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THE FIRST QUARTO EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S HAMLET

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

This edition of the First Quarto of *Hamlet* is intended as a contribution to the discussion of the vexed question of the relation to each other of the three versions of the play (Q_1 Q_2 F_1). No solution of that question is here proposed, and, as far as practicable, comparison of the three texts has been avoided. The chief object of this edition is to make it easily possible for the scholar and the reader of Shakespeare to receive an impression of the First Quarto comparable with the impression that one receives from the modern edited text of the Second Quarto and the First Folio. The text is here presented unencumbered, as far as possible, with critical and explanatory notes, to the end that the reader may receive a direct impression of the play as a whole, and of the characteristics of its various parts.

In the footnotes has been given critical material that will serve to show what changes have been made in the original text; from this material the reader can judge to what extent it has been found necessary to emend and change that text in order to make it intelligible. No attempt has been made to supply the usual explanatory and interpretative notes, except where such notes are necessary to define and illustrate the meaning of words that are not found in Q_2 and F_1 , and to offer suggestions concerning the interpretation of the text where the interpretation is not obvious.

The introduction gives a bibliographical history of the First Quarto, sets forth in detail the condition of its text, and discusses the question of the source and origin of that text.

I wish to express my thanks to Mr. *Henry E. Huntington* of New York for the use of a photostat reproduction of the Devonshire copy of the First Quarto, now in his library. Upon this I have based the text of the present edition.

INTRODUCTION

The general bibliographical history of *Hamlet* has been written many times; it is given here chiefly in order that the reader of the following discussions may have the material in convenient form for reference. I have not attempted to give facsimiles.¹

In the *Stationers' Register* under the year 1602 is the following entry:—

xxvj^{to} July
James Robertes Entred for his Copie under the handes of Master Pasfield / and Master Waterson warden A booke called '*the Revenge of / Hamlett Prince Denmarke*' as yt was latelie Acted / by the Lord Chamberleyne his servantsvj^d

The play in its earliest extant form was published in 1603, with the following title-page:

The / Tragicall Historie of / Hamlet / *Prince of Denmarke* / By William Shake-speare. / As it hath beene diverse times acted by his Highnesse ser- / uants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two V- / niuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where / At London printed for N. L. and John Trundell. / 1603.

This edition was printed in quarto form and is known as the First Quarto (Q₁).

In the following year (1604) appeared the Second Quarto (Q₂), with the following title-page:

The / Tragicall Historie of / Hamlet / *Prince of Denmarke* / By William Shakespeare. / Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much / againe as it was, according to the true and perfect / Coppie. / At London, / Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be sold at his /shoppe vnder Saint Donstons Church in / Fleetstreet. 1604.

¹In giving entries and title-pages I have not attempted to indicate size and style of type beyond italics.

The text of this quarto differs very greatly from that of Q_1 , not only in amount, as indicated by the statement of the title-page, but also in form and content. So great is this difference in places that we seem to have in Q_2 a version of the play different from that of Q_1 .

Other quarto editions were published in 1605 (Q_3), 1611 (Q_4), 1637 (Q_6); another (Q_5) bears no date, but appears to be derived from Q_4 (1611).² All these reproduce the text of the Second Quarto, and each one of them appears to be derived from its immediate predecessor.³ They have no significance for the questions discussed in this volume.

In 1623 was published the first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays, now known as the First Folio (F_1). The title page reads as follows:

Mr. William / Shakespeares / Comedies, / Histories, & / Tragedies. /
Published according to the True Originall Copies. / London /
Printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount. 1623.

The compilers of this volume, whose names are signed to the dedication and to the address to the readers, were Shakespeare's friends and fellow actors, John Heminge and Henry Condell.

The text of *Hamlet* given in the First Folio differs from that of the First Quarto substantially as that of the Second Quarto differs from that of the First, but it also shows striking differences from that of the Second Quarto.⁴ While these differences are not so great as to give the impression of a different *version*, they make it certain that the text of the First Folio is not derived from that of the Second and following Quartos, but from an independent source. The text of *Hamlet* in the Second, Third, and Fourth Folios is the same as that of the First. We have, then, three different texts of *Hamlet*, the First Quarto (Q_1), the Second Quarto

² *Cambridge Shakespeare*, Second Edition, VII, Preface, p. xii.

³ *Cambridge Shakespeare*, Second Edition, VII, Preface, p. xi.

⁴ Cf. Furness, *Hamlet*, II, 36 "In the four folios we have virtually one and the same text, and it is clearly a different one from the Quartos."

For an account of the First Folio, see Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, 1916, pp. 554-570.

(Q₂), and the First Folio (F₁); all other Quartos and Folios may be disregarded in a discussion of the relation of these three texts.

I pass now to the later history of the First Quarto. The existence of this quarto was not known to the Shakespeare scholars of the eighteenth century and of the first quarter of the nineteenth. In 1823 a copy (bound up with eleven other Shakespearian plays), lacking the last page, was discovered by Sir Henry Bunbury. From him it passed into the possession of Messrs. Payne and Foss, who, in 1825, sold it to the Duke of Devonshire.⁵ A reprint of this copy was published by Payne and Foss in 1825,⁶ and a reprint of their edition was published in the same year at Leipzig by Ernst Fleischer.⁷ An interesting notice of this edition was written by Goethe in 1826 and appeared in *Kunst und Alterthum* VI, 1 (1827), pp. 114–121.⁸ A lithograph facsimile was printed in 1858 for the Duke of Devonshire under the supervision of Collier, and in 1860 another reprint was made, with the Second Quarto on opposite pages, under the supervision of S. Timmins.

In 1856 a second copy, lacking the title-page, was brought to public notice. It was bought by a Dublin bookseller from a student of Trinity College, Dublin. It later came into the possession of J. O. Halliwell, and is now in the British Museum.

Since the discovery of the second copy, several reprints have been published: W. Griggs (photo-lithograph), no date; E. W. Ashbee, 1866; Cambridge Editors, 1866; Furness, 1877 (from Ashbee); Vietor (with the Second Quarto

⁵ See Furness, *Hamlet*, II, 13; W. H. Widgery, *An Essay on the First Quarto Edition of Hamlet*, London, 1880, p. 89.

⁶ *The First Edition of the Tragedy of Hamlet, By William Shakespeare. London. Printed for N. L. (Nicholas Ling) and John Trundell 1603. Reprinted at the Shakespeare Press, by William Nicol, for Payne and Foss, Pall-Mall. 1825.*

⁷ *The First Edition of the Tragedy of Hamlet by William Shakespeare. London. Printed for N. L. (Nicholas Ling) and John Trundell 1603. Reprinted for Ernst Fleischer, Leipsic. 1825.*

⁸ *Goethe's Sämtliche Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe, Stuttgart, 1902–07, 38, 89–93.*

and First Folio texts), 1891 (from Griggs); The Bankside Shakespeare (with the First Folio text), 1890.

Up to the present edition no attempt has been made to modernize and edit the text of the First Quarto.

I shall now undertake to give a full account of the state of the text of the First Quarto, and this I shall do without reference to the differences between this text and that of the Second Quarto, except where the evidence of the latter may be used to confirm or support statements made concerning the former. At the outset it will be well to recognize the difficulty of this undertaking. If a reader of to-day puts the modernized and carefully edited text of *Hamlet* beside an exact reprint of the First Quarto, he will get an impression of imperfection, confusion, and mutilation greatly exaggerated and far from the truth. Every difference will appear to him an error; the absence of many of the best passages will suggest an imperfect copy; all words not readily understood will be taken as printer's errors; and simple printer's errors will appear to be evidence of something far more serious than the inevitable errors of typesetting. The printer's errors of the Second Quarto are to him an unknown quantity. Moreover, if he has read much in the discussions of the relation of Q_1 to Q_2 , his mind will be prejudiced against Q_1 by the view so often maintained that Q_1 is a piracy, a badly mutilated text, obtained by careless shorthand reporters, corrupted actors, dishonest publishers and printers, and patched together by passages written by stupid hack poets. Students of *Hamlet* literature have for so long seen the First Quarto through the Second, that it is not to be expected that their obliquity of vision can easily be corrected.

The following exhibit of the errors and imperfections of the First Quarto is made in order that an impression may be given of their number and character; for it is from such an impression that one must form a judgment of the extent of text corruption in Q_1 , and the probable cause or causes of such corruption. The impression given by this exhibit should, of course, be corrected by a careful study of the

modernized, amended, and annotated text printed in this volume.

In determining the existence of textual errors the following principles of text-criticism have been followed: (1) We are not justified in assuming an error if the text gives a reasonably intelligible meaning, in conformity with the context, and (in verse) is metrically correct. (2) We are justified in assuming the loss of words, a word, or a syllable where the context and metre (both or either) are obviously incomplete. (3) We are justified in assuming misplacement of words or phrases, if an obvious (not strained) rearrangement brings a passage that cannot be scanned into acceptable metrical form. (4) We are justified in assuming a transposition in the order of lines if an unintelligible passage is rendered intelligible by an obvious (not strained) and simple rearrangement of the lines. (5) We are justified in assuming the loss of a line if the meaning, obviously incomplete, is completed by a line from the Second Quarto.

MISPRINTS AND ERRORS OF THE FIRST QUARTO

1. Inverted letters [*m. n. u.*], heanen [heauen] 417, I, iv, 17^o vertne [vertue] 503, I, v, 40 quicksilner [quicksiluer] 515, I v, 53 Murderons [murderous] 543, I, v, 80 Yon [you] 582, I, v, 115 transforme [transforme] 850, II, ii, 152 ignorant [ignorant] 1186, III, ii, 9 stowpiug [stowping] 1269, III, ii, 93 wan [man] 1422, III, iii, 12 thon [thou] 1285, III, ii, 109 aud [and] 1589, IV, i, 38 Parchment [parchment] 1892, V, i, 53 predestinate [predestinate] 2055, V, ii, 44 hane [haue] 1011, II, ii, 311; 2057, V, ii, 46.
2. s added to nouns, where the singular is required by the context. sirs¹⁰ 224, I, ii, 82. adoptions 356, I, iii, 29. words 549, I, v, 85. desires 580, I, v, 113. returnes¹⁰ 729, II, ii, 31. fieldes 2143, V, ii, 129.

* References are to Furness's reprint and to the text of the present edition.

¹⁰ The text can be read with the singular.

3. s dropped from the present indicative, third singular of the verb. *keepe* 405, I, iv, 7. *hold* 514, I, v, 52. s is also dropped in the reading *my chiefe* for *myschiefe* 1261, III, ii, 85.
4. d dropped from the past participle. *seale* 83, I, i, 75. *silver* 309, I, ii, 154.
5. f for s (older form). *frikes* [strikes] 127, I, i, 121 (t also dropped here), *fate* [sate] 506, I, v, 43. *fight* [sight] 2142, V, ii, 128. Here should also be classed f for j in *fig* [jig] 891, II, ii, 191.
6. Syllable dropped. *hither* [hitherto] 315, I, ii, 159.
7. Syllable added. *contrary* [contry] 1258, III, ii, 83.
8. Tense changed. *rose* [rise] 1070, II, ii, 368.
9. Single letter changed. *cost* [cast] 69, I, i, 63. *teates* [teares] 203, I, ii, 62. *dead* [dear¹¹] 212, I, ii, 71. *artiue* [artire] 454, I, iv, 51. *rebustious* [robustious] 1184, III, ii, 7. *murdred* [murdrer] 1335, III, ii, 163. *dan'd* [don'd] 1718, IV, iii, 98. *of* [on] 1940, V, i, 104. *skull* [skill] 2024, V, ii, 31.
10. Single letter inserted or added. *grisleld* 307, I, ii, 152. *martin* [matin] 532, I, v, 69. *back't* [bak't] 1054, II, ii, 352. *one* [on] 1343, III, ii, 172.
11. Change of more than one letter, where the general outline of the word is retained. *invelmorable* [invulnerable] 110, I, i, 104. *impudent* [impotent] 142, I, ii, 3. *yong* [you] 145, I, ii, 5. *dreames* [draines] 406, I, iv, 8. *ceremonies* [cerements] 424, I, iv, 24. *beckles* [beetles] 442, I, iv, 40. *leaue* [haue] 695, II, i, 63. *guise* [gules] 1052, II, ii, 350. *calagulate* [coagulate] 1054, II, ii, 352. *epiteeth* [epitaph] 1087, II, ii, 384. *scalion* [scullion] 1127, II, ii, 426. *demises* [denices] 1294, III, ii, 118. *epitithe* [epitaph] 1330, III, ii, 158. *phy* [play] 1310, III, ii, 136. *which* [wish] 1794, IV, v, 12. *shouel* [skull] 1871, V, i, 35. *honor* [owner] 1890, V, i, 52. *laught* [length] 2076, V, ii, 62.

¹¹ Text can be read with *dead*.

12. Wrong word, unlike correct word in form. by [to] 85, I, i, 78. the [with] 212, I, ii, 71. thy [her] 1514, III, iv, 72.
13. Words necessary to the context omitted. I 489, I, v, 24. sooner 848, II, ii, 151. that 875, II, ii, 177. such 1804, IV, v, 22.
14. Words repeated. speake 105, I, i, 98. My father 240, I, ii, 97. in haste 284, I, ii, 136. adue¹² 534, I, v, 71. for 1685, IV, iii, 66. most 2129, V, ii, 115.
15. Word added, suggested by context. who 77, I, i, 71. by 258, I, ii, 113. of 522, I, v, 61. you 1732, IV, iii, 112.
16. Omitted words and syllables, not necessary to the context but to the metre. it 152, I, ii, 12. with 209, I, ii, 69. it 382, I, iii, 57.
17. Proper nouns misspelled or mistaken.
- a. Characters in the play. Cornelia [Cornelius] 145, I, ii, 5. Gerterd [Gertred] 1174, III, i, 37. Hor. [Ham.] 1353, III, ii, 182. Rossencrafi [Rossencraft] 1565, IV, i, 16. Mar [Ham] 554, I, v, 90.
- b. Other names. Rossios [Rossius Q₂F₁] 997, II, ii, 296. Plato [Plautus] 1004, II, ii, 303. Iepha [Jeptha Q₂ Iephta F₁] 1006, 1011, II, ii, 305, 311. Princes [Priam's] 1041, II, ii, 340. Arganian [Hyrceanian] 1044, II, ii, 343. Pellon [Pelion] 1980, V, i, 146. Oosell [Ossa] 1996, V, i, 161.
18. Words out of place in a line, not changing the meaning, but disturbing the metre. was 77, I, i, 71. positively 796, II, i, 98. a scaffold 2132, V, ii, 118-19. With these may be put two words transposed in 178, I, ii, 38. haue I [I haue].
19. Phrases transposed, not changing the sense, but disturbing the metre. 517-18, I, v, 55-6 (cf. Q₂).
- the thinne and wholesome blood
Like eager dropings into milk,
[like eager dropings into milk,
The thinne and wholesome blood.]
569, I, v, 101-2 (cf. Q₂)

¹² The word is printed three times instead of twice.

I hold it meet without more circumstance at all
 [without more circumstance at all
 I hold it meet]

To these may be added one phrase apparently out of place, disturbing the metre, *look you 571*, I, v, 106. If these words, which in Q₁ precede *Euery man* are placed before *ile go*, two lines below, the whole passage comes right metrically (*cf.* Q₂).

20. Line necessary to the sense omitted. Between 227 and 228 I, ii, 85 and 86 (*cf.* Q₂). Between 441 and 442, I, iv, 39 and 40 (*cf.* Q₂). A half line is probably omitted at 493, I, v, 28. It is not absolutely necessary to the sense if we assume anacoluthon here (*cf.* Q₂).

21. Transposition of a line or more. In two speeches of Corambis, near the beginning of Act II, Scene 1, there seems to be much confusion. In the second of these speeches two lines of the text, as printed in Q₁, seem to be transposed, 645-6, II, i, 12-15; changing their order eliminates the confusion. In the other speech, 636-39, II, i, 4-7, the confusion is greater; here one line and three words of the preceding line, as printed in Q₁, seem to have been put before two lines that they were evidently intended to follow. It does not seem possible to read the lines as they stand in Q₁, but the transposition suggested gives a fairly good connection and meaning. The order of thought, too, follows that of the corresponding passage in Q₂. For a fuller discussion of the passage, see footnote to the text.

There is one passage, 986-7, II, ii, 285-7, in which the confusion is apparent rather than real, owing to the fact that in 987 the compositor has omitted a semi-parenthesis before the word *or* to indicate that the remainder of this line is to be read as following the line below.

It is to be expected that there are many passages of our text concerning whose authenticity there will be marked difference of opinion. It seems advisable, therefore, to consider some examples of such passages, in order to set forth more clearly the grounds for holding to the readings of the

First Quarto, and also the grounds for reasonable doubt in some cases where the readings seem to be perfectly good.

I consider first the reading in II, ii, 353 (1055), *rifted in earth and fire*. This is from the recitation of the player, in the description of Pyrrhus:

horridly tricked

With blood of fathers, mothers, daughters, sons,
Bak'd¹³ and imparched in coagulate¹⁴ gore,
Rifted in earth and fire, old grandsire Priam seeks.

The first half of the last line at first sight gives no sense, but it is possible that the verb *rifted* may reflect the meaning of the noun *rift*, a crack or streak. If this be accepted, then the half line would mean *streaked with earth and fire (or with the result of fire, black)*. But Q₂ reads here, *rosted in wrath and fire*,¹⁵ which easily gives a satisfactory meaning, and one well fitting the context. If, now, we examine the reading of Q₁, we see that if the original text read *rosted in wrath*, this might easily become corrupted, by a careless copier or compositor, into *rifted in earth*. We have, then, to choose between the rather forced interpretation of *rifted* suggested above and the probability of a corruption of *rosted in wrath* into *rifted in earth*.

Another interesting reading is that of II, ii, 372 (1073), *with tongue-invenom'd speech*, which readily gives a perfectly satisfactory meaning, *speech with venomous tongue*. But Q₂ reads, *with tongue in venom steep*.¹⁶ Here again the reading of Q₁ may be a corruption of that represented by Q₂, but this is less likely than in the first case considered; for in the second case the text of Q₁ easily gives a satisfactory meaning.¹⁷

A third case offers a reading whose meaning is plain and obvious, and wholly satisfactory; this is I, ii, 127 (274):

¹³ Text *back't*.

¹⁴ Text *calagulate*.

¹⁵ II, ii, 483 (Globe ed.)

¹⁶ II, ii, 533.

¹⁷ In favor of the hypothesis of corruption is the expression in Q₄, IV, v, 22 *steeped in a mixture of deadly poison*.

And we did think it *right done* in our duty
To let you know it.

If we had no other text of the play, it would never enter the head of an editor or student to question this reading.¹⁸ But in Q₂ in place of *right done*, we find *writ down*,¹⁹ which fact will for many put in doubt the authenticity of the reading of Q₁. The evidence for corruption in this case is not strong enough, however, to warrant the rejection of the reading *right done*.

There are, I believe, no other cases, not treated above as misprints and errors, in which there is any evidence of corruption as strong as that noted in the three cases just discussed; and, in these cases, if it were not for the readings of Q₂ there would (in two cases, at least) be no reason whatever for doubting the authenticity of the readings of Q₁.²⁰

In this connection a brief discussion of the First Quarto version of the soliloquy, "To be, or not to be",²¹ is in place;

¹⁸ "He must have been a bold emendator who would have ventured to recommend 'writ down' in their stead." Collier, *Athenaeum*, 1856, p. 1221.

¹⁹ I, ii, 222 (Globe ed.)

²⁰ The text of this edition retains the readings of Q₁ in these three cases.

²¹ *Ham.* To be, or not to be: ay, there's the point: 115
To die,—to sleep,—is that all? Ay, all. No;
To sleep,—to dream;—ay, marry, there it goes;
For in that dream of death, when we awake,
And borne before an everlasting judge,—
From whence no passenger ever return'd, 120
The undiscovered country, at whose sight
The happy smile, and the accursed damn'd.
But for this, the joyful hope of this,
Who'd bear the scorns and flattery of the world,—
Scorned by the right rich, the rich cursed of the poor, 125
The widow being oppressed, the orphan wrong'd,—
The taste of hunger, or a tyrant's reign,
And thousand more calamities besides,
To grunt and sweat under this weary life,
When that he may his full quietus make 130
With a bare bodkin? Who would this endure,
But for a hope of something after death,
Which puzzles the brain and doth confound the sense;
Which makes us rather bear those evils we have
Than fly to others we know not of? 135
Ay, that!
O, this conscience makes cowards of us all.

for this, at first sight, seems to be one of the most corrupt passages of Q_1 . It is not the great soliloquy of Q_2 , all of whose words are so familiar to us (and concerning whose interpretation so much has been written), but this fact should not cause us to see in it greater corruption than actually exists. In Q_1 the soliloquy consists of twenty-three lines, II, ii, 115–137 (815–836). All of these lines are metrically correct, and there is no evidence that words are out of place in any of them, although it is possible that some of the words are wrong; it is also possible that some of the lines 119–122 are misplaced; but the general sequence of thought is natural throughout the soliloquy, although abrupt in 119–123. The soliloquy is on suicide, and the reason given for abstaining from self-destruction is the thought that we have a *hope* of something after death, which *hope* the act of suicide would inevitably take away from us. The probability of corruption is limited to the lines

And borne before an everlasting judge,—
 From whence no passenger ever return'd,
 The undiscovered country, at whose sight
 The happy smile, and the accursed damn'd.

Each of these lines is metrically correct, all the words appear to be in proper order in each line, and all the words give easily a satisfactory meaning and connection except the last two. Although the transitions are abrupt and the order in the second and third lines unnatural, the development of the thought is discernible. We hear, perhaps, not all the speaker's meditation,—only that part of it that he puts in words; hence we do not get a logically complete expression of it, and must ourselves supply the connecting links. The progress of thought in the whole soliloquy I interpret as follows: "Shall I kill myself? To die is but to sleep. No; to sleep is to dream, to awaken. There's the troublesome doubt; it suggests, too, judgment after death, at a court whence no one has ever returned, with happiness for the just, but damnation for the wicked (the suicide). But for the

joyful hope of this happiness, who would bear the burden of life, when he could put an end to it by suicide? This *hope*, which suicide would take away, makes us hesitate, and bear the ills we have.”

The words, *and the accursed damn'd*, in the fourth line, are probably corrupt, but they suggest an idea (*the suicide is damned*) that is in place here, although it interrupts the sequence of thought from the first half of this line to the next,

But for this, the joyful hope of this.

I have kept the text of this soliloquy intact, except punctuation, because I cannot see how it can be improved by changing the order of words or lines, or by the emendation of single words.

It remains to speak of another defect of the First Quarto: namely, the failure, in many parts of the text, to print the blank verse speeches with correct division into lines. This gives an exaggerated appearance of confusion and corruption where none really exists beyond the errors of line-division. The correct metrical division can usually be restored without difficulty, but in some cases uncertainty arises, on account of the fact that incomplete lines are found in all parts of the play (as they are also to be found in Q_2 and F_1). We must frequently assume the existence of such lines in reaching a satisfactory metrical division of the text; but in some such cases it is probable that the line-division as given in our text is not the best attainable. In all cases the general usage of Q_2 , particularly in regard to short lines, has been the basis for the line-division of this edition.

CHARACTER OF THE MISPRINTS AND ERRORS

Of the misprints and errors in the exhibit given above (pp. 8–11), those in divisions 1 to 18 are ordinary printer's errors, such as are commonly found in Elizabethan plays. In character there is nothing noteworthy about them, and in number they are not at all excessive, with the possible ex-

ception of proper names (12 cases). The text of Q_2 shows a greater number of errors except in proper names.

The cases of transposition of phrases and lines and cases of the omission of single lines²² discussed in divisions 19-21 are more serious corruptions, but even here there are only two cases of transposition in which the meaning is at all obscured, and in both of these cases the meaning is set right by a single transposition. In brief, in each one of these cases of apparently great confusion, either in metre or in sense, only a single error has been made. In the two cases of the assumed omission of a single line, the text of Q_2 shows that the extent of the omission is no greater.

In no case of misprint, transposition, or omission is there evidence of any error that is not an error of reading, an error of the eye; there is no positive evidence of an error of the ear. In some cases it is true that the error may be either of the eye or of the ear, but in no case *must* it be an error of the ear and not of the eye.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE MISPRINTS AND ERRORS

It is very noticeable that the misprints and errors are not evenly distributed over the text; they seem to be concentrated on certain parts of it. A comparatively large number are found in Act I and in the early part (ll. 1-30) of Act II, Scene I. After that the number is small up to the scene of the player's recitation in II, ii, 300-390. After this point the errors are comparatively few in number and unimportant in character.

The errors in division into lines are more evenly distributed, but it is noticeable that long passages correctly divided alternate with others in which the division is more or less faulty; this condition prevails especially in Act I.

THE PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND QUARTOS

The whole subject of the printers and publishers of the quarto editions of Shakespeare's plays has been fully dis-

²² There are in Q_2 at least thirteen cases of omission, by obvious typographical error, of a half line, a line, or two lines.



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printed the first, second, and third²⁸ quartos of *Richard II*, 1597, 1598, 1598, the first quarto of *Richard III*, 1597, the third quarto of *Henry IV, Part I*, 1604, the first quarto of *Much Ado about Nothing*, 1600, the first quarto of *Henry IV, Part II*, 1600.²⁹ All of these except *Hamlet* are "good quartos",³⁰ all well printed as quartos go; and one of them, *Much Ado about Nothing*, is considered the best printed of all Shakespearian quartos. Sims was often in trouble for violation of the laws governing printing,³¹ but there is no evidence of any irregularity in connection with the Shakespeare quartos, except the fact that he and not Roberts printed the first quarto of *Hamlet*.³²

The publishers of the First Quarto were Nicholas Ling and John Trundell (or Trundle). The latter was probably just beginning business as a publisher; his first entry of a book in the *Stationers' Register* is dated July 27, 1603.³³ He has no connection with the publication of any other Shakespearian quarto. Ling, who was also the publisher of the Second Quarto, had been in business about twenty years.³⁴ Among his copies were works of Drayton, Lilly, and Greene. Although we do not find his name on any Shakespearian quartos except Q₁ and Q₂ of *Hamlet*, we know from an entry in the *Stationers' Register*, January 22, 1607, that the copyright of *Romeo and Juliet* and of *Love's Labour's Lost* was transferred to him from Cuthbert Burby. In November of the same year many of Ling's copyrights were transferred to John Smethwick, among them the two plays just mentioned and *Hamlet*.³⁵ Smethwick published three quartos of *Hamlet*, one in 1611, one in 1637, and one without

²⁸ Cf. *A New Shakespeare Quarto*, A. W. Pollard, London, 1916.

²⁹ Pollard (p. 72) says that the first quarto of *Midsummer Night's Dream* is "probably from the press of Valentine Sims."

³⁰ Pollard, pp. 64-65.

³¹ Plomer, p. 154.

³² Pollard, p. 67, 74.

³³ Arber, III, 243.

³⁴ *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*, London, The Bibliographical Society, 1910, p. 176. Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 361, note 2.

³⁵ This transfer shows that the copyright of the Second Quarto belonged to Ling and not to Roberts; cf. Furness, *Hamlet II*, 34.

date. He also held a share in the First Folio (1623) and in the Second Folio (1632).³⁶ It is interesting to note that through Ling and Smethwick there is established a connection among all the quartos of *Hamlet* (up to 1637) and the First and Second Folios, and, further, that in the case of *Romeo and Juliet* and of *Love's Labour's Lost* the text of Ling's quartos became the text of the First Folio.³⁷

IS THE FIRST QUARTO A PIRACY?

I have set forth above the state of Q₁ as far as printer's errors are concerned, and have given some account of the printers and publishers of Q₁ and Q₂;³⁸ it remains to consider whether Q₁ is a piracy.

The conditions under which plays were printed and published in Shakespeare's day have been fully discussed in recent years by Sir Sidney Lee and Mr. A. W. Pollard,³⁹ with special reference to the authenticity of all quartos. Sir Sidney Lee is inclined to question the complete authenticity of all Shakespeare quartos;⁴⁰ Mr. Pollard attempts, by certain criteria, to establish two classes of quartos, "good" and "bad." Into the class "good" he puts all those that have, apparently, nothing irregular in their printing and publication: they are duly entered in the *Stationers' Register* before publication; their printers and publishers are men of good repute; their form shows that they were obtained from the companies that played them in a regular manner by purchase of the manuscript (either the author's manuscript or some copy of it that was in use by the actors or the manager) from the player's companies that owned them; their form

³⁶ *A Dictionary of Printers, etc.*, p. 249. Smethwick changed the title to *The Tragedy of Hamlet, etc.*; cf. Furness, *Hamlet* II, 34.

³⁷ Pollard, pp. 25, 32.

³⁸ pp. 6-17.

³⁹ Lee, *Facsimile of the First Folio*, 1902, Introduction; *Life of Shakespeare*, Second Edition of New Version, 1916, Chapter XXIII. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 1909; *Shakespeare's Fight With the Pirates*, 1917; *A New Shakespeare Quarto*, 1916; *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto*, 1916. Cf. H. R. Shipherd, *Play-publishing in Elizabethan Times*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* XXXIV, 580-600.

⁴⁰ *Facsimile of the First Folio*, Introduction, p. xiii.

does not show that they are imperfect versions of the plays, obtained by surreptitious means from dishonest actors or employees, or by means of shorthand reporters, who took down the words at performances of the plays, and of hack poets, who supplied from their own brains parts that the reporters did not take or took very imperfectly. Into the class "bad" he puts those quartos that have, apparently, much irregularity in their printing and publication: they are not duly entered in the *Stationers' Register* before publication; their title-pages contain false or erroneous statements; their printers and publishers are known to be men guilty of dishonest and irregular practices; they are badly printed; they are full of errors and corruptions, with large parts wholly wanting, as is shown by comparison with later quartos or the folios. The "bad" quartos, according to Pollard, are the first quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry V*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Hamlet*, and *Pericles*.⁴¹ No "good" quartos of *Henry V*, *Merry Wives*, and *Pericles* were printed before the First Folio.

Pollard's condemnation of the First Quarto of *Hamlet* as a piracy is in accord with the general opinion of Shakespeare scholars, who, with reference to this question, may be divided into two classes: (1) those who hold that Q₁ is a piracy of the version of the play represented by Q₂ and F₁; (2) those who hold that it is a piracy of a version different from that represented by Q₂ and F₁. Years ago nearly all scholars who studied the question belonged to class 1; at present, however, class 2 contains nearly all.

What, now, is meant by an act of publishing piracy in Shakespeare's day? A full treatment of the legal restrictions then governing printing and publishing is not in place here, and I shall confine myself to the statement of those well established facts that have special bearing upon the Shakespeare Quartos.⁴² In the first place, there were regulations connected with the licensing of books for publication

⁴¹ *Folios and Quartos*, p. 79.

⁴² For an account of the matter, see Lee, *Folios and Quartos*; R. B. McKerrow, in *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1916, Vol. II, Chapter XXIII.

which are concerned with *censorship*; such regulations have practically no bearing upon the Shakespeare quartos. In the second place, there were regulations concerning *copyright*, administered through the Stationers' Company, the members of which had a monopoly of printing and publishing. It is with these regulations and the practices connected with them that we are particularly concerned. Our knowledge of them is derived chiefly from the Charter of the Stationers Company, the record of its acts and judgments, and the entries upon its records of publications for copyright; our chief source of information is the *Stationers' Register*.

It is clearly shown from these records and from other sources that the recognized owner of a play that had been performed was the players' company that performed it, not the author; the purchase of the play from the author by the company included the right to print. In the matter of the copyright of plays, then, there were two rights plainly recognized: (1) the right of the actors' company to the ownership of the manuscript of the play; (2) the right of the printer and publisher to monopoly in publishing it. An act of piracy, therefore, must consist of an infringement of one or the other of these two rights, or of both.

It is obvious that infringement of the printer's and publisher's right was the more difficult, for that right was protected by the laws of the Stationers' Company, which had a monopoly of printing, in that all printers and publishers must be members of the company. An infringement of the publisher's copyright was infringement by one member of the company upon the right of another member. There were secret presses in England, but there is nothing to show that any one of Shakespeare's plays was secretly printed or published. In the case of the quartos, the name of the publisher is always given on the title-page (either in full or by easily recognized initials);⁴³ the name of the printer is almost always given. The publisher recorded his claim to copyright by an entry, before publication, upon the *Stationer's Register*, after this form: [1602] xxvj^{to} Julij. James Roberts. En-

⁴³ The title-page also generally contains the device of publisher or printer.

tered for his copie vnder the handes of master Pasfield and master Waterson warden, A booke called the Revenge of Hamlett Prince Denmarke as yt was latelie Acted by the Lord Chamberleyne his servantes. Transfers of copyright by assignment and otherwise are frequently recorded in the *Register*. Sometimes there is no entry of the play before publication, as in the cases of the first quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, and *Henry V*. Sometimes the entry of a play is followed by its appearance in print under the auspices of a publisher or printer other than the one in whose name the entry is made;⁴⁴ this is the case with Q₁ of *Hamlet*. Sometimes the officials of the Company stayed publication until the publisher should obtain license from the censors, or in the case of plays, perhaps, should show that he had regularly acquired his right by purchase from the actors' company that owned the play. All this goes to show that the publisher was well protected from infringement of his copyright by his fellows of the Stationers' Company.

From the very nature of the case, the players' companies could not be so well protected. A treacherous and disloyal member of a company or a play-house employee could, perhaps, without much difficulty obtain a copy of the manuscript of a play and sell it to a printer or publisher; spectators could take down the words of a play imperfectly, and possibly "botch up" a semblance of the real play that a printer would pay for; one or more minor actors might remember enough of the dialogue to supply a basis that could be built upon by reporters and hack poets in the service of the publisher.

Charges of piracy connected with plays, then, will have reference particularly to the manner in which the printer obtained his copy. In the case of the Shakespeare quartos we have no information or direct evidence on this point; we must, therefore, draw our conclusions as to the authenticity of any text from evidence contained in that text itself. Some additional evidence may possibly be obtained from the

⁴⁴ In such cases we can not always be sure that the entry concerns the edition apparently next following; for an earlier edition which has completely disappeared may have come between.

entries in the *Stationers' Register*, but the irregularity of practice here makes such evidence of comparatively little weight. In the case of any individual quarto, then, the conclusive evidence for piracy and the method of piracy must be sought in the condition of its text, in so far as this condition may indicate that the manuscript was not procured by the publisher through regular purchase from the actors' company that owned the play.

I shall now consider the evidence of piracy in the case of the First Quarto of *Hamlet*. It has been shown (pp. 16-19) that there is no reason to consider either the publishers or the printer of Q₁ to be men of bad character, men who would be inclined to commit an act of piracy. We should naturally expect that Roberts' entry of the *Hamlet* play in 1602 (*The Revenge of Hamlett*) would be soon followed by its publication;⁴⁵ the publication by others (Ling and Trundell) of a *Hamlet* play (*The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet*) the next year cannot possibly be regarded as the act of pirates who were trying to anticipate publication by Roberts. The entry is dated July 26, 1602, and the First Quarto could not have appeared before May 19, 1603;⁴⁶ surely the "pirates" would not have taken ten months or more for their nefarious job. The fact that there is no new entry in the *Stationers' Register* preceding the publication of Q₁ in 1603 does not necessarily denote irregularity of practice; there are cases in which a new edition is issued by a publisher different from the publisher of the preceding edition without such an entry.⁴⁷ The fact, too, that Q₂ of *Hamlet*, concerning which there is no irregularity, was published by Ling, one of the publishers of Q₁, and that his copyright in this (Q₂) was afterwards regularly transferred to Smeth-

⁴⁵ Roberts entered other plays of Shakespeare that he did not publish. Cf. Pollard, *Quartos and Folios*, pp. 71, 75.

⁴⁶ "The date of the licence in virtue of which the Chamberlain's company became the King's players," *Quartos and Folios*, p. 73. See the title-page of Q₁.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Quartos and Folios*, p. 75, concerning Q₂ of *Hamlet*, and p. 15, concerning the second edition of *Titus Andronicus*. See also p. 66, concerning provisional license of plays to Roberts. Roberts printed three of Shakespeare's plays (Q₂ of *Titus Andronicus*, Q₁ of *The Merchant of Venice*, Q₂ of *Hamlet*); he did not publish any.

wick is corroborative evidence of regularity of procedure in the case of Q_1 .⁴⁸

There is, too, with the possible exception of the statement concerning performance at the universities, nothing on the title-page of Q_1 that is doubtful or suspicious; the name of the author is given, the name of the company producing the play, the places of performance, the names of the publishers, and the date. The name of the printer is not given, but the printer's name is frequently wanting from such title-pages. One statement on the title-page is probably incorrect: namely, "as also in the two Vniversities of Cambridge and Oxford." We know from records that the university authorities did not permit the touring companies of players to give performances within the university precincts, but these companies did play in the university towns.⁴⁹ Sidney Lee calls this statement of the title-page a "misrepresentation" "in keeping with the general inaccuracy of the First Quarto text"; F. S. Boas, who has made a special study of the matter, however, does not take the error so seriously. He says, "but there is no reason to doubt the statement of the earlier title-page, even though, as I hope to show, wrong deductions have been drawn from it"; "when the 1603 quarto speaks of *Hamlet* having been acted in the Universities, we must take the words to mean nothing more than the two University towns."⁵⁰

We may say, then, that there is no evidence of piracy in the entry and in the title-page of Q_1 . Let us consider now the evidence of piracy presented by the condition of the text. I have already discussed the plain and obvious corruptions,—i. e., corruptions that make an intelligible reading impossible or very difficult, and have shown that all of these (with the possible exception of errors in line-division) are

⁴⁸ If Ling was able to obtain the manuscript of Q_2 from the players' company in a regular way, what reason is there to believe that he could not obtain the manuscript of Q_1 ?

