinge to gouerne well shuld deuoutly & humbly
 beseeche god that at his request he woul largely amysse his
 grace like wth the apostle saith / And our lord god woul giue him of
 his grace more humbly & plentifully than he can requyre /
 as seue us it is well shewid at the begynnyng of the booke of
 the wyse kynge Salomon / And as the prophete Dauid saith psalms
 of god is the way begynnyng of Experience / And ther is no
 thing that a kynge or prince shuld so muche deede & doo wth
 god for the great pbenesse the great mychynesse & knowynesse
 lode and cherte & prouable humblynce of alle good that is in
 him no noon othr thing shuld he doo but god and that it

rest, or at least to have been written at a different time and with a different pen. They contain no rubrics of interest, and Bradshaw seems to have paid little attention to them. It is therefore possible that he may have overlooked the change in the hand. The fact that these two pieces alone (comprising fols. xxxiv to lvii) have illuminated capitals, whereas in the rest of the volume the indented squares are left blank, makes it likely that MSS. originally separate have been combined. It is of course impossible here to get at other Shirley MSS. to make comparisons.¹ I shall therefore content myself with giving a page of each hand in photographic facsimile.

The MS. contains the following pieces: (1) *The Complaynt of Cryst*, fols. 1-4; (2) *Guy of Warwick*, fols. 4-12; (3) *The Three Kings of Coleyne*, fols. 13-33; (4) *The Governauce of Princes*, fols. 34-48; (5) *The Damage and Destruction caused by the Serpent of Division*, fols. 49-57; (6) *Cronycles of the Reaume of England*, fols. 59-211.

(1) *The Complaynt of Cryst*. A comparison of the Harvard text with those edited by Furnivall for the Early English Text Society shows the following relations: Harv. lacks one leaf at the beginning, so that its first line corresponds to l. 139 of Lamb. 853. Leaves 2 and 3² in Harv. have been interchanged by the binder. Harv. follows the order of Lamb. 306, but gives an altogether better text. It has in a large number of cases the readings of Lamb. 853, and sometimes serves to correct both the Lambeth MSS. Furnivall dates Lamb. 853 about 1430, and Lamb. 306 about 1460-70. Bradshaw puts Harv. at about 1450. This poem is in the hand of Shirley. There is no indication of the author.

(2) *Guy of Warwick*. This will be discussed later by itself.

(3) *The Three Kings of Coleyne*. This was edited by Horstmann for the Early English Text Society in 1886 (No. 85). Numerous MSS. of the English legend exist, which Horstmann divides into three classes: I, MS. Royal; II, MS. Camb. Univ. and others; III,

¹ The hand of the Harv. *Guy of Warwick* is identical with that of the Shirley facsimile (MS. Add. 16165) published by the Chaucer Society. (*Autotypes of Chaucer MSS.*, 1877-80.)

² Not 1 and 2, as inadvertently stated by Bradshaw.

MS. Harl. None of the MSS. has the original text. Class II conforms best to the Latin original, but Class I is older and has better readings. The material in I appears to have been rearranged and enlarged. The Harv. MS. belongs plainly in Horstmann's Class II. Its arrangement corresponds to the Camb. MS., and it has the same initial letters in every case. Harv. stops before the passage on Prester John (Horstmann, p. 138). Where the Harl. MS. (Class III) has additional matter, Harv. corresponds to Camb. and Class II.¹

(4) *The Governauce of Princes* appears to be in a different hand from the *Guy*, the *Compleynt*, and the *Cronycle* (see above, p. 180). No author is given, and I do not know of any other copy. It begins:

Considereth thopinions sentences and diffinicions of wise philosophres and othir sage persounes Auncient and Autentike that is to sey in the bible the wise parables of Salomon in the booke of *Ëccliastique* *Eccliasticus* and divers othir the *Politiques* and *Ethiques* of the famous *Philosophre* *Aristotle* in his tretie made of the feet of *Chiualrye* *Thaduertisement* of *Vegecius* and prudent counseill of *Giles* in his tretie of *Regiment & gouvernaunce* of *Princes* And many othir writinges of souffisaunt auctorite Where ynne beth shewid parfite rewles and notable conveies by the whiche *Kinges* *Princes* and othir lordis may condue their estatiz And how the saide greet lordis of this world may knowe & sette goode gouvernaunce in their owne persounes in their people and in their *Seigneuries* and lordshipes.

It ends :

for in sondry cuntrees beth sondry guyses & dyuers vsages & feetis in the werre & aftir that is provision to be made & ordynaunce & disposicoun of officers for thacchevaunce of the werres in euery cuntree soo that every prince by the goode aduise of his true counseill shuld be well assured of his goode & convenient officers for the conduit of his werres as well vpon the lande as vpon the see as the thinge & tyme will require And these abouesaid thus briefly towched I passe ouer & speke no more of the gouernaunce of a prince in tyme of his werres, but yif it be plaisir to any prince haue more pleneure & parfyt knowlege of a princes rewle and govern[au]nce in his werres lat him byhold & see *Vegecius* in his tretie full souffisauntly made vpon the feet of *Chivalrie* and also the iij^d booke of *Gyles* in his

¹ Within Class II it seems impossible to derive Harv. from any of the texts cited by Horstmann.

book made of the regiment & gouernaunce of Princes and in the bookes of othir diuerse Clerkis whiche more largely spekith of this matere, etc.

There is plainly something missing between fol. 43 and fol. 44. There is a break in the sense, and the general arrangement is unintelligible as it stands. The author is discussing the four virtues necessary for the good government of a prince — namely, Science, Providence, Justice, and Misericorde. Fol. 43^b does not finish the treatment of Justice, and fol. 44^a begins abruptly in the midst of the treatment of Misericorde.

(5) Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*. This "was printed with an *envoye* in verse by Peter Treveris, 1520?, 12mo; again as *The Serpent of Division set forth under the Auctours old Copy by I. S.*, London, by Owen Rogers, 1559, 8vo, and under the same title together with *The Tragedye of Gorboduc*, by E. Allde, for Iohn Perrin, 1590, 4to."¹ According to Miss L. Toulmin Smith, a fifteenth-century copy among the Yelverton MSS. belonging to Lord Calthorpe shows that the tractate was written in December, 1400, "by me, Danne John Lidgate."² She prints the conclusion of the Yelverton version, which differs considerably from that of the Harvard MS.

The Harvard text begins :

This lytel tretys compendiously declareth the damage & destruccion causid in royaumes by the Serpent of diuision.

Whilom³ as olde bookes maken mencion whan the noble famouse Citee of Rome was moost shynyg in his felicitee and flouring in his glorie liche as it is remembrid in bookes of solde Auncetrys the primetemps of his foundacion whan the wallys were reised on heighte by the manly and the prudent diligence of Remvs and Romulus ffor the whiche tyme the Citee

¹ See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under *Lydgate*. Hazlewood, in a marginal note in his copy of Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica* (p. 70), now in the Harvard University Library, remarks that the end of the prose treatise "is one page of poetry or three stanzas of eight lines each, entitled 'The declaration of thys tragical History in thys lytle Booke.'" I suppose this refers to the envoy of Treveris; no such verse appears in the Harvard MS.

² Cf. her *Gorboduc, Intro.*, p. xxi. She adds in a footnote that it was ascribed to Lydgate by J. H[azlewood] in Brydges, *Censura Literaria*, IX, 369 (1809), and to Norton by Messrs. Cooper in *Athen. Cantab.*

³ W indented and illuminated.

stoode vnder gouernaunce of kinges tille vnto tyme that Tarquyn sone of Tarqvyne the proude for his outrageous offence Doon vnto Lucesse the wyf of the worthi Senatour Collatyn In punysshing of whiche trespas by the manly poursuyt of Collatynes Kynrede and full assent of alle the senat the name of kinges cessed in the Cite of Rome for euermore.

The text ends :

I may conclude with him that was floure of poetys in oure englissch tonge and the first that euer enlumynid oure langage *with* flourys of rethoryk and of eloquence I mene my maister Chaucer whiche compendiously wrot the deth of this mighty Emperour seing in this wyse

with boidekynes was Cesar Iulius
mordred at Rome of Brutus Cassius
whan many londe & regne had brought full lowe
Lo who may trust ffortune eny throwe

Thus by record of my wise prudent maister to foresaide the froward and the contrarious lady Dame ffortune *the* blynde and the *peruerse* goddesse *with* here gery and vnware violence spareth nouth^{er} Emperour nor king to plonge him down sodeinly fro the highest pryk of hir onstable wheel Allas late euery man left [lest?] vp his hertis eye and prudently aduerten the mutabilite & the sodein chaunge of this fals world and late the wise gouernours of euery lond and region make a merour in her mynde of this manly man Julius and consideren in her hertis the contagious damages & the importable harmes of Diuision And late hem seen avisely & take example how the ambitious pride of Julius and the fretyng envye of Pompeye and *the* vnstancheable gredy Couetise of Marcus Crassus were chief and premordial cause ffirst of hir owne destruccion execut and accomplisshed be cruel deth and nat only that these forseid thre abhomyneable vices were cause of her owne deth but occasion of many other moo than I can telle. The Cite of Rome not only made bare & bareyn of their olde riches and spoiled of her tresour on *the* too side but destitut & desolat by deth of hir knighthode on the tother side whiche me semeth oughte y nough suffice to exemplifie what it is to begynne a werre and sp[eci]ally to considre the irrecuperable harmes of diuision And for this skyl moost esp[eci]ally by comaundement of my maistre I toke vp on me this litel and this compendious translacion aftir my litel kunnyng I haue it put in remembraunce.

The hand is the same as that of the *Gouernaunce of Princes* (see above, p. 180).

(6) *The Cronycle*. This is the so-called *Brut*, the common prose chronicle, which Caxton made the basis of his printed editions. Through the kindness of Mr. Jenkinson of the Cambridge University Library, I was able last summer to make a short examination of Caxton's first edition (1480), and to take some notes of the contents. The Harvard MS. lacks altogether the introductory account of the British Islands and the people. It begins with the Prologue, explaining the name *Albion*. The chapters correspond for the most part to those in Caxton. The MS. stops abruptly in the reign of Henry VI, describing "How Owayn a sqyer of Walys that had wedded Quene Katryn was arestyd, & of the scisme by twene Eugene & felix." This is chapter 251 in Caxton, whose edition ends with chapter 263 on the deposition of Henry VI and the accession of Edward IV.

The rubric of which Mr. Bradshaw speaks in his letter¹ is interesting enough to be given in full. At the end of the account of Edward III (fol. clxxx verso), Shirley writes:

Nowe my gracyous lordes and feyre ladyes my maystres ande specyall ffreendes ande goode ffelawes vouchesauf here now I beseche yowe to here *the* Cronycle of *this* sayde Richarde *the* secounde sone and heyre to Prynce Edward and heyre to *this* same Kyng Edward *the* whiche Richard of his nobley and prouidence had ferme pees ande loue with alle *the* Cysten Prynces howe riche he was howe noble howe loued and howe dredde thoroughe alle *the* Reaumes & Provynces and howe *that* ffame & ffortune by *theyre* cruwell werre subuerted al his Estate Royall into mysery to *the* lamentacon and pytous compleynt of euery gentill herte *the* whiche Cronycle was lamentabuly compylled at Parys by hem of ffraunce in *theyre* wolgare langage and nowe translated by Dann Johan lydegate *the* munk of Bury.

The *Chronicle* begins:

Loo heer my lordes maystres and felawes may yee see a truwe and brief abstracte of *the* Cronycles of *this* Reaume of England from *the* tyme *that* euer makynde (sic) enhabited hit in to *the* tyme of *the* laste Edwarde reede*the* or heere*the the* so*the* here filowing

¹ See p. 179, above.

[I]n¹ the noble land of Sirye ther was a worthy kyng and mighty and a man of huge renoumee that men cleped Dyoclycyan which wel and worthely him gouuerned and ruled thorughe his noble chiuallerye so that he conquered alle the landes aboute him in suche wyse that almoste the kynges of the worlde to him were obeyssant. hit befelle thus that this Dioclycyan wedded an gentyle Damoysele that was wonder fayre of beaute his Emys daughter cleped labana and sche loued him as resoun wolde so that he gate vpon hir three and thritty doughtres of the whiche the eldest men cleped Albyne, etc.

The last few pages of the MS. are somewhat damaged at the upper corners, but the passage with which the chronicle ends is clear:

In the xvij yer Sir Rychard Beauchamp the gode erle of Warwyke dyed att Roan beyng that tyme lyeutenant of the kyng yn normandye and from thens his body was brought to warwyk wher he lyethe worshipfully yn a new chapell of the south syde of the quere. Also this yer was a gret derth of corne yn all Englund ffor a Bushell of whet was worth xl pens yn many places of Englund & yet men mygth not have y nough wherfor Stephen Browne that tyme mayre of london sent yn to spruse & brought to london vteyn shyppes la[dyn] with rye which eaysyd & dyd moch gode to the peple ffor corne was so skarse yn Englund that —

At this point the MS. ends.

II. *The Leyden Manuscript.*

The Lydgate MS. in the University Library at Leyden seems to have escaped the notice of all recent editors. It was referred to by Halliwell in his edition of Lydgate's *Minor Poems* (p. 52), among the copies of *The Ballad of Jack Hare*,² but he can hardly have had direct knowledge of the MS. or he would have mentioned it elsewhere. Sir Frederick Madden knew it, and it was from marginal notes in his copy of Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica* that I learned of

¹ Six lines indented for the illuminator.

² See p. 192, below. MS. Voss. Lugd. 389, cited by Halliwell as containing the *Ballad on the Forked Head Dresses of Ladies* (p. 46), must be another codex which I did not know of when in Leyden.

its existence.¹ In the summer of 1896 I was able to spend a few days at Leyden, in which I copied the *Guy* and noted the rest of the contents of the volume.²

The Lydgate MS. came from the collection of Isaac Vossius, and is marked *Codex Vossianus var. ling. in quarto, No. 9*. It contains 135 leaves. The pages are now numbered consecutively (though not every one is marked) from 1 to 270, but there are indications of an earlier numbering in four series, incompletely preserved, of 40 leaves each. The old divisions appear in Roman numerals, the new numbering in Arabic figures. At the beginning is an old table of contents, neither complete nor correct. The MS. was examined in 1869-70 by Mr. Charles H. Doughty, who drew up the following list :

- Page³ 1. Legend of St. Giles (out of the Latin). (i.)
14. Invocation. (ii.)
16. Of just tithing or tothing, with the Acts of S. Austyn, bishop of the English. (iii.)⁴
33. Guy of Warwyk and of the Giant Colebrand. (iv.)
58. Dance of Macabre. (v.)
83. The Churle⁴ and the bird (out of the French). (vi.)
97. The friendship of two merchantmen. (vii.)
130. The tragedy of Arthur. (viii.)
149. The story of Constantine. (ix.)
160. The horse, the goose, and the sheep before the lion and the eagle. (x.)
184. Brief story of English kings. (xi.)
188. A complaint with Fortune (princ. "This wrecchid worldis transmutacioun"). (xii.)⁵

¹ Madden's own copy of Ritson, with valuable marginal notes, was in the Medicott collection, and was bought by the Harvard University Library in 1894.

² I take pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy of the library officials of the Rijks-Universiteit, and in particular the kindness of Dr. S. G. de Vries, the curator of manuscripts.

³ The numbering is by pages, not by folios, as stated in Mr. Doughty's list. I add the Roman numerals for convenience of reference.

⁴ "Church" for "churle" (in Mr. Doughty's list) is obviously a mere slip of the pen.

⁵ This is followed by Chaucer's "Fle from the pres, and dwelle with sothfastnesse," which is not represented by a separate title in Mr. Doughty's list.

192. Of nurture or good manners. (xiii.)
 196. A dietary. (xiv.)
 201. Colours of a drunkard. (xv.)
 204. Of an empty purse, to the Duke of Gloucester. (xvi.)
 207. Aureum saeculum degenerans. (xvii.)
 214. Certain proverbs of the wise man. (xviii.)
 218. Of the unkindness of Fortune (princ. "In thi condicion of Infortunage"). (xix.)
 219. Carmen (princ. "With notis cleer," etc.). (xx.)
 220. Balade (princ. "I have a lady wherso she be") (printed with Chaucer). (xxi.)
 222. Dream of Paris (printed with Chaucer). (xxii.)
 223. Balade (princ. "Upon Temse fro London myles iij). (xxiii.)
 223. Hymn. (xxiv.)
 233. Jhē the most glorious name, with the Testament of Lydgate. (xxv.)

"The several pieces are in more than one handwriting, transcribed somewhat negligently. The latter pages are of another MS." Pages 233 to the end are meant; it is noteworthy that the Roman numbering is not interrupted at this point.¹

Before taking up the separate pieces in the list, I wish to call attention to the striking resemblance in contents and arrangement between the Leyden MS. and Lansdowne MS. 699 in the British Museum. I have had no opportunity to examine the Lansdowne MS., and the data in the published catalogue of the collection are very slight. The first seventeen articles in Leyd. all appear in Lansd. 699. Of the first, the *Legend of St. Giles*, only the last stanza is preserved, the beginning of the MS. being apparently lost. The next sixteen articles appear in Lansd. in the following order:

¹ On p. 209, at the bottom, is scribbled a name which looks like Thomas Andrew[s], possibly the signature of a scribe. P. 231 (*i.e.* fol. 116a) is numbered viii (in the fourth series) and p. 235 (fol. 118a) is marked x. P. 231 contains some scrawls and the following stanza, which seems to refer to an owner of part or the whole of the MS.:

lowe good and drede schame
 deserv lowe and kepe þ name
 qd John Kyng of dammowe
 ffor thysse boke (?) ysse hysse.

ii, vii, iv, vi, iii, v, viii, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii. The eighteenth and last article in Lansd. is the legend of *Albon and Amphabel*,¹ which is not contained in Leyd.

The pieces in Leyd. are most of them familiar and easily recognized:²

I. The *Legend of St. Giles* is published by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, N. F., 371 f.

II. The *Invocation* is the same as the *Oratio*, following the legend in Horstmann's edition.

III. *Of Just Tithyng*, etc. Printed in Halliwell's *Minor Poems of Lydgate*, p. 135. (I have noted that this occurs also in MS. Camb. Univ. Lib. Hh. IV, 12.)

IV. *Guy of Warwick*. See p. 194, below.

V. The *Dance of Macabre*. I have compared this with the *Daunce of Machabree*, in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, edition of 1717, p. 333. The Leyd. text does not give the five-stanza Prologue, but begins with the "words of the Translator" ("O, creatures that byn resonable"). The final stanza of Leyd. (beginning "Be nat afferd this scriptur in tyme of play") does not appear in Dugdale, and the envoy in Dugdale, with the ascription to Lydgate, does not appear in Leyd. The order of dancers in Leyd. is as follows: Papa, Imperator, Cardinal, Imperatrix, Patriarcha, Rex, Archiepiscopus, Princeps, Episcopus, Comes et Baro, Abbas et Prior, Abbatissa, Judex, Doctor Utriusque juris, Miles et Armyger, Major, Canonicus regularis, Decanus, Monialis, Chartreux, Sergant of lawe, Generosa, Magister in astronomia, ffrater, Sergant, Jurour, Mimus, ffamulus, Phisicus, Mercator, Artifex, Laborans, Infans, Heremyta.

VI. *The Churle and the Bird*. Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*,

¹ This MS. is not mentioned by Horstmann in his edition of *Albon and Amphabel*. He cites only MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. 39, MS. Lincoln 1, 57, and MS. Phillipps 8299. (See also *Altengl. Leg.* N. F., p. cxxvii, Anmerk.) Madden, in his MS. marginal notes to Ritson, cites still another copy, MS. Int. Temple, London. The Lansd. copy, like the Camb. MS., contains the date 1439.

² I copied in most cases only the beginning and ending, and have therefore made no careful comparisons with the printed texts. I have also made no attempt to give complete lists of MSS. and editions. I simply mention such MSS. as have come to my notice.

pp. 179-193; earlier by Sykes for the Roxburghe Club (1818).¹ The Leyd. text corresponds in number of stanzas (55) with Halliwell's edition.

VII. *The Two Merchantmen*. This has just been edited by Schleich, "aus dem Nachlasse" of Professor Zupitza.² His text corresponds to that of the Leyden MS. so far as I have noted. Six MSS. are cited by Zupitza, who, however, has overlooked Leyd., and I cannot determine in which of his classes it belongs.

VIII. *The Tragedy of Arthur*. This is the same as Book viii, chapter 25, of the *Falls of Princes*.³

IX. *De Constantino Imperatore*. This is probably Book viii, chapter 13, of the *Falls of Princes*. The last stanza corresponds with that in Wayland's edition, and the number is the same.

X. *The Horse, Goose, and Sheep*. Edited by Sykes for the Roxburghe Club, 1822. Halliwell prints the moral in his *Minor Poems*, p. 117. The Leyd. text apparently corresponds to that printed by Sykes. It is followed by a "lenvoye," nearly corresponding to the "moral" printed by Halliwell, and not appearing in Sykes' edition.⁴

XI. *A Brief Story of English Kings*. This is very common in MSS. It was edited by James Gairdner for the Camden Society, in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth*

¹ Halliwell mentions several old prints. Cf. further Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, p. lvi. Halliwell's text is based on Harl. 116. Madden cites (marginal notes to Ritson) MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, Art. 8. I have noted the piece also in the catal. of Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Hh. IV, 12 and Kk. I, 6 (fragmentary). The *Dictionary of National Biography* mentions MS. Cott. Calig. A. II.

² *Quellen und Forschungen*, lxxxiii, Strassburg, 1897.

³ Wayland's ed. (1558), fol. xiii (of Bk. viii). Schick, *Temple of Glass*, p. cli, notes several instances where Ritson has catalogued parts of the *Falls of Princes* as separate works. Single chapters appear by themselves not infrequently in MSS. Madden (marginal notes to Ritson) cites also MS. Lambeth 491, fol. 275, for the *Tragedy of Arthur*. The *Story of Constantine* in Leyd. is another case. So also is the *Aureum Saculum Degenerans* (cf. p. 192, below.) I have noted further that *Dido's Envoy*, published by Halliwell (*Minor Poems*, p. 69) comes from Bk. ii, ch. 13, and the *Poem against Idleness* (Halliwell, p. 84) corresponds (nearly) to Bk. ii, ch. 15.

⁴ In addition to the MSS. cited by Halliwell I have noted Camb. Univ. Lib. MSS. Hh. IV, 12.

Century, p. 49.¹ The Leyden version begins with the Conqueror and ends with Henry VI.

XII. *A Complaint with Fortune*. This is the familiar ballade of Chaucer, printed in Professor Skeat's Oxford *Chaucer*, I, p. 383. It is followed in Leyd. by "La (?) bon conceil de l'auctour," Chaucer's "Fle from the pres and dwelle with sothfastnesse." The two were apparently taken as one poem by Mr. Doughty when he made out his table. In the same way, the British Museum Catalogue mentions only the first for Lansd. 699, but Mr. Skeat (*op. cit.*, I, p. 50) makes it clear that both poems are in that MS.

XIII. *Stans Puer ad Mensam*. Printed by Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 156-158, and by Mr. Furnivall in the *Babees Book*, pp. 26-33. Leyd. agrees with Harl. 2251 in ascribing the piece to Lydgate.² Hazlitt, *Early Pop. Poetry*, III, 23, has the text of the *Reliquiae Antiquae* collated with Harl. 4011, Lansd. 699, and Addit. MS. 5467.

XIV. *A Dietary*. This corresponds in part with the *Rules for Preserving Health* in Halliwell's *Minor Poems*, p. 66, and with the *Diatorye* in the *Babees Book*, p. 54. Compare also the *Secreta Secre-*

¹ From Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton 1995. He cites also MS. Ashmole 59 and MS. Harl. 2251, fol. 2^b, which contains a stanza on Edward IV. Madden (marginal notes to Ritson) refers to Harl. 2251.3, Cott. Jul. E. V., Rawl. c. 86, Ashmole 59, Bodl. 1999.6, Harl. 7333, Harl. 78.24, Univ. Leyd., Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3.21, and Coll. Arms 58. But the last reference may be a mistake. For a poem on the same subject, but in a different metre, is printed from a MS. of the Coll. of Arms by Hearne in an Appendix to his edition of *Robert of Gloucester* (II, 585). In Harl. 372 there is a poem "On the Kings of England from Alfred to Henry VI, probably by Lidgate." First line — "From tyme of Brute auctours do specefye." (See Brit. Mus. Catal.) What is the relation of this to the Leyden poem?

² Halliwell printed from MS. Jes. Coll. Camb. Q. F. 8. The *Babees Book* has two versions, from Harl. 2251 and Lambeth 853 respectively. Madden (marginal notes to Ritson) cites in addition Harl. 4011, Laud 683, Rawl. c. 86, and Cott. Cal. A. II. Furnivall (*Captain Cox*, p. c) adds MS. Ashmole 59 and points out that the Cott. Cal. poem is not the same. I have noted from the catalogue that the piece is also in Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Hh. IV, 12, with ascription to Lydgate. An expanded version from MS. Ashmole 61 (later than 1460 A.D.) is published in Furnivall's second *Babees Book*. On early printed versions see Furnivall, *Captain Cox*, p. xcix.

torum, ll. 1268 ff. (Steele's edition, p. 41). I did not copy enough of the text to enable me to make out its relations. In Leyd. there are 21 stanzas, in Halliwell's text 10, and in the *Babes Book* only 9.¹

XV. *Colours of a Drunkard, or Descriptio Garsionys*. This is the familiar *Ballad of Jack Hare*, printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, p. 52, from Lansd. 699. Also in the *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 13.²

XVI. *Of an Empty Purse*, to the Duke of Gloucester. Printed by Halliwell, *Minor Poems*, p. 49. Madden (marginal notes) says it was also printed by Nicolas, *Chron. of London*, p. 265.

XVII. *Aureum Sæculum Degenerans in Pejus* or *Quaedam Compilacio Facta contra Gulosos*. This, as already stated, is from the *Falls of Princes*, Book vii, chapter 10. There are 26 stanzas in Wayland's edition as against 25 in the Leyden text. Then follow in Leyd. two stanzas, called *Signa Saeculi Degenerantis*, which I have not been able to find in the *Falls of Princes*,³ beginning:

who so list know the toknes perversary
how that this wrechid world shall diffyne, etc.,

and ending:

prelatis without connyng & science
religious folke out off obedience.