⁴⁹ Boas, *Hamlet at Oxford*, *Fort. Rev.* Aug. 1913 (Vol. 100). Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age*, pp. 220-227. Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 362, note 2.

⁵⁰ *Fort. Rev.* Vol. 100, pp. 245, 247.



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on the face of the text as to furnish conclusive evidence of piracy.

I turn now to set forth some of the good points of the text of Q_1 ,— points that make for authenticity. Mr. Pollard mentions several criteria of a “good” quarto as shown by its text. 1. A “good” quarto has no division into acts and scenes. Q_1 has no division into acts and scenes. 2. A “good” quarto has brief stage directions, in contrast with the more or less elaborate stage directions (possibly written by a spectator observing the play) that are found in the “bad” quartos. Q_1 has no long, elaborate stage directions.⁵³ 3. A “good” quarto has imperative stage directions in places.⁵⁴ Q_1 has one stage direction in the imperative.⁵⁵ Here, then, are three criteria of “good” quartos found in Q_1 .

There is still further evidence of care and consistency to be found in the stage directions. There are but two errors in the assignment of speeches, I, v, 90 and III, ii, 182.⁵⁶ In the first scene of the play the two sentinels are not given names in the assignment of speeches, they are numbered 1 and 2. The name of one of them, Bernardo, is, however, given in the speeches, and correctly given to sentinel 2. The name Corambis is found but three times in the text, but every one of his speeches is correctly assigned. In Act V, Scene II, when the character whom we know as Osric enters, the stage direction is, *Enter a Bragart Gentleman*. At the corresponding place in Q_2 , the stage direction is, *Enter a Courtier*; in F_1 it is *Enter young Osricke*. Now the stage direction of Q_2 bears witness to the correctness of that in Q_1 , in not giving a name to this character; yet Sidney Lee, evidently overlooking Q_2 , thinks that the stage direction of Q_1 is evidence of lack of authenticity.⁵⁷ It is rather proof

⁵³ *Quartos and Folios*, pp. 50, 74.

⁵⁴ *Quartos and Folios*, p. 72, concerning *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

⁵⁵ *Sound Trumpets I, iv, 3* (Furness l. 401).

⁵⁶ How easy it is to make such an error is shown by the fact that the Griggs facsimile reprint fails to reproduce this one. See *Cambridge Shakespeare*, Vol. 9, Preface, p. xxxvi.

In V, i, 148 five words of Hamlet's speech are given to the preceding speech of Lear.

⁵⁷ *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 363, note 1.

of authenticity. In the "mousetrap" play (III, ii), the characters are more correctly named in the stage directions and assignment of speeches of Q_1 than in those of either Q_2 or F_1 . Q_1 has *Enter the Duke and Dutchesse*, Q_2 , *Enter King and Queene*, F_1 , *Enter King and his Queene*. In Q_1 these characters are always given in the assignment of speeches as *Duke and Dutchesse*, in Q_2 as *King and Quee.*, in F_1 as *King and Bap. or Bapt.*, except that the last speech of the woman has *Qu.*

It is commonly said that the text of Q_1 (or the foundation of it) was obtained by sending shorthand reporters into the theatre.⁵⁸ The evidence for the use of shorthand in Shakespeare's day has been brought together in several places, perhaps most completely by Curt Dewischeit in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXIV, pp. 171-179.⁵⁹ That there were systems of shorthand in existence at the time of the publication of Q_1 there is no reason to doubt, but there is no evidence to show that either the systems or the shorthand writers who used them were equal to the task of reporting a play as accurately as the text of even the worst Shakespearian quarto is given. The passage most often cited to prove that stenography was used to pirate plays plainly shows this. It is in the prologue⁶⁰ to Heywood's *If you know not me, you know nobodie*:

some by Stenography drew

The plot; put it in print: (scarce one word trew:).

The earliest alphabetic system of shorthand in English is that of John Willis, *The Art of Stenographie*, published in 1602; but this, as Dewischeit has shown,⁶¹ is too late to have

⁵⁸ For examples: "That it [Q_1] was due to the shorthand writers or note-takers of the time (of whom Heywood complains), with possibly some parts bought or got from some of the players, is evident too." Furnivall, Introduction to Griggs' *Facsimile of the First Quarto*. "There is little doubt that it [Q_1] was prepared from shorthand notes taken from the actor's lips during an early performance at the theater." Sidney Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 362. Cf. pp. 262-263.

⁵⁹ *Shakespeare und die Stenographie, Jahrbuch XXIV*, pp. 170-220. Cf. Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 112, note 3.

⁶⁰ Printed in 1632. Cf. *London Times, Literary Supplement*, Feb. 6, 1919, pp. 69-70.

⁶¹ *Jahrbuch*, XXXIV, p. 188.

been used in a piracy of 1603. The immediate predecessor of this system is that of Timothy Bright, published in 1588, called *Characterie*.⁶² The fundamental principle of the system is that every character represents a word.⁶³ Thus, the sign for A is a vertical stroke; by variation of slant and the addition of marks this can be made to represent 48 words beginning with A. There are 18 such signs, giving a total of 864 words; but Bright did not find 48 for each sign; his total of such "characterical" words is 556.⁶⁴ These words and their signs must be learned by heart. Arbitrary signs are also used to represent words and phrases of common occurrence.⁶⁵ Another principle of the system is the use of the sign for any "characterical" word for any word of synonymous meaning, or for any word indicating a species of the genus represented by the "characterical" word. For example, the sign for *fruit* is used for all fruits; the sign for *air* stands for *breath*, *exhalation*, *mist*, *reek*, *steam*, *vapour*; the sign for *house* is used for *dwel*, the synonym being indicated by the sign for *d* written to the left; *eager* is written by the sign for *haste* with the sign for *e* to the left. Words of meaning antithetical to that of the "characterical" word are given by the sign for the "characterical" word, with the initial of the word intended to the right of the sign; thus, *abase* is written by the sign for *high* with *a* to the right, *summer* by *winter*, *night* by *day*.⁶⁶

In this representation of synonyms and opposites by the same sign Dewischeit finds proof of the use of Bright's system in some of the "pirated" quartos of Shakespeare's plays. The text of these quartos frequently shows variation from the text of the First Folio by the use of a word of synonymous

⁶² *Characterie. An Arte of shorte, swifte and secret writing by Character. Invented by Timothe Bright. Imprinted at London 1588.* A reprint of this, edited by J. H. Ford, was published at Ulverstone, 1888.

⁶³ "Every character answering a word". Cf. Matthias Levy, *William Shakespeare and Timothy Bright*, London 1910, p. 15.

⁶⁴ *Jahrbuch*, XXXIV, pp. 192-193.

⁶⁵ *Levy*, pp. 16-18.

⁶⁶ *Jahrbuch*, XXXIV, pp. 192-194; *Levy*, p. 17.

meaning with that used in the First Folio. For example, in *Romeo and Juliet*:⁶⁷

	Q ₁	F ₁
I, iv, 16 ⁶⁸	stirre	move
I, v, 37	marriage	nuptiall
I, v, 53	happy	blessed
I, v, 65	mocke	scorne
III, i, 65	hate	love
III, i, 115	wound	hurt

The large number of such variations in the pirated quartos Dewisheit explains by the errors of the stenographer in taking down the words of the actor or by errors in interpreting his notes. This explanation seems plausible at first sight, but if we stop to consider the chief features of Bright's system, I believe that we shall readily see its fundamental weakness. If a reporter using this system were to attempt to take down a play, he would inevitably make a very much larger number of such errors than even the worst text contains; that is, we should expect to find, in place of the number of such variations that we do find, large though it be, a number at least ten times as great.

From the First Quarto of *Hamlet* Dewisheit takes at random seven examples, among them the following:⁶⁹

	Q ₁	F ₁
I, ii, 195 ⁷⁰	wonder	marvell
I, ii, 238	pace	haste
I, iv, 72	shape	forme
II, ii, 529	kercher	clout

In the case of *Hamlet* we have, fortunately, means of putting this matter to the test. No one has ever suggested that the text of either Q₂ or F₁ was pirated by shorthand, and there is not a bit of evidence in favor of such a supposition; in the case of each of these texts all evidence points to a playhouse manuscript in very good, if not perfect, condition. But we find between these two texts plenty of examples of this variation of synonyms. I have noted the following:

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁶⁸ Globe edition.

⁶⁹ p. 207.

⁷⁰ Globe ed.

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⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁶⁸ Globe edition.

⁶⁹ p. 207.

⁷⁰ Globe ed.

	Q_2	F_1
I, i, 45	speake to	question
I, iii, 117	lends (Q_1)	gives
I, iv, 49	interr'd (Q_1)	enurn'd
II, i, 77	closset	chamber
II, ii, 12	hauior	humour
II, ii, 142	prescripts	precepts
II, ii, 146	repell'd	repulsed
II, ii, 151	mourne	waile
II, ii, 167	but	and
II, ii, 198	rogue	slave
II, ii, 205	shall growe	should be
II, ii, 401	swadling	swathing
III, i, 160	expectation	expectansie
III, ii, 14	would (Q_1)	could
III, ii, 10	heare (Q_1)	see
III, ii, 74	comedled	comingled
III, ii, 393	yonder (Q_1)	that
III, ii, 394	in shape of	in shape like
	(in the shape of Q_1)	
III, iii, 25	about	vpon
III, iii, 81	flush	fresh
III, iv, 50	heated	tristfull
IV, iii, 70	will nere begin	were ne're begun
IV, iv, 3	craves	claimes
IV, v, 12	might	would
IV, v, 70	would	should
IV, v, 183	may	must
IV, v, 213	funerall	buriall
IV, vi, 2	sea-faring men	sailors
IV, vii, 89	topt	past
V, i, 80	clawed	caught
V, i, 87	would	could
V, i, 120	scarcely	hardly
V, i, 161	is	was
V, i, 212	grinning	leering
V, i, 252	been lodg'd	haue lodg'd
V, i, 255	crants	rites
V, i, 286	hold off	away
V, ii, 9	learne	teach
V, ii, 17	vnfold	vnseale
V, ii, 40	might	should
V, ii, 197	breede	beauy
V, ii, 255	brother	mother
V, ii, 291	my lord	sir



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manuscript for the correction of the reporter's notes; that a hack poet was employed to fill in large gaps in the shorthand report by material of his own composition.⁷⁴ Of all this, however, no adequate proof has been given, and most of these conjectures have been set forth in order to explain differences between Q_1 and Q_2 , rather than to explain the condition of the text of Q_1 .

Let us consider now some of the things in Q_1 that bear evidence to its authenticity, that is, tend to show that it was procured in a legitimate way from the players. In the first place, it is a complete play: nothing is wanting that is necessary to the complete action; nothing is out of place; nothing essential in the action is left unexplained; the requisite dramatic motives are all in place. There are, to be sure, places in which there seems to be omission and curtailment, but this can be explained, as similar cases in Q_2 and F_1 have been explained, by the assumption that "cuts" have been made by the manager for stage presentation.

In the second place, from the standpoint of stage production, it is a strong, effective dramatic action. This has been put to actual test by the noted German actors and managers, Eduard and Otto Devrient.⁷⁵

In the third place, in passages where inconsistencies might easily occur they are not found. To show this, it is necessary to make comparisons with the text of Q_2 and F_1 .

In Q_1 the great soliloquy "To be or not to be" and the "nunnery" dialogue come in Act II, Scene II, immediately after Polonius has stated his plan for throwing Ophelia in the way of Hamlet. Ophelia is on the stage at the time, and

⁷⁴ Collier, *Shakespeare's Works*, Ed. of 1843, Vol. VII, p. 191. Furnivall, *Griggs' Facsimile*, Introduction, p.v. Dowden, Edition of *Hamlet*. Introduction, p. xvi. Cambridge Editors, Vol. 7, Introduction, p. x. See Sidney Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, pp. 362-3.

⁷⁵ See the interesting account in *Deutscher Bühnen und Familien Shakespeare*, by Eduard und Otto Devrient, Erster Band, *Hamlet*, Einleitung, pp. 7-19.

An amateur performance of the First Quarto version was given at St. George's Hall, London, April 16, 1881. According to contemporary notices, the acting was so bad that no adequate impression of the play was given. See *Academy*, April 23, 1881, p. 308, *Athenæum*, April 23, p. 570, *Saturday Review*, April 23, p. 526.

the plan is at once put into execution. Now the presence of Ophelia on the stage is provided for by a stage direction *Enter Corambis and Ophelia*, that comes nearly 100 lines before she is brought into the action. Here, then, is a detail, embodied in a stage direction, that might easily have been overlooked and omitted,⁷⁶ considering the brevity and imperfection of stage directions and the apparent irrelevance of Ophelia's entrance at this point; but Q₁ preserves it, and thereby avoids an appearance of inconsistency that might easily have been given.

In Q₁, in the closet scene, the queen promises to help Hamlet in his revenge; touched to repentance, she responds to her son's appeal for help (III, iv, 101-106),

And, mother, but assist me in revenge,
And in his death your infamy shall die.

Queen Hamlet, I vow by that majesty
That knows our thoughts and looks into our hearts,
I will conceal, consent, and do my best,
What stratagem so'er thou shalt devise.

Now one of the striking differences between Q₁ and the later quartos and the folios is the presence in it of a scene not found in the later texts. This scene, which comes in its natural place, towards the end of Act IV (Scene IV), consists of a dialogue between Horatio and the Queen, in which Horatio, who has just received a letter from Hamlet, tells the Queen of the Prince's escape and return to Denmark. In this scene the Queen shows that she is true to her vow to help Hamlet in his revenge. When she hears from Horatio of the King's treacherous design in sending Hamlet to England, she says:⁷⁷

⁷⁶ How easy it is to overlook it, is shown in R. G. White's discussion of the passage; that he has evidently overlooked it, is shown by his statement "And yet, according to the imperfect [Q₁] as well as the perfect [Q₂] text Ophelia is not on the stage." *Works of William Shakespeare*, Vol. XI, p. 18.

See Widgery, p. 127, for the significance of this stage direction as proof that Q₁ has the "nunnery" scene in the right place.

⁷⁷ IV, iv, 10-13, 18-20.

Then I perceive there's treason in his looks,
That seem'd to sugar o'er his villainy;
But I will soothe and please him for a time,
For murderous minds are always jealous.

And of *Hamlet* she says:

Commend me a mother's care to him;
Bid him awhile be wary of his presence,
Lest that he fail in that he goes about.

We have, then, in two passages peculiar to Q_1 —i. e., not found in Q_2 , perfect concord, in the case of a striking difference in the characterization of the Queen. This, surely, is evidence that these parts of the text of Q_1 are not the careless work of shorthand reporters, traitorous actors, and hack poets.⁷⁸

In Q_1 , in the plot of the fencing match, the *King* suggests both the poisoned rapier and the poisoned cup.⁷⁹ In Q_2 Laertes suggests the poisoned rapier. This suggestion of the poisoning of the rapier by the *King* seems to be reflected in the text of Q_1 in the last scene.

Hamlet The poisoned instrument within my hand!
Then venom to thy venom!⁸⁰

—that is, to the venomous heart of the *King*, who (as the audience knows) poisoned the rapier. In Q_2 we have,

Hamlet The point envenom'd too!
Then, venom to thy work.⁸¹

We see here how this variation between Q_1 and Q_2 in the plotting of the fencing match is reflected with marked consistency in Q_1 (as in Q_2), in the killing of the king.

I give now an example in which, in a small detail, Q_1 seems to be more consistent than Q_2 or F_1 . In Act IV, Scene III, *Hamlet*, in conversation with the *King*, discourses on the

⁷⁸ Cf. Widgery, pp. 170–171.

⁷⁹ IV, v, 19–24.

⁸⁰ V, ii, 91–92. Cf. *Soliman and Perseda*, V, iv, 117–118.

Tyrant, my lips were sawst with deadly poyson,
To plague thy hart that is so full of poyson.

⁸¹ V, ii, 332–333 (Globe ed.)

worms that devour the flesh.⁸² “Your fat *King* and your lean beggar is but variable service, two dishes but to one table.” After this statement (which is practically the same in all three texts), *Hamlet*, in Q_2 , goes on to say “A man may fish with the worm that hath eat of a *King*, and eat of the fish that hath fed of that worm.” In F_1 this is omitted, but in Q_1 ⁸³ it reads “A man may fish with that worm that hath eaten of a *King* and a beggar eat of that fish which that worm hath caught.” Then to the question of the *King*, “What dost thou mean by this” (Q_1 “What of this?”) *Hamlet* replies (Q_2) “Nothing but to shew you how a *King* may go a progress through the guts of a beggar.” (Q_1 and F_1 practically the same). Now Q_1 is the only text that mentions a beggar in this connection (“*And a beggar may eat*” etc.), and is the only text that gives here a completely consistent meaning.

It may be objected that some of these points are too small to be significant. To this it is to be answered that their significance is the greater for their smallness. They indicate accuracy, and accuracy is a note of authenticity. Perfect accuracy and completeness is not to be expected in such a text as that of Q_1 , but much inaccuracy and some incompleteness may be found in such a text without warranting the conclusion that it is “stolen and surreptitious”, pirated.

All that has been set forth here to establish a good character for the First Quarto, can not, of course, prove anything with regard to the manner in which the manuscript came into the hands of the publishers, but it does, I believe, establish a strong presumption that Ling and Trundell obtained it in a regular manner by purchase from the Lord Chamberlain’s (*King’s*) men. It is possible that it does not represent the version of the play that was on the stage at the time that the manuscript was acquired by the publishers, but even if this were true, it would not follow that it represents a version that was never performed. About a year after the publication of Q_1 Ling brought out, in Q_2 , another version

⁸² IV, iii, 24–26 (Globe ed.)

⁸³ IV, i, 29–31.

of the play, which he apparently obtained in a regular way by purchase from the King's men.⁸⁴ If he dealt honestly with the players in this case, it is a fair presumption that he did so when he acquired the text of Q_1 ; that he was not then a dishonest pirate; that the text of Q_1 came to him directly from the actors' company that owned the play; that it is not a piracy.

THE EDITING OF THE TEXT

The punctuation and spelling of the original text have been modernized, with the following exceptions: (1) The names of the characters of the play have not been changed.⁸⁵ (2) The spelling of the endings of the past tense and past participle of weak verbs has been retained; e. g., *lifted*, *back't*, *cross'd*, *dared*.

The line-division of the text has been changed, wherever it has seemed necessary to do so in order to restore the original metrical arrangement of the blank verse. Wherever such changes have been made, the line-division of the original text is indicated in the footnotes, except in prose passages. See Introduction, p. 15.

Cases of contraction, syncopation, aphæresis, and elision necessary for a satisfactory metrical reading have not been indicated, except where they are indicated in the original text.

The usual stage directions are given after the style of modern editions of Shakespeare, but the stage directions of the original are retained wherever they are sufficient. All stage directions of the original are given in the footnotes.

Emendations are given in the footnotes, and readings from Q_2 and F_1 have been adduced for comparison and suggestion. A few footnotes concern the interpretation of the text.

Notes concerning the meaning of words and other matters follow the text.

The list of *Dramatis Personae* is after the style of modern editions of *Hamlet*.

⁸⁴ This is shown by the record of the assignment of the copyright to Smethwick.

⁸⁵ In the case of a few minor characters, the form of abbreviation used in the assignment of speeches has been changed; e. g., *Centinels*, I, i, *Players*, II, ii; *Clowns*, V, i.

THE TRAGICAL HISTORY OF

HAMLET

PRINCE OF DENMARK

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

The King of Denmark.

HAMLET, son of the late, and nephew to the present King.

CORAMBIS, lord chamberlain.

HORATIO, friend to Hamlet.

LEARTES, son to Polonius.

VOLTEMAR,

CORNELIUS,

ROSSENCRAFT,

GILDERSTONE,

A Braggart Gentlemen,

} *courtiers.*

A Priest.

MARCELLUS, an officer.

Two Sentinels; BERNARDO and another.

MONTANO, servant to Polonius.

Players.

Two Clowns, grave-diggers.

FORTENBRASSE, prince of Norway.

A Captain.

English Ambassadors.

GERTRED, queen of Denmark, and mother to Hamlet.

OFELIA, daughter to Polonius.

Lords, Ladies, Officers, Soldiers, Messengers, and other Attendants.

Ghost of Hamlet's Father.

SCENE: *Denmark.*



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Therefore I have entreated him along
 With us to watch the minutes of this night,
 That if again this apparition come, 20
 He may approve our eyes, and speak to it.

Hor. Tut, 'twill not appear.

Second Sent. Sit down, I pray, and let us once again
 Assail your ears, that are so fortified,
 What we have two nights seen.

Hor. Well, sit we down, 25
 And let us hear Bernardo speak of this.

Second Sent. Last night of all,
 When yonder star that's westward from the pole
 Had made his course to illumine that part of heaven
 Where now it burns, the bell then tolling one,— 30

Enter GHOST.

Mar. Break off your talk; see, where it comes again!

Second Sent. In the same figure, like the *King* that's dead.

Mar. Thou art a scholar; speak to it, *Horatio*.

Second Sent. Looks it not like the *King*?

Hor. Most like; it horrors me with fear and wonder. 35

Second Sent. It would be spoke to.

Mar. Question it, *Horatio*.

Hor. What art thou that thus usurps the state
 In which the majesty of buried Denmark
 Did sometimes walk? by heaven I charge thee, speak!

Mar. It is offended. [*Exit Ghost*]

18-19.	Therefore	.....vs
	To	.....night
25-26.	Wel	.....speake of this
27-30.	Last	.....west-
	ward	.....to
	Illumine	.....burnes
	The	.....one
30.	<i>Enter Ghost.</i>	
39.	<i>exit Ghost.</i>	
37-39.	What	.....in
	Which	.....sometimes
	Walke	.....speake

Second Sent. See, it stalks away. 40
Hor. Stay! speak, speak! by heaven I charge thee, speak!
Mar. 'Tis gone and makes no answer.
Second Sent. How now, *Horatio*? You tremble and look pale;
 Is not this something more than fantasy?
 What think you on't? 45
Hor. Afore my God, I might not this believe
 Without the sensible and true avouch
 Of my own eyes.
Mar. Is it not like the *King*?
Hor. As thou art to thyself:
 Such was the very armor he had on 50
 When he the ambitious Norway combated;
 So frown'd he once, when, in an angry parle,
 He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.
 'Tis strange.
Mar. Thus twice before, and jump at this dead hour, 55
 With martial stalk he passed through our watch.
Hor. In what particular to work, I know not;
 But in the thought and scope of my opinion,
 This bodes some strange eruption to the state.
Mar. Good now, sit down, and tell me he that knows, 60
 Why this same strict and most observant watch
 So nightly toils the subject of the land,
 And why such daily cast of brazen cannon,
 And foreign mart for implements of war;
 Why such impress of ship-wrights, whose sore task 65
 Does not divide the Sunday from the week;
 What might be toward, that this sweaty march
 Doth make the night joint laborer with the day:
 Who is't that can inform me?

46-48. Aforewithout
 theeyes
 53. sleaded pollax Q₁ Q₂ sledded Pollax F₁.
 56. Marshall Q₁, martiall Q₂.
 58. *thought*] grosse Q₂.
 63. cost Q₁ Q₂ Cast F₁.
 67. *march*] hast Q₂ F₁.

Hor. Marry, that can I;
 At least the whisper goes so. Our late King 70
 Was, as you know, by Fortenbrasse of Norway,
 Thereto prickt on by a most emulous cause,
 Dared to the combat; in which our valiant Hamlet—
 For so this side of our known world esteemed him—
 Did slay this Fortenbrasse, who by a sealed compact, 75
 Well ratified by law and heraldry,
 Did forfeit with his life all those his lands
 Which he stood seized of to the conqueror;
 Against the which a moiety competent
 Was gaged by our king. Now, sir, young Forten-
 brasse 80
 Of inapproved mettle hot and full,
 Hath in the skirts of Norway here and there
 Sharkt up a sight of lawless resolute,
 For food and diet to some enterprise
 That hath a stomach in't. And this, I take it, 85
 Is the chief head and ground of this our watch.

Re-enter GHOST.

But, lo, behold! see where it comes again!
 I'll cross it, though it blast me. Stay, illusion!
 If there be any good thing to be done,
 That may do ease to thee, and grace to me, 90
 Speak to me.

71. Who as you know was Q₁ Was as you knowe Q₂.
 69-73. Maryso
 OurForten-
 BrasseNorway
 Theretoto
 TheHamlet
 75. seale Q₁ seald Q₂ seal'd F₁.
 78. to] by Q₁ to Q₂ F₁.
 75-78. DidFortenbrasse
 Wholaw
 Andthose
 Hisconqueror
 80. Wasking
 NowFortenbrasse
 85-86. Thatthe
 Chiefwatch
 86. *Enter the Ghost.*

If thou art privy to thy country's fate,
Which, haply, foreknowing may prevent,
O, speak to me.

Or if thou hast extorted in thy life, 95
Or hoarded treasure in the womb of earth,
For which, they say, you spirits oft walk in death,
Speak to me; stay, and speak! Stop it, Marcellus.

Second Sent. 'Tis here! [Exit Ghost

Hor. 'Tis here! 100

Mar. 'Tis gone!

O, we do it wrong, being so majestic,
To offer it the show of violence;
For it is, as the air, invulnerable,
And our vain blows malicious mockery. 105

Second Sent. It was about to speak when the cock crew.

Hor. And then it faded, like a guilty thing
Upon a fearful summons. I have heard,
The cock, that is the trumpet to the morning,
Doth with his early and shrill crowing throat 110
Awake the god of day, and at his sound,
Whether in earth or air, in sea or fire,
The stragant and erring spirit hies
To his confines: and of the truth hereof
This present object made probation. 115

Mar. It faded on the crowing of the cock.
Some say, that ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long;
And then, they say, no spirit dare walk abroad; 120
The nights are wholesome; then no planet strikes,

93- 94. Whichme

97- 98. Forspeake
toMarcellus

98. and speake, speake, Q₁ and speake Q₂ F₁

99. *exit Ghost*

101-103. Tismaiesti-
callviolence

104. invulnerable Q₁ invulnerable Q₂ F₁.

120. dare sturre Q₂, can walke F₁.

121. planet frikes Q₁ plannets strike Q₂ planets strike F₁.

No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,
So gracious and so hallowed is that time.

Hor. So have I heard, and do in part believe it.

But see, the sun, in russet mantle clad, 125

Walks o'er the dew of yon high mountain top:

Break we our watch up; and by my advice,

Let us impart what we have seen to-night

Unto young *Hamlet*, for, upon my life,

This spirit, dumb to us, will speak to him. 130

Do you consent we shall acquaint him with it,

As needful in our love, fitting our duty?

Mar. Let's do't, I pray; and I this morning know

Where we shall find him most conveniently.

[*Exeunt*

SCENE II.—*A Room of State in the Castle.*

Enter KING, QUEEN, HAMLET, LEARTES, CORAMBIS, VOLTEMAR, CORNELIUS, Lords and Attendants.

King. Lords, we here have writ

To Fortenbrasse, nephew to old Norway,

Who, impotent and bed-rid, scarcely hears

Of this his nephew's purpose. And we here dispatch

You, good Cornelius, and you, Voltemar, 5

For bearers of these greetings to old Norway,

Giving to you no further personal power

To business with the king

Than those related articles do show.

Farewell, and let your haste commend your duty. 10

Corn. Vol. In this and all things will we show our duty.

1. *Enter King, Queene, Hamlet, Leartes, Corambis, and the two Ambassadors, with Attendants.*

1-4. Lordes Fortenbrasse
Nephew impudent
And his
Nephews dispatch

3. impudent Q₁ impotent Q₂ F₁.

5. Yong Q₁ You Q₂ Cornelia Q₁ Cornelius Q₂.

6-7. For olde
Norway power

9. delated Q₂ dilated F₁.

King. We doubt it nothing; heartily farewell.

[*Exeunt Voltemar and Cornelius*

And now, Lear, what's the news with you?

You said you had a suit; what is't Lear?

Lear. My gracious lord, your favorable license, 15

Now that the funeral rites are all performed,

I may have leave to go again to France.

For though the favor of your grace might stay me,

Yet something is there whispers in my heart,

Which makes my mind and spirits bend all for 20

France.

King. Have you your father's leave, Lear?

Cor. He hath, my lord, wrung from me a forced grant,

And I beseech you grant your highness' leave.

King. With all our heart; Lear, fare thee well.

Lear. I, in all love and duty, take my leave. [*Exit* 25

King. And now, princely son Hamlet,

What means these sad and melancholy moods?

For your intent going to Wittenberg,

We hold it most unmeet and inconvenient,

Being the joy and half heart of your mother; 30

Therefore let me intreat you stay in court,

All Denmark's hope, our cousin and dearest son.

Ham. My lord, 'tis not the sable suit I wear,

No, nor the tears that still stand in my eyes,

Nor the distracted haviour in the visage, 35

Nor all together mixt with outward semblance,

Is equal to the sorrow of my heart.

Him I have lost I must of force forego;

These but the ornaments and suits of woe.

King. This shows a loving care in you, son Hamlet. 40

But, you must think, your father lost a father,

That father dead lost his, and so shall be

Until the general ending. Therefore cease laments.

It is a fault 'gainst heaven, fault 'gainst the dead,

12. doubt nothing Q₁ doubt it nothing Q₂ F₁.

26. *Exit*.

38. have I Q₁.

42-43. Thatthe
Generallaments

A fault 'gainst nature; 45
 And in reason's common course most certain,
 None lives on earth but he is born to die.

Queen. Let not thy mother lose her prayers, *Hamlet*;
 Stay here with us; go not to Wittenberg.

Ham. I shall in all my best obey you, madam. 50

King. Spoke like a kind and a most loving son.
 And there's no health the king shall drink to-day,
 But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell
 The rouse the king shall drink unto Prince *Hamlet*.

[*Exeunt all but Hamlet*]

Ham. O that this too much griev'd and sallied flesh 55

Would melt to nothing, or that the universal
 Globe of heaven would turn all to a chaos!
 O God! within two months, no, not two, married
 Mine-uncle. O, let me not think of it!

My father's brother, but no more like my father 60

Than I to *Hercules*. Within two months,
 Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears
 Had left their flushing in her galled eyes,
 She married. O God! a beast devoid of reason
 Would not have made such speed.—Frailty, thy name
 is woman. 65

Why, she would hang on him, as if increase
 Of appetite had grown by what it looked on.

O wicked, wicked speed, to make
 With such dexterity to incestuous sheets!

Ere yet the shoes were old 70

- 45–46. A fault reasons
 Common certaine,
 54. *Exeunt all but Hamlet.*
 60–65. My like
 My *Hercules*
 Within most
 Vnrighteous flushing
 In beast
 Deuoyd made
 Such woman
 62. teates Q₁ teares Q₂.
 68–70. O such
 Dexteritie sheetes
 Ere olde
 68–69. make such Q₁ post with such Q₂ F₁.



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Ere ever I had seen that day, *Horatio!*
O, my father,—methinks I see my father.

Hor. Where my lord?

Ham. Why, in my mind's eye, *Horatio.*

Hor. I saw him once; he was a gallant king.

Ham. He was a man, take him for all in all, 100
I shall not look upon his like again.

Hor. My lord, I think I saw him yesternight.

Ham. Saw! who?

Hor. My lord, the king your father.

Ham. Ha, ha, the king my father, ke you! 105

Hor. Season your admiration for a while
With an attentive ear, till I may deliver,
Upon the witness of these gentlemen,
This wonder to you.

Ham. For God's love, let me hear it.

Hor. Two nights together had these gentlemen, 110
Marcellus and Bernardo, on their watch,
In the dead vast and middle of the night,
Been thus incountered: a figure like your father
Armed to point exactly, cap-a-pie,

Appears before them; thrice he walks 115
Before their weak and fear-oppressed eyes,
Within his truncheon's length, while they, distilled
Almost to jelly with the act of fear,
Stands dumb and speak not to him. This to me
In dreadful secrecy impart they did; 120
And I with them the third night kept the watch;
Where, as they had delivered form of the thing,
Each part made true and good, the apparition comes.
I knew your father; these hands are not more like.

Ham. 'Tis very strange. 125

97. O my father, my father Q₁ My father Q₂ F₁.

113. incountered by a Q₁ incountred, a Q₂.

117-119. Withinlength

Whilegelly

Withdumbe

Andmee

123-124. Eachgood

Thefather

Theselike

Hor. As I do live, my honor'd lord, 'tis true;
And we did think it right done in our duty
To let you know it.

Ham. Where was this?

Mar. My lord, upon the platform where we watched. 130

Ham. Did you not speak to it?

Hor. My lord, we did,
But answer made it none; yet once methought
It was about to speak, and lifted up
His head to motion, like as he would speak;
But even then the morning cock crew loud, 135
And in all haste it shrank away and vanished
Our sight.

Ham. Indeed, indeed, sirs, but this troubles me.
Hold you the watch to-night?

All. We do, my lord.

Ham. Armed, say ye?

All. Armed, my good lord.

Ham. From top to toe? 140

All. My good lord, from head to foot.

Ham. Why, then saw you not his face?

Hor. O yes, my lord, he wore his beaver up.

Ham. How look't he? frowningly?

Hor. A countenance more in sorrow than in anger. 145

Ham. Pale or red?

Hor. Nay, very pale.

Ham. And fixt his eyes upon you?

Hor. Most constantly.

Ham. I would I had been there.

Hor. It would 'a much amazed you.

Ham. Yea, very like, very like. Staid it long? 150

127-128. And done
In it
131-136. My none
Yet speake
And motion
Like then
The haste
It vanished
136. in all haste, / It shruncke in haste away Q₁.

Hor. While one with moderate pace might tell a hundred.

Mar. O, longer, longer.

Ham. His beard was grizzled? no?

Hor. It was, as I have seen it in his life,

A sable silver'd.

Ham. I will watch to-night;

Perchance 't will walk again.

Hor. I warrant it will. 155

Ham. If it assume my noble father's person,

I'll speak to it, if hell itself should gape

And bid me hold my peace. Gentlemen,

If you have hitherto concealed this sight,

Let it be tenable in your silence still; 160

And whatsoever else shall chance to-night,

Give it an understanding, but no tongue:

I will requite your loves. So fare you well:

Upon the platform, 'twixt eleven and twelve,

I'll visit you.

All. Our duties to your honor. 165

Ham. O, your loves, your loves, as mine to you: farewell.

[*Exeunt all but Hamlet*

My father's spirit in arms! Well, all's not well;

I doubt some foul play. Would the night were come!

Till then sit still, my soul: foul deeds will rise,

Though all the world o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes. 170

[*Exit.*

151. Whilepace

Mighthundred

152. grisleld Q₁.

154. silver Q₁ silver'd Q₂ F₁.

154-155. I willagain

159. hither Q₁ hetherto Q₂.

165. *exeunt.*

166-168. Oyou

FarewellArmes

Wellplay

Wouldcome

170. *Exit.*

SCENE III.—*A Room in Polonius's House.**Enter* LEARTES *and* OFELIA.

Lear. My necessaries are inbarkt; I must aboard;
 But ere I part, mark what I say to thee:
 I see Prince *Hamlet* makes a show of love;
 Beware, *Ofelia*, do not trust his vows.
 Perhaps he loves you now, and now his tongue 5
 Speaks from his heart; but yet take heed, my sister;
 The chariest maid is prodigal enough,
 If she unmask her beauty to the moon;
 Virtue itself 'scapes not calumnious thoughts.
 Believe't *Ofelia*; therefore keep aloof, 10
 Lest that he trip thy honor and thy fame.

Ofel. Brother, to this I have lent attentive ear,
 And doubt not but to keep my honor firm.
 But, my dear brother,
 Do not you, like to a cunning sophister, 15
 Teach me the path and ready way to heaven,
 While you, forgetting what is said to me,
 Yourself, like to a careless libertine,
 Doth give his heart his appetite at full,
 And little reckes how that his honor dies. 20

Lear. No, fear it not, my dear *Ofelia*.
 Here comes my father.
 Occasion smiles upon a second leave.

Enter CORAMBIS

Hor. Yet here, *Leartes*? Aboard, aboard, for shame!
 The wind sits in the shoulder of your sail, 25
 And you are staid for. There; my blessing with thee!
 And these few precepts in thy memory:
 Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar;
 Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,

1. *Enter Leartes and Ofelia.*
 14–15. Butyou
 Likesophister
 22–23. Hereleauē.
 23. *Enter Corambis.*
 29. adoptions Q₁ a doption Q₂ adoption F₁.

Grapple them to thee with a hoop of steel, 30
 But do not dull the palm with entertain
 Of every new unfledg'd courage. Beware
 Of entrance into a quarrel; but being in,
 Bear it that the opposed may beware of thee.
 Costly thy apparel as thy purse can buy, 35
 But not exprest in fashion;
 For the apparel oft proclaims the man;
 And they of France of the chief rank and station
 Are of a most select and general chief in that.
 This above all: to thy own self be true, 40
 And it must follow, as the night the day,
 Thou canst not then be false to anyone.
 Farewell: my blessing with thee!

Lear. I humbly take my leave. Farewell, Ofelia!
 And remember well what I have said to you. 45

Ofel. It is already lock't within my heart,
 And you yourself shall keep the key of it.

[*Exit Lear*]

Cor. What is't, Ofelia, he hath said to you?

Ofel. Something touching the Prince *Hamlet*.

Cor. Marry, well thought on: 50

'Tis given me to understand that you
 Have been too prodigal of your maiden presence
 Unto Prince *Hamlet*:

If it be so—as so 'tis given to me,
 And that in way of caution—I must tell you, 55
 You do not understand yourself so well
 As it befits my honor and your credit.

32. courage Q₁ Q₂ Comrade F₁.

32-33. Ofcourage
 Bewarein

38-39. The punctuation of these obscure lines is that of Q₁.

45. *exit*.

50-57. Maryvnderstand
 Thatpresence
 Vntoso

Ascaution

Iselfe

Socredite

57. as befits Q₁ As it behooves Q₂.

Ofel. My lord, he hath made many tenders
Of his love to me.

Cor. Tenders! ay, ay, tenders you may call them. 60

Ofel. And withal, such earnest vows.

Cor. Springes to catch woodcocks.

What! do not I know, when the blood doth burn,
How prodigal the tongue lends the heart vows?
In brief, 65

Be more scanter of your maiden presence,
Or tendring thus, you'll tender me a fool.

Ofel. I shall obey, my lord, in all I may.

Cor. Ofelia, receive none of his letters;

For lovers lines are snares to intrap the heart. 70

Refuse his tokens; both of them are keys
To unlock chastity unto desire.

Come in, Ofelia. Such men often prove
Great in their words, but little in their love.

Ofel. I will, my lord. *[Exeunt 75*

SCENE IV.—*The Platform.*

Enter HAMLET, HORATIO, and MARCELLUS

Ham. The air bites shrewd;
It is an eager and an nipping wind.
What hour is't?

Hor. I think it lacks of twelve. *[Sound trumpets*

Mar. No 'tis struck.

Hor. Indeed? I heard it not. What doth this mean, my
lord? 5

Ham. O, the king doth wake to-night and takes his rouse,
Keeps wassail, and the swaggering up-spring reels;

58-59. mylove to me.

65-66. Inpresence.

75. *exeunt.*

1. *Enter Hamlet, Horatio, and Marcellus.*

1-3. Theand

Ani'st

Itwelve

3. *Sound Trumpets.*

7. keepe Q₁ keepes Q₂ F₁.

And as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
The triumphs of his pledge.

Hor. Is it a custom here? 10

Ham. Ay, marry, is't, and though I am native here,
And to the manner born, it is a custom
More honor'd in the breach than in the observance.

Enter the GHOST

Hor. Look, my lord, it comes!

Ham. Angels and ministers of grace defend us! 15

Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd,
Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell,
Be thy intents wicked or charitable,

Thou comest in such questionable shape
That I will speak to thee: I'll call thee Hamlet, 20

King, father, royal Dane: O, answer me!

Let me not burst in ignorance; but say

Why thy canoniz'd bones, hearsed in death,
Have burst their cerements; why thy sepulchre,

In which we saw thee quietly interr'd, 25

Hath burst his ponderous and marble jaws,

To cast thee up again. What may this mean,

That thou, dead corse, again, in complete steel,

Revisits thus the glimpses of the moon,

Making night hideous; and we fools of nature 30

So horridly to shake our disposition

With thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls?

Say, speak, wherefore? what may this mean?

8. dreames Q₁ drains Q₁ deines F₁.

11-13. I maryam

Natieborne

Itbreach

Thenobservance

13. *Enter the Ghost.*

17. heanen Q₁.

20-23. Thatthee

HeDane

Oignorance

Butdeath

24. ceremonies Q₁ cerements Q₂.



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SCENE V.—*Another Part of the Platform.**Enter GHOST and HAMLET.**Ham.* I'll go no farther; whither wilt thou lead me?*Ghost.* Mark me.*Ham.* I will.*Ghost.* I am thy father's spirit;

Doom'd for a time to walk the night,

And all the day confin'd in flaming fire,

Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature 5

Are purged and burnt away.

Ham. Alas, poor ghost!*Ghost.* Nay, pity me not, but to my unfolding

Lend thy list'ning ear. But that I am forbid

To tell the secrets of my prison-house,

I would a tale unfold whose lightest word 10

Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,

Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,

Thy knotted and combined locks to part

And each particular hair to stand on end,

Like quills upon the fretful porpentine: 15

But this same blazon must not be to ears

Of flesh and blood. *Hamlet*, if ever thou

Didst thy dear father love—

Ham. O God!*Ghost.* Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder. 20*Ham.* Murder?*Ghost.* Yea, murder in the highest degree;1. *Enter Ghost and Hamlet.*

2-4. Itime

Today

Confindefire

16-18. Butblood

Hamletlove

As in the least 'tis bad, but mine most foul,
Beastly, and unnatural.

Ham. Haste me to know it, that I, with wings as swift
As meditation or the thought of it, 25
May sweep to my revenge.

Ghost. O, I find thee apt;
And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed
Which roots itself in ease on Lethe wharf—
Brief let me be.

'Tis given out that, sleeping in my orchard, 30
A serpent stung me; so the whole ear of Denmark
Is with a forged process of my death
Rankly abus'd; but know, thou noble youth,
He that did sting thy father's heart now wears his
crown.

Ham. O my prophetic soul! My uncle! My uncle! 35

Ghost. Yea, he:
That incestuous wretch, won to his will with gifts,—
O wicked will and gifts, that have the power
So to seduce!—my most seeming-virtuous queen.
But virtue, as it never will be moved, 40
Though lewdness court it in a shape of heaven,
So lust, though to a radiant angel linkt,
Would sate itself from a celestial bed,

- 22-23. Asbad
- Butunnatural
- 24-26. Hasteswift as
- meditationrevenge
- 24. that with Q₁ that I with Q₂.
- 26-29. Obe
- Thenease
- Onbe
- 28. A half line seems to be lost here, corresponding to *Would'st thou not sturre in this, Q₂*.
- 32-34. Isabusde
- Butsting
- Thycrowne
- 36-37. Yeagifts
- 40. vertne Q₁.
- 43. sate] fate Q₁ sort Q₂ sate F₁.

And prey on garbage.

But soft! methinks I scent the morning's air; 45

Brief let me be. Sleeping within my orchard,

My custom always in the afternoon,

Upon my secure hour thy uncle came,

With juice of hebona in a vial,

And through the porches of my ears did pour 50

The leprous distilment, whose effect

Holds such an enmity with blood of man

That swift as quicksilver it posteth through

The natural gates and alleys of the body,

And turns, like eager droppings into milk, 55

The thin and wholesome blood;

And all my smooth body barked and tetter'd over.

Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother's hand

Of crown, of queen, of life, of dignity,

At once deprived; 60

No reckoning made, but sent unto my grave

With all my accompts and sins upon my head.

Ham. O horrible! most horrible! O God!

Ghost. If thou hast nature in thee, bear it not;

44-51. Andme thinkes

Ibe

Sleepingalwayes

Inhoure

ThyHebona

Ineares

Dideffect

52. Hold Q_1 .

53. quicksilner Q_1 .

55-56. Q_1 reads: And turnes the thinne and wholesome blood

Like eager dropings into milke.

I have changed the order of the last two phrases to improve the metre; this change is supported by the order in Q_2 .

60-61. Atmade of

Butgraue

61. made of Q_1 . The *of* has probably been repeated from l. 59.

63. Only the words *O God* are assigned to Hamlet, the rest of the line to the Ghost; but it is evident that the whole line belongs to Hamlet. Q_2 reads *O horrible, ô horrible, most horrible*, assigned to the Ghost. Many editors assign the line to Hamlet. See Furness I. p. 104.

But, howsoever, let not thy heart conspire 65
 Against thy mother aught; leave her to heaven
 And to the burthen that her conscience bears.

I must be gone;
 The glow-worm shows the matin to be near,
 And 'gins to pale his uneffectual fire. 70

Hamlet, adieu, adieu! remember me. [*Exit*

Ham. O all you host of heaven! O earth! What else?

And shall I couple hell? Remember thee?

Yes, thou poor ghost!

From the tables of my memory I'll wipe away 75

All saws of books, all trivial fond conceits,

That ever youth or else observance noted,

And thy remembrance all alone shall sit.

Yes, yes, by heaven! A damn'd, pernicious villain!

Murderous, bawdy, smiling, damned villain! 80

My tables,—meet it is I set it down,

That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain;

At least I am sure it may be so in Denmark.

[*Writing*

So, uncle, there you are, there you are.

Now to the word; it is "Adieu, adieu; 85

Remember me." So, 'tis enough; I have sworn.

Enter HORATIO *and* MARCELLUS.

Hor. My lord, my lord!

65-66. Butheart

Conspireaught

Leaueheauen

68-70. IMartin

Tofire

69. Martin Q₁ matine Q₂ F₁.

71. *Exit.* ..

71. Hamlet adue, adue, adue Q₁ Adiew, adiew, adiew Q₂ Adue,
 adue Hamlet F₁, cf. l. 85.

74-76. Yestables

OfBookes

Allconceites

80. Murderons Q₁.

85. words Q₁.

85-86. Nowme

Soesworne

87. *Enter. Horatio,*
and Marcellus.

Mar. Lord Hamlet!

Hor. Illo, lo, ho, ho!

Ham. Illo, lo, so, ho, so! come, boy, come. 90

Hor. Heavens secure him!

Mar. How is't, my noble lord?

Hor. What news, my lord?

Ham. O, wonderful, wonderful!

Hor. Good my lord, tell it.

Ham. No, not I; you'll reveal it.

Hor. Not I, my lord, by heaven.

Mar. Nor I, my lord.

Ham. How say you, then; would heart of man once think it?

But you'll be secret?

Both. Ay, by heaven, my lord. 96

Ham. There's never a villain dwelling in all Denmark

But he's an arrant knave.

Hor. There need no ghost come from the grave to tell

You this.

Ham. Right; you are in the right; 100

And therefore, without more circumstance at all,

I hold it meet we shake hands and part;

You, as your business and desires shall lead you;

For every man hath business and desires,

Such as it is; and, for my own poor part, 105

Look you, I'll go pray.

89. Ill, lo, Q₁ Illo Q₂ F₁.

90. *Mar.* Q₁. Ill, lo, Q₁ Hillo, Q₂ F₁.

95-96. Howman

Oncesecret

Ilord

100-106. Righttherefore

Iall

Weebusines

Andlooke you

Euerysuch

Aspray

101-102. Q₁ reads *I holde it meet without more circumstance at all.*

I have changed the order here; the improvement in metre effected by the change seems to indicate that this is the original order of the words. It is the order of Q₂.

104-106. In Q₁ the words *look you* follow *for* (l. 104). They are evidently out of place, for they disturb the metre. I have transferred them to l. 106; this is their position in Q₂.

Hor. These are but wild and whirling words, my lord.

Ham. I am sorry they offend you, heartily;

Yes, faith, heartily.

Hor. There's no offence, my lord.

Ham. Yes, by Saint Patrick, but there is, *Horatio*, 110

And much offence too. Touching this vision,

It is an honest ghost, that let me tell you;

For your desire to know what is between us,

O'ermaster it as you may. And now, kind friends,

As you are friends, scholars, and gentlemen, 115

Grant me one poor request.

Both. What is't, my lord?

Ham. Never make known what you have seen to-night.

Both. My lord, we will not. †

Ham. Nay, but swear.

Hor. In faith,

My lord, not I.

Mar. Nor I, my lord, in faith.

Ham. Nay, upon my sword; indeed, upon my sword. 120

Ghost. [*Under the stage*] Swear.

Ham. Ha, ha! Come; you hear this fellow in the cellarage;

Here consent to swear.

Hor. Propose the oath, my lord.

Ham. Never to speak what you have seen to-night,

Swear by my sword. 125

Ghost. Swear.

Ham. *Hic et ubique?* Nay, then we'll shift our ground.

Come hither, gentlemen, and lay your hands

108–109. Ifaith hartily

Ther'slord.

113. desires Q₁.

114–116. Or'e maistermay

Andfrends

Schollersgentlmen

Grantrequest

115. *you*] *yon* Q₁.

118–119. InI

Norfaith

121. *The Gost vnder the stage.*

123. *Here*] It is possible that this word (not found in Q₂ or F₁) is an erroneous repetition of *hear*, l. 122. In Q₁ both words are spelled *here*.

Again upon this sword. Never to speak
Of that which you have seen, swear by my sword. 130

Ghost. Swear.

Ham. Well said, old mole! canst work in the earth so fast?
A worthy pioner! Once more remove.

Hor. Day and night, but this is wondrous strange!

Ham. And therefore as a stranger give it welcome. 135

There are more things in heaven and earth, *Horatio*,
Than are dream't of in your philosophy.

But come; here, as before, you never shall,
How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself,
As I perchance hereafter shall think meet 140

To put an antic disposition on,
That you, at such times seeing me, never shall,
With arms incombred thus, or this head-shake,
Or by pronouncing some undoubtful phrase,

As "Well, well, we know", or "We could and if 145

We would", or "There be, and if they might",
Or such ambiguous giving out, to note

That you know aught of me: this not to do,
So grace and mercy at your most need help you,
Swear. 150

Ghost. Swear.

Ham. Rest, rest, perturbed spirit! [*They swear*] So, gen-
tlemen,

In all my love I do commend me to you;
And what so poor a man as *Hamlet* may
To pleasure you, God willing, shall not want. 155

Nay, come, let's go together;

But still your fingers on your lips, I pray.

The time is out of joint;—O cursed spite

That ever I was born to set it right!—

Nay, come, let's go together. [*Exeunt* 160

132-133. Wellearth?

soremoue

145-150. Aswould

Orambiguous

Giuingmee

Thismercie

Atswear

160. *Exeunt.*



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Mon. He closeth with him in the consequence.

Cor. Ay, you say right, he closeth with him thus;
This will he say,—let me see what he will say;
Marry this: 20

I saw him yesterday or t'other day,
Or then or at such a time, a-dicing,
Or at tennis, ay, or drinking drunk, or ent'ring
Of a house of lightness, *videlicet*, brothel.

Thus, sir, 25

Do we that know the world, being men of reach,
By indirections find directions forth;

And so shall you my son. You ha' me, ha' you not?

Mon. I have, my lord.

Cor. Well, fare you well; commend me to him. 30

Mon. I will, my lord.

Cor. And bid him ply his music.

Mon. My lord, I will. [*Exit*

Pol. Farewell.

Enter OFELIA.

How now, Ofelia! what's the news with you?

Ofel. O, my dear father, such a change in nature, 35

So great an alteration in a prince,

So pitiful to him, fearful to me,

A maiden's eye ne'er looked on!

Cor. Why, what's the matter, my Ofelia?

Ofel. O, young prince *Hamlet*, the only flower of Denmark! 40

He is bereft of all the wealth he had;

The jewel that adorn'd his feature most

Is filcht and stol'n away; his wit's bereft him.

He found me walking in the gallery all alone;

There comes he to me with a distracted look 45

His garters lagging down, his shoes untied,

20–21. Maryday

24. viz. Q₁ Videlizet Q₂ *Videlicet* F₁.

25–26. Thusreach

32. *exit.*

33. *Enter, Ofelia.*

33–34. Farewelyou

And fixt his eyes so steadfast on my face,
 As if they had vow'd this is their latest object.
 Small while he stood, but gripes me by the wrist,
 And there he holds my pulse, till, with a sigh, 50
 He doth unclasp his hold, and parts away,
 Silent as is the mid-time of the night.
 And as he went his eye was still on me,
 For thus his head over his shoulder looked;
 He seemed to find the way without his eyes, 55
 For out of doors he went without their help,
 And so did leave me.

Cor. Mad for thy love!
 What, have you given him any cross words of late?

Ofel. I did repel his letters, deny his gifts,
 As you did charge me.

Cor. Why, that hath made him mad. 60
 By heav'n 'tis as proper for our age to cast
 Beyond ourselves, as 'tis for the younger sort
 To have their wantonness. Well, I am sorry
 That I was so rash; but, what remedy?
 Let's to the king: this madness may prove 65
 Though wild awhile, yet more true to thy love.

[*Exeunt*

SCENE II.—*A Room in the Castle.*

*Enter KING, QUEEN, ROSSENCRAFT, GILDERSTONE, and
 Attendants.*

King. Right noble friends, that our dear cousin Hamlet
 Hath lost the very heart of all his sense,
 It is most right, and we most sorry for him.
 Therefore we do desire, even as you tender
 Our care to him and our great love to you, 5
 That you will labor but to wring from him

63. *have*] *leau* Q₁ *lack discretion* Q₂ F₁.

66. *exeunt*.

1. *Enter King and Queene, Rossencraft, and Gilderstone.*

The cause and ground of his distemperancy.
Do this, the king of Denmark shall be thankful.

Ros. My lord, whatsoever lies within our power
Your majesty may more command in words 10
Than use persuasions to your liege men, bound
By love, by duty, and obedience.

Guil. What we may do for both your majesties,
To know the grief troubles the prince your son,
We will endeavor all the best we may; 15
So in all duty do we take our leave.

King. Thanks, Guildenstone and gentle Rossencraft.

Queen. Thanks, Rossencraft and gentle Gilderstone.

[*Exeunt Rossencraft and Gilderstone*

Enter CORAMBIS and OFELIA

Cor. My lord, the ambassadors are joyfully
Return'd from Norway. 20

King. Thou still hast been the father of good news.

Cor. Have I, my lord? I assure your grace
I hold my duty as I hold my life,
Both to my God and to my sovereign King;
And I believe, or else this brain of mine 25
Hunts not the train of policy so well
As it had wont to do, but I have found
The very depth of Hamlet's lunacy.

Queen. God grant he hath.

Enter VOLTEMAR and CORNELIUS.

King. Now Voltemar, what from our brother Norway? 30

Volt. Most fair return of greetings and desires.
Upon our first, he sent out to suppress
His nephew's levies, which to him appear'd
To be a preparation 'gainst the Polack,

18. *Enter Corambis and Ofelia.*

29. *Enter the Ambassadors.*

31. returnes Q₁ returne Q₂.

But, better look't into, he truly found 35
 It was against your highness; whereat grieved,
 That so his sickness, age, and impotence
 Was falsely borne in hand, sends out arrests
 On Fortenbrasse, which he, in brief, obeys,
 Receives rebuke from Norway, and, in fine, 40
 Makes vow before his uncle never more
 To give the assay of arms against your majesty.
 Whereon old Norway, overcome with joy,
 Gives him three thousand crowns in annual fee,
 And his commission to employ those soldiers, 45
 So levied as before, against the Polack;
 With an intreaty, herein further shown, [*Giving a paper*
 That it would please you to give quiet pass
 Through your dominions for that enterprise,
 On such regards of safety and allowances 50
 As therein are set down.

King. It likes us well, and at fit time and leisure
 We'll read and answer these his articles.
 Meantime we thank you for your well-took labor;
 Go to your rest; at night we'll feast together: 55
 Right welcome home!

[*Exeunt Voltemar and Cornelius*]

Cor. This business is very well dispatched.
 Now, my lord,
 Touching the young prince *Hamlet*, certain it is
 That he is mad; mad let us grant him then. 60
 Now, to know the cause of this effect,
 Or else to say, the cause of this defect,
 For this effect defective comes by cause—

Queen. Good my lord, be brief.

- 54-55. Meane timewell
- Tooketogether
- 56. *exeunt Ambassadors.*
- 58-60. NowHamlet
- Certainethen

Cor. Madam I will. My lord,
I have a daughter; have, while she's mine, 65
For what we think is surest we often lose.
Now to the prince. My lord, but note this letter,
The which my daughter in obedience
Deliver'd to my hands.

King. Read it, my lord.

Cor. Mark, my lord. 70

*Doubt that in earth is fire;
Doubt that the stars do move;
Doubt truth to be a liar;
But do not doubt I love.*

To the beautiful Ofelia. 75

Thine ever, the most unhappy Prince Hamlet.

My lord, what do you think of me,

Ay, or what might you think, when I saw this?

King. As of a true friend and a most loving subject.

Cor. I would be glad to prove so. Now when 80

I saw this letter, thus I bespake my maiden;

“Lord Hamlet is a prince, out of your star,

And one that is unequal for your love”.

Therefore I did command her refuse his letters,

Deny his tokens, and to absent herself. 85

She, as my child, obediently obey'd me.

Now since which time, seeing his love thus cross'd,

Which I took to be idle and but sport,

He straightway grew into a melancholy,

From that unto a fast, then unto distraction, 90

Then into a sadness, from that unto a madness,

And so by continuance and weakness of the brain

Into this frenzy which now possesseth him:

And if this be not true, take this from this.

King. Think you 'tis so? 95

64-67. Madamdaughter
Havethinke
IsPrince
Myletter
80-81. Iso
Nowmaiden

Cor. How so?

My lord, I would very fain know that thing
That I have positively said "'tis so",
And it hath fallen out otherwise.

Nay; if circumstances lead me on, 100
I'll find it out, if it were hid as deep
As the center of the earth.

King. How should we try this same?

Cor. Marry, my good lord, thus:

The prince's walk is here in the gallery;
There let Ofelia walk until he comes; 105
Yourself and I will stand close in the study.
There shall you hear the effect of all his heart;
And if it prove any otherwise than love,
Then let my censure fail another time.

King. See where he comes, poring upon a book. 110

Cor. Madam, will it please your grace to leave us here?

Queen. With all my heart. [Exit.]

Cor. And here, Ofelia, read you on this book,
And walk aloof; the king shall be unseen.

Enter HAMLET.

Ham. To be, or not to be: ay, there's the point: 115

To die,—to sleep,—is that all? Ay, all. No;
To sleep,—to dream;—ay, marry, there it goes;
For in that dream of death, when we awake,
And borne before an everlasting judge,—
From whence no passenger ever return'd, 120
The undiscovered country, at whose sight

96-98. Howknow

That thingpositively

98. Q₁ reads: *saide t'is so, positively.* I have changed the
order (to mend the metre) to that of Q₂.

101-102. Hehid

Asearth

110. *Enter Hamlet.*

111. Madamegrace

Tohere

112. *exit.*

116-117. To dieI all

Nogoes

The happy smile, and the accursed damn'd.
 But for this, the joyful hope of this,
 Who'd bear the scorns and flattery of the world,—
 Scorned by the right rich, the rich cursed of the poor, 125
 The widow being oppressed, the orphan wrong'd,—
 The taste of hunger, or a tyrant's reign,
 And thousand more calamities besides,
 To grunt and sweat under this weary life,
 When that he may his full quietus make 130
 With a bare bodkin? Who would this endure,
 But for a hope of something after death,
 Which puzzles the brain and doth confound the sense;
 Which makes us rather bear those evils we have
 Than fly to others that we know not of? 135
 Ay, that!

O, this conscience makes cowards of us all.
 Lady, in thy orisons be all my sins rememb'ed.

Ofel. My lord, I have sought opportunity,
 Which now I have, to redeliver to 140
 Your worthy hands, a small remembrance,
 Such tokens which I have received of you.

Ham. Are you fair?

Ofel. My lord?

Ham. Are you honest? 145

Ofel. What means my lord?

Ham. That if you be fair and honest, your beauty
 should admit no discourse to your honesty.

Ofel. My lord, can beauty have better privilege than
 with honesty? 150

Ham. Yea, marry, may it; for beauty may sooner trans-
 form honesty from what she was into a bawd than
 honesty can transform beauty; this was sometimes

- 136-137. I thatall
 139-142. Mynow
 Iremem-
 branceyou [As prose]
 151. may transforme Q₁ will sooner transforme Q₂.
 153. transforme Q₁.



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Ofel. Pray God restore him!

Ham. Nay, I have heard of your paintings, too; God
hath given you one face, and you make yourselves 190
another; you jig, and you amble, and you nickname
God's creatures, making your wantonness your
ignorance. A pox! 'tis scurvy; I'll no more of it;
it hath made me mad. I'll no more marriages; all
that are married, but one, shall live; the rest shall 195
keep as they are. To a nunnery, go. To a nun-
nery, go. [*Exit*

Ofel. Great God of heaven, what a quick change is this!
The courtier, scholar, soldier, all in him;
All dasht and splinter'd thence. O, woe is me, 200
To 'a seen what I have seen, see what I see! [*Exit*

Re-enter KING and CORAMBIS.

King. Love? no, no, that's not the cause.
Some deeper thing it is that troubles him.

Cor. Well, something it is, my lord; content you a while;
I will myself go feel him; let me work, 205
I'll try him every way. See where he comes.
Send you those gentlemen; let me alone
To find the depth of this; away, be gone!
[*Exit King*

Re-enter HAMLET.

Now, my good lord, do you know me?

Ham. Yea, very well; y'are a fishmonger. 210

Cor. Not I, my lord.

Ham. Then, sir, I would you were so honest a man; for
to be honest, as this age goes, is one man to be pickt
out of ten thousand.

Cor. What do you read, my lord? 215

Ham. Words, words.

Cor. What's the matter, my lord?

191. fig Q₁ gig Q₂ gidge F₁.

197. *exit.*

201. *exit.*

*Enter King and
Corambis.*

208. *exit King.*

209. *Enter Hamlet.*

Ham. Between who?

Cor. I mean the matter you read, my lord.

Ham. Marry, most vile heresy: for here the satirical 220
satire writes that old men have hollow eyes, weak
backs, grey beards, pitiful weak hams, gouty legs;
all which, sir, I most potently believe not; for, sir,
yourself shall be old as I am if, like a crab, you
could go backward. 225

Cor. [*Aside*] How pregnant his replies are, and full of
wit; yet at first he took 'me for a fishmonger. All
this comes by love, the vehemency of love; and when
I was young I was very idle, and suffered much
ecstasy in love; very near this. Will you walk out 230
of the air, my lord?

Ham. Into my grave?

Cor. By the mass, that's out of the air, indeed. [*Aside*]
Very shrewd answers. My lord, I will take my
leave of you. 235

Ham. You can take nothing from me, sir, I will more
willingly part withal. Old doting fool!

Enter ROSSENCRAFT and GILDERSTONE.

Cor. You seek Prince Hamlet; see, there he is. [*Exit*

Gil. Health to your lordship!

Ham. What, Gilderstone and Rossencraft? 240

Welcome, kind school-fellows, to Elsanoure!

Gil. We thank your grace, and would be very glad
You were as when we were at Wittenberg.

Ham. I thank you; but is this visitation free of your-
selves, or were you not sent for? Tell me true; 245
come, I know the good King and Queen sent for
you; there is a kind of confession in your eye; come,
I know you were sent for.

235. *Enter Gilderstone, and Rossencraft.*

238. *exit.*

Gil. What say you?

Ham. Nay, then I see how the wind sits; come, you were 250
sent for.

Ross. My lord, we were; and willingly, if we might know
the cause and ground of your discontent.

Ham. Why, I want preferment.

Ross. I think not so, my lord. 255

Ham. Yes, faith, this great world you see contents me
not; no, nor the spangled heavens, nor earth, nor
sea; no, nor man, that is so glorious a creature,
contents not me; no, nor woman, too, though you
laugh. 260

Gil. My lord, we laugh not at that.

Ham. Why did you laugh, then, when I said man did
not content me?

Gil. My lord, we laughed, when you said man did not
content you, what entertainment the players shall 265
have; we boarded them a' the way; they are coming
to you.

Ham. Players? what players be they?

Ross. My lord, the tragedians of the city; those that you
took delight to see so often. 270

Ham. How comes it that they travel? do they grow resty?

Gil. No, my lord; their reputation holds as it was wont.

Ham. How then?

Gil. I' faith, my lord, novelty carries it away; for the
principal public audience that came to them are 275
turned to private plays and to the humor of child-
ren.

Ham. I do not greatly wonder of it, for those that would
make mops and mows at my uncle when my father
lived, now give a hundred, two hundred pounds for 280
his picture. But they shall be welcome; he that
plays the king shall have tribute of me; the ven-
trous knight shall use his foil and target; the lover
shall sigh gratis; the clown shall make them laugh

that are tickled in the lungs; and the lady shall 285
have leave to speak her mind freely, or the blank
verse shall halt for't.

The trumpets sound. Enter CORAMBIS.

Do you see yonder great baby? he is not yet out of
his swaddling clouts.

Gil. That may be, for they say an old man is twice a 290
child.

Ham. I'll prophesy to you he comes to tell me a' the
players.—You say true; a' Monday last, 'twas so,
indeed.

Cor. My lord, I have news to tell you. 295

Ham. My lord, I have news to tell you. When Roscius
was an actor in Rome,—

Cor. The actors are come hither, my lord.

Ham. Buz, buz!

Cor. The best actors in christendom, either for comedy, 300
tragedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-historical, his-
torical-comical, comical-historical-pastoral, tragedy-
historical; Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus
too light. For the law hath writ those are the only men.

Ham. O, Jephthah, judge of Israel, what a treasure 305
hadst thou!

Cor. Why, what a treasure had he, my lord?

Ham. Why, *One fair daughter and no more,*

The which he loved passing well.

Cor. [*Aside*] Ah, still harping a' my daughter! 310

Well, my lord, if you call me Jephthah, I have a

285–287. Q₁ reads: (for't
That are tickled in the lungs, or the blanke verse shall halt
And the Lady shall haue leaue to speak her minde freely.

The second half of the first line was probably intended
to follow the second line; the compositor omitted the semi-
parenthesis that should stand before *or*. Compare the word
for't at the end of the line, which is set above the rest of
the line.

287. *The Trumpets sound, Enter Corambis.*

296. Rossios Q₁ Rossius Q₂ F₁.

301–303. No hyphens Q₁Q₂.

303. Plato Q₁ Plautus Q₂ F₁.

305, 311. Iepha Q₁ Ieptha Q₂ F₁.

311. hane Q₁.

daughter that I love passing well.

Ham. Nay, that follows not.

Cor. What follows, then, my lord?

Ham. Why, *By lot, or God wot, or As it came to pass,* 315
and so it was,—the first verse of the godly ballet
 will tell you all; for look you, where my abridge-
 ment comes.

Enter Players.

Welcome, masters; welcome all. What, my old
 friend? Thy face is valanced since I saw thee last; 320
 com'st thou to beard me in Denmark? My young
 lady and mistress! Burlady, but your ladyship
 is grown by the altitude of a chopine higher than
 you were. Pray God, sir, your voice, like a piece
 of uncurrent gold, be not crack't in the ring. Come 325
 on, masters; we'll even to't like French falconers,
 fly at anything we see; come, a taste of your
 quality; a speech, a passionate speech.

First Player. What speech, my good lord?

Ham. I heard thee speak a speech once, but it was never 330
 acted; or, if it were, never above twice; for, as I
 remember, it pleased not the vulgar; it was caviary
 to the million; but to me and others that received it
 in the like kind, cried in the top of their judgments,
 an excellent play, set down with as great modesty 335
 as cunning. One said there was no sallets in the
 lines to make them savory, but called it an honest
 method, as wholesome as sweet. Come; a speech
 in it I chiefly remember was Æneas' tale to Dido,
 and then especially where he talks of Priam's 340
 slaughter. If it live in thy memory, begin at this
 line: let me see;—

The rugged Pyrrhus like th' Hyrcanian beast,—

No, 'tis not so; it begins with 'Pyrrhus'; O, I have it:

319. *Enter players.*

329. *Players* Q₁ *Player* Q₂ 1. *Play* F₁.

332. *Caviary* Q₁ Q₂ *Caviarie* F₁.

340. *Priam's*] *Princes* Q₁ *Priam's* Q₂ F₁.

343. *arganian* Q₁ *ircanian* Q₂ *Hyrcanian* F₁.

The rugged Pyrrhus, he whose sable arms, 345
Black as his purpose, did the night resemble
When he lay couched in the ominous horse,
Hath now his black and grim complexion smeared
With heraldry more dismal; head to foot
Now is he total gules; horridly tricked 350
With blood of fathers, mothers, daughters, sons,
Bak't and imparched in coagulate gore,
Rifted in earth and fire, old grandsire Priam seeks.
 So, go on.

Cor. Afore God, my lord, well spoke, and with good accent.
First Play. Anon he finds him striking too short at Greeks, 356

His antique sword, rebellious to his arm,
Lies where it falls, unable to resist.
Pyrrhus at Priam drives, but all in rage
Strikes wide; but with the whiff and wind 360
Of his fell sword th' unnerved father falls.

Cor. Enough, my friend; 'tis too long.

Ham. It shall to the barber's with your beard. A pox,
 he's for a jig or a tale of bawdry, or else he sleeps:
 come on to Hecuba, come. 365

First Play. But who, O, who had seen the mobled queen—

Cor. "Mobled queen" is good, 'faith, very good.

First Play. All in the alarum and fear of death rise up,
And o'er her weak and all o'er-teeming loins
A blanket, and a kercher on that head 370
Where late the diadem stood; who this had seen,
With tongue-invenom'd speech, would treason have
pronounced.

For if the gods themselves had seen her then,
When she saw Pyrrhus with malicious strokes

350. guise Q₁ Gules Q₂ Geulles F₁.

352. Back't Q₁ Bak'd Q₂ F₁. calagulate Q₁ coagulate Q₂ F₁.

353. *Rifted in earth*] rosted in wrath Q₂ roasted in wrath F₁.

See Introduction, p. 12.

356, 366, 368. *Play* Q₁.

368. rose Q₁.

369–372. Andblanket

Andstoode

Whospeech

Wouldpronounced

372. *tongue-invenom'd speech.* See Introduction, p. 12.

*Mincing her husband's limbs, it would have made milch
The burning eyes of heaven, and passion in the gods.* 376

Cor. Look, my lord, if he hath not chang'd his color,
and hath tears in his eyes. No more, good heart,
no more.

Ham. 'Tis well, 'tis very well. I pray, my lord, will 380
you see the players well bestowed? I tell you they
are the chronicles and brief abstracts of the time;
after your death, I can tell you, you were better
have a bad epitaph than their ill report while you
live. 385

Cor. My lord, I will use them according to their deserts.

Ham. O, far better, man! Use every man after his
deserts, then who should 'scape whipping? Use
them after your own honor and dignity; the less
they deserve, the greater credit's yours. 390

Cor. Welcome, my good fellows. [*Exit.*]

Ham. Come hither, masters; can you not play *The
Murder of Gonsago?*

Players. Yes, my lord.

Ham. And could'st not thou for a need study me some 395
dozen or sixteen lines, which I would set down and
insert?

Player. Yes, very easily, my good lord.

Ham. 'Tis well; I thank you. Follow that lord; and,
do you hear, sirs? take heed you mock him not. 400

[*Exeunt Players*]

Gentlemen, for your kindness I thank you; and for
a time I would desire you leave me.

Gil. Our love and duty is at your command.

[*Exeunt Rosencraft and Gilderstone*]

Ham. Why, what a dunghill idiot slave am I!

Why, these players here draw water from eyes 405

375-376. Mincinglimbs
Itbeauen
Andgods

384. Epitaph Q₁ Epitaph Q₂ F₁.

391. *exit.*

398. *players* Q₁ *Play.* Q₂ F₁.

403. *Exeunt all but Hamlet.*



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ACT III

SCENE I.—*A Room in the Castle.*

Enter KING, QUEEN, CORAMBIS, ROSSENCRAFT, and GILDERSTONE.

King. Lords, can you by no means find
The cause of our son *Hamlet's* lunacy?
You, being so near in love even from his youth,
Methinks should gain more than a stranger should.

Gil. My lord, we have done all the best we could, 5
To wring from him the cause of all his grief,
But still he puts us off, and by no means
Would make an answer to that we expos'd.

Ross. Yet was he something more inclin'd to mirth 10
Before we left him, and, I take it, he
Hath given order for a play to-night,
At which he craves your highness' company.

King. With all our heart; it likes us very well.
Gentlemen, seek still to increase his mirth;
Spare for no cost; our coffers shall be open; 15
And we unto yourselves will still be thankful.

Both. In all we can, be sure you shall command.

Queen. Thanks, gentlemen; and what the Queen of Denmark
May pleasure you, be sure you shall not want.

Gil. We'll once again unto the noble prince. 20

King. Thanks to you both. Gertred, you'll see this play?

Queen. My lord, I will; and it joys me at the soul
He is inclin'd to any kind of mirth.

Cor. Madam, I pray, be ruled by me;
And, my good sovereign, give me leave to speak. 25
We cannot yet find out the very ground

1. *Enter the King, Queene, and Lordes.*

10-11. Beforeit
Henight

Of his distemperance; therefore I hold it meet,
If so it please you (else they shall not meet),
And thus it is.

King. What is't Corambis?

Cor. Marry, my good lord, this: 30

Soon, when the sports are done,
Madam, send you in haste to speak with him;
And I myself will stand behind the arras;
There question you the cause of all his grief;
And then, in love and nature unto you, 35

He'll tell you all. My lord, how think you on't?

King. It likes us well. Gertrud, what say you?

Queen. With all my heart. Soon will I send for him.

Cor. Myself will be that happy messenger,
Who hopes his grief will be reveal'd to her. 40

[*Exeunt omnes*

SCENE II.—A Hall in the Castle.

Enter HAMLET and the Players.

Ham. Pronounce me this speech trippingly a' the
tongue, as I taught thee. Marry, and you mouth it,
as a many of your players do, I'd rather hear a
town bull bellow than such a fellow speak my lines.
Nor do not saw the air thus with your hands, but 5
give everything his action with temperance. O, it
offends me to the soul to hear a robustious periwig
fellow to tear a passion in totters, into very rags,

27-29. Oftherefore

Iyou

Elseis

28. *They* refers to the Queen and Hamlet. Polonius cannot
resist the impulse to pun on *meet*.

30-31. Marydone

35-36. Andall

Myon't

37. Gertrud Q₁.

40. *exeunt omnes*.

1. *Enter Hamlet and the Players*.

7. robustious Q₁.

to split the ears of the ignorant, who, for the most part, are capable of nothing but dumb-shows and noises; I would have such a fellow whipt for o'er-doing Tarmagant; it out-herods *Herod*. 10

Player. My lord, we have indifferently reformed that among us.