XVIII. *A Booke of Proverbes of the Wise Man*. This apparently corresponds to lines 1-116 of the *Proverbis of Wysdom*, printed by Zupitza in Herrig's *Archiv*, XC, 241.⁴

¹ I suspect that two poems have been joined in Leyd. In Laud 683, for example, the catalogue mentions *A doctryne of ffesyk* (fol. 60), beginning "For helth of body kepe fro cold thyn hed" (which is the first line in Halliwell's poem) and *A doctryne for pestilence* (fol. 62), beginning "Who wil be hool and kepe hym fro siknesse" (which is the first line in Leyd.). In addition to the MSS. mentioned by Halliwell and by Furnivall, Madden (marginal notes) refers to Lambeth 444 and Addit. 11,307. Caxton's *Governel of Health* (printed 1489) contained the *Medicina Stomachi* (in 81 lines), which apparently corresponds in part to our *Dietary*. This was reprinted privately by William Blades in 1858, but I have not been able to see a copy.

² Halliwell cites "MS. Voss. inter MSS. Bibl. Lugdun. c. 189." There is another copy in Laud 683.

³ I cannot be sure from the Catalogue whether these stanzas are in Lansdowne 699 or not. No separate title is given them.

⁴ Zupitza's text is from Bodl. Rawl. F. 32. Madden (marginal notes) cites besides MSS. Harl. 7578 and Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3.19.

XIX. Three stanzas on *Fortune* (eight lines each). Begins:

In thy condicioun of inffortunage
vnstedfast fortune ther is no confidence, *etc.*

Ending:

ffro folkis honorable thou makist for to fle
thurh thi transmutyng fals fragilite
and puttist seruantis in unstable rage
out off favour & grace of souerente
In to turment off povert & damage.

XX. *Carmen*. A song in four stanzas, beginning:

with notis cleer & vois entuned clene
lyk the ravisshyng marvelous armony
off Iherusalem I hard the phylomene
In dirk december syng melediously, *etc.*,

and ending:

and in a figur off mysty sentence
all thouh I be vnable to discerue
hir grace I will her prayse & serue.

XXI. *Ballad*. Printed in Stowe's *Chaucer* (1561), fol. cccxliiij^b.

XXII. *Dream of Paris*. Also in Stowe's *Chaucer*, fol. cccxliiij^a.

XXIII. *Ballad*, in two stanzas. Begins:

Vpon temse fro london myles iij
In my chambir riht as I lay slepyng, *etc.*

Ends:

That neuer in grayng nor in portrature
Sawe I depict so fayre a creature.

XXIV. *Hymn*. This is written in a very small hand, apparently different from that of the preceding pieces. Begins:

Moste glorious lord *with* thy god be thou my spede.

Ends:

To hos verteu I betake vs in euery cost
And to Marie that maydyn euene
Est Amen *with* alle the courte of heuene.

There are twenty-seven stanzas in all.

XXV. *Jhē the most glorious name*, with the *Testament of Lydgate*. This corresponds pretty closely to *Lydgate's Testament*, printed by Halliwell, pp. 232 ff. The whole is on paper and in a very different hand from anything else in the MS.¹

III. *Guy of Warwick*.

So far as I know, only four MSS. of the *Guy of Warwick* have been mentioned by the editors of Lydgate. These are: (1) MS. Laud 683; (2) MS. Harl. 7333; (3) MS. Lansdowne 699; and (4) MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3.21.

The Laud text was edited by Zupitza in his *Akademieschrift* (Wien, 1873),² who supposed at the time that no other copy existed. In the *Zt. für die oesterreich. Gymnasien*, 1874, p. 727, he stated that three other MSS. had come to his notice. These were Harl. 7333, the end of which was published in the *Percy Folio MS.* (Hales and Furnivall, II, 520), and two others, which he did not name. Fifteen years later, in his *Alt- und Mittelenglisches Uebungsbuch* (p. 110) he cited Lansd. 699 and Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3.21, presumably the two referred to before. In the meantime Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 494 (published in 1883), had described the two copies in the British Museum, and Kölbing (*Germania*, XXI, 365) had published a list of the principal variations between Lansd. 699 and Zupitza's text. The Harvard and Leyden copies appear to be unknown to the scholars who have occupied themselves either with Lydgate or with the *Guy of Warwick* cycle of romances.

Of the six MSS. known to exist, we have, therefore, texts or collations of four and some description of a fifth.³ Without more

¹ In addition to the MSS. mentioned by Halliwell, Madden (marginal notes) refers to Laud 683, Eg. 18. D. II. 1, Reg. 18. D. II. 1.

² *Sitzb. der Phil.-hist. Classe der Kais. Akad. der Wiss.*, LXXIV, 623. Separately printed under the title *Zur Literaturgeschichte des Guy v. Warwick*. At the same time Zupitza pointed out that the poem in Harl. 5243 cited by Hazlitt-Warton (II, 32) is not Lydgate's but John Lane's.

³ Of the Trin. Coll. MS. I think nothing has been published beyond the few variant readings which Zupitza gives in his *Uebungsbuch*. I cannot even determine whether it belongs in Class A or Class B, but I infer that the rubric in Harv. and Harl. 7333 is wanting, or Zupitza would have mentioned it somewhere.

definite knowledge of the Camb. MS. and of Harl. 7333 I shall not undertake to classify the different texts, except so far as to point out that they fall obviously into two groups, — A, containing Harv. and Harl. 7333; and B, containing Laud 683, Lansd. 699, and Leyd. Class A is characterized by a long introductory rubric, which accounts for the origin of the poem and serves to date it approximately. The poem has seventy stanzas, with an *Envoy* of four lines. In Class B, on the other hand, the rubric is wanting, the *Envoy* contains eight lines, and three extra stanzas (34, 35, 36) appear in the body of the poem. Since both the MSS. in Class A are by Shirley, the rubric is doubtless his.¹ Finally, stanza 30 is different in the two versions.²

Zupitza referred to the Harleian text as being “bedeutend schlechter” than Laud 683, which he had published. This statement was based on the short passage printed in the *Percy Folio MS.*, and is not to be taken as a deliberate preference of Class B to Class A, I suppose. Ward apparently looked upon the shorter form of the poem as the better, and pronounced the three extra stanzas (34, 35, 36) “quite superfluous.” Even if they were, we should hardly be justified in rejecting them, for Lydgate was capable of superfluities. But they are clearly supported by the Latin original,³ and are indubitably in the manner of the poet. It is easier, moreover, to assume that three stanzas were omitted in copying (they make, for example, an even page of the Leyden MS.) than to suppose that any one added to Lydgate's work.

¹ Cf. Bradshaw, p. 179, above, on Shirley's “gossiping rubrics.” Harl. 7333 is cited as Shirley's by Furnivall in the note already quoted from *Gyl of Brentford's Testament* (p. 178, above) and by Skeat in the *Oxford Chaucer*, I, 25.

² In this case I cannot answer for Harl. 7333.

³ The stanzas in question translate the following passage: “Rex evigilans, et Deo pro sibi de superius praestita revelacione gratias agens, summo mane surgens, duos pontifices secum accipiens, et duos comites, praedictam adiit portam, expectans mendicantium adventus horam, qua civitatem intrare solebant. Et ecce nutu Dei in vigilia natalis Sancti Johannis Baptistae, hora, qua sol oriendo primo radios mittit in terram, Gwydo, Comes de Warewyk, miles strenuus et insignis, apud Portys muth applicuit, a peregrinacione de longinquis transmarinis partibus veniens, Angliam natale solum revisurus.” (*Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, p. 120. Compare *Chron. de Dunstaple*, ed. Hearne, II, 827.)

In the case of stanza 30, on the other hand, Shirley's text corresponds the more closely to the Latin original. Leyden reads:

Toward the Kyng cast his lok benyng
 bad him trist all holy in his grace
 bi a token and an entir syng
 which shall bi shwed to hym in riht short spās
 of slep adawid the Kyng lifft vp his face
 markith euery thyng & prudently took hed
 to whom the angil his heuynesse to enchas
 thes wordis hadde in stori as I rede.

The Harv. stanza forms the beginning of the angel's speech to King Athelston:

I, goddes aungell, sent ffrome hevenly kynge
 ffor to releesse thyn hevy perturbauce,
 whether thou slepe or that thou be wakyng, —
 God hath reseuyed thy *prayer* & penaunce,
thyne pytous wepyng & alle thyn olde greuauunce
 shall hastily chaunge to ioy & to plesaunce.
 Ne drede the not, but haue thou in remembraunce,
 as I to the shall nowe here expresse.

The Latin¹ has: "Misit Dominus Angelum suum, qui regem confortaret, in agonia constitutum [represented by stanza 29]. Qui eum sic allocutus est: 'Athelstane rex *dormis an vigilas?* Ecce missus sum ad te *Angelus Domini a Domino* Ihesu Christo, ut dicerem tibi, *ne times* frustratus auxilio, sed cras mane surge et propera ad borealem portam civitatis," etc. The last clause is represented by stanza 31. May we assume that Lydgate wrote both the stanzas numbered 30? In that case one would have been omitted in the MSS. of Class B, and the other in those of Class A. It is not impossible that the omissions in Shirley's MSS. represent intentional excisions.

I have said that Shirley's rubric serves to give an approximate date for the poem. Bradshaw noted this in his letter,² and Ward also pointed it out in his description of Harl. 7333.³ But since

¹ *Lib. Mon. de Hyda*, p. 120. See also Hearne, *op. cit.*, II, 826.

² See p. 179, above.

³ *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 494.

Schick in the introduction to the *Temple of Glas*¹ and Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*² still repeat the old date conjectured by Zupitza, I may be allowed to print Ward's statement once more. The rubric says (I give the Harleian reading, following Ward) that the poem was "translated into Englysshe be lydegate dann Johane at the requeste of Margarete Countas of Shrowesbury, ladye Talbot fournyvale and lysle, of the lyf of that moste worthy knyght Guy of warwike of whos bloode shee is lyneally descendid." "This," according to Ward, "was the eldest daughter of Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Aumarle, and Lord l'Isle (the latter title derived from his first wife, this lady's mother), who founded the chantry at Guy's Cliff in 1430-1, and died 30th April, 1439. Margaret was married to John, Lord Talbot and Furnival in 1438-9; he was created Earl of Shrewsbury in 1442, and their son was created Lord l'Isle in 1443; father and son were both killed in 1453, and she herself died on the 14th June, 1468." The earliest possible date for the poem appears, therefore, to be 1442, and Zupitza's suggestion ("um 1420") must be given up.

IV. *Text (Harvard MS.)*.

Fol. iv b.

Her nowe begynnyth an abstracte owte the cronycles in | latyn made
by Gyrate Cornubyence the worthy the cronyculer | of Westsexse & trans-
latid into Englyshe be lydegate Daun | Iohan at the request of Margret
Countasse of Shrowesbury | lady Talbot ffournyvale & lysle of the lyffe of
that moste | worthy knyght Guy of Warrewyk of whos blode she is | leny-
ally descendid.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | ffrome Cristes byrth complete nyen hundred yere
Twenty & seven be computacyoun,
Kynge Athelston, as seyth <i>the</i> cronyculer,
Regnyng that tyme in Brutes Albyoun, | 4 |
| | Duryng <i>than</i> harde the persecusyoun
Of the Danes, that with her myghtty hande
Rode, brent, & sloughe, made noon excepcyoun,
Be cruwell fforce thoroughe oute alle this lande— | 8 |

¹ P. cxii. He gives 1423 (?).

² XXXIV, 314 b.

- 2 They sparyd *neyther* hye ne lowe degre,
 Chirchis, callages, but bet of hem adowne,
 Myghtty castelles & many gret citee :
 In *theyre* wodnesse, by false oppressyoun, 12
 Vn-to the bownes of Wynchestre towne
 With swerd & ffuyre they made alle wast & wylde
 [And in ther mortalle persecucyoun]
 Ne spared nought women gon gret with chylde. 16
- 3 In this brennyng, ffuryous cruweltee,
 Twoo Dannysshe prynces, pompos and elate,
 Lyche wode lyouns & voyde of alle pitee,
 No ffauour shewe to lowe *noyther* hye astate. 20
 Alas ! this land stode than discoursolate.
 Ffoward ffortune at hem hath so disdeyned,
Mercury & *Mars* held with hem debate,
 So was the kynge & lord[es] *thane* constreyned 24
- 4 By fforce, allas ! to take hem to the fflyght.
The Dannysshe prynces ageyne hem wer so wode,
 On hillis hye ther beekens wer so lyght
 (Ffortune of werre in suche disyonyt thoo stode), 28
The peple spoyled & robbyd of her goode
 For mortall drede of colour ded & pale,
 Whan the stremys ranne downe of blode
 Lyche the ryuer ffro the hille to the vale — 32
- Fol. v a. 5 Paraventure ffrome some olde antiquite,
 As is remembred of olde trespass
 Of oon *persone* in cronycles as ye may see,
 Myght be withdrawn happe, ffortune, & grace. 36
 Rede howe the myghtty, ffamous Iosuee
 Was putte abacke iij dayes in bataylle.
 Theffte of *Nathor* caused *the* aduersitee :
 Till he was stonnyed they myght not *preuayle*. 40
- 6 Thus be the pryde & veyne ambysseyoun,
The cruwell ffury of *theise* prynces tweyne,
The reavme alle-moste broughte to distruccioun ;
Bellonas swerd gan at hem disdeyne ; 44

Lordes pensyff, *the* pourayle gan compleyne
 On this thyrauntes called Anelaphus
 As that my auctour remembrethe in certayne, —
 The other was named Genalaphus. 48

7 This myscheve werse *than* stroke of pestilence
 God to punysshē oft is ffounden mercyable :
 Swerd of thyrante slethe ffolke *with* violence,
 Theyre ffuryous hand[es] ben wode & vengeable. 52
 Where ffolke repent ourē lorde is ay mercyable,
 That syttyth aboue, & holdyth alle in his hande :
 These twoo to shedyn blode thyrauntes full able
With swerd & fflawmbe they troubled all this land. 56

8 God ffor the synne — [by] recorde of scripture —
 Chastysed hath many a ffayre citee
 & suffred gret myscheeve to endure.
 Recorde of Ier[sal]l[e]m, recorde of Nynyvee ; 60
 Parys nerr hoome hathe had his *part*, *parde*,
 Ffor lechery & ffals amby[ss]y[ou]n ;
 Palpable ensaumples her men may ssee
 Of Roome, Cartage, & of Troyes towne. 64

Fol. v d. 9 This mater offten hathe ben exempleffed :
 Lackyng of wysdame & goode counseyle
 That ffolkes hertes ne wer not ffull applyed
 Ffor to swe vertuwe ffor theyre owen avayle ; 68
 Of gladde ffortune the wynnde blewe not her sayle :
 Ffor theyr demerytes god punysshed hem ryght.
 Owtrage & vyces hathe vengeaunce at his tayl.
Thaughe Edelston kyngē wer a manly knyght, 72

10 These cruwell Danes — *this* Englyssh blode to shede
 Theyre swerdes wer whett & *theyr* ffuyr lyght :
 Yit, in the cronnycles who list bokēs rede,
 Kyngē Ethelston was a ffull noble knyght, 76
Thaughe ffor a tyme eclipsid was his lyght
 Off his ryall and marcyall mageste.
 The hande of gode stod all wey in his myght
 To change his troble in-to prosperitee. 80

- 11 The sunne is hatter *after* sharpe shoures,
 The gladde morowe is next *the* derke nyght,
Affter wynter cometh May *with* ffreshe ffloures
 And *after* mystes Phebus shynyth bryght, 84
 Next the trouble hertes ben made lyght,
 And to concludre lyche as I began :
 God lyst to cas[t] his counfortable syght
 To recounforte his [k]nyght kynge Ethelstan. 88
- 12 Thus in this mater ffyrther to *procede* :
 Constreyned of werre & gret aduersytee
 Made hym to drawe, in cronnycles as I rede,
With his lordes of hye & lowe degree 92
 To holde counseyll at Wynchestre citee
 Theyr remedy in haste for to *provyde*
 Ageynst the malyce & ffuryous cruweltee
 Wrought be the Danoyes in her marcyall pryde. 96
- Fol. vi a. 13 Of alle this reame gadered wer *the* estates,
 To ben avysed hole in this mater.
 Prynces, barounys, busshoppes, & *prelates*
 At Wynchestre wer they assembled in ffere. 100
 Hope & ffortune shewed hem hevy chere,
 ffor theyre trust ffell in-to *disesperaunce* ;
 Knyghthod had loste hooly the maner,
 So destuyt they wer of swerd & of launce. 104
- 14 In theyre *prayer* was no remedye,
 Redresse to ffynde nor consolacyoun :
 Mars sett abacke alle theyr chyvalry.
Thus stode in *this* lande in desolacyoun 108
 The Danoyes stronge by ambycyoun —
This Ethelston be constreynete & dystresse
 Held with his lordes a counseyll in *that* towne
 To ffynde a meene his myschevee to redresse, 112
- 15 Be the *grace* of god howe hit myght bene amendid
 Recure to ffynde of theyre aduersytee.
 Breeffely to seyne : they wer thus condiscendid
 Be ambassatry or meene of some traytee, 116

- Streytely dreven of pure nescessitee,
 Alle *tho* Danys with hoomages ffor to qweeme
 Or vnder tribute to haue this libertee,
 As a subgette reyoysyth his dyademe, 120
- 16 Or to appoynte of *partyes* be couenaunt,
 Kynge Ethelston ffor hym to ffynde a knyght
 With Colbrounde of Denmarke, *the* geaunte,
 Day assigned to entre with hym in ffyght 124
 Ffor to darren be-tweene hem twoo *the* ryght,
 Who shall reyoyse the stronge & myghtty hande
 To holde cepture be manhod & be myght
 & haue possessyoun hooly in this lande. 128
- Fol. vi b. 17 *The* kynge, the lordes be yng ther *presente*
 With-oute respyte or longe delacyoun
 To geffe aunswer of ther ffull entente,
 Tacquyte hem selfe (for shorte conclusyoun), 132
Other to make a resygnacyoun
 Of ceptre & crowne, or ellis to fynde a knyght,
 As I seid erste, to ben his chaumpyoun,
 Ageyns Colbrond to entre in ffyght — 136
- 18 The Danys dukes of malyce importable,
 Wode & contrarye in theyre marcyall rage,
 In *other* wyse lyst not to ben traytable,
 Requyred in haste be ambassad or message 140
 To haue aunswer, plegges or hoostages,
 Of this convencyoun aunswer for to sende,
 Howe they *purposen* to putten in morgage
 Lyffe of tweyne (to make a ffynall ende). 144
- 19 *This* poyntment ffull streytly was fforthe ladde :
 Of yrous haste the Danys wold no delaye.
 Kynge Ethelston was so harde bestadde
 And alle his prynces putte in gret affraye ; 148
 A-ffor Wynchestre these proude dukes laye,
 The kynge with-inne astonyed in his mynde,
 Ffulle moche the mor be-cause he knew no wey
 In his deffence a chaumpyoun to ffynde. 152

- 20 *Kouth* thenke no meene as in this matere
 Remedy to ffynde be raysoun accordyng,
 But by assent to take hym to *prayer*,
 He & his lordys in wakyng & ffastyng, 156
The poure & ryche, to make no taryng :
 Alle echon, as they wer of degree,
 With bytter terys semed be her wepyng
 Penaunce dooyng as ffolke of Nynevee. 160
- Fol. vii a. 21 Ffrome the hie estates downe to the pourayle
 Soughte alle degrees, but they ffynde no wyght
 To vnderfonge *the* empryse of this batayle
 [Ageyn the geaunt of Denmark ffor to ffight],— 164
 Heralde of Arderne, the goode ffamous knyght,
 Called in his tyme of *provesse* neghe & fferre
 Ffader of armes, to euery mannys syght
 Next Guy of Warrewyk most knyghtly loode sterre — 168
- 22 *The* said Herald beyng *thoo* absente
 Oute of this reavme to seche the sunne of Guy,
 Called Reynebrowne, in the cuntreys adiacent
 And alle the *provynces* that stoden ffast by, 172
 Which in his youthe was stollen traytoursly
 And by *merchautes* on-godely ladde away,—
 Ffelyce his moder wepyng ryght tendrely,
 For his absence wepyng nyght & day,— 176
- 23 Borne be descent to ben his ffader heyere,
 Hir dere sone Reynebroune ffor to succede.
 In alle her tyme was holden noon so ffayre,
 Called ensauple of truthe & womanhed : 180
 Ronaulde hir ffader ffor noblesse & manhed,
Than eorlle of Warrewyk, named *the* best knyght
 Levyng *thoo* dayes, in story as I rede,
 But he was so fflowryng in his myght, 184
- 24 Payed his dette of dethe vnto nature,
 By *Parchas* sustren *that* sponnen *the* lyves thred.
 As the story remembrith by scripture,
 Whan *that* Ffelyce conceyved had in dede 188

- Be Guy hir sone Reynebrone, as *that* I rede,
The next morowe endwed with *vertwe*,
 Lyche a pylgryme chaunged hath his wede
 And spedd hym fforthe for loue of Cryst Ih[es]u. 192
- Fol. vii b. 25 Fforsoke the world, vnknownen of euery wyght,
 Of *perfeccion* to leue in penaunce,
 Lefft wyffe & kyn, be-came so *Goddess* knyght,
 Whome ffor to serve was sette alle his plesaunce ; 196
 Content *wit*h litill (Cryst was his suffyssaunce)
 In worldly wellthe hym list no more *soiourne*.
 Callyng ageyne nowe to remembraunce
 To Ethelston my penne I will *retourne*, 200
- 26 Ryght as I ffyrst gan to *procede*,
 Off his compleynt to make clere mencyoun.
 Not cladde in *purpull*, — chaunged hathe his wede,
 Blacke ffor mornynge & desolacyoun, 204
This was the cause, in alle his regyoun
 Was ffounde no man his quarell to diffend, —
 To god above he seyde this orysoune
 Be-spreynt *wit*h teeris some *grace* hym to sende. 208
- 27 “O lord,” *quod* he, “of most magnificenc,
 Encline thyn erys to my *prayer* :
 Remembre not, lord, my gret offence,
 Ffrome alle my synnys *thou tourne* away my chere. 212
 I dispeyred stonde in double were
 To lese my reaume, cepture, & regalye,
 But medyacyon of thy moder dere
 Be benygne, lord, to save my *prayer*. 216
- 28 “My ffeythe, my hope, my truste, myn affyaunce
 Alle holly restist in thy *proteccioun* :
 Shelde & sheltroun, my swerd & eke my launce
 Alle blonte & ffeble, my ffortune is bore downe. 220
 Saue *grace* & mercy I haue no chaumpoun :
 But thou supporte, my ffone shall me encombre.”
 While Ethelston seyde this his orysoune,
 Hym alle vnwist he ffell in slepe & slombre, 224

- Fol. viii a. 29 Ffor wacche ande thoughte lay in an agonye
 Knelyng devoutly be-syde his beddes syde.
The lorde above, whiche can no man denye,
That askyth *grace* & is devoyde of pryde, 228
 Ffor his *servaunt* list *gracyously* to *provyde*;
 Sent an aungell Ethelston to recounforte
 Be-twene midnyght & the morowe tyde;
 Spake to the kynge as I cane me reporte — 232
- 30 “ I, *Goddess* aungell, sent ffrome hevenly kynge
 Ffor to releesse thyn hevy *perturbaunce*,
 Whether thou slepe or that thou be wakyng, —
 God hath resceyued thy *prayer* & penaunce, 236
Thyne pytous wepyng & alle thyn olde greuauunce
 Shall hastly chaunge to ioy & to pleasaunce.
 Ne drede the not, but haue thou in remembraunce,
 As I to the shall nowe here expresse. 240
- 31 “ Ffrome the to avoyde all despeyre & drede,
 Whan *that* Aurora shewith hir pale lyght,
 Eorly to-morowe a-ryse & take goode hede;
 Ffor Cryst Ihesus of his *gracyous* myght 244
 To thy request haue cast adowne his syght.
 Truste well in hym & in thyn hope be stable:
 He will conserve of equite & of ryght
Thy ryall tittle, he is so mercyable. 248
- 32 “ At the sonne vpryst (ne sette no lenger date),
 Whan silver dewe doyth on the floures swete,
 Make thy passage vn-to the northegate,
 Or *that the* sonne with his fferuent hete 252
 On leve & herbe hath dryed vp the hete.
 Mekely *ther* byde, & god will to the send
 Amonges the poure a pylgryme *thou* shalt mete:
 Entrete *thou* hym thy quarell to dyffende. 256
- Fol. viii b. 33 “ Symply arayed in a rowe sclaveyne,
 Olde & ffor-growe amonge the pouraille,
 Thou merke hym well, & be thou fful certayne
 At thy request *that* he shall not ffayle 260

Ffor to accomplishe manly thy bataille.
Trust on hym well ffor thy *purpartye* ;
With myght of god he shalle the ther *prevaille*,
In this mater thyn axing not denye." 264

34 Whan Phebus bryght *with* his golden beemys
On hilles hye gan shewe his hevenly lyght,
Eorly on morne *with* his fferuent stremys
Dried vp the dewe as silver perlys bryght, 268
And that Guy, *that* noble ffamous knyght,
Repayred was ffrome his pylgrymage,
Ffrome Portysmouth he toke his way ryght ;
Vnto Wynchestre straye he held his vyage. 272

35 By the *grace* of God, I deeme hit trwly,
Guy was hoome sente in-to his regyoun
Her to acomplishe in knyghthod ffynally
The last enpryse of his hye rennoun, 276
Here ffor to be the kynges chaumpyoun,
Vnknownen of alle. But, whan he came to lande,
To hym was made pleyne relacyoun
Of his requestes, howe *that* hit did stonde. 280

36 He tolde the kyng in ordre seryously,
Herauld of Arderne, *that* was so goode a knyght,
Was goone to seche Reynebroune, *the* sone of Guy,
Gretly desyred of euery maner wyght, 284
Which be discent was borne of verry ryght
Be cleyme of Ffelice clene of womanhed,
At his repeyre *with* *grace* of Crystes myght
*The*orldame of Warrewik ioustly to possede. 288

Fol. ix a. 37 Men tolde eke Guy of the dredefull stryff
Be-tweene the Danys & Ethelston the kyng,
And howe Rohauld *that* was ffader to Guys wyffe,
The olde eorlle notable of levyng, 292
Was ded also ; & Guy herde euery thyng,
Of hye prudence kepte hym-selfe ffull cloose :
Lyche a pylgryme his leve ther takynge
To Wynchestre gooyth anoon, as he roose. 296