Ham. The better the better; mend it all together. There be fellows that I have seen play and heard others commend them, and that highly, too, that having neither the gait of Christian, pagan, nor Turk, have so strutted and bellowed that you would 'a thought some of nature's journeymen had made men and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominable. Take heed; avoid it. 15 20

Player. I warrant you, my lord.

Ham. And, do you hear? let not your clown speak more than is set down; there be of them, I can tell you, that will laugh themselves, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh with them, albeit there is some necessary point in the play then to be observed; O, 'tis vile, and shows a pitiful ambition in the fool that useth it. And then you have some again that keeps one suit of jests, as a man is known by one suit of apparel; and gentlemen quotes his jests down in their tables before they come to the play, as thus: "Cannot you stay till I eat my porridge?" and "You owe me a quarter's wages", and "My coat wants a cullison", and "Your beer is sour", and blabbering with his lips; and thus keeping in his cinquepace of jests, when God knows, the warm clown cannot make a jest unless by chance, as a blind man catcheth a hare. Masters, tell him of it. 25 30 35 40

Players. We will, my lord.

9. ignoraut Q₁.

13. *players* Q₁ *Player* Q₂ *Play* F₁

23. *players* Q₁.

Ham. Well, go; make you ready. [*Exeunt players.*]

Enter Horatio.

Hor. Here, my lord.

Ham. Horatio, thou art even as just a man
As e'er my conversation cop'd withal. 45

Hor. O, my lord,—

Ham. Nay, why should I flatter thee?

Why should the poor be flattered?

What gain should I receive by flattering thee,
That nothing hath but thy good mind?

Let flattery sit on those time-pleasing tongues 50

To glose with them that loves to hear their praise,
And not with such as thou, *Horatio*.

There is a play to-night, wherein one scene

They have comes very near the murder of

My father. When thou shalt see that act afoot, 55

Mark thou the king; do but observe his looks;

For I mine eyes will rivet to his face,

And if he do not bleach and change at that,

It is a damned ghost that we have seen.

Horatio, have a care; observe him well. 60

Hor. My lord, mine eyes shall still be on his face,

And not the smallest alteration

That shall appear in him, but I shall note it.

Ham. Hark, they come.

Enter KING, QUEEN, CORAMBIS, OFELIA, and Lords.

King. How now, son *Hamlet*, how fare you? Shall we 65
have a play?

Ham. I' faith the chameleon's dish; not capon-cramm'd;

42. *exeunt players.*

42. There is no stage direction for *Horatio's* entrance in *Q*₁;
*Q*₂ has, *Ham.* What howe *Horatio.* *Enter Horatio.*
*F*₁ has, *Enter Horatio.*

What hoa, *Horatio.*

Cf. III, iv, 3, where there is in *Q*₁ no stage direction for
the entrance of *Hamlet*.

53–55. Therehaue
Comesfather
Whenafoote

64. *Enter King, Queene, Corambis, and other Lords.*

fed a' the air. Ay, father. My lord, you play'd
in the university?

Cor. That I did, my lord; and I was counted a good 70
actor.

Ham. What did you enact there?

Cor. My lord, I did act Julius Caesar; I was killed in the
Capitol; Brutus killed me.

Ham. It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf. 75
Come, be these players ready?

Queen. Hamlet, come sit down by me.

Ham. No, by my faith, mother; here's a metal more at-
tractive.—Lady, will you give me leave and so forth,
to lay my head in your lap? 80

Ofel. No, my lord.

Ham. Upon your lap. What, do you think I meant
country matters?

*Enter, in a dumb show, the King and the Queen; he sits
down in an arbor; she leaves him. Then enters
Lucianus with poison in a vial, and pours it in his
ears, and goes away. Then the Queen cometh and
finds him dead, and goes away with the other.*

Ofel. What means this, my lord?

Enter the Prologue.

Ham. This is miching mallecho; that means mischief. 85

Ofel. What doth this mean, my lord?

Ham. You shall hear anon; this fellow will tell you all.

Ofel. Will he tell us what this show means?

68. *Ay, father]* An answer to the King's second question, *Shall we
have a play?*

83. contrary Q₁ country Q₂ F₁.

83. *Enter in a Dumbe Shew, the King and the Queene, he sits
downe in an Arbor, she leaues him: Then enters Luci-
anus with poyson in a Viall, and powres it in his eares, and
goes away: Then the Queene commeth and findes him
dead: and goes away with the other.*

84. *Enter the Prologue.*

85. Mallico Q₁ Q₂ Malicho F₁. my chiefe Q₁ mischiefe Q₂ Mis-
chiefe F₁.

86. Accent on *this*, to mark antithesis to *that* of l. 85.

Ham. Ay, or any show you'll show him; be not afraid
to show, he'll not be afraid to tell. O, these players 90
cannot keep counsel; they'll tell all.

Prol. *For us and for our tragedy,
 Here stooping to your clemency,
 We beg your hearing patiently.*

Ham. Is't a prologue, or a posy for a ring? 95

Ofel. 'Tis short, my lord.

Ham. As women's love.

Enter the Duke and Duchess.

Duke. Full forty years are past, their date is gone,
Since happy time join'd both our hearts as one.
And now the blood that fill'd my youthful veins 100
Runs weakly in their pipes, and all the strains
Of music which whilom pleas'd mine ear
Is now a burthen that age cannot bear.

And therefore, sweet, nature must pay his due;
To heaven must I, and leave the earth with you. 105

Duch. O, say not so, lest that you kill my heart;
When death takes you, let life from me depart.

Duke. Content thyself; when ended is my date,
Thou mayst, perchance, have a more noble mate,
More wise, more youthful, and one— 110

Duch. O, speak no more, for then I am accurst;
None weds the second, but she kills the first;
A second time I kill my lord that's dead,
When second husband kisses me in bed.

Ham. [*Aside*] O, wormwood, wormwood! 115

Duke. I do believe you, sweet, what now you speak,
But what we do determine oft we break;
For our devices still are overthrown;
Our thoughts are ours, their end's none of our own.
So think you will no second husband wed, 120
But die thy thoughts when thy first lord is dead.

93. stowpiug Q₁.

97. *Enter the Duke and Dutchesse.*

109. Thon Q₁.

118. demises Q₁ deuises Q₂ Deuices F₁.

Duch. *Both here and there pursue me lasting strife,
If, once a widow, ever I be wife.*

Ham. If she should break now!

Duke. *'Tis deeply sworn. Sweet, leave me here a while; 125
My spirits grow dull, and fain I would beguile
The tedious time with sleep.*

Duch. *Sleep rock thy brain;
And never come mischance between us twain!*

[*Exit*

Ham. Madam, how do you like this play?

Queen. The lady protests too much. 130

Ham. O, but she'll keep her word.

King. Have you heard the argument? Is there no offence in it?

Ham. No offence in the world; poison in jest, poison in jest. 135

King. What do you call the name of the play?

Ham. Mouse-trap. Marry, how? Trapically. This play is the image of a murder done in Guiana: Albertus was the duke's name; his wife, Baptista. Father, it is a knavish piece a' work; but what a' that? it toucheth not us, you and I, that have free souls; let the gall'd jade wince. 140

Enter LUCIANUS.

This is one Lucianus, nephew to the king.

Ofel. Y'are as good as a chorus, my lord.

Ham. I could interpret the love you bear, if I saw the poopies dallying. 145

Ofel. Y'are very pleasant, my lord.

Ham. Who, I? Your only jig-maker. Why, what should a man do but be merry? for, look, how cheerfully

126-127. Mytedioussleep

128. *exit* Lady.

136. phy Q₁ play Q₂.

137. tropically Q₂ F₁. The reading of Q₁ may preserve a pun.

146. poopies] puppets Q₂ F₁.



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Ham. Ay, *Horatio*, I'll take the ghost's word for more than all the coin in Denmark.

Enter ROSSENCRAFT and GILDERSTONE.

Ross. Now, my lord, how is't with you?

Ham. And if the king like not the tragedy, 185

Why then, belike, he likes it not, perdy.

Ross. We are very glad to see your grace so pleasant.

My good lord,

Let us again intreat to know of you

The ground and cause of your distemperature. 190

Gil. My Lord, your mother craves to speak with you.

Ham. We shall obey, were she ten times our mother.

Ross. But, my good lord, shall I intreat thus much?

Ham. I pray, will you play upon this pipe?

Ross. Alas! my lord, I cannot. 195

Ham. Pray, will you?

Gil. I have no skill, my lord.

Ham. Why, look; it is a thing of nothing; 'tis but stopping of these holes, and with a little breath from your lips it will give most delicate music. 200

Gil. But this cannot we do, my lord.

Ham. Pray, now; pray, heartily; I beseech you.

Ross. My lord, we cannot.

Ham. Why, how unworthy a thing would you make of me! You would seem to know my stops; you would play upon me; you would search the very inward part of my heart, and dive into the secret of my soul. Zounds, do you think I am easier to be play'd on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, yet you cannot play upon me. Besides, to be demanded by a sponge. 205
210

Ross. How a sponge, my lord?

Ham. Ay, sir, a sponge; that soaks up the king's countenance, favors, and rewards; that makes his

182. *Ham.*] *Hor.* Q₁.

183. *Enter Rossencraft and Gilderstone.*

188-190. Myintreate

Todisterperature

liberality your storehouse. But such as you do the 215
king in the end best service; for he doth keep you,
as an ape doth nuts, in the corner of his jaw; first
mouths you, then swallows you; so when he hath
need of you, 'tis but squeezing of you, and, sponge,
you shall be dry again, you shall. 220

Ross. Well, my lord, we'll take our leave.

Ham. Farewell; farewell; God bless you.

[*Exit Rossencraft and Gilderstone*

Re-enter CORAMBIS.

Cor. My lord, the queen would speak with you.

Ham. Do you see yonder cloud in the shape of a camel?

Cor. 'Tis like a camel, indeed. 225

Ham. Now methinks it's like a weasel.

Cor. 'Tis back't like a weasel.

Ham. Or like a whale.

Cor. Very like a whale.

Ham. Why, then tell my mother I'll come by and by. 230

[*Exit Corambis*] Good night, *Horatio*.

Hor. Good night unto your lordship. [*Exit*

Ham. My mother, she hath sent to speak with me.

O, God! let ne'er the heart of Nero enter

This soft bosom. 235

Let me be cruel, not unnatural:

I will speak daggers; those sharp words being spent,

To do her wrong my soul shall ne'er consent. [*Exit*

SCENE III.—*A Room in the Castle.*

Enter the KING.

King. O, that this wet that falls upon my face

Would wash the crime clear from my conscience!

222. *Exit Rossencraft and Gilderstone.*

Enter Corambis.

229. *exit Coram.*

232. *exit Horatio.*

238. *exit.*

1. *Enter the King.*

When I look up to heaven, I see my trespass;
 The earth doth still cry out upon my fact,
 "Pay me the murder of a brother and a king"; 5
 And the adulterous fault I have committed.
 O, these are sins that are unpardonable!
 Why, say thy sins were blacker than is jet,
 Yet may contrition make them as white as snow.
 Ay, but still to persevere in a sin; 10
 It is an act 'gainst the universal power.
 Most wretched man, stoop, bend thee to thy prayer,
 Ask grace of heaven, to keep thee from despair.
[*He kneels*]

Enter HAMLET.

Ham. Ay, so;
 Come forth and work thy last, and thus he dies; 15
 And so am I revenged. No; not so:
 He took my father sleeping, his sins brim full;
 And how his soul stood to the state of heaven,
 Who knows, save the immortal powers? And shall
 I kill him now, when he is purging of his soul, 20
 Making his way for heaven?
 This is a benefit and not revenge.
 No; get thee up again; when he's at game,
 Swearing, taking his carouse, drinking drunk,
 Or in the incestuous pleasure of his bed, 25
 Or at some act
 That hath no relish of salvation in't;
 Then trip him, that his heels may kick at heaven

12. an Q₁

13. *hee kneeles. enters Hamlet.*

14-17. Ilast
 Andreuenged
 Nofull
 19-24. Whopowres
 Andnow
 Whensoule?
 Makingbenefit
 Andagen
 Whendrunke
 26-28. Orrelish
 Ofhim
 Thatheauen

And fall as low as hell. My mother stays;
 This physic but prolongs thy weary days. [*Exit* 30
King. [*Rising*] My words fly up; my sins remain below;
 No king on earth is safe, if God's his foe. [*Exit*

SCENE IV.—*The Queen's Closet.*

Enter QUEEN and CORAMBIS.

Cor. Madam, I hear young Hamlet coming; I'll shroud
 Myself behind the arras. [*Hides behind the arras*
Queen. Do so, my lord.
Ham. [*Within*] Mother, mother!

Enter HAMLET.

O, are you here? How is't with you, mother?
Queen. How is't with you? 5
Ham. I'll tell you; but first we'll make all safe.
Queen. Hamlet, thou hast thy father much offended.
Ham. Mother, you have my father much offended.
Queen. How now, boy?
Ham. How now, mother? 10
 Come here; sit down; for you shall hear me speak.
Queen. What wilt thou do? thou wilt not murder me?
 Help, ho!
Cor. Help for the queen!

30. *exit Ham.*

32. *exit King.*

1. *Enter Queene and Corambis.*

2. *exit Cor.*

1-4. Madamcoming
 I'leArras
 Dolord
 Motherhere
 Howmother
 10-11. Howyou
 shallspeake

- Ham.* Ay, A rat? [Makes a pass through the arras] 15
 Dead, for a ducat!
 [Lifts the arras and discovers Corambis]
 Rash intruding fool,
 Farewell! I took thee for thy better.
- Queen.* Hamlet, what hast thou done?
- Ham.* Not so much harm, good mother,
 As to kill a king, and marry with his brother. 20
- Queen.* How? kill a king?
- Ham.* Ay, a king. Nay, sit you down; and ere you part,
 If you be made of penetrable stuff,
 I'll make your eyes look down into your heart,
 And see how horrid there and black it shows. 25
- Queen.* Hamlet, what mean'st thou by these killing words?
- Ham.* Why, this I mean: See here, behold this picture;
 It is the portraiture of your deceased husband;
 See here a face, to outface Mars himself;
 An eye, at which his foes did tremble at; 30
 A front, wherein all virtues are set down,
 For to adorn a king and gild his crown;
 Whose heart went hand in hand even with that vow
 He made to you in marriage: and he is dead;
 Murd' red, damnably murd' red. This was your hus-
 band; 35
- Look you, now; here is your husband;
 With a face like Vulcan,
 A look fit for a murder and a rape,
 A dull dead hanging look, and a hell-bred eye,
 To affright children and amaze the world: 40
 And this same have you left to change with this.
 What devil thus hath cozened you at hob-man blind?
 Ah, have you eyes, and can you look on him
 That slew my father and your dear husband,
 To live in the incestuous pleasure of his bed? 45
- Queen.* O Hamlet, speak no more.

15-17. IDucat
 Rashfarewell
 Ibetter

Ham. To leave him that bare a monarch's mind
For a king of clouts, of very shreds!

Queen. Sweet *Hamlet*, cease.

Ham. Nay, but still to persist and dwell in sin, 50
To sweat under the yoke of infamy,
To make increase of shame, to seal damnation!

Queen. *Hamlet*, no more!

Ham. Why, appetite with you is in the wane;
Your blood runs backward now from whence it came; 55
Who'll chide hot blood within a virgin's heart,
When lust shall dwell within a matron's breast?

Queen. *Hamlet*, thou cleaves my heart in twain.

Ham. O, throw away the worser part of it, 60
And keep the better.

Enter the GHOST in his night-gown.

Save me, save me, you gracious powers above,
And hover over me with your celestial wings!
Do you not come your tardy son to chide,
That I thus long have let revenge slip by?
O, do not glare with looks so pitiful, 65
Lest that my heart of stone yield to compassion,
And every part that should assist revenge
Forego their proper powers, and fall to pity.

Ghost. *Hamlet*, I once again appear to thee, 70
To put thee in remembrance of my death;
Do not neglect, nor long time put it off.
But I perceive by her distracted looks
Thy mother's fearful, and she stands amaz'd.
Speak to her, *Hamlet*, for her sex is weak;
Comfort thy mother, *Hamlet*; think on me. 75

Ham. How is't with you lady?

- 59-60. Othe
better
60. *Enter the ghost in his night gowne.*
61-62. Sauegracious
Powersmee
Withwings
72. *her*] thy Q₁

Queen. Nay, how is't with you,
That thus you bend your eyes on vacancy,
And hold discourse with nothing but with air?

Ham. Why, do you nothing hear? 80

Queen. Not I.

Ham. Nor do you nothing see?

Queen. No; neither.

Ham. No? Why, see the king my father!

My father, in the habit as he lived! 85

Look you, how pale he looks!

See how he steals away, out of the portal!

Look, there he goes! [*Exit Ghost*]

Queen. Alas! it is the weakness of thy brain,
Which makes thy tongue to blazon thy heart's grief; 90
But, as I have a soul, I swear by heaven,
I never knew of this most horrid murder.
But, *Hamlet*, this is only fantasy,
And for my love forget these idle fits.

Ham. Idle? No, mother, my pulse doth beat like yours; 95
It is not madness that possesseth *Hamlet*.
O, mother, if ever you did my dear father love,
Forbear the adulterous bed to-night,
And win yourself by little, as you may;
In time it may be you will loathe him quite. 100
And, mother, but assist me in revenge,
And in his death your infamy shall die.

Queen. *Hamlet*, I vow by that majesty
That knows our thoughts and looks into our hearts,
I will conceal, consent, and do my best, 105
What stratagem soe'er thou shalt devise.

Ham. It is enough. Mother, good night.
Come sir, I'll provide for you a grave,
Who was in life a foolish prating knave.

[*Exeunt severally; Hamlet with the dead body*]

84-86. Nohabite
Aslookes

88. *exit ghost.*

109. *Exit Hamlet with the dead body.*



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Ham. At supper; not where he is eating, but where he 25
is eaten. A certain company of politic worms are
even now at him. Father, your fat king and your
lean beggar are but variable services, two dishes to
one mess. Look you, a man may fish with that
worm that hath eaten of a king, and a beggar eat 30
that fish which that worm hath caught.

King. What of this?

Ham. Nothing, father, but to tell you how a king may
go a progress through the guts of a beggar.

King. But, son *Hamlet*, where is this body? 35

Ham. In heav'n; if you chance to miss him there, father,
you had best look in the other parts below for him,
and if you cannot find him there, you may chance
to nose him as you go up the lobby.

King. Make haste, and find him out. [*To some Attendants* 40

Ham. Nay, do you hear? do not make too much haste;
I'll warrant you he'll stay till you come.

[*Exeunt Attendants*

King. Well, son *Hamlet*,

We, in care of you, but specially

In tender preservation of your health, 45

The which we price even as our proper self,—

It is our mind you forthwith go for England.

The wind sits fair; you shall aboard to-night;

Lord *Rossencraft* and *Gilderstone* shall go

Along with you. 50

Ham. O, with all my heart. Farewell, mother.

King. Your loving father, *Hamlet*.

Ham. My mother, I say: you married my mother; my
mother is your wife; man and wife is one flesh; and
so, my mother, farewell. For England, ho! 55

[*Exeunt all but the king and queen*

38. *and*] aud Q₁.

43-44. Wellspecially.

49-50. Lordyou.

55. *exeunt all but the king*.

56. *Gertred*me

And*Hamlet*

King. Gertred, leave me; [*Exit queen*] and take your leave of Hamlet.

To England is he gone ne'er to return.
 Our letters are unto the king of England,
 That on the sight of them, on his allegiance,
 (He, presently, without demanding why,) 60
 That Hamlet lose his head, for he must die.
 There's more in him than shallow eyes can see;
 He once being dead, why, then our state is free. [*Exit*

SCENE II.—*A Plain in Denmark.*

Enter FORTENBRASSE, drum, and soldiers.

Fort. Captain, from us go greet the king of Denmark;
 Tell him that Fortenbrasse, nephew to old Norway,
 Craves a free pass and conduct over his land,
 According to the articles agreed on.
 You know our rendezvous; go, march away. 5
 [*Exeunt omnes*

SCENE III.—*Elsinore. A Room in the Castle.*

Enter KING and QUEEN.

King. Hamlet is ship't for England; fare him well;
 I hope to hear good news from thence ere long.
 If everything fall out to our content,
 As I do make no doubt but so it shall.
Queen. God grant it may; Heav'ns keep my Hamlet safe! 5
 But this mischance of old Corambis' death
 Hath pierced so the young Ofelia's heart,
 That she, poor maid, is quite bereft her wits.

63. *exit.*

1. *Enter Fortenbrasse, Drumme and Souldiers.*

1. Captainegreete

TheDenmarke

5. *exeunt all.*

1. *enter King and Queene.*

King. Alas, dear heart! And, on the other side,
 We understand her brother's come from France; 10
 And he hath half the heart of all our land;
 And hardly he'll forget his father's death,
 Unless by some means he be pacified.

Queen. O see, where the young Ofelia is!

Enter OFELIA, playing on a lute, and her hair down, singing:

Ofel. [*Sings*] *How should I your true love know* 15
From another man?
By his cockle hat and his staff
And his sandal shoon.

White his shroud as mountain snow,
Larded with sweet flowers; 20
That bewept to the grave did not go
With true lovers' showers.

He is dead and gone, lady,
He is dead and gone;
At his head a grass green turf, 25
At his heels a stone.

King. How is't with you, sweet Ofelia?

Ofel. Well, God yield you. It grieves me to see how
 they laid him in the cold ground; I could not choose
 but weep. 30

[*Sings*] *And will he not come again?*
And will he not come again?
No, no, he's gone,
And we cast away moan,
And he never will come again. 35

His beard as white as snow,
All flaxen was his poll;
He is dead, he is gone,
And we cast away moan:
God 'a mercy on his soul. 40

14. *Enter Ofelia playing on a Lute, and her haire
 downe singing.*

23-24. One line in Q₁.

33-34. One line in Q₁.



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And that in soul we sorrow for his death,
 Yourself ere long shall be a witness;
 Meanwhile be patient, and content yourself.

Re-enter OFELIA, as before.

- Lear.* Who's this? Ofelia? O, my dear sister!
 Is't possible a young maid's life 70
 Should be as mortal as an old man's saw?
 O heav'ns themselves!—How now, Ofelia?
- Ofel.* Well, God 'a mercy. I 'a been gathering of
 flowers; here; here is rue for you; you may call it 75
 herb a' grace a' Sundays; here's some for me too;
 you must wear your rue with a difference. There's
 a daisy. Here, love; there's rosemary for you, for
 remembrance; I pray, love, remember. And
 there's pansy, for thoughts.
- Lear.* A document in madness; thoughts; remembrance; 80
 O God! O God!
- Ofel.* There is fennel for you; I would 'a giv'n you
 some violets, but they all withered when my father
 died. Alas! they say the owl was a baker's daugh- 85
 ter. We see what we are, but cannot tell what we
 shall be.
 [*Sings*] *For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy.*
- Lear.* Thoughts and afflictions; torments worse than hell!
- Ofel.* Nay, love, I pray you make no words of this now.
 I pray now, you shall sing *a-down*, and you *a-down-* 90
a. 'Tis a' the king's daughter and the false ste-
 ward; and if anybody ask you of anything, say you
 this:
 [*Sings*] *To-morrow is Saint Valentine's day,*
All in the morning betime, 95
And a maid at your window,
To be your Valentine.

66. for for Q₁.

68. *Enter Ofelia as before.*

90. a downe Q₁ Q₂ a-downe F₁.

90-91. a down a Q₁ Q₂ a-downe-a F₁.

*The young man rose, and don'd his clothes,
And dupt the chamber door,
Let in the maid, that out a maid
Never departed more.* 100

Nay, I pray, mark now.

[Sings] *By Gis, and by Saint Charity
Away, and fie for shame!
Young men will do't, when they come to't; 105
By Cock they are to blame.*

*Quoth she, before you tumbled me
You promised me to wed:
So would I'a done, by yonder sun,
If thou hadst not come to my bed.* 110

So God be with you all; God bwy ladies; God bwy,
love. [Exit

Lear. Grief upon grief!

My father murdered; my sister thus distracted;
Cursed be his soul that wrought this wicked act. 115

King. Content you, good Lear, for a time.

Although I know your grief is as a flood,
Brim full of sorrow, but forbear a while,
And think already the revenge is done
On him that makes you such a hapless son. 120

Lear. You have prevail'd, my lord; a while I'll strive
To bury grief within a tomb of wrath,
Which once unheard, then the world shall hear
Lear had a father he held dear.

King. No more of that; ere many days be done 125
You shall hear that you do not dream upon.

[Exeunt omnes

98. dan'd Q₁ dond Q₂.

111-112. bwy you Loue Q₁.

112. exit *Ofelia*.

113-114. Griefmurdered
Mydistracted

126. exeunt om.

SCENE IV.—*Another Room in the Castle.*

Enter the QUEEN and HORATIO.

Hor. Madam, your son is safe arriv'd in Denmark.
 This letter I even now receiv'd of him,
 Whereas he writes how he escap't the danger
 And subtle treason that the king had plotted.
 Being crossed by the contention of the winds, 5
 He found the packet sent to the king of England,
 Wherein he saw himself betray'd to death;
 As at his next conversion with your grace
 He will relate the circumstance at full.

Queen. Then I perceive there's treason in his looks, 10
 That seem'd to sugar o'er his villainy;
 But I will soothe and please him for a time,
 For murderous minds are always jealous.
 But know not you, *Horatio*, where he is?

Hor. Yes, madam; and he hath appointed me 15
 To meet him on the east side of the city
 To-morrow morning.

Queen. O, fail not, good *Horatio*;
 And withal, commend me a mother's care to him;
 Bid him a while be wary of his presence,
 Lest that he fail in that he goes about. 20

Hor. Madam,
 Never make doubt of that. I think by this
 The news be come to court he is arriv'd.
 Observe the king, and you shall quickly find,
Hamlet being here, things fell not to his mind. 25

1. *Enter Horatio and the Queene.*

17-20. Ome
 Awhile
 Behe
 Failabout
 21-25. Madamethat
 Icourt
 Heshall
 Quicklyhere
 Thingsminde



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When you are hot in midst of all your play, 20
 Among the foils shall a keen rapier lie,
 Stepped in a mixture of such deadly poison,
 That if it draws but the least dram of blood
 In any part of him, he cannot live.
 This being done will free you from suspicion, 25
 And not the dearest friend that *Hamlet* lov'd
 Will ever have *Leartes* in suspect.

Lear. My lord, I like it well;
 But say lord *Hamlet* should refuse this match?

King. I'll warrant you; we'll put on you 30
 Such a report of singularity
 Will bring him on, although against his will.
 And lest that all should miss,
 I'll have a potion that shall ready stand,
 In all his heat when that he calls for drink, 35
 Shall be his period and our happiness.

Lear. 'Tis excellent; O, would the time were come!

Enter QUEEN.

Here comes the queen.

King. How now, *Gertred*, why look you heavily?

Queen. O, my lord, the young *Ofelia*, 40
 Having made a garland of sundry sorts of flowers,
 Sitting upon a willow by a brook,
 The envious sprig broke. Into the brook she fell,
 And for a while her clothes, spread wide abroad,
 Bore the young lady up; and there she sat 45
 Smiling, even mermaid-like, twixt heaven and earth,
 Chanting old sundry tunes, uncapable, as it were,
 Of her distress. But long it could not be

22. of deadly Q₁. A syllable is needed to mend the metre. I have inserted *such*, which seems to be required by the context. Cf.

Q₂ *So mortall, that*

38. *enter the Queene.*

45-48. Boresmiling
 Euenearth
 Chauntingvncapable
 Asbe

Till that her clothes, being heavy with their drink,
Dragg'd the sweet wretch to death.

Lear. So, she is drown'd! 50

Too much of water hast thou, Ofelia;
Therefore I will not drown thee in my tears;
Revenge it is must yield this heart relief,
For woe begets woe, and grief hangs on grief.

[*Exeunt omnes*]

ACT V

SCENE I.—A Churchyard.

Enter two CLOWNS with spades etc.

First Clo. I say no; she ought not to be buried in Christian burial.

Sec. Clo. Why, sir?

First Clo. Marry, because she's drown'd.

Sec. Clo. But she did not drown herself. 5

First Clo. No, that's certain; the water drown'd her.

Sec. Clo. Yea, but it was against her will.

First Clo. No, I deny that; for, look you, sir: I stand here; if the water come to me, I drown not myself; but if I go to the water, and am there drown'd, 10 ergo, I am guilty of my own death. Y'are gone; go, y'are gone, sir.

Sec. Clo. Ay, but see; she hath Christian burial because she is a great woman.

First Clo. Marry, more's the pity that great folk should 15 have more authority to hang or drown themselves more than other people. Go fetch me a stoup of drink; but before thou goest, tell me one thing: Who builds strongest of a mason, a shipwright, or a carpenter? 20

Sec. Clo. Why, a mason; for he builds all of stone, and will endure long.

54. *exeunt.*

1. *enter Clowne and an other.*

First Clo. That's pretty; to't again; to't again.

Sec. Clo. Why then, a carpenter; for he builds the gallows, and that brings many a one to his long home. 25

First Clo. Pretty again; the gallows doth well; marry, how does it well? The gallows does well to them that do ill. Go, get thee gone; and if any one ask thee hereafter, say "a grave-maker"; for the houses he builds last till doomsday. Fetch me a stoup of beer; go. 30
[*Exit Second Clown*]

Enter HAMLET and HORATIO, at a distance.

First Clo. [*Digs and sings.*]

*A pick-axe and a spade, a spade,
For and a winding-sheet;
Most fit it is, for 't will be made
For such a guest most meet.* 35

[*Throws up a skull*]

Ham. Hath this fellow any feeling of himself, that is thus merry in making of a grave? See how the slave jowls their heads against the earth.

Hor. My lord, custom hath had it in him seem nothing.

First Clo. [*Sings*]

*A pick-axe and a spade, a spade, 40
For and a winding-sheet;
Most fit it is for to be made
For such a guest most meet.*

[*Throws up another skull*]

Ham. Look you, there's another, *Horatio*; why may't not be the skull of some lawyer? Methinks he should indict that fellow of an action of battery for knocking him about the pate with's shovel. Now where is your quirks and quilllets now, your vouchers and double vouchers, your leases, and freehold, and tenements? Why, that same box there will scarce hold the conveyance of his land; 45 50

31. *Enter Hamlet and Horatio.*

32-33. Aspade
A spadesheete

34. *he throwes up a shouel.*



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brasse in combat, young *Hamlet's* father, he that's mad.

Ham. Ay, marry, how came he mad?

First Clo. I' faith, very strangely, by losing of his wits. 90

Ham. Upon what ground?

First Clo. A' this ground, in Denmark.

Ham. Where is he now?

First Clo. Why, now they sent him to England.

Ham. To England! wherefore? 95

First Clo. Why, they say he shall have his wits there, or if he have not, 'tis no great matter there; it will not be seen there.

Ham. Why not there?

First Clo. Why, there, they say, the men are as mad 100 as he.

Ham. Whose skull was this?

First Clo. This,—a plague on him!—a mad rogue's it was; he poured once a whole flagon of Rhenish on my head. Why, do not you know him? this was 105 one Yorick's skull.

Ham. Was this? I prithee, let me see it. [*Takes the skull*] Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him, *Horatio*; a fellow of infinite mirth; he hath carried me twenty times upon his back. Here hung those lips that I have 110 kissed a hundred times, and to see, now they abhor me! Where's your jests now, Yorick? your flashes of merriment? Now go to my lady's chamber, and bid her paint herself an inch thick, to this she must come, Yorick. *Horatio*, I prithee, tell me one 115 thing: Dost thou think that Alexander looked thus?

Hor. Even so, my lord.

Ham. And smelt thus?

Hor. Ay, my lord, no otherwise.

Ham. No? Why might not imagination work as thus of 120 Alexander: Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander became earth; of earth we make clay; and Alexander being but clay, why might not time

bring to pass that he might stop the bung-hole of a
beer-barrel? 125

Imperious Caesar, dead and turn'd to clay,
Might stop a hole, to keep the wind away.

*Enter Priests etc. in procession; the Corpse of OFELIA,
LEARTES and Mourners following; KING, QUEEN,
their Trains, etc.*

What funeral's this that all the court laments?
It shows to be some noble parentage.
Stand by a while. 130

Lear. What ceremony else? say, what ceremony else?

Priest. My lord, we have done all that lies in us,
And more than well the church can tolerate;
She hath had a dirge sung for her maiden soul;
And but for favor of the king and you, 135
She had been buried in the open fields,
Where now she is allowed Christian burial.

Lear. So? I tell thee, churlish priest,
A minist'ring angel shall my sister be,
When thou liest howling.

Ham. The fair Ofelia dead? 140

Queen. Sweets to the sweet; farewell! [*Scattering flowers*]
I had thought to adorn thy bridal bed, fair maid,
And not to follow thee unto thy grave.

Lear. Forbear the earth awhile. Sister, farewell!
[Leaps into the grave]
Now pour your earth on Olympus high, 145
And make a hill to o'ertop old Pelion.

127. *Enter King and Queene, Lear, and other lordes,
with a Priest after the coffin.*

138-140. So Angell
shall howling
The dead

144. *Lear, leapes into the graue.*

146. *Hamlet leapes
in after Lear.*

146. Pellon Q₁ Pelion Q₂ F₁.

Ham. [*Advancing*] What's he that conjures so? Behold,
'tis I,

Hamlet the Dane.

[*Leaps into the grave.*]

Lear. The devil take thy soul!

[*Grappling with him*]

Ham. O, thou prayest not well.

I prithee, take thy hand from off my throat, 150

For there is something in me dangerous,

Which let thy wisdom fear. Hold off thy hand!

I lov'd Ofelia as dear as twenty brothers

Could. Show me what thou wilt do for her;

Wilt fight? wilt fast? wilt pray? 155

Wilt drink up vessels? eat a crocodile?

I'll do 't. Com'st thou here to whine?

And where thou talk'st of burying thee alive,

Here let us stand, and let them throw on us

Whole hills of earth, till with the height thereof 160

Make Ossa as a wart!

King. Forbear Leartes;

Now is he mad as is the sea,

Anon as mild and gentle as a dove;

Therefore a while give his wild humor scope.

Ham. What is the reason, sir, that you wrong me thus? 165

I never gave you cause.—But stand away;

A cat will mew, a dog will have a day.

[*Exit Hamlet and Horatio*]

Queen. Alas! it is his madness makes him thus,

And not his heart, Leartes.

King. My lord, 'tis so. [*Aside to Leartes*]. But we'll no
longer trifle; 170

147. In Q_1 the words *What's he that conjures so?* are a part of
Leartes' speech.

147-148. Whatsso
BeholdDane
Thesoul

153-154. Icould
Shewher

156-157. Wiltdoot
Com'stwhine

161. Oosell Q_1 Ossa Q_2 F_1 .

161-162. Forbearesea

167. *Exit Hamlet and Horatio.*



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Gen. The girdles and hangers, sir, and such like.

Ham. The word had been more cousin-german to the phrase if he could have carried the cannon by his side. And how's the wager? I understand you now. 25

Gen. Marry, sir, that young Leartes in twelve venies at rapier and dagger do not get three odds of you; and on your side the king hath laid, and desires you to be in readiness.

Ham. Very well; if the king dare venture his wager, I dare venture my skill. When must this be? 30

Gen. My lord, presently; the king and her majesty with the rest of the best judgment in the court are coming down into the outward palace.

Ham. Go tell his majesty I will attend him. 35

Gen. I shall deliver your most sweet answer. [*Exit*

Ham. You may, sir; none better, for y'are spiced, else he had a bad nose could not smell a fool.

Hor. He will disclose himself without inquiry.

Ham. Believe me, *Horatio*, my heart is on the sudden very sore all here about. 40

Hor. My lord, forbear the challenge then.

Ham. No, *Horatio*, not I; if danger be now, why, then it is not to come; there's a predestinate providence in the fall of a sparrow. Here comes the king. 45

Enter KING, QUEEN, LEARTES, a Braggart Gentleman, Lords and Attendants with foils and gauntlets; a table and flagons of wine on it.

King. Now, son *Hamlet*, we have laid upon your head, And make no question but to have the best.

Ham. Your majesty hath laid a' the weaker side.

King. We doubt it not. Deliver them the foils.

31. skull Q₁.

36. *exit*.

44. predestiate Q₁.

45. *Enter King, Queene, Leartes, Lordes.*

46. *have] hane* Q₁.

Ham. First, Leartes, here's my hand and love, 50
 Protesting that I never wrong'd Leartes.
 If *Hamlet* in his madness did amiss,
 That was not *Hamlet* but his madness did it;
 And all the wrong I e'er did to Leartes
 I here proclaim was madness; therefore let's be at peace,
 And think I have shot mine arrow o'er the house 56
 And hurt my brother.

Lear. Sir, I am satisfied
 In nature, but in terms of honor
 I'll stand aloof, and will no reconcilment
 Till by some elder masters of our time 60
 I may be satisfied.

King. Give them the foils.

Ham. I'll be your foil, Leartes. These foils have all a length?
 Come on, sir. [*They play*] A hit.

Lear. No, none.

Ham. Judgment.

Gen. A hit, a most palpable hit.

Lear. Well, come again. [*They play* 65

Ham. Another; judgment.

Lear. Ay, I grant; a touch, a touch.

King. Here, *Hamlet*; the king doth drink a health to thee.

Queen. Here, *Hamlet*; take my napkin, wipe thy face.

King. Give him the wine. 70

Ham. Set it by; I'll have another bout first;
 I'll drink anon.

Queen. Here, *Hamlet*; thy mother drinks to thee.

King. Do not drink, Getred. [*Aside*] O, 'tis the pois'ned cup!

Ham. Leartes, come; you dally with me. 75

I pray you, pass with your most cunningst play.

57-59. Sirnature
 Butaloofe
 Andreconcilment

63. *Heere they play*

62-63. I'lefoyles
 Hauehit

62. laught Q₁ length Q₂ F₁.

63. The words *a hit* are in italics, as if they were a stage direction.

65. *They play againe.*

73. *Shee drinkes.*

Lear. Ay, say you so? *Have at you!*

I'll hit you now, my lord.

[*Aside*] And yet it goes almost against my conscience.

Ham. Come on, sir. 80

[*They catch one another's rapiers, and both are wounded; Lear falls down; the Queen falls down and dies.*]

King. Look to the queen!

Queen. O, the drink, the drink; *Hamlet*, the drink!

Ham. Treason! Ho! *Keep the gates.*

Lords. How is't, my lord *Lear*?

Lear. Even as a coxcomb should; 85

Foolishly slain with my own weapon. *Hamlet*,

Thou hast not in thee half an hour of life;

The fatal instrument is in thy hand,

Unbated and invenomed: thy mother's pois'ned;

That drink was made for thee. 90

Ham. The pois'ned instrument within my hand!

Then venom to thy venom! die, damn'd villain!

Come, drink! here lies thy union, here! [*The King dies*]

Lear. O, he is justly served.

Hamlet, before I die, here, take my hand 95

And, withal, my love; I do forgive thee. [*Dies*]

Ham. And I thee.

O, I am dead, *Horatio*; fare thee well.

Hor. No, I am more an antique Roman than a Dane;

Here is some poison left. 100

Ham. Upon my love I charge thee, let it go.

O, fie, *Horatio*, and if thou shouldst die,

What a scandal wouldst thou leave behind!

What tongue should tell the story of our deaths,

If not from thee? O, my heart sinks, *Horatio*; 105

80. *They catch one another's Rapiers, and both are wounded, Lear falls downe, the Queene falls downe and dies.*

86-87. Foolishlyweapon
Hamletlife

93. *The king dies.*

96. *Lear dies.*

97-100. Andwell

NoRoman

Thenleft



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86-87. Foolishlyweapon
Hamletlife

93. *The king dies.*

96. *Lear dies.*

97-100. Andwell

NoRoman

Thenleft

Mine eyes have lost their sight, my tongue his use.

Farewell, *Horatio*. Heaven receive my soul. [*Dies*

Enter VOLTEMAR and the Ambassadors from England;
enter FORTENBRASSE with his train.

Fort. Where is this bloody sight?

Hor. If aught of woe or wonder you'd behold,

Then look upon this tragic spectacle. 110

Fort. O, imperious Death! how many princes

Hast thou at one draft bloodily shot to death!

Ambass. Our embassy that we have brought from England;

Where be these princes that should hear us speak?

O, most unlooked for time! unhappy country! 115

Hor. Content yourselves; I'll show to all the ground,

The first beginning of this tragedy.

Let there be reared up in the market place

A scaffold, and let the state of the world be there,

Where you shall hear such a sad story told, 120

That never mortal man could more unfold.

Fort. I have some rights of memory to this kingdom,

Which now to claim my leisure doth invite me.

Let four of our chiefest captains

Bear *Hamlet*, like a soldier, to his grave; 125

For he was likely, had he lived, to 'a prov'd

Most royal.

Take up the body. Such a sight as this

Becomes the field, but here doth much amiss.

[*Exeunt omnes*

Finis

107. *Ham. dies.*

107. *Enter Voltemar and the Ambassadors from England.*
enter Fortenbrasse with his traine.

115. most most Q₁

118-119. Q₁ reads: Let there a scaffold be rearde vp in the market
place,

And let the State of the world be there:

I have changed the order by placing a scaffold after
market place, and have changed the line division. These
changes are obviously needed to restore the original metri-
cal order.

126-127. Forliued
Toroyall

128. fight Q₁.

129. fieldes Q₁ field Q₂ F₁.



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I, v, 43. *from*] away from, apart from, absent from. See *N. E. D.* s. v. 5 b. Cf. *2 Hen. VI*, III, ii, 394. *Tim. of Ath.* IV, iii, 533. *Sonnet* 144, 11.

I, v, 55. *turns*] sours, turns sour, curdles. See *N. E. D.* s. v. 46. “*Coagulum* a courde or creame, the ruen of a beaste, wherewith mylke is tourned,” Elyot, 1584. “A Hogshead of white wine Lees, not yet turned and sowr.” Hyll, *Art Garden*, 1563.

I, v, 155. *pleasure*] give pleasure to, gratify. Cf. III, i, 19. For the use of *pleasure* as a verb, see *N. E. D.*

II, i, 13. *bridle*] restrain, modify, soften. See *N. E. D.* s. v. 2.

II, i, 22. *drinking drunk*] See *N. E. D.* “Kept my soldiours from drinking drunke” Holland, *Livy*, 1600. “But Ben-hadad was drinking himself drunk in the pavilions,” *I Kings*, XX, 16. Used also in *Q₁*, III, iii, 24.

II, i, 32. *ply his music*] Cf. *A Knack to know an Honest Man*, 831–832 (Malone Soc.),

it is for young men to ply their books,
To practise musicke, and delight in arms.

II, i, 63. *to have their wantonness*] Cf. *2 Hen. IV*, I, ii, 256–7 “A man can no more separate age and covetousness than 'a can part young limbs and lechery.”

II, ii, 115–137. See Introduction, pp. 13–15.

II, ii, 120. *passenger*] traveller. Cf. *2 Hen. VI*, III, i, 129.

II, ii, 125. *right rich*] Cf. “Selde is the poure ryght riche” *Piers Plowman*, C, XVIII, 129 (also B, XI, 260; B, XVIII, 208–9). “Here lord was right a ryche man” *Merlin* (1450).

II, ii, 221. *satire*] satirist. Cf. Sh., *Sonnet* 100, l. 11, “be a satire to decay.” *N. E. D.* quotes “Misacmos is a satire, a quipping fellow” Harrington, *Ulysses upon Ajax*, 1596.

II, ii, 271. *resty*] This word has two meanings in Elizabethan English; (1) *restive*, (2) *sluggish, indolent, lazy, inactive*. In this passage it is used with the second meaning. It is used thus by Ben Jonson, Milton, Shakespeare (*Sonnet* 100, l. 9 “Rise, resty Muse,” *Cymb.* III, vi, 34). Cf. *N. E. D.*

II, ii, 284. *gratis*] without cause or reason. See *N. E. D.* s. v. 2. “They hated me gratis,” N. T. (Rem.) John XV, 25, 1582.

II, ii, 332. *caviary*] This is the spelling of *Q₁*, *Q₂*; *F₁* has *Cauiarie*. There were two forms of the word; one represented by these spellings. the other by such spellings as *cavear, caveer, cavajar*; according to *N. E. D.* the second form did not come in until about 1625. Shakespeare's pronunciation, then, was that represented by the spelling *caviary*, not the modern pronunciation.

II, ii, 334. *cried in the top of their judgments*] persons of excellent judgment. Cf. the reading of Q₂ F₁ II, ii, 458-9 *whose judgments in such matters cried in the top of mine*,—i. e., whose judgments in such matters excelled (were superior to) mine. Cf. Wallace, *The Hamlet Passage on the Black Friars Children, Nebraska University Studies*, Vol. VIII, p. 177.

II, ii, 353. *Rifted in earth and fire*] See Introduction, p. 12.

II, ii, 372. *With tongue-in-venom'd speech*] See Introduction, p. 12.

II, ii, 418. *twights*] pulls, twitches. Cf. Skeat and Mayhew, *Tudor and Stuart Glossary*; "No bit nor reyn his tender iawes may twight" *Mirror for Magistrates*, 1559.

III, i, 19. *pleasure*] See note to I, v, 155.

III, ii, 8. *totters*] Variant form of *tatters*.

III, ii, 12. *Tarmagant*] Variant form of *Termagant*.

III, ii, 36. *cullison*] badge. A corruption of *cognizance*. Ben Jonson uses the word in *Every Man out of His Humor* (1599), and in *The Case is Altered* (1609). See *N. E. D.*

III, ii, 39. *the warm clown*] *Warm* seems to mean "near" "close to;" cf. the use of the word in children's games when one is near a hidden object, or when one's answer is nearly right. The whole passage may be interpreted, "The clown, however near he may come to making a jest, never can make one except by chance." See *Engl. Dial. Dict.* s. v. *warm*.

III, ii, 67. *capon-crammed*] See *N. E. D.*, which quotes, "His maw must be capon crambd each day;" *Return from Parnassus* (1597), Second Part, III, ii, 1214. Another example is found in Harvey's *New Letter of Notable Contents, Works, Huth Library I*, 291, "be his witt neuer so capon-crammed in Vanity."

III, ii, 137. *trapically*] Herford, *First Quarto of Hamlet*, p. 20, calls this "a probably quite unconscious pun;" I have kept the spelling on the chance that the pun may have been conscious.

III, ii, 146. *poopies*] puppets. I have found no other examples of this word in Elizabethan English; it is probably from the French *poupée*, "doll," "puppet." Compare Mod. Engl. *puppy*, and *poppy* in the compound *poppy-show* (=puppet-show). See *N. E. D.* From the French diminutive *poupette* comes English *puppet*.

III, iii, 4. *fact*] evil deed, crime. See *N. E. D.* s. v.

III, iv, 42. *hob-man blind*] blind man's buff. The same as *hod-man* or *hood-man blind*. See *N. E. D.* s. v. *hob-man blind*, for an example from *The Two Angry Women of Abingdon* (1599).

IV, i, 46. *price*] prize. Cf. *N. E. D.* s. v. *price*, 5. The word is used in this sense in *Tr. and Cr.*, I, ii, 315. Q₁ (1609), "men price the thing ungained more then it is."

IV, iii, 48. *vild*] vile. In common use; for examples see *Tudor and Stuart Glossary*.

IV, iii, 71. *old man's saw*] Cf. *Lucrece*, 244–245,
Who fears a sentence or an old man's saw
Shall by a'painted cloth be kept in awe.

IV, iii, 72. *O heavens themselves*] These words are found in *Twelfth Night*, III, iv, 391.

IV, iv, 8. *conversion*] conversation. The word is probably used in this sense in *King John* I, i, 189.

'Tis too respective and too sociable
For your conversion.

Another example (cited by Halliwell-Phillips) is found in *Englishmen for My Money*, Hazlitt-Dodsley, Vol. 10, p. 477.

Impudent villain and lascivious girls,
I have o'erheard your vile conversions.

IV, v, 47. *uncapable of*] Cf. "uncapable of pity," *Merch. of Ven.*, IV, i, 4.

V, 1, 156. *vessels*] See Furness, *Hamlet*, I, pp. 405–409.

V, ii, 8. *musk-cod*] a scented fop. *N. E. D.* s. v. quotes Ben Jonson, *Ev. Man out of Hum.* (1599) V, vi, "I beleeve muske-cod, I beleeve you."

V, ii 14. *swoltery*] Variant form for sultry. See *N. E. D.*

V, ii, 37. *spiced*] nice, dainty, delicate. See *N. E. D.* s. v. II. *Hamlet* plays on the meaning of the word suggested by the preceding line, "I shall deliver your most sweet answer."

V, ii, 85. *coxcomb*] Cf. *Othello*, V, ii, 233–4. "O murderous coxcomb! what should such a fool Do with so good a woman."

V, ii, 92. *Then venom to thy venom*] See Introduction, p. 34, note 80.

V, ii, 107. The Devonshire copy ends with this line. See Introduction, p. 6.

V, ii, 112. *draft*] stroke, blow. See *N. E. D.* s. v. *draught*, 11.



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CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	5
Relation of Uncle and Sister's Son in the Legends of:	
Siegfried	20
The Nibelungs	25
Dietrich	28
Hildebrand	29
Wittich	39
Gudrun (Hilde)	41
Walther	42
Beowulf	46
Ortnit and Wolfdietrich	51
Orendel	54
Miscellaneous	55
The Sister's Daughter	58
The Brother's Son	58
Attitude of Father	59
Stylistic Treatment of the Relationship of Uncle and Sister's Son	61
Text-Interpretation	62
Germanic Civilization	68
The "Pictish Question"	71
Bibliography	73



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statement, by way of comment on the other relation, *that for many years after the time of Ingellus, sons did not succeed to fathers on the throne, but nephews to uncles.*"² Saxo informs us further, VIII, p. 279, that sons of Ermanric's sister took up arms against their uncle "contending that they had as good a right to the throne as he."

These and similar sociological phenomena did not receive an adequate explanation until the year 1861, when Bachofen published his epoch-making book on *Mutterrecht, i. e., mother-right or matriarchy*. The gist of his comprehensive investigations is expressed in the assertion that there was a period in the history of every tribe in which descent was traced through the mother's side alone. In the first flush of enthusiasm over a new-found truth scholars saw evidences of matriarchy on every hand. The legal, social, and political status of the mother in matriarchal society was conceived as practically the counterpart of that of the father in patriarchal society. Naturally a reaction set in against these extreme views and today the case of matriarchy is still before the jury. From the humble beginnings of Bachofen, who found traces of this primitive institution chiefly in classic writings, the literature on the subject has grown to such dimensions that one recent author, for example, enumerates 437 titles in his bibliographical appendix which is intended "to give only such bibliographical information as may facilitate reference to works cited in the foregoing pages and not there sufficiently described."³ For this reason it cannot be the purpose of this investigation to go into any of the moot points of the matriarchal controversy.

The existence of the matriarchate will hardly be denied by any one, but opinions concerning its exact nature and prevalence differ widely.⁴ Its existence among many tribes of Africa, Asia, Australia, America, and Europe has been

² Quoted from Gummere, *The Sister's Son*, pp. 135-136. The other passages from Saxo and Tacitus are also referred to by Gummere.

³ Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, II, 287 ff.

⁴ A brief and popular but comprehensive treatment of the subject of matriarchy may be found in William A. Nitze, *The Sister's Son and the Conte del Graal*, *Modern Philology* IX, 8-14; Farnsworth, *Uncle and Nephew in the Chansons de Geste*; A. Lang, Article *Family* in the

proved. It may have been much more wide-spread than we know, perhaps even universal, for "while no case is known where matrilineal reckoning betrays evidence of having been preceded by paternal descent, the converse has been observed in every part of the world."⁵

In regard to the question of the existence of matriarchy among the primitive Indo-Europeans, authorities disagree, the preponderance of belief being against this assumption. In a recent article on an obscure proverbial phrase in Middle High German, "Nû zuo des der neve si", Ludwig Pfannmüller says concerning this problem:⁶

Bevor ich weiterschreite, will ich erst einen irrweg verbauen, auf den man hier leicht geraten könnte. in nr 1 und 3 ist es der empörte vater, der über seinen sohn erbst in die worte nû zuo des der neve sî! ausbricht. fasst man nun "neffe" allzu wörtlich und argumentiert:

vater: sohn

neffe: oheim

und zieht dazu womöglich noch eine bekannte Tacitusstelle⁷.....heran, so steckt man auf einmal mitten in matriarchalischen speculationen oder spielereien: wenn der vater den sohn verstösst, bleibt ihm nur noch (oder immer noch) die zuflucht zum oheim. indessen sind die zeiten vorbei, in denen man.....für die Germanen zu beginn der historischen periode noch ein ringen des unterliegenden älteren mutterrechts mit dem vom adel durchgedrückten vaterrecht annahm und.....auf schritt und tritt im leben, dichten und rechten des deutschen mittelalters reste und nachwirkungen jener vermeintlichen prähistorischen institution sah. "neffe" ist durchaus im allgemeinsten sinne, als "verwanter", aufzufassen.

Encyclopedia Brit. 11th ed.; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 1. Hälfte (*Elemente der Anthropologie*) gives a conservative statement of the question together with a brief account of the occurrence of matriarchy in antiquity; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, chap. IV, contains one of the latest and best discussions.

⁵Hartland II, 3. The examples adduced by E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 26, of the transition of the patriarchal system, as he conceives it for the Indo-Europeans, to cruder forms accompanied by sexual promiscuity, do not prove a change or reversion, as the case may be, to the matriarchate. Uncertainty of paternity as the result of promiscuous sexual intercourse, Bachofen's theory of the basis of mother-right, has been superseded by other theories. Cf. A. Lang. Hartland has shown that ignorance of the principles of paternity was one of the main factors in bringing about matriarchy. For instance, many tribes are not aware that pregnancy is the consequence of intercourse but attribute it to a variety of other causes.

⁶*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* LV, 278-284.

⁷Quoted on p. 1.

This seems to be the general view concerning the prevalence of matriarchy among the Indo-Europeans.

Much credence has been given the linguistic arguments of Delbrück⁸ and Schrader,⁹ to whom Pfannmüller refers. Both point to the fact that there is no prehistoric appellation for the mother-brother, while there is one for the father-brother. Delbrück, to be sure, believes that the mother-brother was called by the same name as the mother's father, *avo-s, "der Gönner". Schrader contends that a name for the maternal brother cannot be assumed for the primitive language because no such word exists. He argues that, if there had been one, it would have been formed from the word for *mother*, just as the term for father-brother was formed from *father*. Both Delbrück and Schrader admit that the maternal uncle in later times tends to displace the paternal one in a sentimental, if not in a legal way. Hopkins,¹⁰ whom Delbrück cites, has shown that in the older law books of India the paternal uncle has precedence, while in the epic "the mother's brother is the one prominent uncle."

Delbrück stresses the fact that the mother's brother occupies the place of honor in the epic, while the law books, which date back much farther, bestow this place on the father's brother. He doubts the suggestion that it may be only a shift of meaning, whereby the word *matula* supersedes *pitrvya*, as in the Romance languages *patruus* was displaced by *avunculus*, without implying that the father's brother lost any of his importance thereby. He accepts the alternative suggested by Hopkins, that the rise of *matula* was based on changed social institutions and conceptions; he rejects the theory of foreign influence, because there is no proof for this assumption.¹¹ He assumes, rather, that this shifting took

⁸Die idg. Verwandtschaftsnamen, XI. Bd. *Abhandlungen der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.* Leipzig, 1889.

⁹*Reallexikon der idg. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, and *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, London, 1890, transl. of *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*.

¹⁰*The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Castes in Ancient India, as represented by the Sanskrit Epic*, in *Journ. Amer. Orient. Society*, XIII, 57-376.

¹¹Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem, the Epic Theme of a Combat between Father and Son*, London, 1902, says, p. 120, "Delbrück thinks that pos-



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dass sie sich nicht die genügende Grundlage geschaffen haben und das Ziel vorwegnehmen. Die nächste Aufgabe ist, die ältesten der Forschung erreichbaren Zustände der Einzelvölker zu rekonstruieren; und diese ist bisher so gut wie gänzlich vernachlässigt, selbst bei den Ariern, wo das Material am reichlichsten fließt, geschweige denn bei den Griechen und gar den Italikern. Erst wenn hier ein zuverlässiges Bild gewonnen ist, kann man von da aus weiter auf die Einheitszeit Rückschlüsse machen.

I quote Meyer in full, because I feel that problems of this nature are brought nearer their solution only in the manner outlined by him.

Since patriarchy represents a higher stage in human development than matriarchy, the period in which the latter may have prevailed among the Indo-Europeans is so far removed from us that we can assume its one-time existence only on the basis of mere traditional vestiges of formerly generally prevalent conditions. For this reason attempts to prove the presence of remnants of matriarchy in Germanic law have not met with general assent. Legal writings must record the contemporaneous state of conditions and no longer reflect a past with which legal procedure has broken. It must be remembered that Tacitus apparently depicts a purely sentimental tie; inheritance was governed by patriarchal principles. Legal opinion, however, is more divided than Pfannmüller's words would seem to indicate. Some, to be sure, like R. Schröder, who were adherents of the belief in evidences of matriarchy in Germanic law, now take an opposite view.¹⁵ Among the leading jurists who profess or professed to see such survivals may be mentioned K. von Amira,¹⁶ Andreas Heusler,¹⁷ and J. Ficker.¹⁸ Dargun, the first jurist to attempt to prove traces of matriarchy in Germanic legal documents, admits the uncertainty of his juristical proof as being only a "Wahrscheinlichkeitsbeweis",

¹⁵ *Lehrb. der deutschen Rechtsgesch.*, Leipzig, 1907.

¹⁶ *Grundriss des germ. Rechts*, also published as part of Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philologie* under the caption *Recht*.

¹⁷ *Institutionen des deutschen Privatrechts*, 1885-86.

¹⁸ *Untersuchungen zur deutschen Verfassungsgesch.*, also cited under the title, *Untersuchungen zur Erbfolge der ostgerm. Rechte*, 1891-1902.

although he firmly believes in an originally matriarchal society.¹⁹

It must not be forgotten that between the avunculate of Tacitus, which even then appeared a matter of sentiment only, and the Salian law a period of approximately four hundred years intervenes, with a still greater lapse of time in the case of the Ripuarian and Thuringian codes.

The clearest trace of matriarchy which has been preserved among some of the Indo-European races is the intimate relation, mentioned by Tacitus for the Germans, between uncle and sister's son, also sister's daughter.²⁰ The power in a primitive matriarchal group was vested in a woman's nearest male relative, usually her brother. The close relationship between sister and brother does not outwardly differ from modern conditions, so that it will not serve as a decisive proof of a social order different from ours. Gummere aptly says,²¹ "Valentine and Gretchen make no proof for the matriarchate."

In some cases the bond between brother and sister is such that it may be taken to point toward a state of matriarchy. The most significant trace, however, of this primitive institution is the above-mentioned relation of uncle to sister's son. If our sources show the survival and prevalence of this peculiar tie and, moreover, if they stress it where to our modern ideas it seems unnecessary or abnormal or absurd, this fact makes probable a legal or customary origin; the survival, by the very fact of its absurdity, points to primitive law. When one set of customs and laws must give place to another, the former passes into communal sentiment.²²

¹⁹ *Mutterrecht und Raubehe*, p. 77.

²⁰ E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums* I, 1. Hälfte, p. 28, in discussing the question of the matriarchate among the Arabs, doubts the conclusiveness of the proof of the uncle-nephew tie for the theory of matrilineal descent, because he assumes that, where polygamy prevails, the wife's relatives are the natural protectors of her children against the step-brothers. This explanation seems forced when we consider that this close bond is a regular concomitant of matriarchy. There is no adequate reason for denying this interpretation of the phenomenon in some cases, when it is authentically attested in scores of instances.

²¹ Gummere, *The Sister's Son*, p. 134.

²² Gummere, p. 135.

I wish to touch briefly on the *occurrence of indications of matriarchy, particularly of nephew-right, among some of the non-Germanic Indo-Europeans*, because in several cases it has an important bearing on this investigation.

The great importance of the maternal uncle in the Sanskrit epic has been brought out in the passage from Delbrück quoted above.²³ Among the Greeks the mother's brother does not seem to have played this important rôle, but there are other indications which some scholars interpret as pointing toward matriarchy. Giraud-Teulon²⁴ calls attention to the Greek legend which tells that from the time of Cecrops on women were no longer allowed to vote; likewise children were no longer named after them. The maternal relationship seems to have been considered more intimate than the paternal one. Priam's son, Lykaon, calls out to Achilles, "Kill me not; I was not born from the same womb as Hektor."²⁵ Even after the time of Solon, the Athenian laws allowed marriage between children of the same father, but forbade it between children of the same mother.²⁶ McLennan cites the legend of Meleager to prove that at one time property was inherited according to the female line:²⁷ "When Meleager, having killed the boar, was for making over to Atalanta the chief spoils, his uncles on his mother's side took them away from her, asserting their right as next of kin, if Meleager declined to keep the prize himself." Antigone in Sophocles endures for Polynices toil and suffering that she would not have undergone for husband or children.²⁸ According to Polybius, the Greek Locrians traced their descent and nobility on their mother's side.²⁹

Plutarch relates that the Roman matrons prayed to the mother-god Ino-Matula to bless, not their sons, but their sister's sons.³⁰ Bachofen has collected much evidence from

²³ P. 4.

²⁴ *Les Origines du mariage et de la famille*, Genève et Paris, 1884.

²⁵ *Iliad* XXI, 95.

²⁶ Cited from Farnsworth, p. 232, and Potter, p. 117.

²⁷ Cf. Potter, p. 117.

²⁸ *Antigone*, v. 905 ff.

²⁹ Dargun, p. 2.

³⁰ Cited by Farnsworth, p. 232, from Bachofen, p. 12.



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Bei den Resten der vorarischen (vorkeltischen) Urbevölkerung Britanniens bestand das Mutterrecht in voller Geltung; es regelte die Erbfolge noch Jahrhunderte, als die Pikten längst christianisiert und sprachlich keltisiert waren, bis zum Untergang des Piktenstaates im 9. Jahrhundert. Die Frauen nahmen nicht etwa eine besonders hohe Stellung ein..... im Gegenteil; nirgends herrscht, soviel wir sehen, eine Frau: *die Mutter, also die Geburt, bestimmt aber die Stammzugehörigkeit, das Erbrecht.* Auf einen Piktenherrscher und seine Brüder folgt nicht etwa der Sohn des ältesten, sondern der Sohn der *Schwester*; auf diesen und seine eventuellen Brüder von Mutterseite folgt wieder ein Schwestersonn und so fort.

These are no mere surmises; Zimmer's proofs are convincing.³⁴ He does not share the general belief that the Picts were Celts, but believes that the invading Celts were influenced by the native Picts in regard to the status of woman. But whether the Picts were Celts or not, Celtic history clearly shows traces of mother-right. "The father's lack of importance is shown by the general practice of having sons brought up out of the paternal house; thus fosterage becomes the closest of all ties among the Celts."³⁵ When the sister's son or the maternal uncle was killed, the duty of vengeance devolved upon the other, according to the Ancient Laws of Ireland.³⁶ According to the old law of northern Wales, the son of a woman by a stranger from across the sea could inherit from maternal relatives, although contrary to the usual practice, because it was felt that the stranger brought new strength into the family and that the nephew would thus become the successor of the grandfather.'³⁷

Old Welsh law provides that if a child under twelve is placed under guardianship on account of its father's death, its guardian is of the maternal kin, so that he may not be tempted to deprive his charge of his property or shorten his life.³⁸ "Again, one version of the Vendotian Code provided

³⁴ H. d'Arbois de Jubainville does not accept the facts adduced as proofs. As far as I know he is alone in this skepticism. Cf. *Revue Celtique*, 1901.

³⁵ R. Dareste, *Etudes d'histoire du droit*, p. 361; P. W. Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, II, 17.

³⁶ H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, VII, 187.

³⁷ Quoted from Farnsworth, p. 230-231.

³⁸ Cited by Nitze from Walter, *Das alte Wales*, Par. 199; also *Welsh Medieval Law (Laws of Howell the Good)*, ed. Wade-Evans, Oxford, 1909.

that in case of murder, one-third of the blood-money (*galanas*) had to be paid by the murderer and his father and mother, if living; but two-thirds fell on the kindred, which was defined as 'from maternity to maternity unto the seventh descent.'³⁹ The Welsh law, like the Irish, made provision that when a girl married a non-tribesman, the responsibility for her sons rested with the maternal kindred, who had to provide an inheritance and pay the fine in case they committed crime.⁴⁰ "Das Wichtigste", says Walter, "aber war, dass solche Söhne ihren mütterlichen Grossvater neben den Brüdern ihrer Mutter beerbten, selbst wenn diese die Tochter des Grundherrn war, so dass dann deren Sohn der Grundherr seines Vaters wurde."⁴¹

Nitze gives many further examples of this bond from Irish literature, one of many being that Cuchulin is the son of Conchobar's sister.⁴²

My purpose now is to examine how much evidence Germanic hero-lore offers to prove or disprove the existence of matriarchy at the beginning of the historical period. Germanic hero-lore is peculiarly well adapted for this investigation of Germanic antiquity because the original development of the legends antedates their recording by at least five to eight centuries. It reflects archaic conditions, since it does not purport to be more than a tradition from the hoary past, while the legal writings, as stated above, must to a great extent record the contemporaneous state of affairs and no longer reflect a past with which legal procedure has broken.

In my conception of hero-lore I follow Symons in limiting it to those traditions which were formed in the heroic age of a people or were recast according to the character of that age.⁴³ They furnish the material for cycles of epic literature. This

³⁹ Quoted from Nitze, based on F. Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, London, 1895, p. 79 (for a different version see p. 80), on evidence cited by Hartland I, 274, and on A. Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 109 ff.

⁴⁰ According to H. Lewis, *Ancient Laws of Wales*, 1889, pp. 56-57, 197, marriage had to be outside of the *trev* or kindred who live in one inclosure.

⁴¹ *Das alte Wales*, 165.

⁴² Nitze, 307.

⁴³ *Heldensage* in Paul, *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*.

definition excludes historical epic poems, chronicles, genealogies, and the like.

Some examples of the close relationship between brother and sister have been collected by Bachofen,⁴⁴ of the uncle-nephew relationship by Dargun,⁴⁵ Gummere,⁴⁶ and a few by Klaeber.⁴⁷

The nature of the subject of this investigation calls not for argument, but for evidence, which turns into proof in just the degree in which it is cumulative. Only the great number of clear examples removes the explanation from the suspicion of mere chance and shows the uncle-nephew tie as something characteristic of the conditions underlying Germanic hero-lore. I have gone through all the sources,⁴⁸ comprising considerably more than 125,000 verses and approximately 1,750 pages of prose. This does not take into account the source material contained in Grimm: *Deutsche Heldensage*, Müllenhoff: *Zeugnisse und Excuse zur deutschen Heldensage*,⁴⁹ and Jänicke: *Zeugnisse und Excuse zur deutschen Heldensage*, (2. Nachlese).⁵⁰

As I have already pointed out, my proof must rest on the nature and number of instances found. I have grouped my material around the leading heroes and the great cycles of tradition so as to show the general prevalence of the matriarchal bond. The reference to the various sources will show the wide dissemination of this peculiar feature in the case of all the heroes and cycles. Farnsworth has classified the *contact of uncle and nephew* under twelve headings: 1. Fosterage, 2. Knighthood, 3. Marks of Favor, 4. Uncle provides Wife for Nephew, 5. Nephew as Messenger, 6. Solidarity between Uncle and Nephew, 7. Association in War, 8. Mutual Dependence, 9. Nephew as Successor or Heir, 10. Rôle of Uncle in Bloodfeud, 11. Rôle of Nephew in Bloodfeud,

⁴⁴ *Antiquarische Briefe*, 178 ff.

⁴⁵ *Mutterrecht und Raubehe*. Most of these examples do not belong strictly to hero-lore as I have defined it.

⁴⁶ Especially for *Beowulf*, but also mentions a number of other cases.

⁴⁷ *Engl. Studien*, XXXIX, in connection with an article on the Finnsburg fragment.

⁴⁸ Cf. bibliography.

⁴⁹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XII, 253-386.

⁵⁰ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XV, 310-332.



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einen anderen zum Morde anstiftet; um dagegen die Ermordung ihrer Brüder zu rächen, unterdrücken Signi und Gudrun Ehepflicht und Mutterliebe bis zum Morde von Kindern und Gatten, treten die Geschwister Signi und Sigmund in eine blutschänderische Verbindung, um aus einerlei Blut einen Rachegehülfen zu zeugen. Gudrun lässt sich zur Annahme einer Sühne für den Mord ihres Gatten bewegen, nicht für den Mord ihrer Brüder. Die Walkyre Sigrun verflucht ihren innig geliebten Gatten Helgi, weil er in der Schlacht ihren Bruder erschlagen; dass ihr zweiter Bruder dafür ihren Gatten tötet, das zu rächen, wie Kriemhild tut, fällt ihr nicht ein. Das alles liegt in der erhaltenen deutschen Sage ganz umgekehrt; ein merkwürdiges Mittelglied scheinen die Merowingischen Sagen zu bilden. Der Brudermord, im Norden unerhört, ist in den Geschlechtern der Burgunder und Thüringer wie zu Hause, die dafür aber auch dem Untergange verfallen; das Merowingische Haus, dem sie zu Opfer fallen, ist von Verwandtenmord aller Art befleckt, aber von keinem Brudermord. In der deutschen Kriemhildensage machte uns die völlige Umkehr der Tatsachen im Gegensatz zur nordischen Gudrunsage: dass Kriemhilde in einem Übermasse von Liebe und Treue den Mord ihres Gatten an ihren Brüdern mit der blutigsten Hartnäckigkeit, nicht wie Gudrun, den Mord ihrer Brüder an dem Gatten rächt, aufmerksam auf das verschiedene sittliche und gesellschaftliche Verhältnis, das hier zu Tage tritt. In der nordischen Sage wirkt die verwandtschaftliche Treue in dem engsten Familienband der Geschwister, wie nach einem blindem, unverbrüchlichen Naturgesetz, das zu einem allzwingenden Brauche geworden ist in der deutschen Sage greift die Treue über die nächsten Naturbände der geschlossenen Familie hinaus, etc.

It should be remarked in passing that the Scandinavian versions of the Germanic heroic lays reflect the basic social conditions underlying the legends better than the German versions, even if the Northern stories are not as reliable in many other ways as the German ones.

The passage quoted above is interesting testimony by a man who had no idea of the probable basic reason for such conditions. There is little to be added to this résumé.

The *Edda* has several passages showing the gravity of the crime of fratricide.⁵³

⁵³ Cf. Dargun, p. 53.

In the *Lokasenna*, Loki chides Iþunn:^a

17. ‘þegi þú, Iþunn! þik kveþk allra kvenna
vergjarnasta vesa,
síztu arma þína lagþir ítrþvegna
umb þinn bróþurbana.’

After Sigurd has slain Fafnir, one of the birds says, *Fáfnismol* 36:^b

- ‘Esat svá horskr hildimeiþr,
sem hers jaþar hyggja mundak,
ef bróþur lætr á braut komask,
en oþrum hefr aldrs of synjat.’

The *Hóvamól* also contains a relevant passage:^c

89. bróþurbana sínum, þót á brautu mœti,
húsi halfbrunnu, hesti alskjótum—
þá's jór ónýtr, ef einn fótr brotnar—:
verþit maþr svá trygg, at þessu trúi ollu.

The *Volsungasaga* contains an interesting passage showing the transition from the old to the new society, chapter 8: Siggeir murders the father of his wife Signy and all her brothers except Sigmund. She has egged Sigmund on to take revenge. He does so by firing the hall in which Siggeir is sleeping. Sigmund wishes his sister to leave the burning building with him, but she refuses to do so; she kisses him once more, then returns to die with her husband.

This is the extent of the evidence of the especially intimate relationship between brother and sister in Germanic hero-lore. The different attitude of Gudrun-Kriemhild in the Scandinavian and German versions is the backbone of

^aHush thee, Ithunn! Of all women
thou art most mad after men
since thy shining arms on the shoulders lay
of thy brother's banesman.

^bAs crafty were not the king's offspring .
as ought to be armed men's leader—
if he let scotfree escape the brother
when the other hence to Hel he sent.

^cWho hath slain his brother, (though abroad he be)
a half-burned house, a horse most swift—
worthless the steed if one foot he break—:
so trusting be no one to trust in these.

Bachofen's contention that the institution of matriarchy existed among the Germans.⁵⁴ The ties of kinship as they appear in that legend are so different from later and modern ones that we may properly accept them as evidence pointing toward a matriarchal basis. The same is to be said of the examples adduced by Gervinus and of those from the *Edda* and *Volsungasaga*. Without any corroborative testimony, however, the weight of the evidence of this brother-sister bond is not sufficient. This corroboration is to be found in the plentiful proof furnished by the uncle-nephew tie.⁵⁵ Except in the convincing cases mentioned above, the evidence of the avunculate is less equivocal.

UNCLE AND SISTER'S SON IN GERMANIC HERO-LORE

THE CYCLE OF SIEGFRIED⁵⁶

The oldest of Germanic epics, the *Beowulf*, contains a lay telling of the exploits of Sigmund and Fitela:^a

874.wel-hwylc gecwæð,
 þæt hē fram Sigemunde (s) secgan hȳrde
 ellendǣdum, uncūþes fela,
 Wælsinges gewin, wīde siðas,
 þāra þe gumena bearn gearwe ne wiston,
 fāhðe ond fyrena, būton Fitela mid hine,
 þonne hē swulces hwæt secgan wolde,
 ēam his nefan, swā hīe ā wāron
 æt nīða gehwām nȳd-gesteallan;

⁵⁴ *Antiquarische Briefe*, XXI (*Bruder u. Schwester in der Chriemhildsage der Nibelungen*), cf. Dargun, p. 51.

⁵⁵ The word for *nephew* in the various Germanic dialects may also mean *relative*. In this study only examples of nephews who are clearly sisters' sons are introduced.

⁵⁶ With the exception of the use of both *Siegfried* and *Stigurd*, of *Thi-dreksaga*, and of *Volsungasaga*, I regularly use only the German form of proper names for the sake of uniformity and intelligibility.

^a He told everything that he had heard of the mighty exploits of Sigemund, much that had ne'er been told:— the battle-toil of the Wael-sing, distant journeyings, feuds and crimes, of which the children knew nothing, save Fitela, the nephew who was with his uncle when he would



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This visit to the mother's brother is made the theme of independent folk-songs in Old Norwegian and Old Danish. In the Norwegian poem *Sigurd Svein*,⁵⁷ Sigurd hurts some of the squires while playing ball; they taunt him and tell him to try to find out his father's name rather than to abuse them.⁵⁸ In answer to his questioning his mother directs him to Gripir, her brother. After an adventuresome journey he is given a royal welcome by his maternal uncle.