- 38 He toke his herboroughe, whan hit droughe to nyght,
With poure men ther at an olde hospytall,
 Wery of *travell*, whan hit droughe to nyght,
 Twoo hundred passe & ffyfty ffrome *the* walle, 300
 Wher standyth nowe a mynster ffull ryall.
The next morowe, anoon as Guy awoke,
 (God guyded hym ther in especyall),
 With *other* poure the ryght wey he toke 304
- 39 To the northe gate, as *grace* did hym guye,
 Be resemblaunce so entryng in-to the towne,
 As Daudid whylome came a-geynst Golye
 To helpe Saule by *grace* of God sent downe, — 308
 So for reffuge & ffor saluacyoune
Bothe of *the* kyng & of all *this* lande
 Guy was *provyd*ed to be *ther* champyoun
 Agenst *the* Danys & ffuryous Colbronde, — 312
- 40 *Bothe* be his habyt & his pylgryme wede,
Tho eclade *with* a rowe sclaveyne ;
 Of whos aray when the kyng toke hede,
 Saughe *Godd*es be-hest was not made in veyne ; 316
 He toke gode hede & knewe well ffor certayne,
 God ffaylyth not his ffrend in see nor lande.
With wepyng teeris his *chekes* spreynt as reyne,
 Of hye gladnesse toke Guy be the hande, 320
- Fol. ix b. 41 Requeryng hym in the most lowley wyse
 With sobbyng cheere, *that* ruwthe was to se,
 To vnderfonge the dredfull empyse
 ffor *Godd*es sake & mercyfull pytee, 324
 To doone soucour in *that* nescessite,
 In his deffence *that* he will not ffayle
 Ageynst Colbronde his champyoun to be,
 Ffor his *partye* to derrain this batayle. 328
- 42 Guy wondre sadde of looke & of vysage,
 Ffeynte & wery, ffull dulated of his travayll,
 Made his excuse *that* he was ffallen in age,
 Longe oute of vse to were plate or mayle. 332

- "My wille," *quod* Guy, "if hit may prevaylle
The cruwell yre of Danys ffor to peese,
 To the comoune goode my *servyce* shall not fayle,
 My lyffe in Iuparde this lande to sette in ease." 336
- 43 *The* kynge, *the* lordes made gret instaunce
 To this pylgryme with langage & *prayer*,
 And he most mekely doo the kynge plesaunce,
 Ffor Ihesus sake & ffor his moder dere, 340
 He condiscendid, lyche as ye shall here,
 With *Goddess grace* affter the cove-naunt,
 As the convencion ioustely dooyth appere,
 Place assigned to mete with the geaunte. 344
- 44 Off *this* empryse was made no longe delaye,
Theise cove-nauntes pleynely to derraine
The tyme essett of Iuyll the xij day,
The place assigned betweene hem tweyne, 348
*Th*accord rehersed, *the* statuyt & the peyne,
 Alle doublenesse & ffraude esett a-syde,
The partyes bounden vnder a surtee pleyne
 (In conclusyoun) ther-to assent & byde. 352
- Fol. x a. 45 With-oute *the* gate, remembered as I rede,
The place called of olde antiquytee,
 In our tonge named the Hyde Mede,
 Or elles Denmarche vnder that citee, 356
They assembled : ther men myght well see
 Terryble strokes like the dynte of thondre,
 Sparklis of ffuyre oute of theyr harneys ffilee,
That to be-holde hit was verray wondre. 360
- 46 *The* vnkouthe pylgryme aqwyt hym lyche a knyght ;
 He sparid not the geaunde ffor to assaylle,
 On whos liffte shouldre he smote *wit*h suche myght
 Vnder the bourdoure of his ventayle 364
That streme of blode gan be his sydes rayle.
The geaunt wode *ther*-with, this seid Colbronde,
 Ffor to ben venged ne cast hym not to ffayle ;
 Brake Guys swerd on tweyne out of his hande. 368

- 47 Whane *the* Danys saughe *that* Guy had lost his swerd,
They caught *ther*-by gret consolacyoun.
Thoughe he wer stonyed, yit was he not afferd,
 Requyred knyghtly of the champyoun, 372
 Syth *that* he hade of weponys suche ffoysoun,
 To *grant* hym oon *that* houre in his diffence.
 But of ffals ire & indignacyoun
 To his request he gave noon audyence. 376
- 48 He was hole sett on malyce & on wrake,
 Ffor to be vengid of verray ffroward pryde;
 & whiles *that* he & Guy to-geder spake,
Thane alle atones Guy sterte out asyde, 380
 He caught a pollax, & list noon lenger abyde.
 Of knyghtly prowes, *the* geaunt to confounde,
 He made his stroke so myghtly to glyde,
That his leffte arome & shouldre fell to grounde. 384
- 49 With the whiche stroke *the* geaunt Colbronde
 Alle his harneys & armure was made rede.
 Stoupyng a-syde he raught out his hande
 To take a swerd, wher-of Guy toke hede, — 388
 Fol. x b. God ffortuned hym *that* day to haue suche spede
 To putte his name euer after in memorye, —
With stroke of axe smot of the geauntes hede,
 Called Colbrond, & had of hym victorye. 392
- 50 This bataille wonne be *grace* of Goddes hande
 & be the manhode of this noble knyght,
 They of Denmarke, as the covenantes bonde,
 Had crossed saylle & toke *ther* way ryght 396
 To-wardes theyre land, *neyther* gladde nor lyght,
Theyr surquyde & *theyr* pompe oppressid.
 Kyng Ethelston thus be Crystes myght
 In wele recured as is to-ffor expressid, 400
- 51 And eke the pryde of Danys sore oppressed
 Be Guy of Warrewik, as made is mencyoun,
The kyng *the* clergy devoutely hem dressid,
 Prynces & barouys & burgeys of the towne 404

In oon assembled of pure devocyon,
 Boothe hye & lowe, to speke in generall,
 Guy to conveye with *theyr processyon*
 Vnto *theyr mynstræ* & chyrche cathedrall. 408

52 *This noble knyght ther knelyng on his kne*
 With gret mekenes made his oblacyoune
 Of *that* same axe, *with* whiche afforne *that* he
 Had of Denmarke slayne *ther* her champyoun ; 412
 Whiche wepon yit thoroughe alle *this* regyoun,
 Yit is hit called the axe of gret Colbronde
 And kept amonge men of relygyoune
 In *theyr* vestiarye, I vnderstonde. 416

53 Whane alle was doone (ther is no more to seyne),
 Guy in alle hast cast of his armure,
 & lyche a pylgryme clothed hym with sclaveyne.
 Kyng Ethelston did his besy cure, 420
That he myght *the* grace so recure
 Of this pilgryme to tell hym & not to spare,
 In secret wyse to shewe his aventure,
 His name to hym pleyne ffor to declare. 424

Fol. xi a. 54 "My lorde," quod he, "ye most haue me excused
 Touchyng *this* axing or petiscyoun :
 Ne be not besy ne lett no more be mused
 In *your* desyre ffor noon occasyoun 428
 (To myn excused I haue ffull gret raysoun) ;
 Ffor I shall neuer descure this matere,
 But vnder bonde of this condiscyoun,
 Of assuraunce be you & me in ffeere : 432

55 Alle *your* prynces avoyded be absence,
 Sole be *your* selfe oute of this citee,
 Noon but we two beyng in *presence*,
With trougthe ensured ye shall kepe secree 436
 Duryng my lyffe (ye gete no mor of me)
 To no *persone* (I axe no mor awayle)
 Of ffeyth & ooth, to hye nor lowe degree
That ye shall neuer discure my counseylle." 440

- 56 This thyng ensured by *promyse* & *wordes* ryall,
 They passed the *boundes* & *subbarbis* of *the* towne,
 Out at a *crose* *that* stode *ffer* *ffro* the walle
 Ffull *konyngly* the *pylgryme* *knelid* *adowne* 444
 To sette *a-syde* alle *menys* *susspecyoun*.
 "My *lorde*," quod he, "of *ffeythe* *with-oute* blame
 Your *liegeman* of *humble* *affeccyoun*
 Guy of *Warrewik*, *sere*, *trwuly* is my name." 448
- 57 *The* *kyng* *astonyed* *chere* & *fface*
 And in *maner* *wepped* *ffor* *gret* *gladnesse*,
Than all at *oones* he *gan* *hym* to *embrace*
 In bothe his *harmys* of *ryall* *gentillesse*, 452
 With *honde* in *honde* of *ffeythefull* *kyndenesse*
Gret *profres* made on *that* *other* *syde*
 Of *golde* & *tresoure* & *much* *rychesse*,
Wit-inne his *paleys* if he *wold* *abyde*. 456
- Fol. xi b. 58 But alle these *proffres* *Guy* *clene* *for-soke*,
 And *vnto* the *kynges* *ryall* *magestee*
 With *recomandyng* *anoon* his *wey* he *toke* ;
 And *pytous* *knelyng* on his *knee* 460
 At *that* *departyng* *this* *avowe* made he :
Duryng *Guys* *lyffe* *hit* *wille* *noon* *other* *be*,
 He should *neuer* *wer* *other* *garment*,
 Till *Ihesu* *Cryste* of *mercy* & *pytee* 464
Here in this *eorthe* *hathe* *ffor* his *soule* *sent*.
- 59 At *theyr* *departyng* was *smale* *langage* :
Theyr *hevynesse* made *thinterupcyoun*.
The *kyng* *gooith* *hoome*, *Guy* *toke* his *vyage*
 Toward *Warrewik*, his *castell* & his *towne*, 469
 No *wyght* of *hym* *hauyng* *suspecyoun*,
 Wher *day* *be* *day* *Ffelyce*, his *trwe* *wyffe*,
Ffedde *poure* *ffolke* of *great* *devocyoun*
 To *pray* *ffor* *her* & *ffor* his *lordes* *lyffe*, 473
- 60 *Xiiij* in *noumbre*, my *auctour* *tellith* *soo*.
Guy at his *comyng*, *fforgrown* is his *vysage*,
 Be *thre* *days* *space* he was *oon* of *thoo*
That *toke* *almesse* with *humble* & *lowe* *courage* ; 477

Thankyng the countasse made *than* his vyage ;
 Not ffer ffro thens, the cronnycle dooyth expresse,
 Of aventure came to an hermytage,
 Wher he ffonde oon dwellyng in wyldernesse, 491

61 To whome he droughe, besechyng hym of *grace*
 As ffor a tyme to holde with hym soiour.
The same hermyte with-inne a litill space
 Be deth is paste the ende of his labour ; 495
Affter whome Guy was the succsesoure
 Space of twoo yere be *grace* of Cryst Ihesu
 Dauntynge his ffleshe be penaunce & rygoure,
 Ay mor & mor encressyng in *vertwe*. 499

62 God made hym knowe *the* day *that* he shuld dye
 Thoroughe his *gracyous* vysytacyoun,
 Be an aungell, his spyryt to conveye
 Fol. xii a. *Affter* his body resolucyoun 503
 Ffor whos merytes to the hevenly mansyoun.
Than in alle hast he send his weddyng ryng
 Vn-to his wyffe of truwe affeccyoun,
Prayed hir to come & be at his endyng, 507

63 *That* she should done ther hir besy cure,
 As by a maner of wyffly dilygence,
 In hast for to ordeyne ffor his cepulture
 With no gret coste nor no gret reuerence. 511
 She hastid hir til she came in *presence*,
 Wher *that* Guy lay dedly pale of fface,
 Bespreynt *with* terys knelyng *with* reuerence
The ded body ffelyce did *ther* embrace.

64 *This* notable & ffamous worthy knyght
 Sent hir to seyne be his messagiere
 In *that* place to bury hym anoon ryght,
 Wher *that* he lay to-ffor a smale awtere, 519
 And *after this* doo truwly hir devyere
Ther ffor hir selfe disposen & *provyde*
 xv dayes ffylowing the same yere,
 She to be buried *ther* be Guyes syde. 523

- 65 His holy wyffe of alle this toke goode hede,
 Lyke as he badde, & list noon lenger tarye
 To acqyte hir-selfe of wyffely womanhed,
 Ffor she was lothe ffor his desyre to varye ; 527
 Sent in alle haste ffor *the* ordynarye,
 Whiche occupyed in *that* dyocyse ;
 She was not ffounde in oon poynte contrarye
 Eche thyng to accomplysshe, as ye haue herd devyse. 531
- 66 And alle this coronycle ffor to conclude :
 At whos exequyes bothe olde & yonge of age
 Of dyuers ffolke came gret multytude,
 With gret devocoun to *that* heremytage, 535
 Eche a prynce with alle *the* surplusage
 They toke hym vp & leyde hym in his grave,
 Ordeyned of God be marcyall courage
 Ageynst the Danoys *this* regyoun to save ; 539
- 67 Whos soule I truste restith nowe in glorye
 With holy spyrytes above the ffyrment.
 Ffelyce his wyffe callyng to hir memorye
 The day gan neygh of hir enterment, 543
 To-fforne *provyded* of in hir testament
 Reynebroune than eyere ioustely to succede,
 Be title of hir & lynyall discent
 The eorlldame of Warrewik ioustely to possede, 547
- 68 The stocke discendyng downe be the pedugree
 To Guy his ffader be tyle of maryage,
 After whos deeth of lawe & equitye
 Reynebroune to *entre* in-to his herytage ; 551
 Claymyng his ryght his moder of goode age
 Hathe yolden hir dette be dethe vn-to nature,
 Be-syde hir lorde in *that* hermytage
 Whiche ended ffayr & made was hir cepulture. 555
- 69 Ffor to auctoryse better *this* mater,
 Whos translacyon shewith *the* sentence
 Oute of Latyne made be the cronyclere
 Called of olde Gerard Cornubyence, 559

- Whiche whilome wrote *with* gret dilygence
 Dedes of hem in Westsex corouned kynges,
 Gretly comendyng of knyghtly excellence
 Guy of Warrewike, in whos ffamous wrytinges, 563
- 70 Of whos nobles ffull gret hede he toke
 His knyghtly ffame to putten in remembraunce
 The xj chapiter of his historyall boke —
 The *perfyte* lyffe, the *vertuows* gouernaunce, 567
 His willfull pouert, hard lyggyng, & penaunce
 Alle sent to me in Englysshe to translate :
 If ought be wronge in metre or substaunce
 Putte alle the wyght of dullenesse of Lydegate. 571

LENVOYE.

Mekely translatid vnder coreccoun,
 Settynge a syde pryde & presumpcoun,
 And pray iche oon *that* shall off hit take hede,
 Ffauour & support whan *they* [hit rede.]

NOTES.

(The references are to line numbers.)

GENERAL NOTE.

Shirley's contractions are usually easy to deal with, but his *r*'s and *g*'s have given me some trouble. Participles and verbal nouns in *-ing* always appear with a final flourish (cf. facsimile, fol. 10b, *knelyng*, l. 21), which may represent a final *e*. In only one case (*takyng*, l. 295) is a final *e* written out in words of this class, and I have therefore disregarded the flourish in printing. Other words in final *ng*, even when not etymologically entitled to a final *e*, get one regularly. But this is always written out, and never represented by the flourish (cf. facsimile, fol. 10b, *kyng*, l. 15; *among*, l. 27, etc.).

In the case of *r* I have adopted the rule of printing *re* for long *r* with a hook (cf. facsimile, last 5 lines, *cure*, *recure*, *spare*, *aventure*, *declare*) and *r* for short *r* with a similar hook (cf. facsimile, l. 24 *her*, l. 29 *ther*, l. 36 *ffor*). In a few cases the short *r* occurs where forms in *re* would be expected (cf. *maner*, l. 103; *bor*, l. 220; *mor*, ll. 437, 438), but the hook usually seems to mean nothing. Long *r* with the hook, on the contrary, always represents *re*.

1-4. Rectangular space left for illuminator, but occupied only by a rather minute *ff*.

11. *m* of *myghtty* very much faded but unmistakable.

15. Supplied from Z. No break in MS. The following line is supplied in the margin in a later hand: *without all mercy they frett & frown.*

24. MS. *lord*. Z. has *pryncis*.

34. Tail of *ff* makes *r*.

49. MS. faded.

54. *in* written above *e* of *alle* in same hand and ink.

57. *by* supplied from Z.

63. *palpable*. Second *p* corrected from *l*.

74. The MS. seems to have *whettes*. Cf., however, the same stroke on *but* in l. 278.

87. *to cast*. The letter after *s* is not clear. Z. has *to caste*.

107. Perhaps *settes*. But the abbreviation for *es* is very faint and looks like a mere flourish. It appears again in *shalt*, l. 255.

135. *ben*. *n* is blotted.

164. Supplied from Z. No break in MS.

208. *g* was written before *teeris* and afterwards scratched out with a pen.

213. Before *were* stands written *werre*, which is dotted for erasure.

233. Stanza 30 is not in Z. See p. 195, above.

264. After Shirley's stanza 33 there follow in Z. three stanzas which are not in Shirley. See p. 195, above.

348. *assig ned*. A letter blotted out (*e*?) between *g* and *n*.

356. Before *citee* stands *walle* crossed out and dotted for expunging.

376. *request*. *e* over *u* in same hand.

427. *more*. *e* is blotted.

442. Two letters (*sn*?) blotted out before *subbarbis*.

457. Stanza 58 has 9 lines in Harv., 8 in Z.

473. *his* MS. Z. has *hir*, which is obviously right.

572. The envoy appears as stanza 74 in Z. and contains the full 8 lines. In Harv. it is written in 2 long lines and shows no traces of the words in brackets.

LIST OF VARIATIONS FROM ZUPITZA'S TEXT IN THE LEYDEN MS.

1. berth. compleet. hundrid. — 2. twynty & sewyn. — 3. Ethelston. cronycler. — 4. rynyng. Brutus. — 5. persecucioun. — 6. thym. mythty hond. — 7. rood brent. mad non. — 8. creuel fors. thoruh out all thys. — 9. sparid nouthyr heyh. — 10. cherchis collagis. thy beet (sic!). — 11. mythty castellis & euery gret cite. — 12. furye. falce. — 13. vn to the bondis. Wynchester. — 14. swerde & flyr. mad all. wylle (sic!). — 15. mortall. persecusioun.

— 16. sparid not. gret. *clyde* (sic!). — 17. and *omitted*. furious creuelte. — 18. too. prynces. &. — 19. lyke wood. voyd of all pete. — 20. dide. fauor. lowe nor hey estat. — 21. stod. disconsolat. — 22. disdeyne. — 23. & Mercury. debat. — 24. both the. & princēs. constreyned. — 25. fliht. — 26. princēs. agayn. — 27. hyllis. fyres. such lyht. — 28. Such disioynt. — 29. robbid & spoyled. thyр. — 30. ffor. dred. &. — 31. off. — 32. lyke. river. the. — 33. For som olde trespas. — 34. antique. — 35. oo. fortune &. — 36. myht. cronyclics. — 37. the myghty famos. — 38. days. batayle. — 39. thefte off. mad isfl to flee. — 40. feld. &. fayle. — 41. bi. pride. ambucioun. — 42. furye. theis princis twyne. — 43. distrouccioun. — 44. them disdeyn. so *omitted*. — 45. werne. the porrall. compleyn. — 46. terantis. Aneliphus. — 47. and as my autor remembrith in certyn. — 48. the thoder. so (*before* named). Cenaphelus. — 49. mescheff. pestilense (*perhaps* pestelense). — 50. punysshing. fond merciabe. — 51. swerd. tiraunt. punyssheth. violence. — 52. furious hond mortal &. — 53. wer folke repent. — 54. sitt abouyn which. hand. — 55. theis tirauntis. shedyn blod. — 56. sword &. troublid. lond. — 57. for. bi. screptour. — 58. hat chastisid. gret Cite. — 59. suffrid. mescheff. endur. — 60. record Jerlm̄ recorde on Nynyue. — 61. Parys. ffrance hat. payd (*for* parde). — 62. lechery. falce ambucioun. — 63. at eye examplis. — 64. off. Troye. — 65. ofte. hat ben examplefied. — 66. ffor. wysdam. &. god consail. — 67. that peples hertis werr not ful applyed. — 68. swe. avayle. — 69. blowith not. sayle. — 70. ffor. demeritis. punysshid thym. riht. — 71. &. hat vengeance. hys tayle. — 72. thou. Ethelston. knyht. — 73. cruel. Ynglissh blod to sheed. — 74. whet & ther fyris lyht. — 75. yit. cronyclics. leyseer who so lyst reed. — 76. Ethelston. knyht. — 77. thouh. enclep-sid was his his (sic!) lyth. — 78. off. & roiall. — 79. good stood allweye. myht. — 80. chaung. troble. prosperite. — 81. showres. — 82. glad. fol-with. derke nyht. — 83. wenter comyht. fressh flouris. — 84. after mystis. shynt briht. — 85. after gret troble hertis ben mad lyht. — 86. conclud lyke. — 87. cast. merciabe siht. — 88. vpon. knyht. for-seyd Ethelston. — 89. ferther. — 90. wer &. aduersite. — 91. mad. cronyclics. reed. — 92. all. heyh & lowe. — 93. haue. consail. Wenchestre. Cite. — 94. remydye. hast. provide. — 95. agyn. males & furious creuelte. — 96. be (*prepos.*). merciall. — 97. gadrid werre. statis. — 98. remedy. shapyn. mater. — 99. princis. bisshopis. prelatiс.

100. Cite assemled wer in fere. — 101. fortune shewyd. cher. — 102. turnyd disisperans. to *omitted*. — 103. knythhood of armys. maner. — 104. destitut. wer. sper & lance. — 105. remedie. — 106. redresse to fynd

no consolacioun. — 107. al. cheualrye. — 108. desolacioun. — 109. bi. — 110. Ethelston. in constrente & distres. — 111. consel. the touz. — 112. to fynd a mene hys mescheff to redres. — 113. Bi. amendid. — 114. recur. fynde. aduersite. — 115. brefly. thei. condissendid. — 116. benbassatrye. sume tretey. — 117. streightly dreuyn of nessecite. — 118. Denmarke. omage. qweme. — 119. vndir tribut. haue. — 120. soget reioisshe. diademe. — 121. partyis bi couenaunt. — 122. Ethelston. fynd. knyht. — 123. Colibrond. — 124. a day assynede. fyth. — 125. atwyn. too. ryht. — 126. shall reioisshe. myhty. — 127. hooold. ceptur be manhod & bi myht. — 128. haue possecioun. quiet. lond. — 130. respite. long. delacioun. — 131. yef answer. fynal. — 132. qwyten. — 133. outhir. resignacioun. — 134. off sceptur &. outhir. fynde. knyht. — 135. seyd. — 136. Colibrond. entren. ffyht. — 137. males. — 138. wood. willful. marcial. — 139. In other wyse list not to be. — 140. requerid. hast benbasset. — 141. answer. — 142. off the. send. — 143. cast. put. — 144. lyfe. twyne. — 145. streyhtly. lede. — 146. off furious hast. haue. delaye. — 147. Ethylston. bestade. — 148. all. princis. afray. — 149. affor Wenchester. proud dukys laye. — 150. withyne. mynde. — 151. wyll the. bi cause. kneuh. waye. — 152. defences. fynd. — 153. bettre. mater. — 154. redresse. fynde. acordyng. — 155. be assent. take. prayer. — 156. & (*before his*). fastyng. — 157. &. without. — 158. all atonys. as thy (*sic!*) wer of. — 159. wyth. resemblid. — 160. penance. Nynyve. — 161. ffrom hih estatis. povrale. — 162. all degres fonde. wyht. — 163. vnderfonge. — 164. agayn. Geaunt. for to fiht. — 165. heralde of herderne the. — 166. cald. — 167. harmys. euery mannys siht. — 168. Nyxte. of manhod lodissesterre. — 169. The seyd. absente. — 170. rewem. son. — 171. raynborn. contres adiacent. — 172. all the provynce. stod fast bye. — 173. traytourely. — 174. be strang marchandis vngodly. — 175. ffelice. modir. — 176. complynyng. &. — 177. Borne bi discent. beyn his faders. — 178. her yong son raynborn. — 179. her. hold. man (*sic!*). fayr. — 180. thexample. & womanhed. — 181. her fadir. nobles & manhod. — 182. Erle. on. best. — 183. days. stori. rede. — 184. alas. — 185. Pay. bi deth vn to natur. — 186. by *parcas*. lyvis thred. — 187. stori remembrith bi scriptur. — 188. felice conceyued had in dede. — 189. bi-seyd. after. rede. — 190. he *omitted*. lyke. pilgrem enduyd. verteu. — 191. changid hat his wede. — 192. sped. loue. — 193. ffor sok. vnknowe of euery wyht. — 194. heyh *perfeccioun*. levyn. penance. — 195. wyfe & kyne & be cam. knyht. — 196. for *omitted*. — 197. litel. suffici-saunce. — 198. werdly (*sic!*). list. soiorne. — 199. agayn vn to remembrans.

200. Ethelstone. woll. — 201. begane. *procede*. — 202. off. conplynt. mencioun. — 203. nat. purple. changid hat. wede. — 204. desolacioun. — 205. by cause ther. regioun. — 206. ffonde. quarel. defend. — 207. abovyn seid. Orisoun. — 208. send. — 209. most magnyficence. — 210. eris vn to. prayer. — 211. remembriht. vpon. gret affence. — 212. from. synnys. cher. — 213. dispeyred stondyng. double werre. — 214. kyngdoun. — 215. mediacioun. thi modir dere. — 217. my hope. my affiaunze. — 218. thi *proteccioun*. — 219. sheld. swerd & ek. lance. — 220. & pore. — 221. merci. — 222. thoruht thi supporte. foo. — 223. whil Ethelston seyde. orisoun. — 224. fel. — 225. ffor. & troble. — 226. beddis. — 227. abouyn which. devye. — 228. mekenesse. — 229. ffor. seruant list graciously. — 230. godnesse sent. angil. — 231. him not drede. sette all ferre on side. — 232. which. merci. hard. orison. — 233. lok benyng. — 234. him trist all holy. — 235. bi. token. entirsyng. — 236. shall. shwed. spas. — 237. adawid. lifft. face. — 238. markith euery. & hed. — 239. angil. heuynesse. to enchas. — 240. thes. stori. rede. — 241. ffrom. void all dispayre and drede. — 242. her. liht. — 243. morwe. rys. hed. — 244. ffor. gracious myht. — 245. thi request hat. sith. — 246. vp-on. & thi. — 247. *conserue*. & riht. — 248. title for. is merciabile. — 249. vp rest (*perhaps* vp rast). — 250. deuh. flowris flete. — 251. thi. — 252. fervent hete. — 253. hat. levis dried vp. wete. — 254. abyd ther mekly & shall to the send. (god *omitted*.) — 255. fiirst. pilgrim. mete. — 256. godly thi quarel. defend. — 257. brod slaveyn. — 258. olde. among. povraile. — 259. mark. wyl. & wyl certeyn. — 260. thi request. shal not fayle. — 261. acomplissh. batayle. — 262. wyll. & thi. — 263. shal *prevaile*. — 264. axyng. denyne (devyne *changed to denyne*?). — 265. wordis seyde. is reherside herre. — 266. vn to. revolucion. — 267. angl dide vnwarly disapere. — 268. Ethelston. gret devocioun. — 269. of. awysioun. — 270. newly reioisshid. heuynesse. — 271. as *omitted*. mad is mencioun. — 272. tweyn. — 273. benyng. — 274. affeccioun. — 275. erlis expectant. — 276. thylke. — 277. lyke. angl. — 278. vn to. — 279. pore folk for sustentacioun. — 280. had. custom. atte gate. — 281. breefly doht. — 282. vn to. makyth rehersayle. — 283. off Jhon Baptist aforne. vigile. — 284. Warwyk mad. arivayle. — 285. Portismowth. autor wyll not fayle. — 286. &. — 287. which. avayle. — 288. tellit. evyn. *prime*. — 289. brihte. tressir (?). — 290. hyh. showe. heuynly lyht. — 291. morne & hote. — 292. dryed vp. syluer briht. — 293. seyde. knyht. — 294. repayred. pilgrymage. — 295. ffrom portismowth. way riht. — 296. Wynchester. viage. — 297. deme. — 298. this regioun. — 299. heer *taccomplissh*. knyhtthod fynally.