Gripir says:

34. Ihr zapfet Met in Silberschalen und lasset nicht leere stehen,
Das ist Sigurd, mein Schwestersohn, der besucht hieher zum Land.

35. Ihr zapfet Met in Silberschalen und tut einander gut.
Kommt Sigurd, mein Schwestersohn, er duldet kleinen Spott.

36.Sigurd soll gehen in den hohen Saal und trinken vom
Silberhorn.

40. Höre du Greiper, mein Mutterbruder, was ich will fragen dich,
Weisst du etwas von meinem Vater, du hehle das nicht von mir.

He is told that his father is dead; he threatens his uncle if he does not tell him his father's name. Gripir promises him great treasure to calm him.

The Danish song *Sivard Snarensvend*⁵⁹ pictures a similar situation. When Sigurd comes riding, the king, *i. e.*, Gripir says:

10. Dett er enten en druckenn homannd,
son kand sin hest well ride,
eller thett er Siuord, min soster-son,
och haffuer werit y stride.

⁵⁷ Cf. W. Golther, *Die nord. Volkslieder von Sigurd*, *Zeitschr. für vgl. Lit. gesch.* II, 205-212, 269-297. Only Golther's translation was available.

⁵⁸ Cf. the interesting parallel in the story of Cuchullin and Conchobar.

⁵⁹ Grundtvig, I, 9. This is version B; in version A the queen is made to speak of Sivard as her sister's son. This is an evident corruption.

* That is either a drunken courtier, who can ride his steed well, or it is Sivard, my sister's son, and he has been in battle. 12. And the king came so joyfully toward his dear sister's son. 13. I counsel you, all of you, treat Sivard well, I tell you in sooth: he will endure no mockery.

Sigurd's horse jumps over the walls and all the women are frightened.

12.
 och konngen hannd gick saa gladelig
 y-mod kiere søster-sønne sin.
13. "Ieg rader nu ether, alle mine,
 att gør Siuordh gott:
 ieg will ether for sanndigenn sige:
 hand thaaler slett inthed spott."

In the Old Danish folk-song of *Kong Diderick og hans Kaemper*⁶⁰ Sigurd meets the warrior sent out by Dietrich to reconnoitre. He overcomes him and then in true epic fashion asks the name of the vanquished one. When he is told, he says:^a

78. Estu her Humblum Iersinngs sønn,
 siiger du mig thett forsanddt:
 da esthu minn søster-sønn,
 ieg skall dig gjøre thill manndt.
79. Esthu her Humblum Iersinngs sønn,
 da esthu minn frennde:
 du thag dinn hest oc far y fredt,
 ieg dig icke føre kiennde.

The verse "ieg skall dig gjøre thill manndt" apparently means that Sigurd bestows knighthood on young Humblum, who may be regarded as still a squire. He refuses the prize of battle, Humblum's steed, and even permits himself to be bound in order that the younger man's friends may believe that the latter had been victorious.

In the *Þidreksaga* we find a kinsman of Sigurd, Hornbogi, who is probably to be identified with the Humblum of *Kong Diderick og hans Kaemper*. We hear nothing of an uncle-nephew relation, though the *frænd* relationship referred to, 203, 223, may be interpreted as such. There is ample evidence for the close tie between Sigurd and Hornbogi. Sigurd

⁶⁰ Grundtvig, I, 94 ff.

^a If you are Humblum, Jersing's son, if you tell me that in sooth: then you are my sister's son, I will make you a man (knight?). If you are Humblum, Jersing's son, then you are my kinsman: take your steed and go in peace, I knew you not before.

made him many gifts and even prevailed on King Isung to give his daughter in marriage to Hornbogi's son, Aumlungr.

The dying Sigurd says to Gudrun in the *Sigurðar kvíða en skamma*:^{a61}

26. A'k til ungan erfnyttja,
kannat firrask ór fiandgarði;
þeir sér hafa svárt ok dátt
en náer numit nýlig rǫð.
27. Ríþra þeim síþan, þót sjau alir,
systrsunr slíkr at þingi:

To be sure, these lines suggest danger for Sigurd's son from his mother's brothers, and we are informed in the *Volsungasaga* that Brynhild has the child put to death. Dargun believes that the last lines quoted seem to point to a regular public function of the sister's son, that of accompanying his uncles to the *Thing*.⁶² The riding to the *Thing* was a general obligation of the kinsman, it is true, but the stressing of the fact that he is a sister's son seems to point to an exceptional position.

These examples are all indicative of an unusually intimate relationship between uncle and sister's son. To summarize briefly: Sigmund and Sinfjötli are almost inseparable comrades-in-arms; we have a possible suggestion in this case of an earlier stage of civilization, when it was not an uncommon thing for a man to be father and uncle at the same time; the sister's son, Sigurd, goes to his uncle, Gripir, for advice on important matters; we have here a possible suggestion that the uncle, Gripir, has been withholding his nephew's patrimony in his rôle as guardian; we find solicitude for

^{a1} Gering: *Edda*, p. 351.

^a Too young the heir who after me liveth
to flee afar from his father's slayers;
they quickly wrought the reckless deed,
nightly and knavish, but newly sworn.

Like sister's son never at their side will ride,
though seven sons thou suckle hereafter.

⁶² Dargun, p. 54.



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þa rid er hann heuir ei sialfr alldr til at geta sins rikis. Nu verþit þer at koma æptir varre orðsending. oc raðeð landraðum með oss. hvat sem þa syniz oss af at taka um þetta mal.^a

This is a plain case of regency by the uncles for a minor heir even during the life-time of the father. In this connection it must not be forgotten that Attila had a brother, Bloedelin who, however, receives no consideration.

The *Volsungasaga*, 35 (33), uses almost the identical words in describing this scene, though it does not explicitly mention the sister's son. Attila's messenger Vingi promises the Burgundians honors and treasure, "ok ykr lezt hann bezt unna sins rikis."^b Finally he makes this offer to Gunnar, who is still unpersuaded:

Ekki er þvi at leyna, at Atli konungr er þungfer miok ok gamlaðr miok at veria sitt riki, enn synir hans ungir ok til eingis ferir. Nu vill hann gefa yðr valld yfir rikinú, medan þeir eru sva ungir, ok ann yðr bezt at niota.^c

The *Klage* tells us that the Bishop of Passau had the story of the fall of the Burgundians written "mit latinischen buochstaben" because

3299.die stolzen Burgundære
wâren sîner swester kint.

^a We want to invite you home to a banquet and friendship in our land. King Attila is now old and too infirm to rule his land, and his son Aldrian is only several winters old. Now it seems to us that it would best befit you to rule this empire with your kinsmen as his mother-brothers, and as long as he is not old enough, to hold his empire for him. You must now come in answer to our message and advise with us as to the government, what also seems necessary to us to be done in this matter.

^b He is fainest of all things to bestow his realm and lordship upon you.

^c Naught may I hide that King Atli is heavy of foot and over-old for the warding of his realm; but his sons are young and of no account; now he will give you rule over his realms while they are yet young, and most fain will he be that you have the joy thereof before all others.

He gives the command:

ein ieslîch mîn ambetmann,
der mir deheines guotes gan,
der enpfâhe mîner swester kint.^a

When the messenger reports the death of his nephews to him, he is overwhelmed by grief:

3328. möcht ich si wider gewinnen
mit weinen und mit klagen,
ich enwolte nimmer mêt gedagen,
unz mir mîner swester kint,
.....
müesten alle werden wider.^b

He sends a message of sympathy to his sister Uote (3328), and has the story of the Nibelungs recorded in Latin "durch liebe der neven sîn" (4294).

In some of the later legends we find to our surprise that Volker has been made Kriemhild's sister's son (*Rosengarten* D 45, 1, D II, and *Heldenbuch, Anhang*). Gummere says concerning this innovation, p. 136: "The most astonishing vagary of the inferior powers is to make Volker a sister's son to Kriemhild."

The explanation is probably to be sought in the fact that this relationship was the one most commonly mentioned in the epic, and as the brother-sister relation was out of the question, the former is assigned to them. The intimacy suggested by it is lost sight of by these late writers.

Leaving the Low German hero Siegfried and the Burgundians, let us consider the High German favorite Dietrich.

^a The proud Burgundians were his sister's children. "Every one of my vassals, who wishes me well, will receive my sister's children well."

^b Could I call them back by weeping or lamenting, I should never again be silent, until my sister's children would be restored to me.

THE CYCLE OF DIETRICH

When Hildebrand and his relative Nitger come to the aid of the hard pressed Dietrich, the latter welcomes them thus, *Alpharts Tod*:

400. Wis got wilkomen, Hildebrant, lieber meister mîn,
und der herzoge Nîtgêr, der sol mîn oheim sîn.'^a

Dietrich wishes to honor Nitger, who is not related to him at all, by bestowing on him this especially close degree of consanguinity. It is a clear example of the sentimental connotation of "oheim."

The *Thidreksaga* relates, chapter 232, how Count Herdegn blames his son Herburt with being an accessory, even if an innocent one, to the death of another son:

Nu þickir Herburt illa er hans faðir er honum reiðir. oc hann fær af þessu ahyggiu oc gengr a brott. oc duelsk þar litla rið aðr en hann tekr sinn hest oc sin uapn oc riðr a brot af Jverne. oc ferra alla leið er ligr til Bernar a fund þiðrex konungs moðurbroður sins, etc.^b

The natural person for the wronged son to turn to is his mother's brother. After Herburt had been at his uncle's court for a time, he is sent to woo Hilde, the daughter of King Artus of Bertangenland, for Dietrich (234).

Nu er Herburt hævir þar dualz litla rið, gengr hann firir konung oc sægir honum sin ærindi. at þiðrecr konungr af Bern hans moðurbroðir sendi hann þangat. til þess at biðia hans dottur Hildi til handa þiðreki konungi. þa suarar Artus konungr at biðia hans dottur. ef hann vill fa. Herburt suarar. at þar hofðu verit aðrir menn þiðrex konungs nockura rið. oc fengv æigi set hana. en nu sendi hann af því sinn systurson. þann er hann truði vel at sea konu ser til handa.^c

^a Welcome, Hildebrant, dear master mine, and Duke Nitger, he shall be my uncle.

^b Now it did not seem right to Herburt that his father was angry with him, and he took it to heart and went away, he did not tarry there long, until he took his horse and weapons and rode away from Iverne. And he went the whole way which lies toward Bern to King Dietrich, his mother-brother, and told him all. . . . King Dietrich, however, received his kinsman well and he stood in high honor with him.

^c When Herburt had been there for a short time, he went before the King and told him his business, that King Dietrich, his mother's brother,



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turns the shield, and the nephew is overjoyed to meet his "lieber oheim" (398). In the ensuing battle *Hildebrand* hears the sword resounding in *Wolfhart's* hand.

441. Hildebrant der alte kom zuo im gerant,
dâ er Wolfharten in grôzen nœten vant.^a

He extricates his nephew and they slay their adversaries.

In *Dietrichs Flucht* they are mentioned together as desiring deeds of valor:

3756. die dicke manheit gerten,
Wolfhart unde Hildebrant,
.....
den wart wîle niht mêt
niwan daz ieslîcher einen gêr
gezuhte mit den handen.^b

So frank is their comradeship that *Wolfhart* dares beard his uncle. In *Dietrichs Flucht* *Hildebrand* has returned from reconnoitering and, apparently jesting, warns *Dietrich* against opposing *Ermanrich* in battle on account of his superior numbers. *Wolfhart*, fearing to be cheated out of a fight, exclaims:

6273. 'herre von Bern, ditz ist niht wâr.
wan sie bekômen nie dar
noch gesâhen ouch die vînde nie.'^c

In the *Biterolf und Dietleib* the messenger who brings the Burgundians *Dietrich's* challenge to combat enumerates all the heroes under *Hildebrand's* leadership, *Wolfhart* he specifically names "der neve sin," 6358; *Wolfhart* asks advice of his "vil lieber oheim *Hildebrant*", 7888; in a tournament

^a *Hildebrand*, the old, came rushing up to him, where he found *Wolfhart* in great need.

^b They, who much desired deeds of valor, *Wolfhart* and *Hildebrand*,... did not have much time left before each raised a spear in his hand.

^c Sir, this is not true, for they were not there and did not see the enemy.

Wolfhart is made prisoner by Stuoifuhs, Hildebrand is inconsolable:

8975. ouwê, lieber herre mîn,
wie grôzer schade uns daz muoz sîn,
ob morgen hie der strît geschiht,
daz man bî uns niht ensiht
Wolfharten den neven mîn!^a

He is determined to free his nephew at any cost:

8992. 'ez ist mîn rât,
swie wir læsen noch den man,
wir suln niht under wegen lân
Wolfharten mîner swester kint.
aller die bî iu hie sint,
der deheiner iu niht baz gestât.
.....
swie alter mir turnieren wert,
doch muoz ich zuo zin dar in:
ich hilfe mînem neven hin
mit bûrgen ode mit ritterschaft.^b

It is not only the importance of Wolfhart's prowess for Dietrich's cause but rather the close bond which impels Hildebrand to rescue his sister's son. When Wolfhart grows peevish over the inactivity of the contestants, it is his "œheim" who angrily reproves him (10018). Hildebrand finds Heime's sword Nagelring which had been struck out of its owner's hand by Siegfried:

11313. daz swert Hildebrant dô truoc
und gap ez balde genuoc
sinem neven Wolfharten.^c

Other explicit mention of the relation of uncle to sister's son is made in verses 7762, 8123, 12902.

^a Alas, dear lord, what harm that will bring us, if there is a combat tomorrow, that Wolfhart, my nephew, is not among us!

^b It is my advice, however we may free the man, we should not leave Wolfhart, my sister's son, away from us. Of all, who are here with you, not one stands you in better stead. Even if old age prevents me, yet I must go to him: I shall help my nephew (out of captivity) with ransom or with knightly deeds.

^c The sword Hildebrand bore and gave soon to his nephew Wolfhart.

In the *Virginal*, too, this theme is of vital importance. When *Hildebrand* desires to ask the assistance of the *Wulfings* to aid *Dietrich*, he is sure his sister's son will be glad to come.

463, 7. Wolfhart der neve mîn,
vröuwet sich der mære.^a

During one of their adventures *Dietrich* is captured by a giant. At the thought of returning without his liege-lord, *Hildebrand* is concerned over his reception by his nephew.

584, 7. Wolfhart der neve mîn
der getar mîn wol spotten.^b

His fears are justified, *Wolfhart* upbraids him for treachery, so that *Hildebrand* must plead with him:

597, 4. Wolfhart, du bist der neve mîn:
tuo dîn tugent an mir schîn
und lâ mich, helt, genesen.^c

When plans are made for *Dietrich's* deliverance, *Wolfhart* begs by their mutual love to be one of the party.

608, 11. herre veter Hiltibrant,
als rehte liep als ich iu sî,
lânt uns mit iu in daz lant.^d

He asks to be allowed to fight first:

615, 12. Hiltibrant, lieber neve mîn,
nu gip du mir den êrsten strît.^e

^a My nephew, *Wolfhart*, will rejoice in the tidings.

^b *Wolfhart*, my nephew, may well mock me.

^c *Wolfhart*, you are my nephew: show your courtesy toward me and let me go.

^d Uncle *Hildebrand*, dear as I am to you, let us go with you into that land.

^e *Hildebrand*, dear uncle mine, grant me the first fight.



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impudently. The friar wants to give him a "drüzzelslac" for his impertinence and inquires who he is.

D 125. 'du wirst in wol erkennen,' sprach meister Hildebrant,
'jâ ist er dîner swester sun, daz tuon ich dir bekant.'^a

After expressing his surprise, Ilsan says to *Hildebrand*:

127. Sie sint nâch dir gewahsen, Wolfhart und Sigestab.^b

This is an extremely interesting example, even if perhaps only accidental and without deeper significance, of the belief found in widely remote tribes with matriarchal vestiges that the sister's son is supposed to resemble the uncle.

When Etzel returns to his land, the two uncles and the two sister's sons are traveling companions.

D 129. Dô reit der künec Etzel wider in sîn lant,
mit ime der von Berne und meister Hildebrant,
Wolfhart unde Sigestap und der münech Ilsan.^c

At the tournament in Worms, Wolfhart would have slain *Hagen*, had not *Kriemhild* interceded. All efforts to restrain him are vain, until *Hildebrand* draws him away and takes off his armor (D 303). The uncle, however, cannot help showing his pride in his "mad" nephew throughout the scene.

The manner in which the *Anhang* of the *Heldenbuch* gives a list of the heroes of olden times is striking: Wolfhart. Hiltbrant. schwester sun. Amlung v. Garten sein vatter. herczog Bechtung sein groszatter von der muoter her. vnd Alphart v. Auché der was sein bruoder.

Alphart died young (cf. *Alpharts Tod*) and therefore had not become so traditionally associated with *Hildebrand* as had Wolfhart, the "schwester sun" par excellence. It is significant that the maternal uncle is mentioned before the

^a "You will recognize him," said master Hildebrant, "he is your sister's son, this I make known to you."

^b They have taken after you, Wolfhart and Sigestab.

^c Then King Etzel rode back to his land, with him Dietrich and Master Hildebrand, Wolfhart and Sigestap and the monk Ilsan.

father, likewise that the grandfather on the mother's side only is spoken of.

Another passage tells us: "wolfhart Alphart vnd Sigestab. Die waren hildebrant schwester sün," and again "Sigestab. hiltbrant schwester sun. vnd was amelung von Garten sein vatter."

The *Biterolf und Dietleib* shows the confusion in regard to the relationship of Sigestap by making him a "neve", which need mean nothing more than "relative", of both Dietrich and Wolfhart. In both cases, however, the relationship seems to be of an intimate character. He is called a "neve" of Dietrich by a messenger who is enumerating Dietrich's heroes:

5247. der eine daz was Hildebrant
und Helferich der wigant,
Gêrbart unde Wîchart,
Sigehêr und Ritschart,
Wolfbrant unde Wolfwîn,
und Sigestap der neve sîn,
und ouch der küene Wolfhart.^a

When Wolfhart laments the fact that he is not ruler over a land, Sigestap says to Dietrich:

11591. 'der zweier lande, der ich hân,
der wil ich einez ledic gân,
und wil mich des verzîhen:
ir sult ez hiute lîhen
Wolfharten dem neven mîn,
er muoz ein fürste mit uns sîn.'^b

Alpharts Tod offers strong circumstantial evidence for the view that Sigestap is Hildebrand's sister's son: he and Alphart are mentioned together (76); Wolfhart and Sigestap lead Ilsam, the maternal uncle of Alphart and Wolfhart (and Sigestap?) to Alphart's grave, 409; Sigestap cuts his way through ten thousand men in a vain attempt to avenge Alphart's death on Wittich and Heime, 451-452.

^a One was Hildebrand, etc., and Sigestap, his relative (nephew?), etc.

^b Of the two lands which I have, I will give up one: you shall today bestow it on Wolfhart, my relative (?).

According to the *Klage*, on the other hand, Dietrich's father and Sigestap's mother had the same father, 1493.

The story of Hildebrand and Wolfhart rises to tragic grandeur in the episode of Wolfhart's death as told by the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Klage*. After Rüdiger's death Hildebrand was going unarmed to see what had happened.

2248. Der sturmküene recke, meister Hildebrant,
weder schilt noch wâfen truog er an der hant:
er wolde in sînen zühten zuo den gesten gân.
von sîner swester kinde wart im ein strâfen getân.
2249. Do sprach der grimme Wolfhart: "welt ir dar blôzer gân,
sô mag ez âne ein schelten nimmer wol gestân:
sô müezt ir lasterliche tuon die widervart;
komt ir dar gewâfent, daz etelicher wol bewart."
2250. Do garte sich der wîse durch des tumben rât.^a

Wolfhart and the others follow, all armed. Volker refuses Wolfhart's demand to deliver Rüdiger's body to them.

2271. Dô wold' er zuo z'im springen, wan daz in niht enlie
Hildebrant sîn œheim vaste z'im gevie.
'ich wæn' du woldest wüeten durch dînen tumben zorn.
mînes herren hulde du hetes immer mêr verlorn.'^b

Wolfhart falls by Giselher's hand:

2298. Hildebrant der alte Wolfharten vallen sach:
im wæn' vor sînem tôde so rehte leide nie geschach.
2299. Dô wâren gar erstorben die Guntheres man
und ouch die Dietrîches. Hildebrant was gegân
dâ Wolfhart was gefallen nider in daz pluot:
er beslôz mit armen den recken kûen' unde guot.

^a Master Hildebrant, bold in strife, took with him neither shield nor sword, and would have gone to them on peaceful wise. But his sister's child chid him. Grim Wolfhart cried, "Why goest thou naked? If they revile thee, thou wilt have the worst of the quarrel, and return shamed. If thou goest armed, none will withstand thee." (*blôzer* should be translated *unarmed*.)

The old man armed him as the youth had counselled.

^b Wolfhart would have run at him, but his uncle, Hildebrand, held him fast and would not let him. "Thou art mad in thy foolish wrath. We should come in disgrace forever with my master."



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so klagete ich immer mêre
 disen degen hêre:
 er was mîner swester suon.^a

As stated above, Alphart, *Hildebrand's* sister's son, died too young to become the typical comrade-in-arms that *Wolfhart* became. But in the case of Alphart, too, we find all the signs of this close tie. He is fostered by his uncle; when he wants to go forth to battle Ute says to him:

Alpharts Tod 104: 'Alphart, lieber ôheim, wem wiltû mich lân?
 wer sol mich des ergetzen deich dich sô lange erzogen hân?'^b

When he is proving his valor in the ensuing combat, we hear:

174. diu schœnest aller wîbe zôch den jungen Alphart.
 dâ pflac sîn wol mit êren meister Hildebrant,
 er was stæt und getriuwe, in heldes muote man in vant.
175. Er vuor in lewen muote, si was an im niht betrogen,
 diu herzogîn vrou Uote, diu in dâ hete erzogen
 ûf von einem kinde.^c

The young hero insists on riding toward the forces of *Ermanrich* in order to keep watch. *Hildebrand*, who has entreated him in vain to refrain from this foolhardy undertaking, secretly follows him. By concealing his identity he hopes to engage him in combat, to overcome him, and thus to save him from the certain death to which the youth's rashness is carrying him (121 ff). But his ruse miscarries; his nephew is the victor, and he is obliged to save his life by confessing who he is. He rides back to Bern, and Alphart is treacherously slain by *Heime* and *Wittich*. Twelve leaves of the manuscript immediately following this part are missing. Undoubtedly these contain the lamentations of the uncle for his sister's son.

^a Alas, noble hero! When will you cease weeping? If it availed anything, then I should lament forever this great warrior: he was my sister's son.

^b Alphart, dear nephew, to whom will you leave me? Who shall repay me for this long fosterage?

^c The most beautiful of all women brought up young Alphart. Master *Hildebrand* cared for him with honor; he was faithful and true, he had the courage of a hero. He went with the courage of a lion, she was not deceived in him, the duchess *Uote*, who had reared him from childhood on.

In conclusion, one interesting passage is yet to be noted. The *Virginal* relates how Bloedelin fights with a giant. Because he does not succeed in killing his adversary in an all-day fight, Hildebrand says to him:

742, 4. 'nu sagent mir, her Bloedelîn:
ir müezent gar ein zage sîn.
des ich iuch gar bewîse.
ir sint niht der neve mîn:^a

THE CYCLE OF WITTICH

The legend of this renegade, the friend of Dietrich's youth and the bitter enemy of his manhood, offers a number of important bits of evidence as to the position of the sister's son. The *Thidreksaga* relates that Wittich wished above all things to test the prowess of young Dietrich. He comes to Bern and engages the young hero in combat. When the tide of battle is turning in Wittich's favor, Dietrich's father, Dietmar, tries to part them. Wittich turns on him threateningly, chapter 95:

ef þu villt gera mer orlog i þino landi oc rangendi. oc sva þo atv vilir drepa mec med þinom liðfiolda. þa scal engi maðr kalla þic et betra dreng ne at meira mann. En þess ma þo vel hemnt verða. þvi et ec a moðorbroðor einn eigi orikari konong en þv ert. (Variant: þuiat ek a þann moðurbroður er Niðungr heitir. er þess skal fa fullvel hefnt. ef þu brytr log a mer.)^b

Here the mother-brother is to act as avenger in a blood-feud.

In the *Rabenschlacht* we have a picture of the close relation between Wittich and his sister's son, Rienold, 945, 1. The two are comrades-in-arms. Dietrich rides in pursuit of

^a Now tell me, Sir Bloedelin, you must be a coward. Of this I accuse you. You are no nephew of mine.

^b If you will do injustice and violence to me in your land, by wanting to have me slain by your followers, yet will no one call you a better hero or a greater man. But this might yet be revenged, because I have a mother-brother, who is a king, not less strong than you. (Variant: Because I have a mother-brother, whose name is Nidungr, who will have revenge, if you break the law in my case.)

them after Wittich has slain his brother and Etzel's sons. Wittich unheroically flees, but he is concerned only for the safety of his sister's son, he fears nothing for himself.

945, 1. 'Lieber ôheim mîne,
nû gâhe für dich hin.
jâ vürhte ich sêre dîne:
gar ân angest ich selbe bin,
möhtestu nû kommen hinne!^a

Rienold seeks in vain to stay the headlong flight of his uncle, 943 ff., but in vain, and so he decides to await Dietrich alone. Wittich deserts him, but shows by his parting words the value he had placed on their relation:

949, 1. Rienolt, helt guoter,
nû müez got phlegen dîn!
waerstû mîn vater oder mîn muoter
sô müest ich doch dîn âne sîn.^b

Dietrich slays the young warrior and taunts the fleeing Wittich with the death of his nephew:

957, 3. 'Rienolt ûf der heide
lît von mînen handen tôt.
bistu ein recke küene unde mære,
sô richestû in.'^c

According to the *Biterolf und Dietleib* Wittich has a sister's son by the name of Nantwin, 12237, with whom, however, he lives in enmity. There is apparently a struggle between them for the possession of Bavaria, 6585. The general reaction toward such a situation is expressed by Rüdiger in answer to Nantwin's hope that he may get Wittich's armor:

6591. friunt sol friunde bî gestân.
mir ist lieb daz ich niht hân
friunt, als ich iuch hære jehen,

^a Dear nephew mine, now hasten away. I fear much for your sake: I myself am without fear, if only you may escape!

^b Rienold, good hero, now must God have you in his care! Even if you were my father or my mother, I still should have to leave you.

^c Rienold lies on the heath, dead by my hand. If you are a hero, bold and famous, then you will avenge him.



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It is out of the question that Hetel and Wate should be brothers; these passages contain one of the many inconsistencies of the *Gudrun*. The fact remains that the uncle-nephew relationship is especially stressed.

In consonance with the custom of fosterage, Gudrun "wart erzogen in Tenelande"; possibly it was at the house of Horant. If we assume that the poet here considers Hetel and Horant uncle and nephew, this fosterage of Gudrun would be a sign of the sentimental nature of this tie.

THE CYCLE OF WALTHER

The uncle-nephew *motif* plays a very prominent part in the *Walthersage*. It appears in the *Waltharilied*, where it amounts to a *Leitmotiv*, in the *Thidreksaga*, and in *Biterolf und Dietleib*.

The *Thidreksaga* tells us, chapter 241:

Atilla konungr af Susa var bæði ríkr oc feolmennr. oc vann morg ríki. Hann leggr vingan við Erminrík konung. er þa reð Puli. Þessir .II. konungar leggja vingan sin a mæðal. sua at Attila konungr sendir Erminrík konungi sinn frænda Osið með .XII. riddara. Erminrík konungr sendir i gegen Valtara af Uaskasteini sinn systurson með .XII. riddorum.^a

We are reminded of the Tacitean "et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt, tanquam ii et animum firmissimum et domum latius teneant."

This version varies from the account in the *Waltharilied*, where Walther is given as a hostage by his father Alpher, King of Aquitania, but this is immaterial. The *Thidreksaga*, cognizant of the sentimental value of a sister's son as hostage, makes Walther a sister's son to the king.

Once, when Walther and Hildegunde chanced to be together alone at Attila's court, he asked her how much longer

^a King Attila of Susa was powerful and had many subjects, and he conquered many empires. He concluded friendship with King Erminrek, who then ruled over Pulia. These two kings concluded friendship in this way, that King Attila sent King Erminrek his kinsman Osid with twelve knights, King Erminrek on the other hand sent Waltari von Waskastein, his sister's son, with twelve knights.

she would remain a servant of Queen Erka. He reminded her of her noble birth and said of himself, *Thidreksaga*, chapter 242: “en ec em systurson Aerminrix konungs af Romaborg.”^a

The two escape in safety until they arrive in Gunther's land. The story of the rapacious king's attempt to rob them of their treasures forms the content of the *Waltharilied*. It records one of the greatest tragic conflicts in Germanic literature. Of Gunther's twelve heroes, five had already fallen in a vain attack on Walther.

846. Sextus erat Patavrid, soror hunc germana Haganonis
Protulit ad lucem, quem dum procedere vidit,
Vocibus et precibus conatur avunculus inde
Flectere, proclamans: ‘quonam ruis? aspice mortem
Qualiter arridet. desiste! en ultima Parcae
Fila legunt. o care nepos te mens tua fallit,
.....

868. Ecce ego dilectum nequeo revocare nepotum;
Instimulatus enim de te est o saeva cupido
En caecus mortem properat gustare nefandam
Et vili pro laude cupit descendere ad umbras.
Heu mihi care nepos, matri quid perditte mandas?
.....
Sic ait et gremium lacrimis consparsit obortis,
Et ‘longum formose vale’ singultibus edit.^b

Walther, seeing the agony of his old comrade-in-arms, tries to deter Patafried from fighting, but in vain: Patafried is slain. Finally only Gunther and Hagen remain. Hagen

^a I am the sister's son of Erminrek, King of Rome.

^b Patafried was the sixth. Him the sister of Hagen had born. When the maternal uncle saw him advancing, then he tries with pleading words to hold him back, exclaiming, “Whither are you rushing? See how death is grinning at you. Leave off! The Parcae are already spinning the end of the threads. Oh, dear nephew, your courage deceives you. 868. I cannot call back the best of nephews; he is goaded by you, O savage Desire. Blind, he hastens to taste shameful death, and for idle praise he will descend to the shades. Alas, dear lost nephew, what shall I tell your mother?”.....876: Thus he spoke and besprinkled his bosom with welling tears and convulsively sobbed forth “a long farewell, beautiful one.”

at first refuses to attack Walther but finally consents out of loyalty to his liege-lord.

1112. Nam propter carum fateor tibi domne nepotem
Promissam fidei normam corrumpere nollem.
Ecce in non dubium pro te rex ibo periculum.^a

Even if *Hagen* here apparently values his loyalty to the king higher than that to his nephew, the two relations are at least comparable in the sentimental weight attached to them. The ensuing conversation between *Hagen* and *Walther* may well lead us to believe that it was not loyalty to the king alone which spurred *Hagen* on to fight with *Walther*. When *Hagen* and *Gunther* jointly assault *Walther*, he reminds *Hagen* of their friendship and of the fact that they were brothers-in-arms. In answer, *Hagen* leaves his loyalty to the king unmentioned, but says, after reproaching *Walther* for slaying his friends and comrades:

1272. Cetera fors tulerim, si vel dolor unus abesset:
Unice enim carum, rutilum, blandum, pretiosum
Carpisti florem mucronis falce tenellum.
Haec res est, pactum qua irritasti prior alium,
Idcircoque gazam cupio pro foedere nullam.
Sitne tibi soli virtus, volo discere, in armis,
Deque tuis manibus caedem perquiro nepotis.^b

Hagen refuses any manner of expiation for the death of his nephew, only the death of the slayer can end the feud. *Gummere* says of this combat, p. 137: "That must be a fearful and staggering provocation which bade a man sever one of the most sacred of all bonds; nevertheless—

deque tuis manibus caedem perquiro nepotis.

^a For, I confess, my lord, I should not be willing to break my promised faith on account of my dear nephew. See, I shall encounter sure danger for you, king.

^b All else I should have borne if only this one grief were not. You have cut with the sharp scythe the only loved, rosy, charming, dear, tender blossom. This it is, through which you first have torn our propitious covenant, therefore I do not desire any treasure for reconciliation. Whether you alone are brave in arms, I wish to learn, and from your hands I demand my slain nephew.



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vain to dissuade Dietleib from starting in search of his father. She tells him that he will inherit his father's lands, which have been in the hands of his heroes for a long time.

2104. der frumen lützel wære genesen,
wær der von Kärlingen niht:
swaz ie den liuten dîn geschiht,
Walthêr ez heizet widertuon.
der ist dîner basen suon.^a

On his way to Etzelnburc, Dietleib had been attacked by Gunther and an expedition starts from Etzel's court to avenge this affront. Biterolf and Dietleib send a messenger to Walther, who is a vassal of Gunther, deploring the fact that they should fight their "verchsippe", their blood-relations. Walther answers that he will be loyal to his liege-lord, but he will refrain from fighting his relatives; they should also direct their attack elsewhere. They govern themselves according to his suggestions.

THE CYCLE OF BEOWULF⁶⁶

This cycle has been excellently though briefly treated in the interesting article by Gummere. I quote from his account freely; I have in the main only elaborated it. Beowulf is the son of Ecgþeow, who plays but a minor part in the story (373); his mother is the daughter of Hreþel. He is brought up at the court of his maternal grandfather together with his maternal uncles, one of these being Hygelac. He is a vassal of Hygelac, but the love and devotion he exhibits are stronger than those of a vassal. When he prepares to fight Grendel, he says:

435. ic þæt þonne forhicge, swā mē Higelāc sīe,
mīn mon-drihten, mōdes bliðe,
þæt ic sweord bere oþðe sīdne scyld,
geole-rand tō gūþe,^b

⁶⁶ Gummere, pp. 137-138.

^a Few of the brave ones would have survived, were it not for the hero of Kärlingen: whatever of ill happens to your people, Walther bids it be restored. He is the son of your father's sister.

^b Therefore, that the heart of Hygelac my lord may be gladdened because of me, I scorn to carry sword or broad shield, the yellow buckler, into the fight.

Before the fray he makes Hygelac his heir:

452. Onsend Higelāce, gif mec hild nime,
beadu-scrūda betst, þæt mīne brēost wereð,
hrægla sēlest; þæt is Hrēðlan lāf,
Wēlandes geweorc.^a

In case of his death in the encounter with Grendel's mother, he also bequeaths the presents, which Hrōðgār had made to him, to his uncle:

1482. swylce þū ðā mādmas, þē þū mē sealdest,
Hrōðgār lēofa, Higelāce onsend.^b

Before leaving for his home, Beowulf promises Hrōðgār help in time of need, and in this connection he again emphasizes Hygelac's sentiment towards him:

1830.Ic on Higelāce wāt,
.....
.....þæt hē mec fremman wile
wordum ond weorcum, þæt ic þe wel herige.^c

Hrōðgār regards Beowulf as the best successor to Hygelac:

1845.wēn ic talige,
gif þæt gegangeð, þæt ðe gār nymeð,
hild heoru-grimme, Hrēþles eaferan,
ādī opðe īren ealdor ðinne
folces hyrde, ond þū þīn feorh hafast,
þæt þē Sæ-Gēatas sēlran næbben
tō gecēosenne cyning ænignē,
hord-weard hæleþa, gyf þū māga rice.^d

^a But send thou to Hygelac, if the fight take me, the matchless mail, best of armors, that guards my breast; it is a relic of Hrethel, and the work of Weland.

^b Do thou also send unto Hygelac the treasures that thou gavest me, beloved Hrothgar.

^c I know that Hygelac, will further me by word and deed that I may do honor to thee.

^d I count it likely that, if ever the spear or fierce warfare or sickness or weapon take away thy lord, the heir of Hrethel, shepherd of the people, and if thou be yet alive, the Sea Geats will have none better to choose as king, as guardian of treasure and heroes, if haply thou be willing to govern the kingdom of thy folk.

There is no reason for assuming that Hrōðgār is ignorant of the fact that Hygelac has sons; this choice, we may believe, rests on a basis of inherited custom.

The message is borne to Hygelac, that his 'lind-gestealla', his 'shield-comrade' (1973) has returned. This appellation is significant for the relation between the two men. Hygelac tells us of his hopes and fears for Beowulf during his absence:

1992. Ic ðæs mōd-ceare
 sorh-wylmum sēað, sīðe ne trūwode
 lēofes mannes. Ic ðē lange bæd,
 þæt ðū þone wæl-gæst wihte ne grētte,
 lēte Sūd-Dene sylfe geweorðan
 gūðe wið Grendel. Gode ic þanc secge,
 þæs ðe ic ðe gesundne gesēon mōste.^a

This is the characteristic and conventional expression of solicitude on the part of the uncle for the nephew's safety.

In telling Hygelac of Hrōðgār's pleading with Beowulf to free them from Grendel's mother, Beowulf mentions an interesting point:

2131. þā se ðeoden meo ðīne life
 healsode hrēoh-mōd,^b

Is Hrōðgār thinking merely of Beowulf's loyalty as a vassal and the glory redounding to Hygelac, when he says "ðīne life", or is he thinking of the intimacy of the uncle-nephew relationship?

Beowulf delivers over to his uncle all the presents which Hrōðgār had made him.

2146. ac hē mē* (māðma)s geaf,
 sunu Healfdenes, on (mīn)ne sylfes dōm,
 ðā ic ðē, beorn-cyning, bringan wylle,

^a I have nourished brooding care and sorrow in my heart, for I put no trust in the journey of my beloved thane. Long did I entreat thee not to attack the deadly beast, but let the South-Danes themselves put an end to their strife with Grendel. I give thanks unto God that I am suffered to see thee safe.