300. emprise. — 301. for. ben. kyngis. — 302. vnknowe off all. com.

land.—303. made. relacion.—304. off. dede stonde.—305. ffrist. ordure ceriously.—306. of *omitted*.—307. gon. Raynbourne *omitted*. sonne.—308. desyred. *euery*. wiht.—309. which bi descent. borne. riht.—310. title. ffelice. womanhed.—311. repayre. myht.—312. Erle. Warwyk.—313. gret striff.—314. twyn. Denmarke & Ethilston the.—315. fadir. wyfe.—316. olde Erle. Warwyk. lyvyng.—317. dede. &. hard *euery*.—318. off. self crosse.—319. lyke. pilgrim. leue ther.—320. wynchester anon. arros.—322. poore. ospitall.—323. travaill vnknow. *euery* wiht.—324. houndrid. without.—325. Wher stondith.—326. a non.—327. his hie (?) guyd. especiall.—328. waye. toke.—330. bi resemblance.—331. can agayn.—332. bi.—333. So. refuge. for sauacioun.—334. Both. &. all.—336. of. Colibrond.—337. Bi. pilgrim wede.—338. rounde slaven.—339. off. aray. tok hed.—340. *promes*. not mad.—341. vp. hart & kneuh. well certeyn.—342. faylith *neuere*. se nor on.—343. chekys.—344. ffor. gladnes. be the.—345. most lowly.—346. cher. rowth. se.—347. wnderfonge. heh emprise.—348. ffor goddis. merciful petye.—349. nessecite.—350. In. defens. not fayle.—351. Colibrond. for *omitted*.—352. ffor. partye. batayle.—353. visage.—354. &. dullyd. travayle.—355. mad. excus.—356. mayle.—357. wyll. yff I myht avayle.—358. cruel Ire off the. appese.—359. *proffyte* god will shall not fayle.—360. lyffe Iuperte. sett this.—361. lordis mad gret.—362. pilgrim. & prayer.—363. don vn to.—364. Jhu. &. modir dere.—365. Is condiscendid. here.—366. godis. covenant.—367. convencioun. require.—368. assyned.—369. emprise. mad.—370. the convencioun. pleyly. darrayne.—371. s . . . ff (*indistinct*). Jul. vp on. twelthe.—372. assygnyd &. metyng. twyn.—373. thaccord rehersyd. statut.—374. doubilnesse & fraude sett a seyde.—375. *partis*. wer bondyn. certyn.—377. Without. remembrid. rede.—378. callid. antique.—379. ynglissish tong. hide mede.—380. ferr. Cite.—381. metyng to giddy ther. myth.—382. terrible strokis lyke the dynt. thondir.—383. sparklis out of ther harnes fley.—384. behold. veray wondir.—385. olde pilgrym. lyke. knyht.—387. shuldir. such a myht.—388. vndir. bordur. aven entayle.—389. strem. blod. be. sydis rayle.—390. the *Geauzt* this hedous Colibrond.—391. thouht. shuld hym gretly avale.—392. swerd. brokyn.—393. swerde.—394. consolacioun.—395. like. knyht. hart. affrayed.—396. required.—397. wepens had.—398. grant. on. of his defens.—399. Colibrond. indignacioun.

400. request. non audiens.—401. ffor. sett. males. wrake.—402. pride.—403. wyle. &. togiddir.—404. at onys. stert. on syde.—405.

cauht. list. — 406. smot. Gyaunt euy. first wond. — 408. harme & sholdir fel. grond. — 409. wech. Colibrond. — 410. armur &. mad reede. — 411. rech. hand. — 412. swerd wer of. tok hed. — 413. God &. gaf. swech. — 414. after. — 415. filey. the *omitted*. stordi. — 416. off. Geant & had. victorye. — 417. accomplisht. bi. — 418. guy. knyht. — 419. statut. — 420. seil. &. way riht. — 421. to warde. contre nouthir. lyth. — 422. surquedye &. oppressid. — 423. Ethilston bi. goddis. — 424. had. repressid. — 425. repressid. — 426. bi. mad. — 427. han them dressid. — 428. princes baronys & borgeys. — 430. spek. — 431. conve. procescioun. — 432. vn to the cherc callid. — 433. sey. — 434. mekenes mad. oblacioun. — 435. ax. wych a forne. — 436. had. champioun. — 437. Instermert thoruh. regioun. — 438. Is yet. ax. Colibron. — 439. religioun. — 440. shal vndirstond. — 441. don. sey. — 442. cast. his. — 443. like. pilgrern. slauen. — 444. the kyng ful goodly dede hysse cure. — 445. myht. — 446. off the pilgrern. & not. — 447. secret. aventure (?). — 449. Certis qd. excusid. — 450. axyng. peticioun. — 451. &. musyd. — 452. desyre. non. — 453. my excus. haue. gret. — 454. ffor. shall neuer discure. mater. — 455. ondir. condicioun. — 456. assurans mad betwyn you . . . (*torn*). — 457. all. princes. be absens. — 458. by. selfe. Cite. — 459. non. twyne. presens. — 460. trowth. chal. secret. — 461. lyff. get. — 462. ax. availe. — 463. off feyth &. or lowh. — 464. neuer discour (?). consayle. — 465. confermyd bi promys. roial. — 466. passid the bondis of subbarbis of the tou. — 467. crosse. stod fer from. walle. — 468. fful devouly (sic !). pilgrern knelyt. — 469. sett. suspecioun. — 470. qd. feyth with out. — 471. legeman. affecioun. — 472. Warwik. — 473. astonyd. chang cheer &. — 475. allattonys. enbrasse. — 476. both his harmys. roial gentilice. — 477. offtyn. feyfull kyndnesse. — 478. gret profers. todyr. — 479. & tresour of gret richesse. — 480. . . . (*torn*) in his pales yef he wold abyde. — 481. all theys profers mekely he for-soke. — 482. kyngis roiall. — 483. recommandyng anon. weye. — 484. he made. — 486. vn to. ful. — 487. lyff. non. be. — 488. Shal. neuer don. — 489. language. — 490. Swem off. mad interupcioun. — 491. tok. viage. — 492. to ward. castel &. — 493. hauyng sospicioun. — 494. ffelice. wyffe. — 495. ffed pore folk. gret devocioun. — 496. pray. her & her lordis lyffe. — 497. my autor wryteth. so *omitted*. — 498. at is comyng. visage. — 499. dayis spas. on.

500. toke almes. & low. — 501. contes. hast tok. — 502. ferre from. — 503. auentur. come. armytage. — 504. were. dwillyng. wyldernes. — 506. ffor. hold ther soierne. — 507. withyne. lytil spasse. — 508. bi. passid. ffyne. labore. — 509. after. — 510. Spas off. crist Ihu. — 511.

penance &. — 512. &. encressyng. — 513. mad. know. shold dye. — 514. thoruh. most gracious visitacioun. — 515. by. angl his sperite. — 516. bodily resolucioun. — 517. for. meritys. heuenly. — 518. sent. hast. — 519. vn to. wyfe. affecciou. — 520. prayed her come. be. dyeng. — 521. shold don her besi. — 522. Bi. wyffly deligens. — 523. hast ordeyn. — 524. non. dispens. — 525. in heyd *omitted*. — 526. wher. &. face. — 527. besprent. reuerens. — 528. ded. ded (= *did*). — 529. noble famous. knyht. — 530. Sent her. eke bi. massanger. — 531. In. beryn. anon riht. — 532. a forn. avter. — 533. shulde do. her dever. — 534. her selfe dispose. provide. — 535. folwyng. yer. — 536. byn beried fast. — 537. holy wyff. tok hed. — 538. lyke. list. lynger tarie. — 539. quite her selfe. trowth & womanhed. — 540. from. desyre. — 541. Sent. hast for. ordynary. — 542. Whych ocupid. diocise. — 543. not founde. no. contrary. — 544. all. taccomplissh. haue hard devise. — 545. breffly. — 546. exequies. &. — 547. off dyueres statis. — 548. devocioun. — 549. like. prince. all. — 550. vp. — 551. ordyned. afforne. — 552. agayn. Danys. regioun. — 553. I. glorie. — 554. holy sperites. firmament. — 555. ffelice. wyff. callyd. — 556. her. — 557. afforne ordyned. ther. — 558. her son reynbourn bi title. her. — 559. borne bi lenyall dissent. — 560. ther Erldam. — 561. discendyng. antique. — 562. fadir bi title. — 563. after. det. & equite. — 564. reynborn. heritage. — 565. after all. modyr. — 566. her det be. vn to. — 567. be side her lorde. — 568. mad her. — 569. ffor. autorite. mater. — 570. Whos. sewht in sentens. — 571. mad be. cronycler. — 572. callid. olde. Gerard of Cornbbiens. — 573. which. wiht (= *with*). deligens. — 574. off. werne. crownyd. — 575. Gretly. Knyhtly excelens. — 576. Werwyk. wrytyng. — 577. Off. toke. — 578. marcial. remembrance. — 579. historial. — 580. *perfyth* lyff. gouernance. — 581. wilful pouert. & penance. — 582. brouht vn to. for to. — 583. yeff ouht. meter. substance. — 584. putth. of lidgate. — 585. vnder coreccioun. — 586. lyff. syr. bi delygent. — 587. sett asyde pride. — 588. bi cause. hade. cadens. — 589. neuer flour. — 590. cam neuer. — 591. prayng ichon. fauour. — 592. disdyne. clausis. rede.

FRED N. ROBINSON.

THE LAY OF GUINGAMOR.

GUINGAMOR¹ is well known to be one of the most pleasing of the old Breton lays. We have unfortunately no external evidence which allows us to state definitely the name of the author ; but Gaston Paris unhesitatingly ascribes it to Marie de France,² and the subject, mode of treatment, and style of the poem seem to favor that view.

The story in brief is as follows: Guingamor, the nephew and heir of the king, and a favorite of all at court, remains at home one day when his uncle goes out to hunt. The queen sees him playing chess in the orchard, and, overcome by his beauty, summons him to her chamber, and offers herself as his *amie*. The young man, however, unwilling to dishonor his lord, indignantly repels her advances, and leaves the room abruptly. The queen, fearing lest he may accuse her to the king, takes the first opportunity to taunt all the knights of the court with their unwillingness to undertake the hunting of a certain wild boar³—an adventure from which ten knights who had previously essayed it had never returned. The taunt is aimed at Guingamor, who at once determines to accept the challenge. He begs his uncle for permission to take with him the latter's *brachet*, *chaceor*, etc., and the king unwillingly gives his consent. The next morning Guingamor starts off, escorted for some distance by a crowd of people of all sorts, sad because they never expect to see him

¹ First published by Gaston Paris as one of several *Lais inédits* in *Romania*, VIII, 50 ff.

² See *La Litt. franç. au moyen âge*, 2d ed., § 55. Cf. Warnke, *Marie de France und die anonymen Lais*, Coburg, 1892, pp. 16–18, who thinks that style and contents suggest Marie as the author, but adds that the language is “zu eigenartig gefärbt” to support this hypothesis: his previous examination of the lay hardly bears out this statement.

³ On this boar and his possible connection with Arthur's boar-hunt, see Ahlström, *Studier i den fornfranska Lais-litteraturen* (Upsala, 1892), p. 61, and F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXV, 590–1; cf. also Baist, *Ztschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 275, n. 1.

again.¹ While following the tracks of the white boar, he gets separated from his dogs and companions, crosses "la rivière perilleuse," and visits a wonderful and apparently uninhabited castle, near which he discovers a beautiful woman bathing in a fountain, with but one maid as a companion. He gets possession of the lady's garments, which she had left on the shore, after some parley becomes her *ami*, and then goes with her to her castle, the one he had before visited, now filled with gallant knights and fair ladies, where he finds the ten knights who had previously undertaken the adventure. There he passes three hundred years in what seem to him but three days. He now concludes that he ought to return to his own home with the king's *brachet* and the head of the boar; but he promises the *fée* to come back to her as soon as the anxieties of his friends are relieved. She gives him permission to depart, but forbids his eating anything while in his own land. He crosses the river, and, after a long journey, meets a woodcutter, who informs him that all concerning whom he inquires are long dead. Guingamor tells his story and, leaving the boar's head with the peasant, starts to return to the land of the *fée*. Being hungry, he eats some wild apples, whereupon he is immediately transformed into a shrivelled-up old man, and falls from his horse. The woodcutter thinks him at the point of death; but two maidens come to his rescue, and bear him back gentily to the *fée's* country. The story of his life was told everywhere in Britain; but nothing more was ever heard of the knight.

This story was at once recognized by Paris as belonging to the large class of tales concerning a mortal's visit to the other world — a class of which there are good examples in Irish literature. The *Voyage of Bran* may serve as an instance. This, according to Meyer, "was originally written down in the seventh century."² It will be seen to bear a striking resemblance to that part of *Guingamor* with which we are now particularly concerned.

¹ Just as Erec is accompanied when he goes to undertake the *Joie de la Cort*, and Le Bel Inconnu when he sets out for Sinaudon.

² Kuno Meyer, *The Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895, I, xvi. As Meyer remarks, Zimmer (Haupt's *Ztschr.*, XXXIII, 261) had already (cautiously) referred the work to the same century.

Bran and his companions set out on a journey and come to the Land of Women, where, overcome by the magic charm of the place, they remain long in happy enjoyment, oblivious of their past. "It seemed a year to them that they were there — it chanced to be many years."¹ At last "homesickness seized one of them, even Nechtan, the son of Collbran. His kindred kept praying Bran that he should go to Ireland with him. The woman said to them their going would make them rue. However, they went, and the woman said that none of them should touch the land, and that they should visit and take with them the man whom they had left in the Island of Joy. Then they went until they arrived at a gathering at Said Bran. The men asked of them who it was came over the sea. Said Bran: 'I am Bran, the son of Febal,' saith he. However, the other saith: 'We do not know such a one, though the Voyage of Bran is in our ancient stories.' The man leaps from them out of the coracle. As soon as he touched the earth of Ireland, forthwith he was a heap of ashes, as though he had been in the earth for many a hundred years. . . . Thereupon to the people of the gathering Bran told all his wanderings from the beginning until that time. And he wrote these quatrains in Ogam and then bade them farewell. And from that hour his wanderings are not known." (Caps. 63-66.)²

In the Bran story (as well as in the similar adventures of Connla and Oisín) it is "actual contact between earth and the body of the home-faring mortal" which puts into operation the forces of age and decay suspended by his sojourn in the land of the immortals.³ In *Guingamor* it is different. The *fée*, finding the hero determined to test the truth of her startling assertion that his land is occupied by strangers, accompanies him to the boundary of her territory, and makes but one condition for his safe return, — that he partake of no food or drink in the land of mortals. "If you forget this command," she says in effect, "tost en seriez engingniez" (570). *Guingamor*, however, in a moment of thoughtlessness gives way to temptation.

¹ Cap. 62, p. 30, ed. Meyer (whose translation I have used).

² Other Irish stories of a similar character are conveniently summarized by Nutt, *The Happy Otherworld in the Mythico-Romantic Literature of the Irish*, in Meyer's *Voyage of Bran*, I, 115 ff.

³ See Nutt, *l.c.*, p. 151.

Hardly has he eaten the wild apples by the wayside when he finds himself in painful decrepitude. This is but another, though inverted, instance of a well-known superstition. As Professor Child says,¹ "That eating and drinking, personal contact, exchange of speech, receiving of gifts, in any abode of unearthly beings, including the dead, will reduce a man to their fellowship and condition might be enforced by a great number of examples, and has already been abundantly shown by Professor Wilhelm Müller in his beautiful essay, *Zur Symbolik der deutschen Volkssage*."²

E. Philipot³ rightly considers the magic orchards in *Erec, Le Bel Inconnu*, the *Livre d'Artus*, etc., as survivals of our theme. In the *Livre d'Artus* we have the best version of the story of the orchard, fair as paradise, where all who ate of the fruit of the apple-tree became prisoners physically and mentally. "L'enchantement a saisi leur être tout entier, comme le 'boivre amoureux' enchaîne à jamais l'un à l'autre les cœurs de Tristan et d'Yseut. C'est ainsi que les compagnons d'Ulysse deviennent prisonniers chez les Lotophages, une fois qu'ils ont porté à leurs lèvres le fruit au goût de miel, et oublient le nom de leur patrie." (*Rom.*, XXV, 274.)⁴

In *Guingamor*, however, there is no mention of the hero's being detained in fairyland by virtue of eating magic fruit: on the contrary, he is reduced to his natural human state by eating fruit in the land of mortals, and thus is removed from the fairy control. This appears to be the reverse of the legend in its usual form. Perhaps Philipot is right in supposing (p. 274, note 1) that the complete legend comprised both parts, and that *Guingamor* tasted of the fruit of the *fée* before becoming her guest. Just as likely, however, the present position of this feature in our account is due to an accidental shifting of it from its more usual place at the beginning of the supernatural life. Possibly it was intentionally put where we find it by the poet, who may have thought this a better way of explaining the transfor-

¹ *Ballads*, pt. II, p. 322.

² *Niedersächsische Sagen und Märchen*, Schambach und Müller, p. 373.

³ In *Romania*, XXV, 258 ff. On apples of immortality, etc., see Bugge's important article, *Iduns Æbler*, *Arkiv f. nordisk Filologi*, V, 1 ff.

⁴ Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 50.

mation of Guingamor than the older one of mere contact with the earth, as in *Bran*, *Conall*, and *Oisin*.¹

To the beautiful castle of the *fée* which Guingamor found apparently uninhabited at first, and which he entered on horseback through the ivory gates, examining it carefully in all parts before he finally left it, believing himself *traiz* (ll. 363 ff.), Gaston Paris has noted the excellent parallel in *Partenopeus de Blois*.² This feature, common enough in the romances of the Middle Ages, is several times made use of in the history of Perceval. Three distinct cases may be found in the *Conte del Graal*, 23,292 ff., 23,898 ff., and 26,541 ff. In a fourth instance (22,397 ff.), we have, in addition, the losing of a valuable *brachet* borrowed from another person to be of assistance in hunting a certain animal, and afterwards sought for by the borrower with much solicitude, — an incident which forms an important part of the introduction to *Guingamor*. In both cases it is a *fée*, with whom the hero falls in love, that has most to do with this adventure, and through her the *brachet* and the stag's head (for in both cases this is the only part of the animal which is the knight's final concern) are restored to him. It is, moreover, "par faërie" that these are lost to him in the first place.

At the *fée's* castle in *Guingamor*, we are told, there were three hundred knights.

Chascuns de ceus menoit s'amie:
Molt ert bele la compaignie;
Vallez i ot a espreviers
O biaux ostors fors et muiers;
El palès en ot autretant,
As tables, as eschès jouant. (513 ff.)

And the following passage describes other entertainments :

Molt fu la nuit bien herbergiez,
Bons mengiers ot a grant plenté,
O grant deduit, o grant fierté,

¹ Compare the circumstances of the transformation which took place in one of Bran's comrades the moment he set foot on the Island of Joy (cap. 61, ed. Meyer).

² Ed. Crapelet, Paris, 1834: see particularly ll. 783-98, 817-24, 851-2, 873-4, 885-6, 895-6, 905-6.

Sons de herpes e de vieles,
 Chanz de vallez et de puceles;
 Grant merveille ot de la noblece,
 De la biauté, de la richesce. (526 ff.)

These are the regular features of the castles of fairydom, and the worthy knights transported to Avalon all spend their time in infinite joy. As each one of those in Guingamor's new home was provided with an *amie*, so were the dwellers in the Castle of Maidens in the spurious introduction to Chrétien's *Perceval*:

Laiens avoit cascuns s'amie,
 Moult par menoient bele vie (417-8) ;

and those at the *Castiel Orguellous* in Chrétien's part of the poem:

El castiel, chevaliers de pris
 A .v. c. et sissante et dis,
 Et saciés qu'il n'i a celui
 Qui n'ait s'amie avoeques lui. (6069 ff.)

We remember that *Perceval*, finding himself alone in the fairy's castle, turned to the amusement ready at hand — that of the game of chess — and we discover what were the usual accompaniments of such places when we read what *Partenopeus* missed:¹

Mais tot li semble cose huisdive
 Quant il n'i voit rien nule vive:
 Nus n'i mangue, nus n'i sert:

 N'i a dame ne damoisele,
 Ne harpe oie, ne viele:
 Nus n'i noise ne n'i tabore
 Com en tel liu et à tel ore. (895 ff.)

This land is evidently similar to the *Venusberg* in which *Tannhäuser* sought solace, and which was so surrounded with mysterious charm that, notwithstanding the efforts of the mediæval clergy, the belief in its existence long held possession of the popular mind.²

¹ Cf. further Nutt, *Happy Otherworld*, I, 142 ff.; also *Perceval*, 15,426 ff., 15,486 ff.

² See *Rom.*, VIII, 50, and cf. Miss Weston's *Legends of the Wagner Drama*, London, 1896, pp. 344 ff., and App., p. 373.

The idea was particularly tenacious on Celtic soil, as is evinced by the numerous Celtic stories in which it is enshrined. *Guingamor* agrees with those which we have discussed above in that it too relates the following adventures :

A valiant mortal finds his way unexpectedly to the other world, where he is kept a willing but unwitting prisoner by a fascinating woman for a very long (though apparently very short) term of years, sustained by supernatural food, and enjoying marvellous pleasures. He conceives a sudden desire to return to his native land, and, leaving fairyland against the will of its mistress, crosses the water to mortal shores, where he finds all his friends long since forgotten, but his name still kept in legendary remembrance because of his extraordinary disappearance. There he is able to tell the story of his life, but, since he violates the commands his mistress has imposed upon him, the supernatural conditions under which he has been living are removed, and he becomes a weak old man, as if he had been hundreds of years upon the earth. He is, however, permitted to depart once more, and the inhabitants of his former home record his adventure in wondering fable.

Such are the essential elements of our lay. In them we have the oldest and most important part, with which the rest seems to have been combined more or less by accident. The accretions, however, are worthy of examination.

The poet had his choice of different ways of getting his hero to the other world. The one he selected was to make the hero, in the course of a hunting expedition, fall in with the fairy princess, and thus our story is connected with a large cycle of other poems which differ entirely from *Guingamor* in their central idea and *dénoûment*. The long introduction, which leads up to the adventures that have occupied our attention almost wholly to this point, divides itself again into two distinct parts : (1) the intrigue of the queen to gain the knight's love, and (2) the eventful hunt during which the *fée* is discovered. I shall soon have occasion to quote a reference (hitherto apparently overlooked) to our story in one of the continuations of the *Perceval*, and this may help us to decide what were the elements of the lay in the earliest form we can postulate. I leave that aside, however, for the moment, in order to compare the introduction as

a whole with similar accounts in Old French poems of about the same period — the lays of *Graelent*, *Lanval*, and *Désiré*, also the story of the *Chastelaine de Vergi*, and one of those in the *Dolopathos* — that in so doing we may not only arrive at a better understanding of the original features of the story, but also see more clearly how similar poems were in early times composed.¹

I. GRAELEN.²— *Graelent* and *Guingamor* agree in the following points :

1. In both we learn that the king of " Bretagne " had many barons about him, of whom one (*Graelent* or *Guingamor*) was especially distinguished and loved by him.

Chevalier ert preuz et senez;	Li rois le retint vulentiers
Por sa valor, por sa biauté,	Pur çou qu'il iert biax chevaliers,
Li rois le tint en grant chierte.	Mut le chéri è honera. ³
(<i>Gg.</i> , 12 ff.)	(<i>Gt.</i> , 13 ff.)

2. The queen falls in love with him, and sends a messenger to bid him come to her presence. The hero receives her salutations, and makes no objections to going to her; for he in no way suspects her regard for him. She makes him sit down beside her in her apartment (cf. " Dejuste li le fist seoir," *Gg.*, 67, and " De joste li séir le fist," *Gt.*, 59); then, praising his beauty and valor, she offers herself to him.

Amer vos voil de druerie,	Je vus otroi ma druerie
Et que je soie vostre amie.	Soiés amis è jou amie.
(<i>Gg.</i> , 101-2.)	(<i>Gt.</i> , 119-20.)

He, however, recalls the duty he owes his lord, and takes an abrupt departure.

3. In both she sends to him — in *Guingamor*, her maid, with the

¹ For an interesting discussion of the relations of *Graelent*, *Guingamor*, *Lanval*, *Guigemar*, *Désiré*, and the *Chastelaine de Vergi*, see A. Ahlström, *Studier i den fornfranska Lais-litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, pp. 51 ff.

² Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, Paris, 1820, I, 486-541. No one now ascribes this lay to Marie, and most scholars believe that it contains an earlier form of the story told in the *Lai de Lanval*.

³ In quotations from *Graelent*, *Perceval*, etc., the printed editions are followed, without any attempt at correcting their errors.

mantle he had left behind; in *Graelent*, divers messengers with rich presents. Having failed to win his love, she plots to get rid of him.

4. Both Guingamor and Graelent go hunting in a great forest near the city, through which runs a river (cf. "En un boisson espès ramé," *Gt.*, 200, and "En un buisson espès ramé," *Gg.*, 278). Each finds himself there alone very *dolent*, and sets out in pursuit of an animal ("une bisse blanche" in *Gt.*, a white boar in *Gg.*), which suddenly appears. Thus following and calling, he is led into a *lande*, where is a *fontaine* with water *clère et bele* (*Gg.*, 425; *Gt.*, 209). Therein he sees a *pucele* bathing, attended in *Gg.* by one, in *Gt.* by two maidens. She is in his opinion the most beautiful being in the world. The clothes, of which she is *despoulie* (*Gt.*, 213; cf. *Gg.*, 447) are on a bush near by, and he takes possession of them in order to prevent her from going away (cf. *Gt.*, 225-6; *Gg.*, 443); but she perceives him, and then

Le chevalier a apelé	Lor Dame l'a araisuné,
Et fièrement aresonné:	Par mautalent l'a apelé:
Guingamors, lessiez ma despoille.	Graelent, lai mes dras ester.
(<i>Gg.</i> , 445 ff.)	(<i>Gt.</i> , 229 ff.)

In both cases she assumes the tone of a superior in her conversation. She finally emerges from the water, is dressed, and consents to love the hero :

Volentiers i metoit s'entente	Merci li prie dolcement
Qu'ele l'amast de druerie;
Doucement la regarde et prie	Si li otroie sa druerie,
Que s'amor li doint et otroit:	E il fera de li s'amie;
Onques mes n'ot le cuer destroit	Loialment e bien l'amera,
Por nule fame qu'il veist,	Jamès de li ne partira.
Ne d'amor garde ne si prist.	La dameisele ot è entent
Cele fu sage et bien aprise,	La parole de Graelent,
Guingamor respont en itel guise	E voit qu'il est curteis è sage,
Qu'ele l'amera volentiers,
Dont ot joie li chevaliers.	S'amur li a bien otreié;
Puis que l'amor fu ostroiée	E il l'a ducement baisié.
Acolée l'a et besiée.	A lui parole en itel guise:
(<i>Gg.</i> , 490 ff.)
	Jeo vus amerai vraiment.

(Observe the similarity in the rhyme words.) (*Gt.*, 284-301.)

5. When he leaves the *fée*, a certain restriction is imposed upon him. His failure to obey reduces him to great distress; but his *ami* takes pity on him, and he finally goes to live with her in her abode of delights in the other world forever.

II. LANVAL. — *Lanval*¹ has, as every one knows, much in common with *Graelent*. Here also we find the much-loved knight at the king's court, of whom the queen becomes enamoured, and whom she strives unsuccessfully to make her *ami*. From her window she sees him in the orchard below, and she soon arranges a private talk with him, in which she offers the knight her *amur* and *druerie*. He refuses her advances bluntly, for he would not dishonor his master, and the repulsed queen, fearing that her avowal of love may reach the ears of the king, plots to dispose of the knight. It is also told of the latter how, when alone in a forest, troubled by his unhappy situation, he discovers a *fée* princess, who offers to aid him in his difficulties² on condition that he become her *ami*, which he is very glad to do. When he leaves her, she imposes upon him a certain restriction, neglect of which will bring upon him misfortune. This he forgets, and the punishment comes as she had promised. She finally relents, however, and permits him to return and dwell with her. She is always accompanied by maidens, and her messengers go in couples. In the end Lanval accompanies her to Avalon, and leaves those of his own land to marvel at his departure and mourn his loss.

III. DÉsirÉ. — In the *Lai del Désiré*³ also we have a knight favored by the king and loved by his companions for his beauty and valor. One morning he rides out well equipped, and soon finds himself "sanz compaignun" in a forest. Ere long, however, he comes upon a fountain bubbling up under a great tree. Beside this fountain is a

¹ Ed. Warnke, *Lais der Marie de France*, pp. 86 ff.; cf. lxxxii ff.

² In *Lanval* the hero's trouble is lack of money, and not the result of the queen's plotting. Note that in *Guingamor* the *fée* promises to restore to the hero his *brachet* and the boar's head, the loss of which is the cause of his sorrow. This meeting with a *fée* just at a time when her help is needed is the regular thing in this sort of stories. Cf. A. Treichel on *Sir Cleges*, in *Engl. Stud.*, XXII (1896), 347.

³ Ed. F. Michel, *Lais Inédits*, Paris, 1836, pp. 5 ff.; cf. *Strengleikar eða Liðabok*, ed. Keyser and Unger, Christiania, 1850.

beautiful maiden, and hard by is her mistress, with still greater charm. As soon as the knight sees the latter, he does not hesitate, but dashes quickly forward to get her into his power. Then he begs her to accept his love :

‘ Vostre home serrai e vostre amis;
 Pur vostre druerie aver
 Vos servirai à men poeir.’
 La pucele l’en mercia,
 Parfundement li enclina
 E dit que pas ne l’refusout
 Ne sun offre n’ele jetout.
 Ottri[ée] est la druerie. (P. 14.)

The conclusion is as given above for *Graelent* and *Lanval*.

IV. CHASTELAINE DE VERGI. — In this poem¹ we have another valiant, handsome youth, the favorite of a duke, exciting the passion of the latter’s wife. Her love advances are repulsed. The youth here, as in *Guingamor*, expresses his desire ever to love her legitimately as the wife of his lord, but he repudiates her propositions when she speaks plainly of her desires. The duchess, angered in heart and bent on revenge, tries to induce her husband so to act towards the knight as to have him forever put out of the way. Here again, as in *Lanval*, we have a secret love on the part of the hero which makes him more vigorous in his rejection of the lady’s proposal.

V. DOLOPATHOS. — The story in *Guingamor* has further a very striking likeness in incident to one of the stories in the Old French *Dolopathos*,² written by one Herbert between 1202 and 1207, — an agreement which, so far as I know, has not hitherto been discussed, and to which I would call particular attention.³

1. Once more we have the handsome, valiant young knight, the highest in the king’s favor, starting out to hunt a white stag, and

¹ Edited, with an excellent discussion, by Gaston Raynaud in *Romania*, XXI, 145 ff.; Barbazan-Méon, IV, 296 ff.

² Published for the first time complete by Brunet and Montaiglon, Paris, 1856.

³ Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, p. 317, notes that there are resemblances between the *Guingamor* and the *Dolopathos*, but he draws no inferences.

taking with him his dogs (*brachet, liamier*, etc.). He rides a *chaceor* and bears a *cor* (cf. *Dol.*, 9188-93; *Gg.*, 255-61). Soon the dogs find the tracks of the animal they seek, which, alarmed by the noise, makes off into the thicket (cf. *Dol.*, 9197-9210; *Gg.*, 277-8).

2. The dogs pursue the animal. Horns are blown, and the hero follows without companions.

Li uns corne, li autres hue;	Guingamor va sovent sonnant,
Cil chien si doucement glatissent	Et la muete va glatissant,
Que les forès en retentissent;	De toutes pars le siévent pres:
Li damoisiæx chevalche après;	El brueil ne tornera hui mes.
C'est cil ki plus le suit de près.	En la forest s'est embatuz,
(<i>Dol.</i> , 9200 ff.)	Guingamors est après venuz.
	(<i>Gg.</i> , 295 ff.)

3. In the thicket he loses his company and dogs :

La forès fu espesse et drue;	L'espoisse erre de la forest. (<i>Gg.</i> , 326.)
Tote ait sa maisnie perdue,	[Finding himself entirely alone,] il
Et si ne seit où si chien sont. . . .	commença a corner (338). [This
Assez sovant mist cor an bouche;	he does repeatedly.]
Ses chiens et sa maisnie apele, . . .	Mist cor a bouche, si sonna;
Li valx et la forès resonance	Merveilleus son donna li cors.
A la vois del' cor moult sovant.	(<i>Gg.</i> , 352-3; cf. 416.)
(<i>Dol.</i> , 9215-27.)	

4. He comes to a beautiful fountain in which a *fée* is bathing :

Tant chivauche arrier et avant	Enz el chief de la lande entra ;
Par la forest a quelke painne,	Une fontaine illec trova
Qu'il s'anbat sor une fontainne,
Dont l'aigue cort et saine et bele	La fontaigne ert et clére et bele,
Blanche et nete sor la gravelle.	D'or et d'argent ert la gravele;
Lai trovait baignant une fée,	Une pucele s'i baingnoit,
De ces dras toute desnuee,
Toute seule, sanz compaignie.	Biaus membres ot et lons et plains:
Avenans fut et eschevie	El siecle n'a tant bele chose,
De bras et de cors et de vis;	Ne fleur de liz ne flor de rose,
Tot a .i. mot le vos devis,	Conme cele qui estoit nue.
Ains plus belle rien ne fu neie.	(<i>Gg.</i> , 421-33.)
(<i>Dol.</i> , 9228 ff.)	

5. The youth marvels at her beauty, and is smitten with love for her (cf. *Dol.*, 9240-5; and *Gg.*, 434-5, 490-1).

6. He determines to get control of her by stealing part or all of her apparel, which is on the shore near by, and he gets possession of it unobserved.

7. She dresses or is dressed in his presence.

8. He then begs her to grant him her love. She accepts his advances (cf. *Dol.*, 9260 ff., 9285-7; and *Gg.*, 492-502).

9. They accompany each other to a palace (in *Dol.*, to the knight's home; in *Gg.*, to the *fée's* castle). The hero and his *amie* are received with joy, and a great feast is held (cf. *Dol.*, 9293 ff.; and *Gg.*, 523-30).

There is evidently a striking resemblance between these two accounts. On the occasional agreement in rhymes and phraseology no stress need be laid. What is remarkable is that we have the same incidents recorded with very similar details in both cases. It is interesting to note also that, though we have not the intrigue of the queen and her repulse by the knight as an introduction to this specific story in the *Dolopathos*, still we have practically the same account in the introduction to the series of stories of which it forms a part. Indeed the only excuse given for the narration of the collection of stories in either the *Dolopathos* or *The Seven Sages* is found in the fact that the wife of the king plotted secretly to rid herself of the young heir to the throne, by whom she had been indignantly repulsed when she offered to become his *amie*.

The conclusion of the story in the *Dolopathos* is, however, wholly different from that in *Guingamor*. It is, in fact, an early version of the *Chevalier au Cygne* story—such an account as was worked over to make the first part of the long romance published by Reiffenberg, which deals with the adventures of Godefroy de Bouillon, the descendant of one of the children born to the hero and his wife the swan-maiden. Reiffenberg, who believed that the French version of the *Dolopathos*, with which we have been dealing, was to be dated 1260 (p. vii) puts it in the class of those “qui en présentent les faits essentiels d'une manière générale.” “Les personnages,” he adds, “n'y sont pas nommés, les idées chrétiennes ont disparu, et l'ermite qui élève le Chevalier au Cygne est remplacé par un philo-

sophe solitaire, la pieuse Béatrix par une fée." (Pp. xxi, xxii.) Now that we know that the French *Dolopathos* should be put about fifty years earlier than the date given it by Reiffenberg, the situation is considerably altered. Moreover, Herbert's *Dolopathos* is now known to be derived from a Latin prose version which may have been written anywhere between 1179 and 1212.¹ Clearly, then, our story in the *Dolopathos* was not produced by working over a version like that in the *Chevalier au Cygne*, but it represents a much more primitive form of the narrative.² Godefroy's name is not even mentioned in the Latin or the German version. It appears, however, in that of Herbert, for in his time the connection of the tale with Godefroy had become well established.

It will be observed then, that this story which so closely resembles a part of the *Guingamor* is an early and truly popular version of the swan-maiden story introduced by John of Alta Silva into the Oriental setting of the *Seven Sages* from popular tradition. With

¹ It is well known that Herbert's version is based upon the Latin prose *Dolopathos* of Johannes de Alta Silva, written between 1179 and 1212, and first published by Oesterley in 1873. Paris is of the opinion that Herbert used an amplified redaction made by the author himself (*Romania*, II, 500). At any rate, it is clear that while Herbert often indulges in digressions of his own, and regularly fills out descriptions of persons and places, in all essentials he follows his original without important variation. Of the Latin version we have also a faithful translation into German prose, preserved in a paper MS. of the fifteenth century in the Library of the University of Leipzig, and first published by Haupt and Hoffmann, *Altdutsche Blätter*, I, 128 ff. The author does not seem to have known Herbert's version, for in no case does he introduce any of the features in which the latter varies from his original. The German version seems, moreover, to have existed separately, not bound up with the other stories of the *Dolopathos*. It is preceded by two lines of verse and concludes with a passage of twelve lines, both intimately connected with the story, but, in the case of the latter at least, without any part exactly corresponding in the Latin. At first one is tempted to believe that this indicates that there was also an old German poem on the subject which the author of the prose version had before him; but this is a dangerous inference, and in all probability the passages in verse were merely added to give a sort of completeness to the story now taken out of its original setting.

² Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, II, 490. See also Todd, *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, pp. ii ff. (*Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, IV).

this account in mind we shall be better able to understand how certain features which could not have been original have found their way into a genuine version of the journey to the other world, such as we have seen to be well preserved in *Guingamor*. Let us first examine minutely the different accounts of the capture of the maiden bathing, which is the climax of the introduction and the object of all that precedes.

In the Latin we read: "Fontem reperit nymphamque in eo virginem catenam auream tenentem manu, nudaque membra lavantem conspicit. Cuius statim pulchritudine et amore captus, illa non presciente accurrit, catenamque, in qua virtus et operatio virginis constabat, auferens, ipsam nudam inter brachia de fonte repente levat." Here, then, we have a maiden alone in a forest bathing in a fountain, holding in her hand the golden chain in which lay all her power. She was a real swan-maiden, and when deprived of her chain was powerless — forced ever to remain in human form a captive. The hero seems to know this, and, dashing quickly forward, snatches the charmed chain from her as she stands in the water, and then carries her to the shore.

Herbert does not vary much from this account except in the fact that the knight is said to have found the chain lying on the bank, — a change which seems to have been made in deference to the tradition that swan-maidens always leave their garments on the bank when they bathe. He, however, does not fail to emphasize her real character as a swan-maiden (p. 320). As we have seen, John speaks of the chain: "in qua virtus et operatio virginis constabat." In Herbert's version we read:

En la chaigne fut sans doute
Sa vertu et sa force toute:
N'ot pooir de soi desfandre (p. 320);

while the German version puts it thus: "dor ynne sänderliche kraft ynne wass und planeten ynguss adder ynfloss."

In *Guingamor*, on the other hand, the lady of the fountain is, or ought to be, a genuine *fée*, of an entirely different nature from that of the swan-maiden. The author of the lay has not, however, been

able to keep her entirely distinct.¹ Confused by the resemblance she bears to the heroines of such stories as that in the *Dolopathos*, the poet introduces swan-maiden features which have no business there. He too represents his heroine as bathing in a fountain and as having left her garments on the shore when she entered the water. He too tells of the hero's anxiety to get immediate possession of them and of his success in so doing. But, of course, to have ascribed any unusual powers to these garments (considering the ending the story was to have) would have hopelessly muddled the reader, and the poet had to invent an excuse for the hero's action. The only reason now given is that the latter wanted to force the maiden to remain where she was until he came back from his search for his dog. The situation is therefore somewhat stupidly distorted. In the *Dolopathos* the hero, as soon as he sees the beautiful woman, "ses chiens oublie et sa mainie" (9243; cf. 9259, and *Gt.*, 217).

The author of *Guingamor*, however, though he has to some extent confused the *fée* princess with a swan-maiden, has not allowed this confusion to work any real change in her character or attributes. She is not, like the maiden in the *Dolopathos*, a weak, defenceless captive, but a queenly princess. She does not humbly accept a marriage forced upon her, but comes from a distant land solely to carry back the hero whom she loves, — not in the future to be a wife patiently enduring all sorts of indignities, but a proud supernatural mistress whose commands when not followed to the letter bring sorrow to him whose life even is in her hands.

In *Graelent*, and (to a less degree) in *Désiré* also, we have traces of similar confusion of the *fée* and the swan-maiden. In *Graelent*, as in *Guingamor*, the hero snatches away the clothes just as if their possession were of some moment. In *Dolopathos* we learn that "la damoiselle fu souprise" (9252), and that was true. In *Graelent* the *fée* (for such is now her nature) tells the hero: "Graelent, vus m'avés surprise" (300); but almost in the next breath she is made to say:

Pur vus ving-jou à la fontaine,
 Pur vus souferai-jou grant paine;
 Bien savoie ceste aventure (315 ff.),

¹ Cf. Landau, *Beitr. zur Gesch. der ital. Novelle*, 1875, p. 106, n., and Ahlström, *Studier*, p. 54, n.

and we see that the first remark is inconsistent with the true state of affairs described in the second. No *fée* was ever surprised; but no real swan-maiden was ever taken otherwise.

So in *Désiré*, while in reality the *fée* was evidently awaiting the young knight as in *Graelent* and *Lanval*, he too is described in the poem as getting possession of her by force. She tries to escape as soon as she sees him; but he succeeds in catching her. Once caught, it is she, of course, who commands.

Never is the *fée* slow to speak her mind. Compare with *Guingamor*, 445-52, the corresponding passage in *Graelent* (229-38). These passages present a significant agreement between these two poems. The words would, indeed, be little appropriate in the mouth of a swan-maiden.¹ As I have already said, the maiden in *Guingamor* and *Graelent* is in no way surprised by the knight's advent. She knows all about him — past and future — and is there on purpose to meet him. In *Guingamor* she invites him to her, bids him not to fear, and offers to shelter him, for he must be tired after his hunt, and he cannot get the dog or the boar without her aid. He must humbly agree to whatever she decrees, for she has the greatest power.²

If now we examine more closely the induction to the boar-hunt in *Guingamor*, we see at once that it has no inherent connection with the rest of the poem. It is evident that this story of the depravity of the wife in high station was originally extraneous to our account.

¹ In the Latin of John of Alta Silva the heroine is several times called a *nimpha*; in the French translation, Herbert, for want of a better word, calls her a *fée* (cf. Machault, *Prise d'Alexandrie*, 23-4); in the German we read, "dorümme werden sülche frowen wünschelwybere."

² The author of *Guingamor* provides his maiden at the fountain with an attendant. This feature is another witness to the genuine *fée* character of the princess. In the *Dolopathos* the heroine was "toute seule, sanz compaignie" (9235), and, of course, swan-maidens never had attendants. On the other hand those of the *fée* usually went in couples. It is interesting to see that in the concluding part of the poem the regular *two* attendants of the *fée* appear in order to carry *Guingamor* back to the other world. Of the poems *Guingamor*, *Graelent*, *Désiré*, and *Lanval*, the last-named is the only one which shows no trace of swan-maiden influence, the only one in which the beautiful maiden is indeed purely a *fée*.

We recognize immediately its similarity to the legend of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Gen. xxxix). Observe in particular, that the queen grasps Guingamor's mantle when he is leaving her in righteous indignation. In the poem, however, the point of the incident is lost. The queen, unlike Potiphar's wife, makes no use of the mantle.¹ She simply returns it by a messenger.

We have already observed (see pp. 288 ff.) certain agreements in incident, tone, and even the use of specific words between *Guingamor* and *Graelent*. It should be noted further that, while *Graelent* and *Lanval* deal with the same subject, *Graelent* is in some marked respects much more like *Guingamor* than like *Lanval*. *Guingamor* agrees with *Graelent* in that some swan-maiden features are introduced into the *fée* episode, and in that the meeting is brought about by the hero's undertaking a hunt, while in both this is preceded by his rejection of an amorous queen's proposals. In *Lanval*, on the other hand, the heroine in no way resembles a swan-maiden; there is no mention of a hunt, and the *fée* has already become the hero's *amie* before the queen makes her proposal. It seems, therefore, probable that the induction in *Guingamor*, and perhaps other features, are due to the influence of the *Graelent* saga.

If the author of *Guingamor* was, as is suggested, Marie de France, then the prefixing of this account is not remarkable. Marie doubtless knew the *Graelent* version of the story of which she has given us such a charming rendering in *Lanval*; but in the latter lay she wisely brought about the knight's meeting with the *fée* at the beginning of the poem so that his action later in the presence of the queen might be more satisfactorily explained. She doubtless deliberately chose this form for her *Lanval*; but there was no reason why she should not make use of the story of the intrigues of the queen to introduce a poem on Guingamor, and thus give a reason for the knight's undertaking the hunt. We remember that one of the lays we know to be hers opens in a similar way, though the introduction is there much shorter. Guigemar also was a youth who cared not for the love of women.

¹ See Ahlström, *Studier i den fornfranska Lais-litteraturen*, p. 53, n. 2.

De tant i out mespris nature
que unc de nule amur n'out cure.
Suz ciel n'out dame ne pucele,
ki tant par fust noble ne bele,
se il d'amer la requeïst,
que volentiers nel retenist.
Plusurs l'en requistrent suvent,
mais il n'aveit de ce talent;
nuls ne se pout aparceveir
que il volsist amur avoir. (57 ff.)

It certainly was not far from such an introduction to the well-known account of a special instance in which a youth refused the love of one of the women who had found his beauty irresistible.¹

There was, it is certain, a great fund of separate incidents circulating about, which were combined and recombined a hundred times to make up as many different lays. The skill of the author was shown in the combination of these separate elements, in the grace of his phraseology, and in the little details which he introduced to enliven his narrative and stimulate the imagination of his audience. When a writer of lays chose to write about a special hero, he picked out the incidents which he thought would form a harmonious combination and produce an effective poem. He usually kept close to tradition so far as the separate elements were concerned; but he gave himself free play in their fusion. Lays were doubtless written on all hands by all sorts of persons. In our own special lay we have important evidence of how they grew up. When in the evening the king returned from the chase and sat down to dinner, he and his companions in their glee told of the adventures of the day (143-4). When Guingamor gets lost in the forest and is inclined to give way to his dismay in the uninhabited castle, he comforts himself by thinking

Que tele aventure a trovée
Por raconter en sa contrée. (395-6.)

¹ Cf. Emil Schiött, *L'Amour et les Amoureux dans les Lais de Marie de France*, Lund, 1889.

When he sees his dog and the boar, he thinks with satisfaction of what will happen on his return to court:

Parlé en ert mes a toz dis,
Et molt en acuidra grant pris. (349-50.)

Indeed he learns later from the woodcutter that his adventure was in very truth long remembered and recounted (603 ff.). Then finally we are told how the peasant who carried the head of the boar to the king, "par trestout conte l'aventure" (671), and "mostrar la [la teste] fait a mainte feste" (674). Moreover, the king bade that a lay be made on the subject "por l'aventure recorder" (675).

All this reminds us of the significant passage in the beginning of the lay of *Tyolet* (23 ff.; *Rom.*, VIII, 42), which is probably a trustworthy account of the way in which the Breton lays were composed. The story in the *Dolopathos* was doubtless one of those which "mises estoient en latin," and we know that it was put "de latin en romanz" by Herbert. That it was translated into Latin, however, did not prevent the lay from living on in popular tradition, and Herbert in putting the Latin into French doubtless made use of oral accounts circulating among the people.

There were doubtless many versions of the story of the knight hunting in the woods, losing his dogs and companions, and coming in his loneliness upon a supernatural maiden, with whom he was induced to go away to live. That this account was in all probability a part of *Guingamor* from the beginning seems clear when we note the important reference to our hero in the continuation of the *Perceval* by Gaucher de Dourdan (Gautier de Douzens).

There we read of a swan bringing a dead knight to Arthur's court in a beautiful boat. The knight's name is given as *Brangemuer* (21,873). The maiden who accompanies him tells the king:

Sire, Guinganmer l'engenra
En une fée qu'il trova.
Bien avés oï aconter
Coment il çaça le sangler
Et com ma dame le retint;
Bien avés oï qu'il devint;
C'est la roïne Brangepart;
.

Mortuus estoit envers le père
Mais non pas, sire, envers la mère. (21,859 ff.)

His name is a combination of those of his parents :

Rois fu des illes de la mer ;
En une des illes estoit *
Û nus autres hom¹ n'abitoit,
De cele contrée estoit rois. (21,875 ff.)

The queen, his mother, would rejoice if his body were sent to her :

Ses gens l'atendent en cest mois,
Et saciés, quant s'en tornera,
Une grant merveille avenra. (21,880 ff.)

This precious reference shows clearly that the story of Guingamor's hunt and his going off to dwell with a supernatural princess who ruled over a land of bliss beyond our ken, was extremely well known in early times ; for the most casual reference sufficed to recall the whole story to the minds of Gaucher's readers. It may, indeed, be to our very lay that the poet alludes. It is true that there is nothing there said of the *fée* bearing a son to Guingamor; but that does not appear to be an original feature. Much more probably Gaucher (doing as many another romance-writer was in the habit of doing) merely recalled Guingamor as a well-known and popular romantic figure to give an assumed illustrious parentage to the knight whose story he was then so admirably telling, — probably having in mind at the same time some such case as that of the son of Ogier le Danois and the *fée*, who became eventually lord of the Isle of Avalon.²

Of course, it would be in no way extraordinary to have more than one lay on a given subject. Indeed, the contrary would be almost impossible. We have seen already how *Graelent* and *Lanval* tell the same story in different ways. Of *Milon* and *Doon*, Gaston Paris

¹ The Montpellier MS. has : *nus mortuez hom.*

² Note also that *Désiré* and his *amie* have a son and a daughter, both of whom are left in the land of mortals, and that the son is knighted by Arthur and remains at his court; although he is expected in the other world later.

says:¹ "La ressemblance exacte du fonds et la diversité de la forme de ces deux récits ne permettent pas assurément de les attribuer au même auteur." *Bisclavret* and *Guiron* exist alongside of *Mélion* and *Ignaurès*; *Tydorel* reminds us of *Désiré*. Lays that were popular were told everywhere, and it was perhaps only occasionally that a poet with talent managed to fix a specific version which he had heard by putting it in a form which commanded universal admiration and thus making it thenceforward the standard. There may very well have been another lay describing Guingamor's adventure; but it is not necessary to postulate it. We have in the extant lay all the essential features that are implied in Gaucher's reference.

We must not fail to observe in this connection how valuable this allusion is in showing the origin of much of the material in the Arthurian romances. It is perfectly clear that the romance-writers knew the Breton lays well and utilized them freely, not only in getting names for those who were to take part in their elaborate tournaments, but also by borrowing the incidents therein contained as a means of lengthening out their tales of adventure. This process probably went a great deal farther than we now-a-days are inclined to believe. There can be no doubt that of the hundreds of lays which must have been written but which unfortunately are now lost, there were many which told at length wonderful adventures of heroes whose names only are recorded in the extant romances. What should we have known of Guingamor's hunt and his life with the *fée* had not a kind fate preserved by chance the unique manuscript in which it is recorded, and impelled a modern scholar to rescue it from further danger by putting it in print?