^b Then the king, heavy-hearted, besought me by thy life, etc.



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The poet explains all this by adding:

2196. Him was bām samod
on ðām lēod-scipe lond gecynde,
eard, ēðel-riht, oðrum swiðor
sīde rīce, þām ðær sēlra wæs.^a

After Hygelac's death the throne is offered Beowulf:

2369. þær him Hygd gebēad hord ond rīce,
bēagas ond brego-stōl; bearne ne trūwode,
þæt hē wið æl-fylcum ēþel-stōlas
healdan cūðe, ðā wæs Hygelāc dēad.
Nō ðy ær fēa-sceafte findan meah-ton
æt ðām aeðelinge ænige ðinga,
þæt hē Heardrēde hlāford wære,
oððe þone cynedōm cīosan wolde:
hwæðre hē hine on folc frēond-lārum hēold,
ēstum mid āre, oð ðæt hē yldra wearð,
Weder-Gēatum wēold.^b

It is significant that Beowulf, although he is the "bearn Ecgðeowes," the Scyfling, is always known as a Geat, never as a Scyfling.⁶⁷ I quote Gummere's excellent comments on these passages:

It is clear that Beowulf is expected to succeed his mother's brother on the throne; when Hygelac is slain, Beowulf shall marry the widow and rule over the realm, an expectation clearly founded on precedent

dearer sword among the treasures of the Geats. He laid it in Beowulf's lap; and he gave to him seven thousand pieces of money, and a hall and a princely seat.

^a The twain, by right of birth, held land in the nation, a home and its rights, but Hygelac had the broad kingdom, and therein he was the greater man.

^b There Hygd offered him the kingdom and the treasure, wealth and royal throne, for she put no trust in her child, that he would be able to hold the native seats against foreign tribes, now that Hygelac was dead. Yet none the sooner could the bereaved people persuade the prince on any condition to become Heardred's lord and take the kingdom; but rather did he uphold Heardred among the people with friendly counsel, with favor and with honor, until he grew older and ruled the Weder-Geats.

⁶⁷ Walter M. Hart, *Ballad and Epic, Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XI, Boston, 1907.

custom, which cares little for the fact that Hygelac has left a son. But Beowulf belongs to the new order; he holds to the sentiment of nephew-right, but rejects its privileges. (Note: As culture-hero, bringer of a new system, celebrated in the *deus ille fuit* of legend and myth, this conduct of Beowulf is significant.) Moreover, he has probably been "edited" into this state of mind, being quite too bland for a Germanic king of the old rock. Christian sentiment, blending with traditions of the sunny and peaceful Ingaevonic god, has put him into that condition which Huckleberry Finn and other right-minded savages abhor: he has been "sivilized." Is it folly to conjecture that the historical Beowulf, of whom those stories of uncanny strength and prowess went about, was sister's son to the historical Hygelac, and really took his uncle's kingdom by that right to which Danish chroniclers refer?

THE CYCLE OF ORTNIT AND WOLFDIETRICH

In the *Ortnit* legend the uncle-nephew bond is also an important and oft-recurring motif. Next in power to Ortnit himself was his maternal uncle, Yljas of Russia.

11, 2. (cf. also 12, 2) wan er dâ nâch Ortnîden der tiweriste was.^a

When Ortnit is determined to woo Machorel's daughter in spite of the attending great danger, Yljas exclaims:

17, 1.nu sî ez gote gekleit,
daz ich dir disiu mære hiute hân geseit,
diu nâch dînem tôde dir ûf erstanden sint.
ich widerriete ez gerne: du bist mîner swester kint.^b

The young man, however, insists on going on this expedition of love, and his uncle promises to help him.

28, 2. du bist mîner swester kint.
von rehte sol ich wâgen bî dir lîp unt leben.^c

During the preparations for the voyage, Yljas advises his nephew to choose some one as his counsellor. He receives the answer:

^a For he was most worthy after Ortnid.

^b Alas, that I have told you this story today, which may cause your death. I should like to advise you against it; you are my sister's child.

^c You are my sister's child. Rightly shall I risk my life with you.

55.ich bin dîner swester kint.
 sît daz die fürsten alle in unserm gwalte sint,
 ich wil dich ze vater kiesen: du bist der vater mîn.
 die liute und ouch mich selben enpfilhe ich ûf die triuwe dîn.^a

Ortnit gives his retainers leave to depart, until spring makes the voyage possible, but keeps with him for a time longer his uncle and one other man.

- 61, 3.die zwêne het er erwelt,
 die wârn in sînem lande ze den besten ûz gezelt.^b

When the battle is about to start, he wishes to make Yljas leader.

- 296, 2. Yljas von Riuzen, nim mînen sturmvanen.
 er touc ander niemen ze fûeren an der hant:
 swem ich in anders gæbe, daz wær niht wol bewant.^c

In the ensuing struggle, Yljas becomes separated from Ortnit and falls, without, however, being killed. Alberich tells Ortnit that he is dead.

313. Dô sprach der Lamparte 'œheim Yljas,
 nu müeze ez got erbarmen, daz ich bî dir niht was.
 ich muoz nâch dînem tôde immer trûric wesen.^d

Ortnit succeeds in carrying off the girl he loves but is attacked by the pursuing heathens. In the last extremity succor is brought by Yljas.

- 463, 2. der Riuze reit ze vorderst und erbeizte ûf daz velt
 zuo sîner swester kinde daz dâ in noeten was.
 'nu wer dich, lieber œheim!' sprach von Riuzen Yljas.^e

^a I am your sister's child. Since the princes are all under our sovereignty I will choose you as my father: you are my father. My people and myself I entrust to your faith.

^b These two he had chosen, they were counted the best in his land.

^c Yljas of Russia, take my battle flag. It would not be well for any one else to carry it: if I gave it to some one else, that would not be well done.

^d Then spoke the Lombard, "Uncle Yljas, now God pity me, that I was not with you. I must always be sad after your death."

^e At the head rode Yljas and dismounted on the field beside his sister's child who was in dire distress there. "Now defend yourself, dear nephew!" said Yljas of Russia.



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Fruoten siner swester suon.''' This is a breach of the usual relationship, but we have only this brief mention.

After Ortnit's death, *Wolfdietrich* D VIII 288, *Wolfdietrich* is compelled to fight the burggrave of Garte and his men, because they accuse him of Ortnit's death. The bravest among the burggrave's men is his "swestersun, gar ein küener man.'''

THE CYCLE OF ORENDEL

The legends dealing with the abduction of a bride are already somewhat removed from the typical hero-lore epic, nevertheless we find the same sentiment attached to the archaic relationship which we are investigating. In that strange blending of the most manifold elements, the *Orendel*, the guard, Duke Achille, leads Orendel and Ise into his room and promises them help. When Ise learns who their protector is, he exclaims:

3486.kuss mich an mînen mund,
ich bin dîner swester sun,
dîner swester Elisabêt.^a

Achille's joy is unbounded. He goes to King Minold and pleads the cause of his kinsmen:

3548. Ich hân iu gedienet, daz ist wâr,
folliglichen zwei und sibenzig jâr:
vil rîcher künig schône,
daz soltu mir noch hiute lônên.
Mir sint kumen über den wilden sê
mîner swester süne zwên;
tuo ez durch den himelischen segên
und solt in ouch ein geleite geben.^b

The request for help for the sister's sons as the reward for three score years and ten of faithful service is a measure of the esteem in which these nephews are held.

^a Kiss me, I am the son of your sister Elizabeth.

^b I have served you in truth for seventy-two years, mighty king, for that you shall reward me today. My two sister's sons have come to me today over the wild sea; do it for the blessing of heaven and give them safe conduct.

MISCELLANEOUS

This concludes the major heroes of Germanic hero-lore. Scattering but important references to sister's sons are found in the case of a number of the minor heroes.

When Dietrich became the successor of King Hertnid of Bergara, whose wife Isolde he had married, he made Artus, the sister's son of King Isung of Bertangenland, king of Berga (*Thidreksaga* 422).

“Boppe uz Tenelant, Herbortes swesterkint” follows his uncle Herbort in an important discussion (*Biterolf und Dietleib* 6511). We may assume that the two are comrades, as is customary with uncle and sister's son. Later we find them fighting side by side (*Biterolf und Dietleib* 12060). One further mention is made of this bond of kinship in this poem, 7708, when we are told that Ekehart fought “wider Boppen-----den Herbortes swestersuon”.

Even in the distant Faroe Isles a trace of this archaic institution is preserved for us. In the folksong of *Ragnar-likkia* the king of Birtland summons his men to ward off an attack to be made by Sigurd, Virgar, and Nornagest (Hammershaimb p. 136, 58). Chief among the Birtland heroes, in fact the only one mentioned individually, is the “kongins sisturson.”

In the poem of *Dietrichs Flucht* there is a discussion as to who shall be knighted together with Dietwart. Duke Herman proposes a list of young nobles, among them Berhtunc.

471. Sîn vater was von Kriechenlant
und was geheizen Wizlân.

.....
der nam die schœnen swester mîn
und gewan bî ir daz kindelîn,
den ich iu genennet hân.^a

^a His father was from Greece and his name was Wizlan. he married my beautiful sister and they had the child whom I have named to you.

Wolfdietrich has a significant passage in point:

D V 165. Vil schiere kamen mære dem kûnege Merziân,
wie im grôze swære ein kristen hete getân.
die heiden klagten alle den werden ritter frum,
Delfiân den jungen, des Kûneges swester sun.^a

In the *Rosengarten* D 87, 88, Dietrich commissions Diether to request Gotelind, Rûdeger's wife, "daz si mir her sende ir licbez swester kint." Just who the "swester kint" is supposed to be is a question. The editor Holz considers these verses "gut bezeugt, doch schwerlich echt."

The latest reference to this bond of kinship is contained in a fragment of a dramatization of the *Rosengarten*.⁶⁸ The manuscript is dated 1533, and there is no reason for assuming that the play itself should be much earlier. In the combat between the heroes of Dietrich and Siegfried two of Schrutan's nephews fall. In the oldest version of the *Rosengarten* they are brother's sons, in this later one they have become sister's sons.

Gibich calls upon Schrutan to avenge the two youths:

135. ach wee mir disen grossen not
zwen Edl Fursten sein mier todt,
Vill Edler khunig Schrutthan
Nw Rych mier dise zween Fursten lobisan
Yer tod bringt mir grossen schmertzen
Nw gedennkh in deinem hertzen
Das sy bayde Frewnndt synnd
Sy wâren deiner Schwesterkhind

auf das anntwordt kunig Schruttan dem kunig gibich hinwider

kunig vnnd herr meyn
Dise zween vettern meyn
Die hie tod sein Erschlagen
Khan Ich nit genueg verklagen
Sy warn mier mit frewntschaft vntertan
Der von pern vnnd all sein man
Muessen sein Enntgellten
Sy werden mich noch schelldten

^a Very soon there came tidings to King Merzian, how a Christian had caused him great sorrow. The heathen all lamented the worthy brave knight, Delfian, the young, the king's sister's son.

⁶⁸ *Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altertum*, XI, 243-252.



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THE SISTER'S DAUGHTER

There is but one instance of special stress being laid on the fact that a young woman is a sister's daughter.⁶⁹ It is clear in her case, however, that this bond carries with it unusual sentimental weight. A number of sources tell of Dietrich's marriage to Herrat, the sister's daughter of Helche, the wife of Etzel. *Dietrichs Flucht* 775 relates how Helche desires this union; in the *Thidreksaga*, 340 she offers her "frændkona Herad", her kinswoman, to Dietrich when she is on her death bed; the *Anhang* of the *Heldenbuch* 8, 9 makes Herrat "künig Eczel schwester tochter", otherwise the conditions are the same: *Dietrich* marries her after she has been offered to him; the *Klage* 2200 mentions "Helchen swester-kint, vrou Herrat diu riche" among the mourners, though naturally nothing is said of the marriage here. To be the wife of Dietrich, who shares the honor with Siegfried of being the greatest hero of Germanic hero-lore, is a rare distinction which could only fall to the lot of some maiden who is to be especially honored. It falls to the lot of the *sister's daughter* of the wife of the mightiest king of Germanic hero-lore.

THE BROTHER'S SON

There are but few passages in which a brother's son occurs. There is nothing singular or characteristic about this relationship, therefore it is not treated further in this study.

⁶⁹ Professor Gummere says in a note, p. 136, "I have found perhaps a half-dozen cases in Germanic legend where special rights are imputed to the *sister's daughter*." In answer to my inquiry he has kindly informed me that, as far as he remembered, they were in genealogies and historical epic poems, which would exclude them from the scope of this paper (cf. definition of hero-lore on p. 15-16). It will be noted that there are four different references to the special position of the *sister's daughter* Herrat.

ATTITUDE OF FATHER

Regarding the attitude of the father as compared with that of the uncle in the French epic, Farnsworth says:⁷⁰

The tendency is to minimize the intimacy between father and son, while exalting that between uncle and nephew; in the latter case the closest solidarity is the almost invariable rule, while for the most part the attitude of the father, when the poet goes into the subject at all, is one of severity and injustice, breeding dissension and disruption of the family relations.

It does not seem to me that the passages cited by Farnsworth warrant such harsh judgment on the attitude of the father as is contained in the closing statement. However that may be, there is nothing in the Germanic heroic lays that indicates anything akin to "severity and injustice", bringing in its wake such dire results as Farnsworth points out. It is true that the intimacy between father and son is minimized and that between uncle and nephew exalted. The one passage which treats the parental tie in an apparently derogatory fashion is not quite clear. Hreiðmar calls on his daughters to avenge his death on the patricide Fafnir; but Lyngheiðr answers:

Reginsmol 10. Fó mun systir, þót fǫður missi,
hefna hlýra harms.^a

The weight of this passage as evidence is, however, vitiated by the retort of Hreiðmar:

11. Al þó dóttur, dís ulfhugur!
ef getrat sun við siklingi;
fá meyju mann í meginþarfar,
þá mun þeirar sunr þíns harms reka.^b

⁷⁰ p. 21.

^a Though their father were felled few sisters would
seek their brother's blood.

^b Wolf-hearted woman if in wedlock a son
be not born to thee, then bear thou a daughter;
give the maid to a man in thy mighty need:
will their son then to thy need see.

Heinzel (Heinzel und Detter: *Sæmundar Edda*, Leipzig 1903, II, 404) conjectures the loss of a stanza in which Lofnheiðr regrets not being able to satisfy her desire for revenge on Fafnir, because she is a woman and has no son. If this conjecture is correct or if 11 is corrupt or interpolated (Gering, Bugge, Sijmons), then this one example might show how the love for father must yield to love for brother.

Many instances may be cited where the feeling for the father is closely akin to ours.

Dietrichs Flucht 9465. Der sturm der was sô herte.
nieman den andern nerte,
weder der vater dem kinde.^a

10008. dô sis ze dem grabe truogen,
der den vater, sô der daz kint.^b

Rabenschlacht 949, 2. (Wittich says to his sister's son):
nû müez got pflügen dîn!
wærstu mîn vater oder mîn muoter,
so müest ich doch dîn âne sîn.^c

Wittich here uses as the measure of value the parental relation. To be sure, it works both ways: the exceptional position of the sister's son is shown by putting him on a level with father and mother.

In the *Volsungasaga* Rerir slays his mother's brothers who had slain his father. In the Old Danish folkeviser, Svend Vonved in the poem of the same name and Orm in *Ulf van Iaern* avenge their fathers. Other examples might be produced. They prove only this, of course, that at the time when these poems were written a father's position was approximately what it is today. In no case, however, does the father of a hero play the important rôle with reference to his son that the maternal uncle does. Wieland is the father of Wittich, but they are in no way comrades. The story of

^a The attack was so furious. No one could help the other, not even could the father help the child.

^b When they bore them to the grave, the one his father, the other his child.

^c Now may God keep you! Were you my father or my mother, yet I should have to leave you.



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guardian or foster-father for the youth; he is the matchmaker or at least gives advice in this important matter; etc. The nephew is usually passive as compared with the uncle except as a messenger of love: in this the uncle is more often the recipient of the services of the nephew. It is not the relation of father to son that we find but rather that of intimate comradeship of man and man.

TEXT-INTERPRETATION

The bearing of the question of the uncle-nephew bond on many cases of text interpretation will now appear obvious. It will suffice to enumerate only a few of the many cases which might be cited.

1. The editor of *Alpharts Tod* assumes, p. xxiv, that Alphart has lost his father at an early age, because he was brought up by *Hildebrand* and *Ute*. But *Hildebrand* was his mother's brother and it was fairly customary to send the child to the maternal uncle for fosterage.

2. In *Alpharts Tod* *Dietrich* welcomes *Hildebrand* and *Nitger*, who are coming to aid him, "Welcome, *Hildebrand*, dear master mine, and Duke *Nitger*, he shall be my uncle." The editor annotates, p. 327, "oheim ist wol als ehrenbezeichnung des fremden gemeint, wie noch jetzt im niederdeutschen." In the light of what has been shown in this study, I believe it is not necessary to go into any discussion of this. It would be interesting to have evidence as to whether the use of *uncle* in this meaning in Modern Low German goes back to this prehistoric survival.

3. After one of the lacunae in the *Ruodlieb* we find *Ruodlieb* in the company of a young soldier, a relative of his. *Ruodlieb* advises him in a paternal, or to be more exact, in an avuncular, manner. The young relative requests the older man to go a'wooing with him. At the happy consummation of their wishes, *Ruodlieb* calls the bridegroom *nepos*. We may with reasonable assurance conclude that it is his sister's son.

4. In the fragment of the *Fight at Finnsburg*, *Garulf* tries to restrain *Guðere* from rashly risking his noble life. Traut-

man assumes the parental relationship; Gering makes Guðere a youth of noble family, for which reason Garulf seeks to keep him back from the dangerous attack on the gate. Klaeber has in all probability given the correct explanation in calling them uncle and sister's son (*Englische Studien*, XXXIX, 307). The restraining of the nephew from a combat fraught with great danger by the mother-brother is a characteristic epic motif.⁷²

5. In his book on *Der Sagenkreis der Nibelunge* Holz says of Gripir that he is an arbitrarily 'invented' uncle. This certainly is not true. One of two alternatives is possible: either the uncle is invented, not arbitrarily, but as part and parcel of epic usage which provides every hero with a mother-brother or with a sister's son, or the uncle is an essential element in the older story whose importance has been lost sight of for some reason or other. The latter alternative has been touched upon by Leo Jordan in his review and acceptance of the theses advanced in Nitze: *Conte del Graal* and Farnsworth: *Uncle and Nephew in the French Chansons de Geste* (*Lit. blatt für germ. u. roman. Philologie* 1915, 220). He propounds the question as to whether in the story of Siegfried the matriarchal idea may not be the "*Leitmotiv*" as it is in Chrétien's epic. Nitze's outline of the contents of the *Conte del Graal* will make the question clear:

A youth of uncertain fatherhood fares forth into the world to win renown, and an inheritance. His ignorance of life appears in various foolish and ill-advised acts he commits. But he is valiant and strong, and obtains assistance (instruction) from those who require his support. He frees a luckless maiden from oppressors and then weds her. The maiden virtually offers herself to him. He comes within reach of his goal, and is on the point of being recognized and established by his nearest kin (the maternal uncle), but fails at first because his mother has died through his neglect.

If Gripir is accepted as an integral part of the legend of Siegfried the analogy between the two stories is clear. I make no attempt to answer the question, I merely point out the problem.

⁷² My attention was drawn to this passage by my colleague William Ellery Leonard.

6. I do not wish to overstate my case and to give undue prominence to the uncle-nephew formula, but I should like to draw attention to two rather startling passages concerning Dietrich and Hildebrand in the *Virginal*. Dietrich is in extreme danger. He cries out:

74. getriuwer Hildebrant,
wie hâstu mich verderbet!
nun wirt dir doch mîns erbes niht.
swie man mich hie verderben siht:
mîn bruoder vür dich erbet.
Diether der jâre gar ein kint
wirt noch ze Berne herre,
des diu rîche nâch mir sint
die breite und ouch die verre,
diu unser vater Dietmâr lie.
der wirt dir niht, swie vil dîn lîp
untriuwen mir erzöuget hie.^a

Later when Wolfhart thinks that a mishap has befallen Dietrich through Hildebrand's connivance, he reproaches his uncle:

596, 6. war umb liezt irn niht leben?
wænent ir diu lêhen hân
eine hie ze lande?^b

The first quotation certainly and the second apparently presuppose some manner of kinship between Dietrich and Hildebrand. I reiterate, I do not claim that these two heroes, who are, in a way, to Germanic hero-lore, what Charlemagne and his sister's son Roland are to French, are related in the same manner, though their companionship is in all respects like that of uncle and nephew. I merely call attention to these surprising passages.

^a Faithful Hildebrand, how have you brought me to destruction! Yet will my inheritance not fall to your lot, though I die here: my brother inherits before you. Diether, though a mere child, will be ruler at Bern, to whom the realm belongs after me, far and wide, which our father Dietmar left. It will not come into your possession, no matter how faithless you prove to me.

^b Why did you not let him live? Do you hope to hold all the land here in fee alone?



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According to the generally accepted interpretation of this passage, it signifies: "Sir Sigestab did right valiantly. Ha! how many hard helmets Dietrich's sister's son brake to his foemen. Bolder in battle he could not have been." Another interpretation is, however, possible and, I believe, to be preferred: "Sir Sigestab did right valiantly. Ha! how many hard helmets did he break to his foemen. Even Dietrich's sister's son could not have been bolder in battle." As far as the question of Middle High German style is concerned, either explanation is possible (cf. Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, 6th ed., for the former §195, for the latter §326). There is one point in favor of the belief in the Dietrich-Sigestap relationship. Sigestap is called, 2258, "der herzoge ûzer Berne." This would tend to confirm indirectly the view under discussion. There are a number of arguments, however, tending to show that the phrase in question has something of proverbial usage here, i. e. the bravery of a hypothetical sister's son of Dietrich is taken as a standard of valor by which heroism, in this case that of Sigestap, is measured. In the first place *Rosengarten* and *Heldenbuchanhang*, and possibly *Alpharts Tod*, as mentioned before, make Sigestap a sister's son of Hildebrand; secondly, it is Hildebrand who avenges the death of the young warrior on Volker. Perhaps most significant of all is the manner in which Dietrich laments the death of his heroes:

2322. Owê, lieber Wolfhart, sol ich dich hân verlorn,
 sô mac mich balde riuwen daz ich ie wart geborn;
 Sigestap und Wolfwîn und ouch Wolfprant,
 wer sol mir danne helfen in der Amelunge lant? etc.^a

We have seen on several occasions that the poet of the *Nibelungenlied* is acquainted with the sanctity of the uncle-nephew kinship. It seems improbable that it would have received such bare mention, if Sigestap were really the sister's son of Dietrich. There remains only one objection that may be interposed. Why does Hildebrand not display the af-

^a Woe is me, dear Wolfhart, if I have lost thee! It were better I had never been born. Sigestab and Wolfwine and Wolfbrand: who is there left to help me in(to) the land of the Amelungs? etc.

fection that we might expect after the statement of the *Rosengarten* concerning his relation to Sigestap? In answer to this it may be said that Sigestap, even in the *Rosengarten*, does not quite fill the position of the conventional sister's son. He does not seem to be regarded as such by the *Nibelungenlied*, though the avenging of his death by Hildebrand might be construed in this light.

10. In concluding this list of suggestive illustrations of how the problem treated in this investigation may throw light on some questions of text interpretation, I again take up the presumably proverbial saying from *Meier Helmbrecht* and *Ottokar*: "nû zuo des der neve si," of which I have already spoken in the introductory part (p. 7).⁷³ It occurs four times, *Meier Helmbrecht* 425, *Ottokar* 4666, 61668, 72361.

Pfannmüller says of these passages "das gemeinsame an allen vier beispielen ist nicht die aufforderung, hülfe zu leisten, sondern ganz klar eine preisgabe durch verwante; . . . entsippung."

He assumes that the person addressed in our quotation is either a hypothetical person, who might wish to become the guardian of the "neve" or the kin of a murdered "neve", who will no longer be hindered in their revenge by the kin of the living murderer.

I believe that this study has proved that Pfannmüller is wrong in denying the existence of "reste und nachwirkungen jener vermeintlichen prähistorischen institution" (sc. matriarchy) "im leben, dichten und rechten des deutschen mittelalters", at least as far as "dichten" is concerned. In contrast with his forced explanation of the meaning of the saying in question, the assumption that *neve* here means *sister's son* offers a clear and simple interpretation of this otherwise obscure expression.

In *Meier Helmbrecht* the father casts off the son:

424, Er sprach: 'sun, sô wil ich dich
mîner zûhte lâzen frî.
nû zuo des der neve sî.

⁷³ I wish to express my indebtedness to my colleague, E. C. Roedder, for valuable hints in this and various other connections.

He gives up his authority over his son and turns him over to his mother's kin, particularly the mother's brother. The fact that this saying occurs in the identically same form four times shows that it is proverbial. The original situation, which we have in *Meier Helmbrecht* and in *Ottokar* 61668, may be lost sight of and we have then left merely the idea of "preisgeben", which we find in *Ottokar* 4666 and 72361.

The *Biterolf und Dietleib* contains a significant passage in point, which shows the importance of the duty which the mother's family owes a child. Biterolf mentions the various sources from which his son may expect aid against Gunther. In the very first place he mentions the mother's family:

4580. disen knaben sullen sehen lân
 sîner muoter künne,
 ob getriuwe sippe iht wünne
 sî ieman in dem rîche.^a

To be sure, he also expects assistance from Dietleib's paternal relatives, but it seems significant that he thinks first of all of the maternal side.

The *Thidreksaga* describes a situation practically analogous to the one in *Meier Helmbrecht* and *Ottokar*, without, however, making use of any stock expression of severing the bonds of kinship (cf. pp. 28-29 of this study.) Count Herdegn has practically cast off his son, who thereupon turns to his mother's brother as the natural person for a wronged son to apply to.

THE UNCLE-NEPHEW RELATIONSHIP AND GERMANIC CIVILIZATION

The testimony adduced in the preceding pages as to the intimacy of the bond between uncle and sister's son does not warrant the conclusion that this same intimacy still existed in mediaeval times when our heroic poems were recorded in their present form. There are, however, indications that to a certain extent this prehistoric institution survived in the

^a The kin of this boy's mother shall show him, whether faithful kinsmen are still of advantage to one in this empire.



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German editions of Tacitus (Schweizer-Sidler, Halle, 1912) says of the passage which has in a way served as the text of this study: "Die Nachricht findet weder in der germanischen Ueberlieferung Anhaltspunkte noch tritt bei den verwandten Völkern etwas Aehnliches auf, wenn sie auf eine besondere Stellung des Mutterbruders gedeutet wird.....In unsrer Nachricht eine Spur alten Mutterrechts sehen zu wollen, geht desalb nicht an, weil dasselbe zwar bei den Lykiern bestand, den Indogermanen aber fremd war." (This book is not cited as posing as an authority, but rather because it reflects the prevailing view.)

On the other hand, Feist in *Kultur und Verbreitung der Indogermanen* as well as in his other books on this subject attempts to prove the Germanic race the farthest removed from the original Indo-European stock. On the basis of Tacitus' account and because of the assumed close relationship with the Celts, he believes that the Germans had matriarchy in contrast to the patriarchal Indo-Europeans; he concludes therefore that they are farthest removed from the parent stock.

The invalidity of such proofs appears manifest. It seems to me that Eduard Meyer in his *Geschichte des Altertums* quite properly criticizes the scientific method of most scholars who have tackled the problem of primitive civilization (cf. p. 9-10 of this study). He accuses them of putting the cart before the horse. Our first task and one which has been almost totally neglected is to reconstruct the oldest conditions of the single races as far as they are accessible to scientific investigation. This study was intended as a modest contribution in this direction. Whether the favored position of the maternal uncle among the Germans arose as a result of race mixture or was autochthonous belongs as yet to the realm of speculation, though I am inclined to believe the latter hypothesis.

THE "PICTISH QUESTION"

In conclusion I wish to touch on one question which may legitimately be raised in connection with the problem of matriarchy among the Germans, the so-called "Pictish Question". A résumé of the investigations regarding this disputed point may be found in T. Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasion of Julius Caesar*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 409 ff. (It is not quite fair to Zimmer and Rhys.)

The dispute turns on the question of whether the Picts were the non-Indo-European aborigines who preceded the insular Celts or whether they were Celts who may have mingled with the autochthonous population preceding them. The foremost champions of the theory that the Picts were not Celts were H. Zimmer⁷⁵ and J. Rhys.⁷⁶ While both treat the same question, Rhys' arguments are chiefly linguistic, while the pivotal point of Zimmer's evidence lies in his attempt to prove that the existence of matriarchy among the Picts proves them to be non-Indo-European. He accepts fully the theory of Schrader as to the un-Indo-European character of this institution. The prevalence of matriarchal survivals among the Celts is explained by him as due to the influence of the Picts with whom they had mingled.

Very many scholars disagree with this view, *e. g.* Whitley Stokes,⁷⁷ McBain,⁷⁸ M. J. Loth,⁷⁹ d'Arbois de Jubainville (the only one who apparently denies the fact that matriarchy did exist among the Picts),⁸⁰ and others.

We are not concerned here with the linguistic side of the question though it should be mentioned that Rhys accepted Zimmer's views also. If we have shown that matriarchy must have existed among the Germans centuries before Christ

⁷⁵ *Das Mutterrecht der Pikten, and Der kulturhistorische Hintergrund in der altirischen Heldensage.*

⁷⁶ *Celtic Britain*, 2d ed. London, 1905; *The Welsh People*, 3d ed. London, 1902; *Language and Inscriptions of the Northern Picts*, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1892.

⁷⁷ *Beiträge zur Kunde der idg. Sprachen*, XVIII, 84-115.

⁷⁸ Cf. W. F. Skene, *The Highlanders of Scotland*, 1902, pp. 381-401.

⁷⁹ *Annales de Bretagne*, VI, 113.

⁸⁰ *Revue Celtique* XI, 377, XX, 108-109, XXVII, 107.

in a purer form than Tacitus and Germanic hero-lore give evidence of, then the assumption does not seem far-fetched that it may well have obtained among their close neighbors, the Celts. In that case it is not necessary to assume that they adopted it from any one else, and this argument for the non-Indo-European character of the Picts thereby loses any weight it may have had.

Zimmer contends that he finds but one instance of that looseness of the marital tie which he attributes to the influence of the matriarchate among the continental Celts, while this laxity is almost the rule among the insular Celts. This fact admits of a simple interpretation.⁸¹ In the first place, our information concerning the continental Celts is pitifully meager as compared with that concerning their insular brethren. Furthermore, the continental Celts early experienced the tragedy of the Celt, of becoming fused with their conquerors and neighbors to such an extent that they completely lost their identity as one of the great and integral parts of the Indo-European family. Thus they did not preserve the distinctive features of their primitive civilization as did their insular relatives who had not become engulfed in the Roman world-empire.

⁸¹ Vendryes' explanation of this scene, *Revue Celtique*, XXXII, 234, as a religious rite is not very plausible.



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THE DRAMATIC ASSOCIATIONS OF
THE EASTER SEPULCHRE

BY

KARL YOUNG

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH

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1920



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THE DRAMATIC ASSOCIATIONS OF THE EASTER SEPULCHRE

To the student of the drama of the mediaeval church nothing is more familiar than the fact that the liturgical structure, or *locus*, known as the Easter *sepulchrum* was the center of three separate dramatic observances: the *Depositio*, the *Elevatio*, and the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.¹ The *Depositio* took place on Good Friday, at some point in the liturgy after the Adoration of the Cross; the *Elevatio* occurred on Easter morning, usually before Matins; and the normal position of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* was at the end of Easter Matins, immediately before the *Te Deum*. The nature of these dramatic offices may be conveniently shown in the following versions of the fourteenth century from the monastery of St. Blaise, in the Black Forest:²

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>³

COMMUNICATIS⁴ OMNIBUS SONENTUR TABULÆ OMNES. POST HÆC FIET ORATIO ANTE VESPERAM. INTERIM SACERDOS SUMAT VIATICUM, EATQUE AD SEPULCHRUM CUM INCENSO & CANDELIS CANTANDO *responsorium*:

Agnus Dei Christus <immolatus est pro salute mundi. Nam de parentis protoplasti fraude factor condolens, quando pomi noxialis morte morsu corruit; ipse lignum tunc notavit, damna ligni est solveret. VERSUS: Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. Ipse lignum.⁵

¹ For a survey of these observances see E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1903, pp. 11-36.

² M. Gerbert, *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae*, St. Blasien, 1777-1779, Part II, pp. 234-235, 236. The *Depositio* is incompletely reprinted in *Decreta Authentica Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum*, Vol. IV, Rome, 1900, 432. The *Visitatio* is reprinted from Gerbert by C. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munich, 1887, pp. 30-31. For a bibliography of other reprints of this version of the *Visitatio* see Lange, p. 6.

³ Gerbert, *Monumenta*, Part II, p. 234.

⁴ Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum* of Good Friday. See below, pp. 19-20.

⁵ Responsory from Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. LXXVIII, col. 768.

<RESPONSORIUM:>

Ecce quomodo moritur <justus, et nemo percipit corde; et viri justus tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est justus, et erit in pace memoria ejus. VERSUS: In pace factus est locus ejus, et in Sion habitatio ejus. Et erit.>,⁶

CUM VERSIBUS & REPETITIONIBUS; PONENSQUE ILLUD IN SEPULCHRUM INCENSET, & CLAUDENS ILLUS CANTET *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino, <signatum est monumentum; volventes lapidem ad ostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. VERSUS: Ne forte veniant discipuli ejus et furentur eum, et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes.>,⁷

CUM VERSU & REPETITIONE; PONATURQUE CEREUS ARDENS ANTE SEPULCHRUM. DEINDE LEGATUR VESPERA.

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>⁸

NOCTE SACRATISSIMA RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI CUM TEMPUS FUERIT PULSANDI MATUTINUM, SECRETARIUS SURGAT, SUMENS LATERNAM CUM LUMINE DOMNUM ABBATEM EXCITABIT, ATQUE PRIOREM, DEINDE ALIOS DE FRATRIBUS AD COMPULSANDAS CAMPANAS, QUI SIBI PLACUERINT. SURGENS AUTEM DOMNUS ABBAS AD ECCLESIAM EAT, & INDUIT SE ALBA, STOLA, ET CAPPAS, PRIOR AUTEM ALBA ET CAETERI FRATRES. SUMENTESQUE DUO THURIBULA CUM INCENSO, PRAECEDENTIBUS CANDELABRIS, EANT AD SEPULCHRUM CUM *responsorio*:

Maria Magdalena <et altera Maria ibant diluculo ad monumentum. Jesum quem quæritis non est hic; surrexit sicut locutus est, præcedet vos in Galilæam, ibi eum videbitis, alleluia, alleluia. VERSUS: Cito euntes dicite discipulis ejus et Petro quia surrexit Dominus. Præcedet.>,⁹

CUM VERSU. & EANT AD SEPULCHRUM, AC ILLUD INCENSENT EXTERIUS; DEINDE LEVATO TEGIMENTO ITERUM INCENSENT INTERIUS. POSTEA SUMENS CORPUS DOMINI SUPER ALTARE PONIT CANTANS *responsorium*:

Surrexit pastor bonus <qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis, et pro suo grege mori dignatus est, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. VERSUS: Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Et pro suo.>,¹⁰

CUM VERSU. INTERIM LEVET CORPUS DOMINICUM, INCENSISQUE CANDELIS SONETUR CLASSIS. POST TERNAS ORATIONES INCIPIAT DOMNUS ABBAS XV GRADUS. OMNES QUI IN HAC NOCTE ALIQUID CANTARE VEL LEGERE VOLUNT, DEBENT ESSE REVESTITI ALBIS PRAETER PUERUM QUI DICIT VERSUM. INFRA XV GRADUS SONENTUR DUO MAXIMA SIGNA IN ANGULARI; DEINDE DUO MAIORA SIGNA IN CHORO. POSTEA FIAT COMPULSATIO AB OMNIBUS CAMPANIS. TUNC

⁶ Responsory from Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

⁷ See *ibid.*

⁸ Gerbert, *Monumenta*, Part II, p. 236.

⁹ First responsory of Matins of Easter Monday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 771.

¹⁰ The third responsory of Matins of Thursday after Easter. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 773.



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authorized and essential parts of the traditional liturgy of the Roman church, but pious *additions*.

The third of these dramatic offices, the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, has been assiduously studied in isolation, and a large number of versions have been published.¹⁴ It has been discerned, indeed, that the *Visitatio* had a double development within the liturgy of Easter,—at the Introit of Mass and at the end of Matins,—and this phenomenon has been sufficiently expounded.¹⁵ Of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, however, no thorough study has ever been made. Only a relatively small number of texts of these ceremonials are available in print, and such versions as are already published have never been brought together for critical examination.¹⁶ In view of the obvious interrelations of the three ceremonials, this neglect is unfortunate; for it is clear that no consideration of the *Visitatio* can

¹⁴ For bibliography see *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXIX (1914), p. 3.

¹⁵ See *id.*, pp. 1-49.