In such stories as that of *Guingamor* Gaucher de Dourdan seems to have delighted. It does not take one long to discover that he had a special fondness for *fées*, for he loses no opportunity to make some reference to them. The highest compliment he pays his heroines is to say that they resemble *fées*, and the most beautiful castles are "fait par faërie."² Moreover, he repeats on different

¹ *Romania*, VIII, 60.

² See, for example, (I) 25,972, 28,656-7, 30,446-7, 31,264 (note), 32,055, 33,280; (II) 26,999, cf. 30,220 ff. Cf. the visit of Carados to the magic other-world castle

occasions the story of a valiant knight going off with a beautiful maiden whom he finds alone by a fountain, to dwell with her in happiness. Such an account is given of the knight of the Tomb by Garsalas, his half-brother (27,399 ff.). In one adventure, indeed, I think we may detect the direct influence of the lay of *Guingamor*: I refer to the story of Carmadit as told by Briot to Perceval (28,896 ff.), in which we have the boar-hunt, the enchanted castle, and the mysterious maiden who has long awaited the hero's coming. We need not, in fine, have the slightest doubt that the author of *Graelent* was entirely right in saying:

L'aventure du chevalier
Cum il s'en ala od sa mie
Fu par tute Bretagne oïe. (727 ff.)

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as told in *Perc.* 15,426 ff., and Gawain's meeting the beautiful *fée* combing her hair by the fountain, recorded in that part of the *Perc.* (31,605 ff.) describing the incidents leading to his adventures with *Li Petis Chevaliers*.

THE GERMAN HAMLET AND THE EARLIER ENGLISH VERSIONS.

THE German *Hamlet*,¹ distorted and debased though it is on the whole, has commanded the attention of critics by virtue of the abundant instances in which it is identical with Shakspeare's text. These instances are of particular interest in the task of reconstructing the Elizabethan interpretation of Hamlet's madness, which I lately undertook in an essay called *The Elizabethan Hamlet*.² Throughout the German play, Hamlet's madness, though conceived in a manner grotesquely comic, is expressed in scenes and speeches which have many points of identity with those we find in Shakspeare. For instance, Hamlet says to Ophelia, "Go to a nunnery, but not to a nunnery where two pairs of slippers lie at the bedside." In my essay I assumed that the German play, like Shakspeare's version, was derived from the earliest English *Hamlet*, which, though lost, is generally believed to have been written by Thomas Kyd; and I argued that the presentment of Hamlet's madness in the German version throws much light on the presentment in Shakspeare's source, the lost play. At least two critics of note, however, Professor Wilhelm Creizenach and Dr. Gustav Tanger, contend that the German *Hamlet* is a vulgarization of Shakspeare. In the absence of the earliest English play the controversy can never, perhaps, be settled with certainty. Yet I hope that a brief history of it, together with a word of comment, will go far toward warranting my assumption that the German play and Shakspeare's version have a common source, the lost English play.

I

As early as 1857 Bernhardy pronounced³ that "this German *Hamlet* is a weak copy of the old tragedy which preceded [Shak-

¹ *Der Bestrafte Brudermord; oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dänemark*. Translated in Furness's *Variorum Hamlet*, II, pp. 121-142.

² London (Elkin Mathews), 1895. ³ Furness, *Variorum Hamlet*, II, p. 116.

speres] quarto of 1603." Cohn, in his fascinating *Shakespeare in Germany* (1865) quotes this statement,¹ and remarks that the German play "approaches most nearly to that form of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* which we find in the quarto of 1603." Dyce, in his second edition (1866), agrees with Cohn that it "approaches more nearly [to the quarto of 1603] than . . . to later editions." Thus both Cohn and Dyce give tacit assent to Bernhardt's conclusion. Clark and Wright (1872), moreover, agree explicitly with Bernhardt: "It does not appear that the German playwright made use of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, or even of the play as represented in Q₁ [1603]. . . . It is probable that the German text, even in its present diluted form, may contain something of the older English play upon which Shakespeare worked."² These conclusions Dr. Latham strongly confirmed in *Two Dissertations upon Hamlet*,³ which appeared in book form in 1872. And Dr. Furness, after summarizing the foregoing opinions, concludes: In the German play "we have a translation of an old English tragedy, and most probably the one which is the groundwork of the quarto of 1603."⁴ This view all English critics have tacitly or explicitly accepted.

II

One fact, however, which Bernhardt pointed out as early as 1857 the English critics have never sufficiently explained. A number of passages common to the German version and to Shakspeare's second quarto are lacking in the first quarto. These Professor Creizenach makes the basis of an able and exhaustive argument to prove that the German version is not only a vulgarization of Shakspeare, but was derived from Shakspeare's play in its completed form.

These instances in which the German *Hamlet* agrees with the second quarto, and not with the first, are nineteen in number. Except for one fact they would show pretty conclusively that the German play was derived from the second quarto. This fact is that in many

¹ *Var.*, II, p. 116.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³ *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series, X.

⁴ *Var.*, II, p. 120.

other instances passages common to the German version and the first quarto are not forthcoming in the second quarto. In order to explain this, Creizenach is driven to assume that the German play was founded not on the second quarto, but on a playhouse version of it, now lost, which he denominates Y. This Y he supposes to have contained those peculiarities of both of the quartos which crop out in the German play. "Diese Annahme muss um so berechtigter erscheinen, da fast alle diejenigen, die sich bisher mit der Hamlet-Text-Frage beschäftigten, auch ganz ohne Rücksicht auf D [the German *Hamlet*] durch die blosse Betrachtung von A und B [the first and second quartos] auf ein solches Y als auf ein nothwendiges Postulat hingewiesen wurden."¹ Creizenach personally inclines to the belief² that this Y was, to all intents and purposes, the final stage version of Shakspeare's *Hamlet*.

Dr. Gustav Tanger contends³ that the assumption of such a Y as the source of the German version is not necessary. In his opinion, the German play was derived from the first quarto. His main addition to the argument is apropos of the following passage from Creizenach, concerning the ordering of the scenes in the various versions. "In the first quarto," says Creizenach⁴ "the scenes are ordered as follows: first the talk between Polonius and the King and Queen (lines 755 ff.); then Hamlet's monologue and his scene with Ophelia: the talk between Hamlet and Polonius does not come until after this. In the second quarto, on the other hand, the talk between Polonius and the King and Queen (act ii, sc. 2) is followed at once by the talk between Hamlet and Polonius; Hamlet's monologue and his scene with Ophelia come later (act iii, sc. 1). In the ordering of these scenes the first quarto agrees with the German play; but the fact signifies nothing, because the talk between Hamlet and Polonius, which in the second quarto precedes and in the first quarto follows Hamlet's scene with Ophelia, is lacking."

¹ *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-Historische Classe*, 1887, vol. I, p. 31.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38. See also *Shakespeare Jahrb.*, vol. XXIII, p. 242, for Tanger's report of a personal letter from Creizenach.

³ *Shakespeare Jahrb.*, vol. XXIII, p. 224.

⁴ Quoted by Tanger, *ibid.*, p. 227.

To disprove this last assertion Tanger invites attention to a wider view of the scenes.¹

In the second quarto the scenes occur as follows (act ii, sc. 2): (1) Polonius, King, Queen. (2) Hamlet and Polonius I ("Fishmonger"). (3) Hamlet, Rosencrans, and Guildenstern. (4) Hamlet, Rosencrans, Guildenstern, Polonius II ("Rossius"; Polonius announces the players). (5) Hamlet, Rosencrans, Guildenstern, Polonius, and the players. (6) Hamlet's Monologue I ("O what a rogue . . ."). (7) King, Queen, Polonius, Ophelia, Rosencrans, Guildenstern. (8) Hamlet's Monologue II ("To be or not to be . . ."). (9) Hamlet and Ophelia. (10) King and Polonius. (The King doubts Hamlet's madness and plans to send him to England. Polonius wants to test Hamlet farther.)

In the first quarto these scenes are arranged (lines 755 ff.): (1) Polonius, King, and Queen (Ophelia is present, but does not speak). (8) Hamlet's Monologue II ("To be or not to be." . . .). (9) Hamlet and Ophelia. (10) King and Polonius. (This scene is as in the second quarto, except that there is no mention of sending Hamlet to England.) (2) Hamlet and Polonius I ("Fishmonger"). (3) Hamlet, Rosencrans, and Guildenstern. (4) Hamlet, Rosencrans, Guildenstern, Polonius II ("Rossius"; Polonius announces the players). (5) Hamlet, Rosencrans, Guildenstern, Polonius, and the players. (6) Hamlet's Monologue I ("O what a rogue . . ."). (7) King, Queen, Polonius, Rosencrans, Guildenstern.

In the German play the few scenes which remain of this sequence are arranged as follows (act ii, sc. 2): (1) Polonius, King, Queen, and presently (sc. 3), as in the first quarto, Ophelia. (9) Hamlet and Ophelia. (10) King and Polonius. (The King doubts Hamlet's madness. As in the first quarto, he makes no mention of England.) (4) Hamlet, and Polonius, who announces the players. (5) Hamlet, Polonius, and the players.

From this simple tabulation it appears that whatever may have been the case with the language of the German version, its ordering of the scenes was here virtually identical with that of the first quarto.

The nineteen instances of identity, however, which Creizenach

¹ *Shakespeare Jahrb.*, XXIII, p. 227.

found between the German version and the second quarto, Tanger had still to account for. For example,¹ the German version, ii, 2 reads :

Corambus [Polonius]. Prince Hamlet is mad — ay, as mad as the Greek madman ever was.

King. And why is he mad?

Cor. Because he has lost his wits.

This passage, Creizenach points out, more closely resembles the corresponding passage in the second than that in the first quarto. To illustrate, the second quarto (ii, 2, 92) reads :

Your noble sonne is mad:
Mad call I it, for to define true madness
What ist but to be nothing else but mad.

In the first quarto, l. 757, we find merely :

Certaine it is that he is madde:
Mad let vs grant him then.

Tanger, however, remarks that in the German play the passage is followed by another feeble jest :

King. Where, pray, has he lost his wits?

Cor. *That I don't know. That may he know who has found them.*

This italicized speech, he thinks, was imported into the German play from the grave-diggers' scene in the first quarto (ll. 1926 *et seq.*), which does not otherwise appear there.

Ham. . . . how came he madde?

Clown. Ifaith very strangely, by loosing of his wittes.

Ham. *Vpon what ground?*

Clown. *A this ground, in Denmarke.*

Tanger concludes that the apparent similarity between the German play and the second quarto really arose from the confusion of two separate scenes in the first quarto. Such evidence, though ingenious as one could wish, can scarcely be called conclusive.

¹ *Shakespeare Jahrb.*, XXIII, p. 235. The translation is Furness's.

In other cases his procedure is even less sound.¹ In the second quarto (act i, sc. 5, l. 2):

My houre is almost come
When I to sulphrous and tormenting flames
Must render up my self.

In the German version, i, 5:

Ghost. Hear me, Hamlet, for the time draws near when I must betake myself again to the place whence I have come.

In the first quarto this speech is lacking; but Tanger ingeniously finds l. 493, "briefe let me be," and ll. 508 f.:

But soft, me thinkes
I sent the mornings ayre, briefe let me be.

"In this," Tanger says, "it is plainly shown that the ghost must soon depart. Whence? The German version says feebly and prosaically: 'to the place whence I have come.' If the German adapter had been rendering a phrase which appeals so strongly to popular belief as 'to sulphrous and tormenting flames,' would he have let it pass?" To this argument, though it might pass with the general reader, any one who has the least knowledge of German adaptations of English plays would deny the slightest weight. The most stirring Elizabethan phrases were stripped away or perverted to base associations—as we have already seen in the case of "To a nunnery go!"—in order to meet the popular taste for crude and bloody tales embellished with grotesque nonsense.

Two of the instances (15 and 17²) Tanger explains as mere coincidences; and even such methods leave three of them untouched. For instance, the German Ophelia, in that grotesque scene where, in her madness, she chases poor Phantasma (Osric) about the stage with loving demonstrations, ends by saying: "Look there! my little coach, my little coach."³ Now the Ophelia of the second quarto says: "Come, my coach";⁴ but the Ophelia of the first quarto says nothing of the kind. This, and the other two similar instances,

¹ *Shakespeare Jahrb.*, XXIII, p. 234.

² *Ibid.*, p. 238.

³ Act iii, sc. 9.

⁴ Act iv, sc. 5, l. 68.

Tanger explains by the following elaborate hypothesis: The original German version, being founded upon the garbled first quarto, must, like that quarto, have been full of gaps. This fact would of course have been patent later to any one familiar with the play as it was acted, or with the second quarto. Now players were constantly passing back and forth between England and Germany; and some one of them, distressed by the fact that the highly lady-like Ophelia of the German version should be without her coach, supplied the coach from his memory of the play, or of the second quarto!

Tanger's argument, in short, though it pretty clearly establishes the scene relationship between the German version and the first quarto, fails notably in explaining Creizenach's nineteen particular instances; and when Creizenach, in his learned and illuminating work, *Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten*,¹ still insists that the German version was founded upon Y, the playhouse copy of the perfect text of *Hamlet*, he is perhaps not to be blamed. Yet it is clear that neither of the two arguments as a whole, superlatively thorough and ingenious though both of them are, explains more than half of the difficulties involved. We are therefore forced to look about for a hypothesis which accounts for the scene relationship between the German play and the first quarto, and at the same time for these nineteen troublesome instances.

III

The only other possible way to account for the German *Hamlet* — setting aside, for the nonce, the ancient lost version — is to suppose that it proceeded from the playhouse copy of the first of two versions by Shakspeare, — that is, the playhouse copy of A, the first quarto. This playhouse copy would bear much the same relationship to the first quarto that Creizenach's Y bears to the second quarto. The absence from the first quarto of the nineteen passages that occur in both the German version and the second quarto would then be easily explainable by the fact that the first quarto, which was

¹ Berlin and Stuttgart, W. Speman [1889].

pirated, was badly garbled in the process. Tanger, to be sure, denies¹ that Shakspeare made more than a single new version of the ancient lost *Hamlet*. To refute his argument would carry me beyond my present limits, but a summary of the assumptions it involves will, perhaps, extenuate my omission. These are: (1) The pirates were so heedless and illiterate as to debase the noble scenes of Shakspeare into the more archaic form of the first quarto. (2) In the process of working over Shakspeare's lines, however, they became sufficiently careful and lettered to compose in a partly Shaksperian vein not only the speeches and rhymed tags that do not turn up in the second quarto, but also the entire scene between the Queen and Horatio, which presents her in a radically different light from that in which she appears in the second quarto. (3) The pirates were so careless again as to transpose Hamlet's soliloquy and scene with Ophelia in the manner already detailed (p. 248); and so careful again as to transpose the passage in a way to make the action consecutive. When Tanger read his paper before the Shaksperian Society, Dr. Furnivall, having warmly praised its painstaking care, commented:² "The way in which Dr. Tanger jumps the fences in the way of his theory excites my wonder. . . . It's steeple chasing rather than steady going in the path of criticism." Dr. B. Nicholson likened it to *Punch*. The fact that such critics, and in fact all leading English scholars down to Mr. Israel Gollancz of the *Temple Shakspeare*,³ discountenance all of Tanger's conclusions with regard to the *Hamlet* versions would perhaps not be sufficient reason for doing likewise. Yet ignoring for the moment his account of the proceedings of the pirates, his main theory is not tenable until he has explained more satisfactorily Creizenach's nineteen passages; and this, as we have seen, he has failed notably to do. The conclusion is pretty plain that, granting the German version to have been founded upon any form of Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, it was founded upon the playhouse copy of his first version.

¹ *New Shak. Soc. Trans.*, 1880-86, pp. 109-202.

² *Ibid.*, p. 199.

³ *Hamlet*, p. 9.

IV

We are now at liberty to review Creizenach's and Tanger's reasons for rejecting the only remaining hypothesis, namely, that the German *Hamlet* was derived from the pre-Shaksperian *Hamlet*, now lost.

Creizenach's refutation of the minor arguments in favor of a derivation from the lost play opens with the following remarkable statement:¹ "Denn falls dieser ältere Hamlet *nicht* Shakespeares Werk wäre, hätte Shakespeare ein schamloses und doch von keinem seiner Zeitgenossen gerügtes Plagiat begangen; sein unbekannter Vorgänger wäre einer der grössten Dichter gewesen. Die ganze Art, wie der Stoff in die dramatische Kunstform gebannt ist, eine Fülle von Einzelheiten, die von jeher von den Kritikern als Offenbarungen der höchsten künstlerischen Weisheit bewundert wurden und von Redewendungen, die uns entgegenrufen 'Ich bin Shakespeares' wären alsdann, wie aus den entstellten Trümmern in D deutlich hervorgeht, dem Anonymus zuzuschreiben." How Creizenach, basing his judgment upon the "entstellten Trümmer in D" is able to give so favorable a judgment, or, in fact, any judgment as to "die ganze Art, wie der Stoff in die dramatische Kunstform gebannt ist," he does not trouble to enlighten us. As for the statement that in working over an older play by another author, however excellent the play may have been in parts, Shakspeare committed "ein schamloses und doch von keinem seiner Zeitgenossen gerügtes Plagiat," it makes one sigh for the liberty of speech of Dr. Furnivall and Dr. B. Nicholson. The sober fact is that all but two of Shakspeare's plays are known to be based upon some previous play, novel, or history. For an Elizabethan playwright to appropriate the plot and even the language of a predecessor was as much a matter of course as for a scholar nowadays to base his studies on the results of a previous worker in the same field.

The fact that the German *Hamlet* has a Senecan prologue in which *Night and the Furies* broach the argument, such as an early English *Hamlet* would have been very likely to have, Creizenach explains² from his deep and thorough knowledge of the German drama. Such

¹ *Berichte, etc.*, pp. 23, 24.

Ibid., p. 25.

prologues were only less common on the German stage than on the English, and Creizenach argues ingeniously that this prologue was adapted from a contemporary German play. Yet he ignores one important fact, which Bernhardt pointed out,¹ namely, that this special prologue contains harsh, un-German constructions, savoring of translation. This fact has of late received emphasis from Gregor Sarrazin's learned, acute, and, in the main, convincing essay in historical reconstruction, *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*.² Sarrazin shows with all but finality that the date of the lost *Hamlet* is 1588, and that Kyd wrote it. He makes evident incidentally that Kyd was uncommonly learned among the Elizabethan playwrights, and that in his plays a more or less Senecan influence is everywhere discernible. Now even before Sarrazin's essay appeared, critics, noticing that the German prologue is distinctly superior to the rest of the play, likened it to Kyd's prologue in which the Ghost of Andrea and Revenge present the argument; and Sarrazin brings out many other instances in which the old *Hamlet* was a companion-piece to *The Spanish Tragedy*. In view of such evidence as this, Creizenach's statement that in Germany prologues were often adapted from one play to another is far from conclusive. Upon the question of the "Fülle von Einzelheiten die von . . . den Kritikern . . . bewundert wurden," Sarrazin's conclusions are significant. Kyd was no nameless poet, but one of the best of the early Elizabethan dramatists. As for the imputed plagiarism, Kyd had been dead some years when Shakspeare took the play in hand; and the play itself was doubtless the property of Shakspeare's company.

A number of minor³ points brought out by Latham, moreover, to which Creizenach does not even refer, gain weight from this essay of Sarrazin's. (1) In the *dramatis personae* of the German play "the males and females [are] mixed together, instead of the females being arranged by themselves at the end of the list; and the order [is] less regulated by the rank of the interlocutors than by the order in which they appear on the stage; though this is not adhered to with the strictness of the classical drama." This fact, Latham points out, indicates a more ancient origin than Shakspeare's first quarto. Turn-

¹ *Var.*, II, p. 117.

² Berlin, 1892.

³ *Var.*, II, pp. 118, 119.

ing now to the *dramatis personae* of *The Spanish Tragedy*, we find that though the women are printed at the end, the men are in the main arranged, as in the German *Hamlet*, in the order in which they appear. (2) Hamlet says to Corambus (Polonius): "When Marus Russig was a comedian in Rome, what a fine time that was!" Latham submits that Marus Russig is a German corruption for *Amerinus Roscius*, that is, *Sextus Roscius Amerinus*. The actor Roscius was surnamed *Gallus*; but to confuse the two Roscii was not unnatural, especially as Cicero delivered an oration in defence of each. This blunder, Latham argues, "requires as much scholarship to commit as to avoid," and certainly does not savor of the vulgar German adapters. In the first quarto we find simply "Rossius." The inference is that the blunder was made by the author of the lost play — Thomas Kyd. (3) The passage where Prince Hamlet befools Phantasma (Osric) about the heat and cold is in a like predicament; it resembles the source of the jest, Juvenal, more closely than the similar passage in either quarto. The Bragart Gentleman (Osric) in the first quarto merely answers: "It is, indeede very rawish colde . . . very swoltery hote," and proceeds to his errand. In the second quarto, where the corresponding passage is virtually identical, all stage direction, elsewhere abundant, is lacking. In the German version we find:

Ham. . . . See here, Signora [sic] Phantasma, it is terribly cold.

Phan. Ay, ay, it is terribly cold. [*His teeth chatter.*]

Ham. It is not so cold now as it was.

Phan. Ay, ay, it is just the happy medium.

Ham. But now it is very hot. [*Wipes his face.*]

Phan. Oh, what a terrible heat! [*Also wipes away the perspiration.*]

Ham. And now it is neither really hot, nor really cold.

Phan. Yes, it is now just temperate [*temperirt*].

This is by far the most literal rendering of Juvenal's satire (III, 100):

. . . igniculum brumae si tempore poscas,
Accipit endromidem ; si dixeris, aestuo, sudat.

Creizenach's explanation of the fact that particular beauties of Shakspeare fail to crop out in the German play — which oddly

enough treads on the heels of his eulogy of the dramatic structure and poetic diction exhibited in its distorted ruins — is founded upon the well-known fact that in the German versions of Dekker's *Fortunatus*, Marlowe's *Faust*, and Shakspeare's *Romeo and Merchant*, the poetic diction and richness of thought are as little evident as they are in the German Hamlet. This argument is conclusive on the question immediately in hand, but it points, nevertheless, to a fact which makes strongly against Creizenach's general contention: For the purposes of the wandering comedians the old melodrama of blood would have been more adaptable than Shakspeare's refined tragedy.

That this earlier version was in fact exported is suggested by the history of the only phrase of it remaining: "Hamlet, revenge!" This phrase, we are told,¹ the old ghost "cried like an oisterwife." Shakspeare elevated it² into that sphere of poetic dignity which the Germans despised:

Ghost. If ever thou didst thy dear father love —

Ham. O God!

Ghost. Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder.

Now, in the brief German scene the word *revenge* occurs three times to Shakspeare's twice, and is given the position of distinction as the last word the ghost utters. This treatment is exactly what we should have expected from the "oisterwife" ghost. In Shakspeare's treatment the mention of revenge comes at the outset, and the climax of the revengeful emotion is reached through the restrained and stately eloquence of the ghost.

All this indicates, though it may not prove, that the German version was derived from the lost play. If, now, it were so derived, we might expect to discover in it some peculiar trace not in either quarto of the Belleforest prose *Hystorie of Hamblet*, upon which Kyd based his play. In the fifth scene of the third act Prince Hamlet says to his mother: ³ "Do you weep? Ah, leave off; they are mere crocodile's tears [Crocodillsthränen]." This reads like a right Elizabethan version of Belleforest's "*sous le fard d'un pleur dissimulé vous*

¹ Lodge's *Wits Miserie*, 1596. See *Var.*, II, pp. 9-11.

² Act i, sc. 5, l. 25.

³ Pointed out by Creizenach, *Berichte*, etc., p. 30.

couvriez l'acte le plus misérable," an expression which he derived from Saxo Grammaticus. Shakspeare's quartos are the first versions of *Hamlet* in which there is no mention of weeping. Instead, we find some of Shakspeare's most vigorous phrasing: "an act That blurs the grace and blush of modesty," etc. This point of identity between the German play and the two prose versions of *Hamlet*, Creizenach, and after him Tanger, attribute to mere accident. To my mind it is evidence, and, in view of the Elizabethan phrasing of the German passage, strong evidence, that the German play was founded on Kyd's *Hamlet*.

All these minor arguments, or as many of them as he was in a position to consider, Creizenach waved aside as beneath respect. With regard to Latham's main bit of evidence, however, he shows some compunction. This evidence is Hamlet's allusion to Portugal in the German play:¹

King. We have resolved to send you to England. . . .

Ham. Ay, ay, King; just send me off to Portugal, so that I may never come back again. That's the best.

This, as Dr. Latham points out,² is a pretty plain allusion to Drake's famous attempt against Portugal in 1589, which, intended as a counter expedition to the Armada, resulted almost as disastrously as the Armada had done. Over half of the soldiers engaged—eleven out of twenty-one thousand—and more than two-thirds of the gentlemen who accompanied the expedition—seven hundred and fifty out of eleven hundred—"never came back again." In order to conceal this misfortune various false reports were circulated, but the truth eventually became known. That Kyd would have been likely to allude to the expedition is beyond question. In *The Spanish Tragedy*, of which the first *Hamlet* was no doubt the companion-piece, the pantomime of the ten English Knights in Portugal and Spain must refer either to this expedition or to the plundering of Cadiz in 1587.

This allusion to Portugal, Creizenach is forced to admit, would deserve full respect "if it occurred in connection with other argu-

¹ Act iii, sc. 10.

² *Var.*, II, p. 119.

ments." He conjectures uneasily that an historian of Continental Europe in the seventeenth century would be able to cite the event to which it refers; for instance, the wars between Holland and Portugal which lasted from 1580 to 1669.¹ In this case the comedians must have inserted the allusion during one of their many wanderings, in order to please a Dutch audience.

Tanger, however, though he finds himself quite ready to accept² Creizenach's statement that this bit of evidence is solitary, checks at his explanation.³ He argues sensibly enough that the German comedians were too clumsy to make historical allusions, and generally preferred to tell their anecdotes in detail. Nevertheless he permits himself to conjecture: "Vielleicht war für die Zeit der Abfassung des 'Brudermordes' [the German play] mit Portugal, wie heute etwa mit dem Pfefferlande, die Idee einer völligen, unwiderrufflichen Trennung (resp. Nimmerwiederkehr) verbunden; es verlohnte sich wohl in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Literatur darauf zu achten."⁴ If such allusions are not forthcoming, Tanger is for explaining the passage by the supposition that it is one of the many instances where Hamlet "nur 'simuliert.'" ⁵

Here again Creizenach is unable to accept Tanger's suggestions.⁶ He repeats his suggestion that the allusion is not to Drake's unfortunate expedition, but to some event in the Dutch-Portuguese wars; yet lest we should be incredulous, he offers an alternative. Granting that the allusion is to Drake, he conjectures that the English players inserted it in his Y. "Als Shakespeares Hamlet ca. 1600 die Bretter betrat, war das Ereignis allerdings bereits über 11 Jahre alt, aber doch wohl noch im Gedächtnis des Londoner Publikums lebendig genug, um dem Schauspieler zu einem Hinweis darauf Anlass geben zu können." In other words, the players, having neglected to allude to Drake's expedition in due season, corrected their error when he had been dead four years.

Two remarks in this discussion, however, stand luminously forth. The first is that German actors were too clumsy for allusions of this

¹ *Berichte, etc.*, p. 28.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 229-30.

² *Jahrb.*, p. 228.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁶ *Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten*, pp. 136-7.

sort; the second that Hamlet's reference to Portugal bears the air of assumed madness. In other words, long after the quick comedians of London had abandoned the allusion, the Germans, to whom it meant nonsense, retained it as such.

This case in favor of the lost play, it must be admitted, is not final. Yet considering how small our base of operations is, it is not so bad. Even with large portions of the texts they championed before them, both Creizenach and Tanger have failed to avoid grave difficulties. If the text of the lost play were forthcoming, the case in favor of it could scarcely fail to be immeasurably strengthened. And such as the case is, it stands almost as clearly in the way of the playhouse version of the first quarto as it stands in the way of Tanger's A (the first quarto) and Creizenach's Y. It cannot be made complete, however, without explaining how a drama which was probably never printed could find its way to Germany. In order to do this we shall have to consider the circumstances under which actors travelled abroad.

That Elizabethan actors were driven to Germany by poverty, consequent upon the overcrowding of the London stage, Cohn¹ has made pretty clear by documentary evidence. The following petition,² moreover, to Edward Allyn, the famous player and manager,—which seems to have been granted,—shows that the comedians departed with the aid and best wishes of their more fortunate fellows:

Mr. Allen, — . . . Sir, this it is, I am to go over beyond the seas wth Mr. Browne and the company. . . . I have a sute of clothes and a cloke at pane for three pound, and if it shall pleas you to lend me so much to release them, I shall be bound to pray for you so longe as I leve; for I go over, and have no clothes, I shall not be esteemed of; . . . hear I get nothinge: some tymes I have a shillinge a day, and some tymes nothinge. . . .

Yor poor frend to command,

RICHARD JONES.

The favor here asked is certainly of more moment than the loan of a play to be debased and distorted in a far distant country.

¹ *Shakespeare in Germany* by Albert Cohn, 1865.

² *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

The date of Jones's passport is "X^{me} jour de Febvrier, 1591," and Cohn adduces abundant evidence¹ that as early as 1586, which is two years before the probable date of the lost play, actors, and among them "at least one or two who attained a prominent position on the London stage," Thomas Pope and George Bryan, were installed in Germany. In a decree dating from the year 1586, Christian the First, Elector of Saxony, declares that, among others, Pope and Bryan, having been "a long time with the Royal Dignity of Denmark," are "appointed and received" in his service (p. xxv). These men, Cohn tells us (p. xxiii), were not only "acquainted with Shakespeare, but also stood on an intimate footing with him." In such a state of affairs, any play which was the property of Shakspeare's company might easily have been carried across and adapted to the German taste.

V

The history of the *Hamlet* versions would then be as follows: From Kyd's original play were derived two versions, — the earliest German *Hamlet* and Shakspeare's first version. Both of these are lost. In place of the first German version we have its debased and distorted descendant; and instead of Shakspeare's first version we have the garbled piratical quarto of 1603. This first version Shakspeare rewrote, producing that form of the play which was printed "according to the true and perfect coppie" in the quarto of 1604. This is our best text of *Hamlet*. The folio edition, which gives many various readings, does not concern the present discussion. This theory explains all the "instances" brought forward by Creizenach, as well as the scenic relationship established by Tanger, without violating any intrinsic probability.

JOHN CORBIN.

¹ *Shakespeare in Germany*, pp. xxii et seq.

NOTES ON THE ANGLO-SAXON RIDDLES.

No. XII.

DIETRICH (Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, XI, 463) traces this riddle to Aldhelm's *De nocte* (*Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 270). Outside of the phrases 'caerula,' 'nigrantem corpore,' and 'gremio fusco,' which may be said to correspond to 'hasofág,' there is no similarity between the Anglo-Saxon riddle and Aldhelm's.

Trautmann's solution "wine" (*Anglia, Beiblatt*, V, 48) has much in its favor. There are several correspondences between this riddle and no. 28, the answer to which is undoubtedly "wine." No. 12, l. 10 is almost identical with no. 28, l. 12; 12, 6^b is similar to 28, 13^a; cf. also 12, 7^a and 28, 17^a. As for 12, 10 and 28, 12, it may be said, however, that the same line occurs in *Juliana* (l. 120) and a similar line occurs in *Elene* (l. 516). This makes it very probable that the line was not the creation of any one poet, but belonged to the common stock of epic formulæ. The other correspondences are of little importance.

I should like to suggest the solution "gold." The first two lines would fit admirably (as to 'hasofág,' cf. Grein's *Sprachschatz*, II, 14). Ll. 3-8, though at first sight favoring Trautmann's solution, may well be taken to describe the pernicious effect of gold and the love of gold upon the mind of man. Cf. 1 *Tim.* vi, 9, 10: "But they that will be rich fall . . . into many foolish and hurtful lusts" ('dole hwette unrædsfðas').

L. 9, 'héah' refers to God; 'horda déorast,' "the dearest of treasures," is the Word of God or the heavenly kingdom. This phrase seems to be a disguised antithesis to the other treasure, which is not 'déorast,' but a fictitious treasure, *i.e.*, gold.

No. XVI.

Dietrich (Haupt, XI, 465) proposes the solution "badger," A.-S. 'bróc,' which is accepted by Prehn and others. Trautmann, in his

list of answers to the riddles (*Anglia, Beiblatt*, V, 46-51), puts a question-mark after Dietrich's solution.

There are two points in this riddle which do not fit the description of the badger: the neck, or throat ('hals'), of the badger is not white, nor is he a swift-footed animal. (For a description of the badger, cf. Bell, *British Quadrupeds*, p. 128, and Brehm, *Thierleben*, I, 268.) Now, as the badger is a common animal in England, we may assume that his appearance and habits were well known to the Anglo-Saxons. It is not likely, therefore, that the poet should have made two serious mistakes in the description of this animal.

I should like to propose the solution "porcupine." This animal, though not found in England in a wild state, was known to the Anglo-Saxons by the name of 'se mára igil,' *i.e.*, "the larger hedgehog." The name occurs in Ælfric's glossary. Cf. also Bosworth-Toller, s. v. *igil*. The porcupine is, generally speaking, not a swift animal, but it is said to run with considerable speed at night. L. 1^a is very appropriate, as the animal has a white stripe round the throat. Cf. Brehm, *Thierleben*, I, 475 f. As regards ll. 3^b and 4^a, it might be urged that they cannot refer to the porcupine, as its spines do not resemble the bristles of swine. The Anglo-Saxon, however, as his language shows, did recognize a resemblance: the word 'byrst' is used not only of the bristles of swine but of the spines of the hedgehog (see Bosworth-Toller, s. v. *igil*; cf. also the corresponding usage of the Latin *seta* and the traditional derivation of *ῥοστρίξ*), and if used of the latter, there is no reason why it should not have been used of the spines of the porcupine; hence it may well be said of the porcupine that it has 'hér swylce súe.'¹ Ll. 6-23 contain no contradiction, as the old-world porcupine is terrestrial and fossorial.

In l. 28, 'hildepflum,' which occurs again in no. 18, l. 6, refers to a weapon which is thrown. I believe this line contains an allusion to the fabulous mode of defence, the "shooting" of quills, which the porcupine is said to practice when attacked. This was known to Pliny and has long been a popular belief: "Hystrices generat India

¹ I accept Grein's emendation of l. 4, as there can be little doubt of its correctness.

et Africa spinis contactas ceu irenaceorum genere, sed hystrici longiores aculei et, cum intendit cutem, missiles. Ora urguentium figit canum et paulo longius iaculatur." (*Hist. Nat.*, viii, 35, 53.)

No. XXVI.

Bouterwek proposed the solution "hemp" (Cædmon, I, 310 f.). Dietrich, in his first article on the Anglo-Saxon riddles (Haupt, XI, 467), pointed out that this solution fails to explain the closing half-line, 'wæt bið þæt éage.' He proposed "onion" or "leek," and paraphrased 'fégeð mec on fæsten' in l. 9, "she puts me into her mouth." In his second article, however (Haupt, XII, 240, n. 12), Dietrich accepted Bouterwek's answer "hemp" after Lange had explained the difficult phrase in the last half-line. Ll. 9^b-11 are made to mean "the hemp is pressed between the fingers of the spinner"; the "wet eye" is the small hole at the upper end of the spindle which is moistened by the wet fingers.

This explanation, far-fetched and artificial as it is, cannot be correct. Trautmann (*Anglia, Beiblatt*, V, 49) proposes the answer "hip," the fruit of the wild rosebush, but does not discuss the riddle.

The simplest, and what I consider the correct solution, is "mustard." One of the most striking qualities of this plant is its pungency, affecting the eyes; cf. the derivation of *σίναπις*, — ὅτι σίβεται τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς ἐν τῇ ὀσμῇ.¹ A riddle on the mustard in Simrock's *Deutsches Rätselbuch*, II, 84, brings out the same characteristic: "In meines Vaters Garten stehen viele kleine Männchen, und wenn du ihnen den Hut abnimmst, musst du weinen."

If we now read the riddle with this answer in mind, it is easily intelligible. L. 3^b refers to the person picking the mustard, as Dietrich has pointed out (Haupt, XI, 467); ll. 4-5^a refer to the tall mustard plant standing in the garden-bed; ll. 7-11: "the woman who dares to seize me, who tears off my head and presses me (l. 9, 'fégeð mec on fæsten,' l. 10^b, 'mec nearwað'), will have to suffer for it: tears will start to her eyes ('wæt bið þæt éage')."

¹ Pape, *Griech.-Deutsch. Handwörterbuch*, s.v. *σίναπις*.

No. XXX.

"The being which carries booty between its horns is the moon," says Dietrich. The well-known pursuer is the sun, the booty is the light which the moon steals from the sun at the time of a solar eclipse, but which she has to yield up again to the pursuing sun. In support of this Dietrich quotes the A.-S. *Metra* of Boethius, iv, 10.

Dietrich's solution was doubtless suggested by the phrases 'hornum bitwéonum' in l. 2 and 'lyftfæt léohtlíc' in l. 3: It finds no justification in any other part of the riddle.

Trautmann (*Anglia, Beiblatt*, V, 49) proposes "swallow and sparrow." Assuming that the 'wiht' in l. 1 is the swallow, while the 'wundorlícu wiht' in l. 7 refers to the sparrow, we should have to conclude that the swallow is deprived of its booty and driven off by the sparrow. This hardly corresponds to facts. It is well known that the sparrow will sometimes drive the swallow out of its nest (cf. Brehm, *Thierleben*, II, 193), but as the latter is so much swifter than the former, it would be impossible for the sparrow to overtake the swallow and deprive it of its prey. This solution, moreover, fails to explain ll. 12-13^a.

I should like to propose the answer "cloud and wind." L. 2, 'hornum bitwéonum,' is a poetical expression referring to the form of the cloud; 'húðe' is the moisture. L. 3, 'lyftfæt léohtlíc,' admirably expresses the idea of a cloud moving in the sky; 'léohtlíc' is an epithet not inappropriate even for a rain-cloud. Ll. 5 and 6 express poetically that the cloud wished to rest above the castle. In l. 7 the wind appears above the top of the wall. The emphatic statement in l. 8 compels us to assume a force of nature which alone may truly be called 'eallum cúð eorðbúendum.' Ll. 9 and 10: the wind snatches away the booty and drives the wandering cloud home, then departs for the west still keeping up hostilities ('gewát hyre west þonan fæhðum féran'). L. 12 expresses the result of this feud between wind and cloud: dust rises and rain falls ('déaw' poetically used for rain); then night comes on (this makes the disappearance of the wind all the more mysterious) and no man knows anything about the journey of the wind. This last idea reminds us of John iii, 8.

No. XLVI.

In connection with this riddle it may be well to bear in mind Simrock's characterization of a certain class of German riddles (*Nachrede zum deutschen Rätselbuch*, p. 110). Dietrich first suggested the solution "key," but decided at last in favor of "sheath." The latter is clearly impossible, as it fails to explain ll. 4, 5^a. The former is adopted by Trautmann. Grein, *Bibliothek*, III, 14, translates 'hangelle' by "pendulum" and adds in parenthesis "mentula." What I believe to be the correct answer was suggested to me by F. Liebrecht's article in *Germania*, XXXII, 498; cf. also *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1875, p. 474. It is a combination of Trautmann's and Grein's solutions.

No. LIII.

Dietrich (Haupt, XI, 476) explains the two 'ræpingas' as two buckets suspended by a rope from the shoulders of a female slave. According to l. 5, however, the woman is nearer to one of the 'ræpingas' than to the other; therefore Grein (*Germania*, X, 308) modified Dietrich's answer by making 'ræced' refer to the well into which the buckets are lowered, the one coming up as the other goes down. It seems to me far-fetched to make 'ræced under hróf sales' refer to a well. I believe these words must refer to a house.

Trautmann first suggested "broom" (*Anglia, Beiblatt*, V, 50); later he proposed "flail" (*Anglia*, XVII, 396 ff). The two captives ('ræpingas') are the handle and the swingle of the flail, which are united by means of a thong ('gefeterade fæste tógædre'). The 'worfáh Wale' is the woman who threshes. Trautmann's explanation of ll. 1 and 2 is very peculiar. He construes 'ræced' (l. 1) as dative without ending and takes 'under hróf sales' literally, *i.e.*, the flail is raised up to the roof of the barn ("der dreschflegel wird beim dreschen buchstäblich unter dach, unter das dach der scheune, geführt"). According to this explanation ll. 1 and 2 have to be translated: "I saw two captives in the house being raised up to the roof of the hall."

While Trautmann's solution well fits ll. 3-7, it does violence to ll. 1 and 2. In the first place it spoils the parallelism in ll. 1^b and

2^a. The parallelism in ll. 3^a and 4^a, 'genumne' and 'gefeterade' Trautmann is very careful to restore, as it favors his solution. Secondly, since the roof of the barn is so much higher than the flail even when raised, it seems to me very forced to say, "der dreschflegel wird buchstäblich unter das dach der scheune geführt."

I should like to propose the answer, "a yoke of oxen led into the barn or house by a female slave." This solution renders unnecessary the juggling with the construction in ll. 1 and 2; it is equally applicable whether we accept Thorpe's emendation 'genumne' in l. 3 or whether we take the manuscript reading 'genamne' (O. H. G., 'ganamno') "having the same name" (cf. Grein, *Sprachschatz*, I, 433). The oxen are called 'rápingas' because the yoke was often lashed to the horns by means of ropes or thongs. The house into which the oxen are led is assumed to be one of that type, still common in Northern Germany, which comprises barn and living rooms under one roof (cf. Henning, *Das deutsche Haus, Quellen und Forschungen*, No. 47, p. 26).

No. LXXIII.

Dietrich (Haupt, XI, 482) does not know what to do with this riddle. He calls attention to Aldhelm's riddle "de loligine" (*Opera*, ed. Giles, I, 18, p. 251) in which the Anglo-Saxon 'fléah mid fuglum' is expressed by the words *cum volucrum turma quoque scando per aethera pennis*. His explanation of this line is very curious: "The cuttle-fish reaches the air only as product, viz., as ink on the pen." In his second article Dietrich says that nothing is as yet known about the solution (Haupt, XII, 248, note 16).

I believe that this riddle is based upon Aldhelm's "De loligine," and that the answer is "the cuttle-fish." The clue to it we find in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ix, 29, 45: "lorigo etiam volitat extra aquam se efferens sagittae modo." A little later (*Hist. Nat.*, l. c.) we read: "ambo autem [sc. loligo et saepiae] ubi sensere se apprehendi effuso atramento quod pro sanguine his est infuscata aqua absconduntur."

The first quotation throws light on l. 3^a, 'fléah mid fuglum,' the second on l. 4, 'déaf under fyðe déad mid fiscum.' Brehm¹ states

¹ *Thierleben*, III, 716.

furthermore, that the octopoda, which belong to the same family as the cuttle-fish, usually live near the shore and are able to move rapidly on land. This would explain l. 5^a, 'on foldan stóp.'

As regards ll. 1 and 2, I am unable to find any authority attributing to the cuttle-fish double sex. Hermaphroditic animals were, however, not unknown to mediaeval science; cf. Dietrich's quotations from *Adrianus and Ritheus* (Haupt, XI, 482). Pliny's observations on certain kinds of fish might also be mentioned: "piscium feminae maiores quam mares, in quodam genere omnino non sunt mares, sicut erythinis et channis, omnes enim ovis gravidæ capiuntur" (*Hist. Nat.*, ix, 16, 23). In view of such science there is nothing improbable in the assumption that there existed a belief attributing double sex to the cuttle-fish.

It is, therefore, highly probable that the poet, who displays his knowledge of Latin on so many occasions, supplemented and modified Aldhelm's riddle with information drawn from Pliny and other sources.

No. LXXVIII.

Dietrich proposed "falcon." This answer does not explain the riddle. L. 8^a, 'herges on ende,' points to a military expedition rather than to a troop of hunters. L. 8^b, 'heard is mfn tunge,' would not be appropriate if referring to the falcon. Ll. 9-10^a clearly express that the object deals out rewards to the singer and not, as Dietrich states, that it is itself given as a reward.

The object must be some kind of weapon. Trautmann suggests "spear." I should like to propose "sword."

L. 1, 'eaxl-gestealla,' "shoulder companion," "bosom friend," is used of those members of the *comitatus* who are nearest to the leader (cf. *Béow.*, 1326, 1714). Now, if we remember the intimate, we might say personal, relations existing between the Germanic hero and his sword, relations which are dwelt upon again and again in the ancient epic poetry of the Germanic races, we cannot help seeing in the 'eaxl-gestealla' the dearest companion of the man, *viz.*, the sword. The objection that a literal translation of the Anglo-Saxon would favor the answer "spear," loses its force in view of the fact that the literal meaning of Anglo-Saxon compounds is apt to fade

and to be replaced by a more general meaning. L. 6 refers to the wooden sheath. This explanation is certainly less forced than to make 'þæt on bearwe gewéox' refer to the wooden shaft of a lance. L. 8, the "hard tongue" is the point of the sword. This, too, seems to me less forced than to assume that the poet would have called the head of the lance 'heard tunge.' Ll. 9 and 10 do not decide definitely in favor of either sword or spear. Both weapons were used for presenting gifts. In the *Hildebrandslied* (l. 37), Hildebrand places rings on his spear to present them to his opponent, while in the *Nibelungenlied*, Hagen makes use of his sword to offer rings to the ferryman (ed. Zarncke, st. 1589).—Both weapons, too, were used in symbolical acts when the prince wished to confer land or dignities upon his vassals; the sword, however, more frequently (cf. Grimm, *Rechtsaltertümer*, pp. 165-170, pp. 132-135; also Du Cange s.v. *investitura*; J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 199 ff). L. 11, 'salo,' calls to mind the passage in *Béowulf*, l. 2579, where the edge of the sword is called 'brún.' Both words are glossed 'fuscus' by Grein.

JOHN A. WALZ.

VERBAL NOUNS IN *-INDE* IN MIDDLE ENGLISH AND
THE PARTICIPIAL *-ING* SUFFIX.¹

THE occurrence in Middle English of verbal nouns ending in *-inde, -ende, -ande* must have had more influence than has been commonly thought in causing that confusion between the noun suffix *-ung, -ing* and the participial suffix *-ende* which has resulted in establishing the *-ing* suffix for the participle. As I hope to bring out this fact more fully in a longer paper to be published later, I simply give here a list of these nouns. This list is not yet complete for the published texts of Middle English.

In *Lazamon's Brut* (ed. Madden) there are seven *-inde, -ende* verbals (I quote both the A and B texts):

- Nim hine &² hizinde
& sende hine to *than* kinge, 15,608 (a line is wanting in B).
and swiðe an hizende
senden heom efter, 5496 (an hizinge B).
an hizende ful sone
to Tottenas heo come, 9748-9 (an hizenge B).
Comen *tha* tidinde
into Totintageol an hizende, 19,158-9 (an hizenge B).
And Arður him swende to
an hizende mid his sweorde, 26,053-4 (an hizenge B).

¹ This chapter is extracted from an unpublished thesis *On the -ing Suffix in Middle English with Special Reference to Participles and -ing Verbals* presented to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University, in 1896, in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

² Madden conjectures "an hizinge." Cf. and hizende, 26,228; & hizinge he *that* sweord adroh, 8441; & hizinge hine igrap, 16,513; hit wes al isomned: & *there* sereuunge, 8113. Several examples of a preposition *and* are given in Bradley-Stratmann, some of which, I think, are not good cases. For A. S., see Grein, *Sprachschatz*, s.v. *and* praep.; Cosijn, Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, XX, 101.

ther feng moni hond to
and hiȝende he wes ido, 26,227-8 (an hiȝeng B).
and bad hine an hiȝende
comen to *thissen* londe, 30,890-1 (wanting in B).

In *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, Second Series, ed. Morris, E. E. T. S., No. 53, 1873, four *-inde*, *-ende* verbals occur :

And eft *this* worel[d] ebbeð. *Thenne* hit *that* tuderinde¹ wið-teað and cumeð coðe² oðer qualm. P. 177, l. 22.

Tho ben *the* fule tuderende of flesliche lustes and fule sinnes *the* flited eure togenes *the* wreche saule. 55, 9.

The *thridde* is menende³ his synnes bifore gode. and milce *ther* of bidden. 65, 24.

For *that* welnehg ech man ȝifeð his almesse eiðer for godes luue. and for hauende⁴ hereword. and for to ben wurðed fer and ner. 157, 23.

In the Bodleian MS. of *The Life of Saint Katherine*, ed. Einenkel, E. E. T. S., No. 80, 1884, two *-inde* verbals occur :

ha iherde a swuch nurð
towart te aweariede
maumetes temple,
lowinde of *thet* ahte,
ludinge of *the* men,
gleowinde of each gleo,
to herien & hersumin
hare heaðene godes. Vv. 140 ff. The other MSS.

show *-ing(e)*, *-ung(e)*.

¹ "For *tuderinde* (?) read *tuderinge*" (Morris, Notes, p. 249). "(?) for *tuderinge*, production" (Bradley-Stratmann).

² A. S. *coðu*, disease.

³ We seem to have here an *-ende* verbal followed by an object. This may be due to the influence of the gerund in *-ende* preceded by *to* used instead of a gerundial infinitive, a construction which is found fifty-three times in this collection of homilies.

⁴ This construction might result from a confusion between *to havende* and the infinitive after *for*, as in: *Vor defendi* is lond, Robert of Gloucester, 10,247; *For forȝetene* synnes, William de Shoreham, 41, 23.

In *Seinte Marherete*, ed. Cockayne, E. E. T. S., No. 13, 1866, one *-unde* verbal occurs. Elsewhere in this text the verbal ends in *-unge* (never in *-inge*):

Ihesu crist godes sune beo *thu* eauer mi gleo ant mi gledunde. 3, 9.

In the *Ancren Riwele*, ed. Morton, Camden Society, No. 57, 1853, one *-unde* verbal occurs:

Theo buhð hire *thet* to his fondunde beieð hire heorte. 266, 13.

In the Laud¹ MS. of *Debate of the Body and Soul* one *-ende* verbal occurs:

Merci criende² lutel auailede,

3wan Crist it wolde so harde wrac. 375.

Here we have an *-ende* verbal standing in a sort of loose composition with a noun, where in Modern English a gerund with an object would be used. For three other cases, see the quotations from the *Ayenbite*, p. 272, below. Such a use of verbals in *-ing* is rather frequent in Middle English,³ and it is not surprising that *-inde* verbals should also be so used. But, since the cases are so rare, the usage may be an imitation of the Old French gerund. The cases from the *Ayenbite* are translations of the Old French gerund, and the case from the *Debate* might also very well be due to contact with Old French.⁴

¹ Date about 1300; first printed in Wright's *Latin Poems of Walter Mapes*, London, 1841, pp. 334 ff., and after Wright by Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, I, 92 ff.; also printed by Wilhelm Linow, *Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, I, 25 ff.

² The Vernon MS. shows: "Merci crijinge luitel hym vayled"; the Digby MS.: Mercie cryng litel auailed. See Linow, *Erlanger Beiträge* I, 99. The Auchinleck MS. is different: Mercil he cri[e]d, and litel vailed. *Ibid.*, 56. So the Royal MS.: Mercy it cryed, but nouht it vayled. This MS. is printed by Varnhagen in *Anglia* II.

³ See Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, § 416.

⁴ The oldest Old French version, *Un samedi par nuit*, has been printed by H. Varnhagen, in *Erlanger Beiträge*, I, 120 ff. I do not find anything there that might have suggested the phrase *Merci criende*, if that version had been known to the author of the *Debate*. On the sources of the *Debate*, see Linow, *Erlanger Beiträge*, I, 10 ff.

In *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. W. A. Wright, London, 1887, one verbal in *-nde* occurs :

to prouy hor bachelerye.

Some with launce & some with suerd. withoute vileynie.

With pleynde atte tables. other atte chekere. 3963 ff.

In Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. Morris, E. E. T. S., No. 23, 1866 (also Philological Soc., 1866), fourteen *-inde -ende* verbals occur, — besides four doubtful cases and one *-ende* noun that is probably borrowed from Old French. The *Ayenbite* is a very literal translation of *La Somme des Vices et des Vertus* by Frère Lorens. The French has not yet been printed entire. I quote it wherever it is accessible: ¹

Yef he zuereth uals be his wytinde : he him uorzuerth.² 6, 21.

Ac the ilke thet zuereth zoth be his wytinde and alneway uor nazt. other uor some skele kueade . . . : zuereth³ litzliche. 6, 25.

And huo thet onwortheth his uader and his moder be his wytinde . . . : zenezeth dyadliche. 8, 4.

Vor huo thet deth therteyens be his wytinde : zenezeth dyadliche. 11, 22.

The xixte is to werri zothnesse be his wytinde. 29, 19. Fr. : guerroier verite a son⁴ escient (Eilers, p. 8).

Fol he is thet can thane rizte way and be his wytinde mysgeth. 94, 22. Fr. : fous est qui set la droite voie e a son escient forvoie (Evers, p. 34).

¹ Morris gives a few brief quotations from the French. Extracts are given by H. Varnhagen, *Englische Studien*, I, II. R. W. Evers, *Beiträge zur Erklärung u. Textkritik von Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, Erlangen, 1888, prints the French corresponding to Morris, pp. 70-164 (omitting what Varnhagen had printed). Eilers, *Die Erzählung des Pfarrers in Chaucer's Canterbury-Geschichten u. die Somme de Vices et de Vertus des Frère Lorens*, Erlangen, 1882, prints numerous extracts. An English translation of this dissertation is printed in *Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Soc., Pt. V, pp. 501-610.

² So Varnhagen, *Engl. Stud.*, I, 387, reads, he remarking: "So das MS. anstatt uorzuerth bei Morris."

³ We should expect "zenezeth." The French is *pecche* and the Midland text has "synneth." (See *Engl. Stud.*, I, 387.)

⁴ In the two places where I have seen the French, *be his wytinde* translates *a son escient*. The adverb *wytindeliche* occurs six times, translating, in the only two places where I have seen the French, *a escient*.

To-ayens *thise heste doth tho that misziggeth* guode men behinde ham be hire wytinde. and by kuednesse. 10, 9.

The uerthe byeth the ualse plaiteres thet onderuongeth an sostinet *the ualse causes* be hare wytinde. 39, 33. Fr. : li faus auocat qui recoiuent e soustient les mauuaises causes a lor escient (*Engl. Stud.*, I, 413).

huanne hi yeueth encheysoun uor to zenezj be hare wytinde. 47, 25. Fr. : a son escient (Morris).

thet wors is : *thet thou* hit onderuinge ine dyadlich zenne be *thine* wytinde. 20, 35.

and yeueth largeliche *the* guodes of hare lhordes wyth-oute hare wytende and wyth-oute hare wyll. 37, 25.

In the following sentence *onwytinde* is possibly a noun :

The other bo3 of auarice ys *thyefthe*. *thet* is nyme *other* ofhealde *othre* manne *things* wyth wrong and onwytinde¹ and wyth-oute wyll of *the* lhorde. 37, 3. Fr. : larrecin, ce est prendre ou retenir autrui chose a tort et sanz seue e sanz volente du seignor (Eilers, p. 29).

Other *-inde* verbals in the *Ayenbite* are :

Voryet *thi* body ones a day. guo in-to helle ine *thine* libbinde : *thet thou* ne guo ine *thine* steruinge.² 73, 17. Fr. : va en enfer en ton vivant, que tu n'i vois en ton morant (Evers, p. 15).

¹ Michel here has not made so literal a translation as he usually makes, unless he took *sanz seue* to be a compound meaning "ignorant." This seems quite likely in view of the fact that he commonly translated word for word, without any regard to sense or the construction of his sentences: for example, he translates *les poudres apres e poignanz de dure reprehension* (Evers, p. 57) by *the poudres efterward and prekiinde of harde wythuinige*, 148, 21. Michel has confused *apres* = *après* with *apres* = *après*. The same mistake is found in 77, 5. Again, he translates *es autres (i. e. lois) a plait, en ceste a pais, es autres a parjur, en ceste a amour* (Evers, p. 33) by *Ine the othre to strif, ine thise to pays*, etc. (97, 17). He mistook *a = il y a* for the preposition and translated it by *to*, which makes no sense. So also 35, 21.

² Here we have a very instructive example of an *-inde* and an *-inge* verbal standing side by side. The form *steruinge* here may be due to the occurrence of the same form elsewhere, translating *morir* (see 95, 15; 110, 31, and probably, though I have not seen the French, 165, 3), whereas only the form *libbinde* is found. Note also the use of *offrende* and *offringe*, *ofringe*; also *onconnyndehede* and *onconnynghe*. See also the quotation from *St. Katherine*, p. 270, above.

An *-inde* verbal standing after a noun in a sort of loose composition occurs three times in the *Ayenbite*, translating a French¹ gerund and object:

Ac *ther* is another lenere corveys. *thet* leneth wyth-oute chapfare makiinde. alnaway in hejinge. *other* ine pans. *other* ine hors. 35, 15. Fr.: Mais il i a uns autres presteors cortois qui prestant sanz marchie faisant toutes voies en attendant ou en deniers, ou en cheuals (*Engl. Stud.*, I, 405).

The vifte is ine ham *thet* be markat makinde: leteth hare benefices *other* chongeth. *The* zixte is ine ham *thet* be markat makinde: guoth in-to religion. 42, 12. Fr.: en ceus qui par marchie fesant laissent lor benefices ou eschangent. en ceus qui par marche fesant entrent en religion (Eilers, p. 28).

There are two other cases of what seem to be *-inde* verbals in the *Ayenbite*. The French is not accessible:

ssyneth ase sterren ine eurelestynde wy[*th*]-oute ende. 267, 27.

Ther byeth tuaye manere benes on *then*chinde ine herte *thet* me may oueral bidde. an *other* ine speche of mouthe. 212, 29.

The form *offrende* occurs once:

ase *the* rentes. *tho* offrendes.² *the* tendes. and *the* otkre riztes of holy cherche. 41, 19.³

In Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, ed. Babington & Lumby, London, Rolls Series, 1865-86, one *-ynde* verbal occurs:

wommen zeueth lyf and fedynde to kynges. III, 183. Caxton reads *fedyng*; MS. Y *fedyng*.

¹ On the gerund in Old French, see Paul Klemenz, *Der syntactische Gebrauch des Participium Praesentis u. des Gerundiums im Altfranzösischen*, Breslau dissertation, 1884, and A. Stimming, *Verwendung des Gerundiums u. des Participiums Praesentis im Altfranzösischen*, *Ztschr. f. rom. Philol.*, X., 526 ff. For these references I am indebted to Professor Sheldon.

² *Offringe* occurs, 194, 30; *ofringe*, 229, 20. The form *offrende* is probably a borrowing from Old French and is found elsewhere in Middle English. See Bradley-Stratmann.

³ In *onconnyndehe* ("ignorance") 33, 10, and *onconnynghe*, 40, 4, we have to do with a participle, not a verbal noun in *-ynde* (*-yng*).

There are also in Middle English verbals in *ande*:

Iwis, I wraththed the nevere, at my witand (:fand : hand : sande). Huchown's *Pistel of Swete Susan*, l. 250, ed. Köster, *Quellen u. Forschungen*, 76. Cf. O. N. at várri witandi.

I have two cases from the English ballads, and there may be others:

And when he came to the stable-dore,
Full still that hee did stand,
That hee might heare now Faire Ellen,
How shee made her monand.

Child Waters, st. 36; Child, *Ballads*, III, 87.

Forth he lad our comly kyng,
Full fayre by the honde;
Many a dere there was slayne,
And full fast dygtande.

A Gest of Robyn Hode, st. 388; Child, *Ballads*, V, 75.

The phrase *in the waniand*¹ occurs in various places:²

It was in *the waniand that thai furth went*. *The Poems of Laurence Minot*, p. 31, l. 25, ed. Hall, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1887.

It was in *the waniand that thai come thare*. *Ibid.*, 33, 6.

In *the wilde*³ waniand was *thaire hertes light*. *Ibid.*, 15, 30.

The phrase is found frequently in the Mystery Plays. Without pretending to make the list complete, I quote the following instances:

¹ Halliwell, *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, gives "waniand, the wane of the moon," but cites no examples. The phrase *in the waniand* comes to mean 'with ill luck.' See Skeat and Hall, *The Poems of Minot*, Notes, p. 85.

² Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, 2d ed. and Supplement, quotes some of these cases, s.v. *wanion*. Skeat thinks "that waniand was taken to be a sb. instead of a pres. part." See also Jno. G. R. McElroy, *Modern Language Notes*, 1887, No. 3, col. 120 ff., where Skeat's quotations are reproduced. But McElroy is disposed to doubt the etymology of *wanion* suggested independently by Wedgwood (*Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1873-4, p. 328) and Skeat. For cases of the phrase *with a wanion*, see the *Century Dictionary*.

³ Cf. Now in *the wilde vengeaunce ye walke with that wight*, *York Plays*, p. 291, l. 545. See Hall, *Minot*, Notes, p. 85.

3aa, and welde *tham* in woo to wonne, in *the* wanyand,
 What browle *that* is brawlyng his brayne loke 3e brest,
 And dyng 3e hym doune.

York Plays, p. 124, l. 37, ed. Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith,
 Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1885.

Nowe walkis on in *the* wanyand,
 And wende youre way wightely. *Ibid.*, 319, 389.

We! Whythir now in wilde waneand,
 Trowes *thou* I thynke to trusse of towne? *Ibid.*, 36, 45.

Furth in *the* wylde wanyand be walkand. *Ibid.*, 336, 485.

In the wenyand wist ye now at last,
 Or els wille thou that I wynk?

Towneley Mysteries, p. 13, l. 17, Surtees Society, No. 3, 1836.

Who makys sich a bere? now walke in the wenyand. *Ibid.*, 109, 8.

Step furthe, in the wenyande,
 Wenys thou ay to stand style? *Ibid.*, 189, 29.

What, whistylle ye in the wenyande! where have ye beyn? *Ibid.*, 241, 32.

Weynde furthe in the wenyande,
 And hold style thy clattur. *Ibid.*, 257, 19.

The phrase is used once by Sir Thomas More :

He would of likelyhood binde them to cartes & beate them & make
 them wed in the waniand. *English Works*, p. 306. William Rastall, Lon-
 don, 1557.

W. P. FEW.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE INSATIATE
COUNTESS.

EXTERNAL evidence as to the authorship of *The Insatiate Countess* is not decisive, for although the first edition, which appeared in 1613, bears the name of John Marston, the play is not included in Sheares' edition of Marston's works in 1633; moreover, one copy of the edition of 1616 bears no name, and one copy of the edition of 1631 gives the play to William Barksted. This man was the author of two poems, — *Mirra the Mother of Adonis*, 1607, and *Hiren, or the Fair Greek*, 1611 (both reprinted in Grosart's *Occasional Issues*, 1875). Beyond the single fact that he was an actor from boyhood, practically nothing is known of him. Mr. Bullen suspects that Marston left the play unfinished when he entered the Church, and that Barksted afterwards completed it.¹ Mr. Fleay thinks² that Marston wrote at least the comic part, and actually identifies Claridiana with Thomas Moffat; but, as Köppel has pointed out, this identification is surely wrong, for the entire story is taken bodily from Paynter's *Palace of Pleasure*, the major plot from Novel 24 of Volume II, and the minor from Novel 26. Ph. Aronstein says: "Es trägt durch und durch den Stempel von Marston's Geist, und muss ihm zugeschrieben werden."³ Emil Köppel says in substance that "it will be easy to demonstrate the Marstonian authorship in every nook and corner of the play by the vocabulary, figures, allusions, and by the multitude of reminiscences of Shakespeare."⁴ On the contrary, I believe that the whole play, or almost the whole of it, was written by William Barksted.

In the first place, *The Insatiate Countess* is very different from the plays certainly by Marston in the tone of the comic plot. Marston's

¹ *Introduction to Marston's Works*, London, 1887, p. li.

² *Chronicle of the English Drama*, London, 1891, II, 80, 81.

³ *John Marston als Dramatiker*, *Englische Studien*, XX, 377 ff.

⁴ *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, John Marston's, und Beaumont's und Fletcher's*, 1895, p. 31.

comedies invariably have a flavor of bitterness; every page, serving-maid, fool is a satirist, and the Critic on the Stage towers above all and satirizes all alike. In *The Insatiate Countess*, on the contrary, the comic minor plot is used solely to amuse the groundlings by bawdy jests. Even Lady Lentulus, the pattern of virtue, indulges in ambiguous remarks, while Thais and Abigail are full of them. (See, for example, ii, 2, 1-100.¹) Although Marston's fools are often vile and his Crispinella "speaks broad" (*Dutch Courtezan*, iii, 1), his ladies are never sneakingly nasty.

Further, *The Insatiate Countess* is crowded with imitations of Shakspeare, sometimes extending to whole scenes, and referring to at least nine of Shakspeare's plays. I have noted eighteen unmistakable instances.² Mr. Bullen says: "I know no play of this early date in which Shakespeare is so persistently imitated or plagiarized."³ Now, if we exclude a few well-known commonplaces like "Do me right and dub me knight," Mr. Bullen has noted in all Marston's works, including eight plays and two books of poems, only twenty-one reminiscences of Shakspeare. Although this number could be considerably increased by careful observation, it would at most be out of all proportion to the eighteen reminiscences in the single play *The Insatiate Countess*. Further, of those twenty-one allusions to Shakspeare, ten,⁴ including all the most exact imitations,

¹ All references to *The Insatiate Countess* and to Marston's plays are to act, scene, and line in Bullen's edition of Marston; references to Barksted's poems are to Grosart's reprint; those to Shakspeare are to the Globe edition.

² *I. C.*, i, 1, 62-68: *Ham.*, iii, 4, 55-62. *I. C.*, i, 1, 122-125: *Ham.*, Player's speech. *I. C.*, i, 1, 132, 133: *Ham.*, i, 2, 180, 181. *I. C.*, i, 1, 148-150: *R. and J.*, i, 1, 25-30. *I. C.*, i, 1, 270, 271: *R. and J.*, ii, 2, 65-68. *I. C.*, i, 1, 350-354: *Rich. II.*, i, 1, 62-66. *I. C.*, ii, 3, 1-38: *A. Y. L.*, iii, 5, 109-139; iv, 3, 6-64. *I. C.*, ii, 4, 29: *Ham.*, i, 2, 180, 181. *I. C.*, ii, 4, 45-47: *J. C.*, iii, 2, 80, 81. *I. C.*, iii, 1, 67-71: *R. and J.*, ii, 2, 14-22. *I. C.*, iii, 1, 86-116: *Much Ado*, iii, 3, 1-101. *I. C.*, iii, 1, 128-130: *Much Ado*, iv, 1, 75-90. *I. C.*, iv, 3, 1-17: *A. and C.*, ii, 5, 31-75. *I. C.*, iv, 3, 98: *J. C.*, ii, 2, 32, 33. *I. C.*, iv, 5, 11, 12: *I Henry IV*, i, 3, 60, 61. *I. C.*, v, 1, 42-44: *Macbeth*, ii, 2, 60. *I. C.*, v, 1, 85: *Ham.*, iii, 3, 88-90. *I. C.*, v, 1, 170: *Ham.*, i, 2, 140-142.

³ *Introduction to Marston's Works*, p. 1.

⁴ *Malcontent*, i, 1, 105; 350-353; iii, 1, 250. *Fawn*, ii, 1, 212. *What You Will*, ii, 1, 127. *Scourge of Villany*, vii, 1. *Eastward Ho!* iii, 4, 214; i, 1, 15; ii, 1, 114; iii, 2, 2.

are play-ends, clearly quoted in jest; such, for example, are "A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse!" (*What You Will*, ii, 1, 127) and "Plots have you laid, inductions dangerous?" (*Fawn*, ii, 1, 212). This leaves only eleven at all comparable to the eighteen plagiarisms of *The Insatiate Countess*. It should be noticed that Barksted, in the last stanza of *Mirra*, expressly acknowledges Shakspeare as his master, at least so far as that poem is concerned. We see, then, that the "multitude of reminiscences of Shakespeare," cited by Köppel as proof that Marston wrote the play in question, is in reality a very strong argument on the opposite side.

Thus far my arguments have in the main tended to prove merely that Marston did not write *The Insatiate Countess*. We have, however, positive evidence that Barksted was the real author. Marston's verse is virile, rugged, strenuous; Barksted's is flowing, luscious, fanciful. The style of the metrical portions of *The Insatiate Countess* always partakes of the latter character; and in particular I have noted no less than seventy-two passages, many of them a dozen lines long, that show a prettiness of fancy and smoothness of versification never attained by Marston, but eminently characteristic of the style of *Hiren*. Such, for example, are the following:

Like to the lion when he hears the sound
Of Dian's bowstring in a shady wood. i, 1, 346, 347.
I must have him,
Or, shadow-like, follow his fleeting steps.
Were I as Daphne, and he followed chase,
(Though I rejected young Apollo's love,
And like a dream beguile his wandering steps;)
Should he pursue me through the neighbouring grove,
Each cowslip-stalk should trip a willing fall,
Till he were mine, who till then am his thrall. ii, 1, 214-221.

Nor do we lack still further evidence — evidence, it seems to me, absolutely conclusive. In spite of the fact that the two poems which constitute the whole of Barksted's known work are so radically different in nature from *The Insatiate Countess* that one would suppose that they offered no opportunity for direct comparison with the play, I can cite no less than fourteen passages showing an astonishing

similarity in detail of thought and expression between *The Insatiate Countess* and various stanzas of *Hiren* and *Mirrha*. One of the best is unquotable (*I. C.*, ii, 2, 95-99; *Mirrha*, p. 40); I give the others, of which only the first has been hitherto noted.

- I. Night like a masque is entered Heaven's great hall,
With thousand torches ushering the way. v, 2, 244, 245.

Repeated verbatim in *Mirrha*, page 21.

- II. Nature's stepchildren, rather her disease. i, 1, 129.

Repeated verbatim in *Hiren*, stanza 65.

- III. Tastes our petulance (meaning "understands our whims"). iii, 4, 51.

Repeated in *Hiren*, stanza 83.

- IV. Like Mycerinus cheating th' oracle¹
We'll make this night our day. v, 2, 247, 248.
Night like a prince's palace full of light
Illumined all the earth with golden stars;
Here art crossed nature, making day of night. *Hiren*, 74.

- V. Of his quick eye comes comet-trains of fire. v, 2, 170.
His eyes were stuck like comets in his head. *Hiren*, 64.

- VI. I was the Indian, yet you had the treasure. iv, 2, 98.
The miser's god,
The Indian's ignorance. *Hiren*, 67.

- VII. To fall more heavy to thy coward's head
Than thunderbolts upon Jove's rifted oaks. iv, 2, 47, 48.
When I have sinned, send, Jove, a thunderstroke,
And spare thy chosen tree, the harmless oak. *Mirrha*, 28.

- VIII. By Cupid's bow I swear, and will avow,
I never knew true perfect love till now. iii, 2, 79, 80.
But by thy middle, Cupid's conjuring wand,
I am all love, and, fair, believe my vow,
He swears to love, that never loved till now. *Hiren*, 52.

- IX. And as Apelles limned the Queen of Love
In her right hand grasping a heart in flames. ii, 1, 100, 101.
Like Venus, made her grasp a flaming heart. *Mirrha*, 30.

¹ By night revels in a brilliantly lighted palace. Herodotus, ii, 133.

- X. Here the sparks
Fly as in Aetna from his (Cupid's) father's anvil. ii, 1, 115.
Cupid was born at Aetna, a hot sprite. *Mirra*, 30.
- XI. Thus on Eurydice
With looks regardant did the Thracian gaze. ii, 3, 103.
On her whom he (Orpheus) once lost
By a regardant look. *Mirra*, 10.
- XII. With odoriferous scents, sweeter than myrrh,
Or all the spices in Panchaia. iii, 4, 28, 29.
And on Panchaia there this nectar fell,
Made rich th' adjacent lands with odorous smell. *Mirra*, 45.
- XIII. What rarity of women feeds my sight? iv, 3, 46.
Our pleasures, Protean-like, in sundry shapes
Shall with variety stir dalliance. iv, 4, 133, 134.
Such rarity of pleasure I do prove
In her enjoying, that my soul is fed
With that variety, to speak her truly,
Each night she gives me a new maidenhead. *Hiren*, 96.

Thus far we have seen no indication of Marston's hand in the play. Köppel, however, thinks that the omission of the end of the Lady Lentulus plot shows that Marston, taking the story from Paynter, left it incomplete, and that Barksted, the reviser of the play, being ignorant of the source of the tale, did not know how to finish it. But it is almost inconceivable that Barksted either was not familiar with the *Palace of Pleasure* or did not have imagination enough to end the story. It is altogether more reasonable to suppose that the passage accidentally dropped out in printing, particularly as the whole play, like both of Barksted's poems, is in almost ultimate confusion. Yet, although I can see no trace of Marston's hand in the minor plot, it is possible that he had something to do with the play. The subject of the tragic plot is just suited to his sombre bitterness. The Countess herself is merely a Franceschina (the heroine of *The Dutch Courtesan*) in high life. Indeed, some slight marks of Marston's work, not so much in style as in matter, seem actually to exist. The ridicule of lovers (i, 1) is characteristic of Marston;¹ so is the

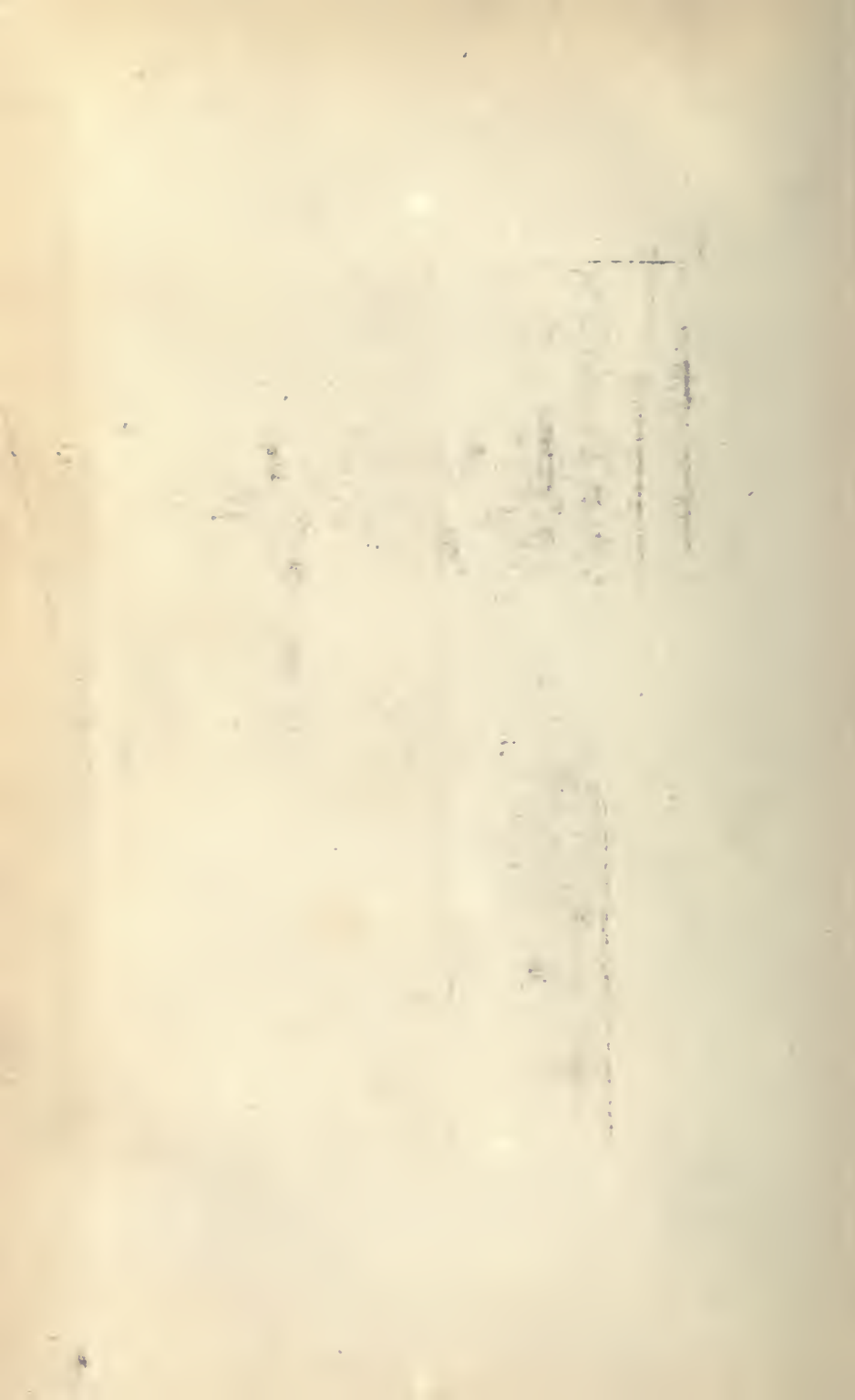
¹ See *What You Will*, which opens in a similar way.

Masque (ii, 1).¹ Mizaldus may originally have been one of Marston's beloved Critics on the Stage. "This is conversion," he says, "is 't not — as good as might have been? He turns religious upon his wife's turning courtesan. This is just like some of our gallant prodigals, when they have consumed their patrimonies wrongfully, they turn Capuchins for devotion" (ii, 3, 59-63); and in another place Guido tells him: "Thou art like a base viol in a consort — let the other instruments wish and delight in your highest sense, thou art still grumbling" (i, 1, 412-414). If Marston had any share in the play, it consisted in drafting the tragic plot. That the play as it stands, however, is Barksted's is proved by the lightness and fancifulness of the verse, by the "multitude of reminiscences of Shakespeare," by the character of the minor plot, and by numerous very striking likenesses in detail to the undoubted works of Barksted.

The Insatiate Countess is said by Langbaine to have been printed in 1603, but this is doubtless a mistake; for no edition earlier than 1613 exists, and the play (v, 1, 42-44) contains a plain imitation of *Macbeth*, which is usually dated about 1606. The title-page says that the play was acted at Whitefriars; and since Barksted is known to have belonged to the Second Queen's Revels Company, which acted there between 1610 and 1613, it is probable that *The Insatiate Countess* was produced during that interval. The likeness in mass and detail of style to *Hiren*, 1611, would suggest the same date.

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¹ See *Histrionastix*; *Antonio and Mellida*, v, 1, where even the mottoes are paralleled; *Antonio's Revenge*, v, 2; *Malcontent*, v, 3; *Dutch Courtesan*, iv, 1; *Fawn*, v, 1. But the masque is a commonplace in Elizabethan plays.



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