¹⁶ For actual texts of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* previously published see especially E. Martène, *Tractatus de Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Lyons, 1706, pp. 367, 477-479, 503-505; K. Young, *The Harrowing of Hell in Liturgical Drama*, in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVI, Part II (1909), pp. 897-934. Isolated printed texts are referred to below, *passim*. In regard to the bearing of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* upon modern liturgical usage the most important study is found in *Decreta Authentica Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum*, Vol. IV, Rome, 1900, pp. 419-441 (referred to below as *Decreta Authentica*). As a treatise upon *mediaeval* observances this study is far from complete. For discussions of some aspects of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* see A. Heales, in *Archæologia*, Vol. XLII (1869), pp. 264-277; H. P. Feasey, in *Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. XXXII (1905), pp. 491-499 *pass.*; H. J. Feasey, *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, London, 1897, pp. 132-137, 169-177; J. B. Thiers, *Traité de l'Exposition du S. Sacrement de l'Autel*, Vol. II, Avignon, 1777, pp. 193-202; C. Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, New Haven, 1892, pp. 16-20; [A. De Santi], in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 709-711; A. De Santi, *Il Mattino di Pasqua nella Storia Liturgica*, Rome, 1917, pp. 6-20; H. Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, London, 1904, pp. 299-468; Chambers, II, 16-26; V. Thalhoffer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, Vol. I, Freiburg, 1912, pp. 636-637; *De Processionibus Ecclesiasticis Liber*, Paris, 1641, pp. 171-197; H. Alt, *Theater und Kirche*, Berlin, 1846, pp. 348-349; E. G. C. F. Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship* (*Alcuin Club Collections*, No. XIII), London, 1909, pp. 296-300; J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, London, 1877, Appendix, pp. xxvi-xl.

be definitive without reference to the content and associations of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. I therefore venture to undertake a special study of these two offices.¹⁷ For my texts I draw chiefly upon unpublished manuscripts and incunabula; but I have been glad to avail myself also of such versions as are found in modern print.¹⁸

I

Since the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are extra-liturgical developments within the authorized liturgy of Holy Week and Easter morning, we may appropriately examine their liturgical associations for suggestions concerning their origins.¹

¹⁷ It should be remembered that in the present study I do not undertake an orderly and detailed consideration of the *sepulchrum* itself. I concern myself, not with this material structure, but with the dramatic ceremonials surrounding it. My observations concerning the *sepulchrum* itself are merely incidental. Bibliography upon this special subject is given by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, pp. 895–896, and by J. K. Bonnell, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XXXI (1916), pp. 664–712.

¹⁸ It is inevitable that some published versions escape me; and I do not, of course, pretend to have exhausted the possibilities of the thousands of liturgical manuscripts in European libraries. I have not been able to include the versions published by F. Arens, *Der Liber Ordinarius der Essener Stiftskirche*, Paderborn, 1908, as reported by A. De Santi in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 709–711. Unpublished examples of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in manuscripts are referred to by N. C. Brooks in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. VIII (1909), 469, 481, and in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LV (1914), pp. 55, 56, 58. I take this occasion for acknowledging the invaluable assistance given me by my friend Dom G. M. Beyssac, of Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight.

¹ In my discussion of origins I venture to ignore certain vague or obviously inadequate suggestions made by other writers. In speaking of the “sepulchre rite” as a whole, H. J. Feasey (*Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 129) speaks of “some [persons] inclining to the suggestion that its source lay in the old Mystery Plays which were of old performed in the churches.” Cf. H. P. Feasey, in *Ecclesiastical Review*, XXXII, 337. We are, of course, seeking the source behind “the old Mystery Plays.” Feasey, again, speaks (*Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*, p. 130) of others who “think the ceremony arose as occasion or devotion required, as did the Christmas Crib and other like devotions.” This view simply evades the investigation of what “occasion or devotion required.” The rise of the “devotions” surrounding the Christmas Crib is

Such suggestions appear, for example, in connection with the reservation of a *Host* from the Mass of *Holy Thursday* for the mass of the *Presanctified* (*Missa Præsanctificationum*) on *Good Friday*.² This reservation was necessary through the fact that from about the fifth century to the present time the Roman rite has not permitted the consecration of the sacred elements on *Good Friday* itself.³ The result of this prohibition is the supplying of the mass of *Good Friday* with a *Host* consecrated upon the previous day,—a *presanctified Host*. Hence the term *Missa Præsanctificationum*. The absence of the consecration of the *Host* from the mass of *Friday* automatically eliminates a large part of the usual *Ordo Missæ*, including such central elements as the consecratory prayer of the Canon and the words of the Institution. This reduced form of Mass is, in fact, primarily a mere communion service, for which the *Host* is reserved from the day before.⁴

Our immediate interest in the *Missa Præsanctificationum*, however, lies not so much in the liturgical content itself as in the implications of the reserving of the *Host* from *Thursday* to *Friday*. The laying away of the *Corpus Domini* from one day to another naturally surrounded itself with a special ceremonial and was inevitably interpreted by a special symbolism.

investigated by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XVII, Part I (1912), pp. 299–395. Feasey makes also the following suggestion (*Ecclesiastical Review*, XXXII, 337–338): “Others again with much more show of reason think the necessity of providing a suitable place and receptacle for the Sacred Host, which the rubric directed to be reserved from *Maunday Thursday* till *Holy Saturday* [sic], gave rise to the ceremony.” I infer that the “rubric” referred to is that (see below, pp. 40, 45, 114) requiring the consecration on *Holy Thursday* of a *third Host* to be deposited in the *sepulchrum* on *Friday* and to be left until *Sunday* morning. But the question before us is, What is the origin of this practice of reserving a *third Host* and of laying it in a *sepulchrum* from *Good Friday* until *Easter*?

² This reservation is considered at length by Raible, *Ueber Ursprung, Alter und Entwicklung der Missa Præsanctificationum*, in *Der Katholik* (Mainz), Dritte Folge, XXIII (1901), pp. 143–156, 250–266, 363–374.

³ See Raible, pp. 152, 250, 261, 266. The reasons for this prohibition do not concern us here. See Raible, p. 144; Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Vol. II, Paris, 1724, pp. lxxv–lxxvi; Beletus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, cap. xcvi, in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCII, 99–100.

⁴ The liturgical content of the *Missa Præsanctificationum* is more definitely outlined below, pp. 19–20.



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complendam Missam, junior presbyterorum cardinalium portet Corpus Domini positum in pyxide ad locum præparatum, præcedentibus cum cruce & luminari- bus, & papilione desuper.

This rubric provides for the processional transfer of the *Host* to a special place of reservation, the procession being provided with a cross, lights, and a canopy.

The recovery of the reserved *Host* for the *Missa Præsantificatorum* on Good Friday is provided for in the same *ordo* as follows:¹²

Tunc junior presbyterorum cardinalium ferat adornatum capsidem cum Dominico Corpore hesterna die reservato; & sic subdiaconus cum papali cruce processionem præcedente, omnes discalceati sine cantu psallendo ad ecclesiam Sanctæ Crucis, quæ est Jerusalem, ubi statio fieri debet, ordinate tamen, procedant, quando dominus Papa est Laterani. Cum autem illuc pervenerint, ingrediuntur ecclesiam sine cantu, & prostrati in medio ecclesiæ diutius orent. Presbyter, qui portat Corpus Christi, in secretario ponat illud, dum dominus Papa præparat se.

This passage describes the papal procession conducting the reserved *Host* from St. John Lateran to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, the papal station for the *Missa Præsantificatorum*. The clergy are bare-footed, they proceed without chant, and at their destination prostrate themselves in prayer.

With the ceremonial of papal Rome we may profitably compare the use of France as prescribed in the eleventh century for Rouen by the archbishop, Jean d'Avranches. The reservation on *Holy Thursday* is arranged as follows:¹³

Ipsa die plures hostiæ consecrentur, quibus clerus et populus communicetur; et medietas hostiarum absque vino in crastino reservetur, unde iterum communicentur. Ipsæ vero hostiæ a sacerdote et ministris altaris indutis, cum processione, scilicet cum cereis et incenso, super quoddam altare honorifice deportentur, ubi cum nitidissimis lintheaminibus optime recondantur. Ibi semper lumen usque ad ultimæ candelæ extinctionem in Matutinis ardeat.

It will be observed that in this case the procession sequesters the reserved *Host* upon a special altar, and that a light is kept burning before it until the next morning.

¹² Mabillon, II, 102.

¹³ Jean d'Avranches, *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis*, in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 50.

The bringing forth of the reserved *Host* for the *Missa Præsanctificationum* is briefly ordered by Jean d'Avranches as follows:¹⁴

Post ministri crucis casulis induti afferant ad altare, cum vino non consecrato, reservatum Corpus Domini, ubi a sacerdote incensetur.

Only one other liturgical rubric need be cited here: for the papal reservation of *Holy Thursday* as ordered in the fifteenth Roman *Ordo*, of the fourteenth century:¹⁵

Postquam dominus Papa intrat ad sacrificandum, conficit duas hostias, unam pro se, & aliam pro die Veneris. . . . Percepto corpore & sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum calice & sine calamo, antequam abluat manus, ipsum calicem cum Corpore Domini nostri reservato, non illum calicem in quo celebravit, sed solum magnum de auro, sibi præsentet coopertum cum magna reverentia sacrista papalis cum sindone, cum lustris aureis. E sinistro brachio pendet unum caput, & in dextra manu portat calicem coopertum alio capite, & reverenter ponit prædictum calicem prope Papam circa medium altaris cum alia tobalea de sirico, cum qua cooperitur calix, in quo est Corpus Christi. Et nota, quod antequam abluat digitos dominus Papa, Corpus Christi cum reverentia magna infra prædictum calicem ponit, & super calicem corporalia illa; pars minor corporalium, & super corporale patenam, & super patenam caput illius tobaleæ de sindone. Statim quo facto, abluit digitos infra calicem cum quo celebravit, & bibit illud; & antequam abluat manus in magnis bacilibus Papæ, ipse Papa vel episcopus cardinalis qui servit sibi in Missa, prædictum calicem cum Corpore Christi sic coopertum, & super humerum sinistrum pendet aliud caput illius tobaleæ, & tenens cum ambabus manibus calicem per medium portat ad armariolum, in quo conservatur usque in crastinum, antecedentibus luminaribus, cruce, & incenso processionaliter cum devotione. Quo reposito, genuflexus thurificat Corpus Christi; quo facto, revertitur ad altare; & sic lavat manus ut moris est.

For our present purpose the significance of this ceremonial lies not in the details of the procession but in the fact that the reserved *Host* is carried and kept in a chalice,¹⁶ and that the chalice containing the *Host* is deposited in some sort of chest or tabernacle.

With these several examples of the authorized ceremonial before us, we may briefly observe several resemblances between the liturgical reservation from *Holy Thursday* to *Good Friday*

¹⁴ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 52.

¹⁵ Mabillon, II, 482–483.

¹⁶ Compare the modern practice, expounded in *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 420–421.

and the extra-liturgical "burial,"—*Depositio—Elevatio*,—from Good Friday until Easter:

1) The chest, or tabernacle, in which the reserved *Host* is placed¹⁷ has an exact parallel in the *sepulchrum* of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*.

2) The placing of the reserved *Host* upon a special altar¹⁸ has a parallel in several versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in which the *sepulchrum* is the altar itself,¹⁹ or is closely attached to an altar.²⁰

3) The light kept burning before the altar of the reservation²¹ calls to mind the lights furnished for the *sepulchrum*.²²

4) The depositing of the reserved *Host* in a chalice²³ is clearly a possible antecedent for the use of the chalice in numerous versions of the dramatic observances.²⁴

Although the extant documents do not allow us to demonstrate that each of these uses connected with the reservation of *Holy Thursday* was established before the date of the earliest versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, in the tenth century,²⁵ the probability is that in these matters the extra-liturgical observances are antedated by the authorized ceremonial. In any case, this fundamental observation is sound: Whatever the ceremonial details of the reservation may have been in any particular locality or at any particular time, the traditional depositing of the reserved *Host* in a place of repose furnishes an ancient and conspicuous model for the invention of a *Depositio* and an *Elevatio*; and the special ceremonials of the reservation at subsequent periods may well have influenced the variety to be observed in the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* during the course of their long development.²⁶

¹⁷ See *Ordo Romanus XV*, cited above, p. 13.

¹⁸ See passage from Jean d'Avranches, cited above, p. 12.

¹⁹ See below, p. 74.

²⁰ See below, pp. 34, 35, 44, 55.

²¹ See citation from Jean d'Avranches, above, p. 12.

²² For example, see below, pp. 102, 119.

²³ See the citation from *Ordo Romanus XV*, above, p. 13.

²⁴ See below, pp. 97, 102, 104, 106.

²⁵ The evidence for this date is cited below, p. 73.

²⁶ Concerning the date of the more elaborate ceremonials of the *Thursday* reservation Father Herbert Thurston speaks as follows (*Lent and Holy Week*, p. 296): "The practice of bringing the second *Host* in state to the place prepared



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of this conception in connection with the reservation of *Holy Thursday*.

But a further basis for this symbolizing is found in certain specific details in the ceremonial of *Holy Thursday*. We have already noticed that the reserved *Host* was sometimes placed in a closed chalice,²⁹ and also that it was sometimes deposited at a special altar.³⁰ Once more, then, we encounter the idea of *sepulchrum*, for both the chalice³¹ and the altar³² are abundantly symbolized as receptacles for burial.³³

There is, then, ample reason for citing the reservation of the *Host* for the *Missa Præsanctificationum* as being among the formative antecedents of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*; and in our

²⁹ See *Ordo Romanus XV*, cited above, p. 13.

³⁰ See Jean d'Avranches, cited above, p. 12.

³¹ See Corblet, II, 241, 295; *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 419-420. The symbolizing of the chalice as *sepulchrum* can be found as early as the ninth century (see *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 420); but how early the chalice was used for containing the *Host* reserved on *Holy Thursday*, the liturgiologist of the *Decreta* does not say. On the general subject see also Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Vol. LXIV, p. 87.

³² See Hirn, pp. 16-27; J. K. Bonnell, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXI, pp. 664-712; K. Young, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX, pp. 42-46. Hirn makes clear that this symbolizing of the altar as *sepulchrum* dates from the earliest Christian centuries. See also *De Processionibus Ecclesiasticis Liber*, Paris, 1641, pp. 181-191.

³³ I wish to keep from the center of our present discussion the obscurities that often arise in connection with the modern practice of revering the place of the *Thursday* reservation as a "sepulchrum." This practice may have arisen in either of two ways: (1) through the persistent mediaeval symbolizing of the place of repose as a sepulchre; or (2) through later confusion with the burial of the *Host* in the *Depositio* of *Good Friday*. Probably both influences are present in the modern practice. In any case the modern veneration of the "sepulchre" on *Holy Thursday* should be sharply distinguished from the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of our present study. Although this distinction is adequately maintained by excellent authorities (*Decreta Authentica*, IV, 419-421; Thurston, pp. 299-300; J. T. Micklethwaite, *The Ornaments of the Rubric* [Alcuin Club Tracts, No. I], London, 1897, pp. 52-53; A. W. Pugin, *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, London, 1868, pp. 206-208), it is unknown to some who have discussed the church drama (See Heales, in *Archæologia*, XLII, 265-266, 268-269; Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, LXIV, 87-89; F. G. Lee, *Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms*, London, 1877, p. 118; J. C. Cox and A. Harvey, *English Church Furniture*, London, 1907, p. 74).

examination of the various versions of these offices we shall encounter continued reminders of this influence.³⁴

This is, perhaps, an appropriate point at which to introduce a bit of external evidence showing that the *Host* was actually employed for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* as early as the tenth century. In a life of St. Udalricus, bishop of Augsburg (†973), which appears to have been written within some twenty years from the date of his death, we read the following concerning the liturgical observances of this ecclesiastic on Good Friday and Easter:³⁵

Die autem Parasceve . . . mane diluculo psalterium explere festinavit, et sacro Dei mysterio perpetrato, *populoque sacro Christi corpore saginato, et consuetudinario more, quod remanserat, sepulto*, interum inter ecclesias ambulando, psalterium explevit decantando. . . . Desideratissimo atque sanctissimo Paschali die adveniente, *post primam intravit ecclesiam Sancti Ambrosii, ubi die Parasceve Corpus Christi superposito lapide collocavit*, ibique cum paucis clericis Missam de sancta Trinitate explevit. Expleta autem Missa *secum portato Christi Corpore et Evangelio et cereis et incenso et cum congrua salutatione versuum a pueris decantata . . . perrexit ad ecclesiam sancti Ioannis Baptistae.*

From this passage we learn that, according to a custom established at Augsburg before the year 973, after Communion at the close of the *Missa Præsantificatorum* in the cathedral on Good Friday, the remains of the Sacrament were deposited in the church of St. Ambrosius in some sort of *sepulchrum* closed by a stone (*lapis*).³⁶ Apparently the *Corpus Domini* thus buried remained in the *sepulchrum* until Easter morning, and it is reasonable to infer that at that time occurred some sort of

³⁴ I may anticipate one such reminder. The *ordinaria* of several churches (see below, for example, pp. 40, 45, 114) explicitly provide that in the Mass of Holy Thursday *three* Hosts shall be consecrated: one for the Mass of the day, one for the *Missa Præsantificatorum* of Good Friday, and one for "burial" in the *sepulchrum* of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. Nothing could more emphatically suggest the bond between the reservation of Thursday and the *Depositio* than the fact that the objects to be venerated in the two ceremonials are consecrated, side by side, in a single ritual.

³⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, July, Vol. II, Paris and Rome, 1867, p. 103. Concerning matters of authorship and date see *id.*, p. 95. See also Martène, p. 367; *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 430.

³⁶ For the use of the *lapis* in the extant versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* see, for example, below, pp. 93, 94.

Elevatio.³⁷ Concerning the church of Ambrosius we have no information, but we may assume that it was near the Cathedral, and that for the *Depositio* of Good Friday the *Corpus Domini* was carried thither in procession.³⁸

If we are correct in our inference that the reservation of Holy Thursday influenced the formation and development of such a *Depositio* and *Elevatio* as are referred to by Udalricus, we may summarize this phenomenon briefly as follows. The laying away of a *Host* in a *sepulchrum* from Good Friday until Easter was in some sort an extra-liturgical imitation, or reduplication, of the liturgical reservation of the *Host* from Holy Thursday to Good Friday. Whereas the idea of *sepulchrum* and "burial," though inherent in the instruments used in the reservation of Holy Thursday, was essentially inappropriate to that day, this idea finds complete appropriateness and realization in the laying down and raising of the *Host* in the extra-liturgical *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of Good Friday and Easter.

II

For the sake of lucidity, I have hitherto ignored the circumstance that the *Host* was not the only object deposited in the extra-liturgical *sepulchrum*. In citing the Thursday-Friday reservation as an influence toward the formation of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* I have offered no explanation of the fact that in a large proportion of the extant versions of these dramatic offices the burial included both a *Host* and a Cross,¹ and that a good many texts prescribe the burial of the Cross alone.² In this use of the Cross we readily discern a second fundamental influence upon the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*: namely, that of the liturgical *Adoratio Crucis* of Good Friday.³

The *Adoratio Crucis* is certainly one of the oldest of the liturgical observances of Holy Week. The following passage

³⁷ Possibly the *Elevatio* is implied in the words *secum portato Christi Corpore*.

³⁸ See *Acta Sanctorum*, *loc. cit.*, p. 104.

¹ See below, pp. 92-127.

² See below, pp. 72-91.

³ See *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 432; Chambers, II, 17-18.



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Vespers follows immediately. The succession of liturgical pieces may be shown in outline as follows:⁸

NONA
 MISSA PRAESANCTIFICATORUM
 LECTIO I
 TRACTUS
 ORATIO
 LECTIO II
 TRACTUS
 PASSIO
 ORATIONES SOLEMNES
 ADORATIO CRUCIS
 [DEPOSITIO]
 COMMUNIO FIDELIUM
 [DEPOSITIO]
 VESPERAE
 [DEPOSITIO]

With the general structure of the Mass of Good Friday now before us, we may center our attention upon the *Adoratio Crucis* as observed in Western Europe. An early text of this ceremonial is forthcoming from the famous *Concordia Regularis* of St. Athelwold:⁹

< ADORATIO CRUCIS >¹⁰

QUIBUS EXPLETIS PER ORDINEM, STATIM PREPARETUR CRUX ANTE ALTARE, INTERPOSITO SPATIO INTER IPSAM *et* ALTARE, SUSTENTATA HINC *et* INDE A DUOBUS DIACONIBUS. TUNC CANTENT:

Popule meus, <quid feci tibi?>

RESPONDENTES AUTEM DUO SUBDIACONI STANTES ANTE CRUCEM CANANT GRECE:

Agios o Theos, Agyos ychiros, Agios athanathos, eleison ymas.

ITEMQUE SCHOLA IDIPSUM LATINE:

Sanctus Deus.

DEFERATUR TUNC AB¹¹ IPSIS DIACONIBUS ANTE ALTARE, *et* EOS ACCOLITUS

⁸ For purposes of subsequent reference, I insert in this outline an indication of the three liturgical positions in which the extra-liturgical *Depositio* may be found.

⁹ British Museum, Cotton MS Tiberius A. III, fol. 18^v-19^v. The bibliography of this document is cited below, p. 73. The document represents the use of Winchester in the tenth century. I print from the manuscript, with a result differing in no essential way from the text of W. S. Logeman, in *Anglia*, Vol. XIII (1891), pp. 418-421.

¹⁰ Cotton MS Tiberius A. III, fol. 18^v-19^v.

¹¹ ab] ad (MS).

CUM PULUILLO SEQUATUR SUPER QUEM *sancta* CRUX PONATUR. ANTIPHONAQUE FINITA QUAM SCOLA RESPONdit LATINE CANANT IBIDEM SICUT PRIUS:

Quia eduxi¹² uos *per* desertum.

ITEM UERO RESPONDEANT SUBDIACONI GRECE SICUT PRIUS:

Agios, UT SUPRA.

ITEMQUE SCOLA LATINE UT PRIUS:

Sanctus Deus.

ITEMQUE DIACONI LEUANTES CRUCEM CANANT SICUT PRIUS:

Quid ultra <deui facere tibi, et non feci?>

ITEM¹³ SUBDIACONI SICUT PRIUS:

Agyos, UT SUPRA.

ITEMQUE SCOLA LATINE:

Sanctus Deus, UT SUPRA.

POST HEC UERTENTES SE AD CLERUM, NUDATA CRUCE, DICANT ANTIPHONAM:

Ecce lignum crucis.

ALIA:

Crucem tuam adoramus.

ALIA:

Dum fabricator mundi. <fol. 19^r>

<P>ange lingua.

ILICO EA NUDATA, UENIAT ABBAS ANTE CRUCEM *sanctam* AC TRIBUS UICIBUS SE PROSTERNAT CUM OMNIBUS *Fratribus* DEXTERIORIS CHORI, SCILICET SENIORIBUS AC IUNIORIBUS, *et* CUM MAGNO CORDIS SUSPIRIO VII^m POENITENTIE PSALMOS CUM ORATIONIBUS *sancte* CRUCI COMPÉTENTIBUS DECANTANDO¹⁴ PERORET. IN PRIMA QUIDEM ORATIONE TRES PSALMOS PRIMOS CUM ORATIONE:

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te in cruce ascendentem. Deprecor te ut ipsa crux liberet me de diabolo percutiente.

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te ut ipsa uulneratum. Deprecor te ut ipsa uulnera remedium sint anime mee.

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te descendentem ad inferos, liberantem captiuos. Deprecor te ut non ibi me dimittas introire.

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te resurgentem ab inferis, ascendentem ad celos. Deprecor te miserere mei.

Domine Ihesu Xpiste, adoro te uenturum iudicaturum. Deprecor te ut in tuo aduentu non intres in iudicio cum me peccante, sed deprecor te ut ante dimittas quam iudices, qui uiuis *et* regnas.

IN SECUNDA DUOS MEDIOS CUM SEQUENTE¹⁵ ORATIONE:

Domine Ihesu Xpiste gloriosissime conditor mundi, qui cum sis splendor glorie coeternus patri *sanctoque* spiritui ideo dignatus es carnem ex immaculata uirgine sumere *et* gloriosas palmas tuas in crucis patibulo permisisti configere, ut claustra dissipares inferni *et* humanum genus liberares de morte, respice *et* miserere michi misero obpresso facinorum pondere multarumque nequitiarum labe polluto no<n> me digneris derelinquere,

¹² Quia eduxi] Qua edux (MS).

¹³ Item] Ite (MS).

¹⁴ Competentibus decantando] compenitentibus decantato (MS).

¹⁵ medios cum sequente] medioximus sequentem (MS).

piissime pater, sed indulge quod impie gessi. Exaudi me prostratum coram adoranda gloriosissima cruce tua, ut merear <fol. 19^v> tibi mundus assistere *et* placere conspectui tuo. Qui cum patre.

<I>N TERTIA ULTIMOS DUOS CUM ORATIONE:

Deus omnipotens Ihesu Xpiste, qui tuas manus mundas propter nos in cruce posuisti *et* de tuo *sancto* sanguine nos redemisti, mitte in me sensum *et* intelligentiam¹⁶ quomodo habeam ueram penitentiam *et* habeam bonam perseuerantiam omnibus diebus uite mee, Amen.

ET EAM HUMILITER DEOSULANS SURGAT. DEHINC SINISTERIORIS CHORI¹⁷ OMNES Fratres EADEM MENTE DEUOTA PERAGANT. NAM SALUTATA AB ABBATE UEL OMNIBUS CRUCE, REDEAT IPSE ABBAS AD SEDEM SUAM USQUE DUM OMNIS CLERUS AC POPULUS HOC IDEM FACIAT.¹⁸

According to this *ordo* the *Adoratio* opens with the *Improperia*, or "Reproaches." Two deacons supporting the cross before the altar begin these reproaches of Christ (*Popule meus*), to each of which two subdeacons respond in Greek, and the choir, in Latin. After the first of these responses the Cross is laid upon a cushion. After the singing of the *Improperia* the Cross is uncovered, and three antiphons and the hymn *Pange lingua* are sung. Then the Abbot, along with half the choir, prostrates himself before the Cross and sings the seven penitential psalms, with appropriate prayers. The ceremony closes with the kissing of the Cross.

Although in its general content the *Adoratio* in St. Athelwold's *Concordia* is sufficiently representative, we shall do well in scrutinizing the ceremonial connected with this observance also in Rome itself. *Ordo I* speaks of it only very briefly, as follows:¹⁹

Post orationes præparatur crux ante altare, interposito spatio inter ipsam & altare, sustentata hinc inde a duobus acolythis, posito ante eam oratorio. Venit Pontifex, & adoratam deosculatur crucem; deinde presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, & ceteri per ordinem; deinde populus. Pontifex vero sedet in sede, usque dum omnes salutent. . . . Pontifex vero sedet dum persalutet populus crucem. Nam salutante Pontifice vel populo crucem, canitur semper antiphona, *Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit; venite adoremus*. Dicitur psalmus cxviii: id est, *Beati immaculati*. Qua salutata & reposita in loco suo, descendit Pontifex ante altare.

¹⁶ intelligentiam] intellegentiam (MS).

¹⁷ chori] choris (MS).

¹⁸ Followed immediately by a version of the *Depositio*, as printed below, p. 73.

¹⁹ Mabillon, II, 23.



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aperto altari extrahit inde capita apostolorum Petri & Pauli, & duas cruces.²² Quæ omnia postquam dominus Papa cum cardinalibus osculatus fuerit, reponit ibidem; & accepta una cruce, & iterum sigillato altari, unus presbyterorum cardinalium Crucem accipit, & sic vadit usque ad ecclesiam Lateranensem, sine aliquo cantu & psalmis; factaque ibi oratione ascendit cathedram post altare. Tunc dominus Papa induit quadragesimalia indumenta, & excalceatur. Episcopi vero induunt pluvialia, presbyteri autem cardinales & diaconi atque subdiaconi induunt planetam. Et deinde juniore presbytero cardinali accepto Corpore Christi in capsella ante pectus suum hesternæ die reservato, & alio prædictam Crucem accipiente, & subdiacono regionario cum populo suo præcedente, omnes discalceati cum domino Papa & primicerio, sine cantu psallendo psalterium pergunt ad Sanctam Crucem²³ . . . <Lectioes, Passio, Orationes> . . . Finitis orationibus, Pontifex procedit ad altare, & adorat Crucem cum aliis, sicut in Ordine continetur. Sciendum tamen, quod secundum antiquam consuetudinem, quicquid super Crucem offertur, Scholæ Crucis debet esse. Osculata vero Cruce a clero & populo, dominus Papa revertitur ad altare . . . <Communio et Vesperæ> . . . Et deinde revertitur ad palatium;²⁴ & intrans Basilicam Sancti Laurentii,²⁵ Crucem quam acceperat ab altari, reponit.

For our present purpose the significance of this ceremonial lies in the two processions, one preceding the *Missa Præsanctificatorum* and the other following Vespers. The papal station for Good Friday is the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis (Santa Croce in Gerusalemme). Before proceeding from the Lateran Palace to this church, however, the Pope enters the Capella Sancti Laurentii (Sancta Sanctorum),²⁶ adjoining the Palace, and taking a cross from a chest under the altar, proceeds with it to the Church of the Lateran. Thence the procession, bearing the cross from the Sancta Sanctorum and a reserved *Host* from the Church of the Lateran, moves out through the city to the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis. The Cross serves for the *Adoratio*

²² Concerning these relics see H. Grisar, *Die römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum und ihr Schatz*, Freiburg, 1908, pp. 39–108.

²³ This is the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis, or Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

²⁴ The Lateran Palace.

²⁵ The Basilica Sancti Laurentii, or Sancta Sanctorum is a private chapel at the Lateran, as is explained below.

²⁶ For a description and history of this chapel and its relics see Grisar, pp. 11–108; M. Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*, Rome, 1891, pp. 108–112; H. Marucchi, *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne*, Vol. III (*Basiliques et Églises de Rome*), Paris and Rome, 1902, pp. 101–102; *Johannis Diaconi Liber de Ecclesia Lateranensi*, cap. xiv, in Mabillon, II, 572–573. This famous chapel of St. Laurence, or *Sancta Sanctorum*, was the private chapel of the Popes during the centuries of their residence at the Lateran.

Crucis,²⁷ and the *Host*, for the Communion of the *Missa Præ-sanctificationum*. After Vespers have been sung at the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis, the Pope carries the Cross in procession back to the Sancta Sanctorum and restores it to its place under the altar.²⁸

Although the details of this *ordo* are highly satisfying in their completeness, the relatively late date of *Ordo XII* (twelfth century) suggests the desirability of examining a similar text of the eighth century from Einsiedeln:²⁹

Fer. vi, hora quasi viii, descendit domnus apostolicus de Lateranis in sanctum Johannem, verumtamen discalceatus tam ipse quam reliqui ministri sanctae ecclesiae, et veniunt ad altare. Et praecipit domnus apostolicus accendere lumen in ungiario, et accendit ex ipso lumen cui ipse iusserit duas faculas albas, quas portant duo clerici de cubiculo ante domnum. Et procedent de sancto Johanne psallendo *Beati immaculati*, archidiacono tenente sinistram manum domni apostolici, et ipso pontifice in dextera sua portante turibulum cum incenso et alio diacono post dorsum domni apostolici portante lignum pretiosae crucis in capsula de auro cum gemmis ornata. Crux vero ipsa de ligno pretioso desuper ex auro cum gemmis intus cavam habens confectionem ex balsamo satis bene olente. Et dum preveniunt ad Hierusalem³⁰ intrant ecclesiam, et ponit diaconus ipsam capsam ubi est crux super altare et sic aperit eam domnus apostolicus. Deinde prosternit se ante altare ad orationem: et postquam surgit osculatur eam et vadit et stat circa sedem. Et per eius iussionem osculantur episcopi, presbiteri, diaconi, subdiaconi super altare ipsam crucem. Deinde ponunt eam super arcellam ad rugas et ibi osculatur eam reliquus populus. Tamen feminae ibi non introeunt; sed postea portant eam oblatis et alii subdiaconi et osculatur a feminis. Verumtamen ut a domno apostolico fuerit osculata, statim ascendit subdiaconus in ambonem et incipit legere lectionem Oseae prophetae. Post cuius descensum ascendit cantor et canit gr(aduale) *Domine audivi* cum versibus suis. Et iterum ascendit subdiaconus et legit aliam lectionem Deuteronomii; post quem cantor ascendens incipit tractatum *Qui habitat*. Quo completo vadit diaconus discalceatus cum evangelio, et cum eo duo subdiaconi, et legit passionem Domini secundum Johannem. Et cum completa fuerit, dicit domnus apostolicus orationem *Oremus pro ecclesia*

²⁷ Concerning the *Adoratio Crucis* at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme see Armellini, p. 800; Marucchi, p. 347.

²⁸ This procession back from Santa Croce to the Sancta Sanctorum is described by A. De Santi, *Il Mattino di Pasqua nella Storia liturgica*, Rome, 1917, p. 12. This monograph is a revision of an article published in *Civiltà Cattolica* (1907), Vol. II, p. 3-22.

²⁹ Printed from Einsiedeln MS 326 by G. B. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christiani Urbis Romae*, Vol. II, Rome, 1888, p. 34.

³⁰ This is the Basilica Sanctæ Crucis—the modern church Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

sancta Dei, et dicit archidiaconus *Flectamus genua*, et postea dicit *Levate*, et reliqua omnia in ordine suo. Et ad finem tantum dicit *Dominus vobiscum* et respondent *Et cum spiritu tuo*. Et procedent iterum ad Lateranis psallendo *Beati immaculati*. Attamen apostolicus ibi non communicat nec diaconi; qui vero communicare voluerit communicat de capsis de sacrificio quod v feria servatum est. Et qui noluerit ibi communicare vadit per alias ecclesias Romae seu per titulos et communicat.

This document is particularly generous in its description of the Cross itself³¹ and of the actual *Adoratio*. One notes, however, the absence of reference to the fetching of the Cross from the Sancta Sanctorum and to the subsequent depositing of it again in the altar of this Lateran chapel. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the Cross employed is undoubtedly identical with that mentioned in *Ordo XII*, the processions from the Sancta Sanctorum and back again are inevitable. The ceremonials of the Einsiedeln document and of *Ordo XII* are essentially similar.³²

From the information now before us we may make some estimate of the possible influence of the *Adoratio* upon the *Depositio*. At least three of the documents cited above³³ record established ceremonials earlier than the date of the first recorded examples of the *Depositio*,³⁴ and in these documents are several suggestions toward the dramatic office under consideration.³⁵ In the first place, since the *Adoratio* itself is a vivid commemoration of the Crucifixion, nothing could be more natural than that a vivid commemoration of the Burial should be invented as a sequel to the *Adoratio*. Any taking down of the Cross after the ceremony of the *Adoratio* must inevitably suggest a representation of the burial of the crucified Christ

³¹ This description is mentioned by Grisar (p. 70), whose own complete and scientific description of the relic is found on pp. 62-82 of the monograph mentioned above.

³² For our present study there is no significance in the altered *position* of the *Adoratio* in the Einsiedeln *ordo*—before the *lectiones* of the *Missa Præsanctificationum* rather than *after* the *Orationes solemnes*.

³³ The *Peregrinatio Etheriae*, *Ordo Romanus I*, and Da Rossi's *Ordo* from Einsiedeln.

³⁴ We hear of the *Depositio* first in the latter half of the tenth century. See above, p. 14, and below, p. 73.

³⁵ I do not, of course, mean to suggest that versions of the *Adoratio* later than the tenth century could not have influenced versions of the *Depositio* of a later date.



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induitur usque ad dalmaticam; & exurgens ingreditur ad adorandum Salvatorem. Aperit imaginem, osculatur pedes Salvatoris, dicens alta voce tribus vicibus, *Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro*; & omnes ei respondent: *Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, Alleluia*. Tunc acolythi ponunt crucem cepellæ super altare, & dominus Papa adorat eam. Post osculationem Salvatoris, cum omnibus aliis deinde redit ad sedem, & dat pacem archidiacono redeunti ab osculo pedum ejus imaginis, dicens, *Surrexit Dominus vere*; & ille respondet, *Et apparuit Simoni*. Secundus quoque diaconus osculatis pedibus Salvatoris, accedit ad pacem summi Pontificis & archidiaconi, & ponit se in filo; ceteri vero diaconi cardinales similiter faciunt. Deinde primicerius cum cantoribus eo modo ad pacem vadit, & in filo se dirigit. Prior quoque basilicæ cum diaconis similiter; postmodum subdiaconi regionarii cum acolythis & capellanis, & aliis palatinis ordinibus, eodem modo pacem faciunt. Interim schola canit, *Crucifixum in carne, & Ego sum alpha & omega*.

This ceremony consists primarily in the kissing of the feet of the famous painting of Christ known as the *Acheropoiita* ("Not made by the hand of man"),⁴⁰ a figure of life size painted upon a panel of wood against the wall behind the altar. It appears that at all periods the painting was protected by some sort of covering;⁴¹ and the *ordo* before us implies such protection in the words *aperit imaginem*, which indicate the exposing of the feet of the figure in order that they may be kissed. After the triple singing of the versicle *Surrexit Dominus*, a cross is placed upon the altar for adoration. If this is the cross previously used in the *Adoratio*, it must have been taken up from the relic-chest under the altar.⁴² The ceremony closes with the *Kiss of Peace*.

This papal observance on Easter morning reinforces the ceremonial of Good Friday in providing a model for the extraliturgical *Depositio* and *Elevatio* that we are to consider. Just as the return of the Cross to the altar of the *Sancta Sanctorum* on Good Friday suggests the *Depositio*, so the observance at this same altar on Easter morning offers a parallel to the *Elevatio*. Although the kissing of the feet of the *Acheropoiita*

⁴⁰ The most adequate description of this relic known to me is that given by Grisar, pp. 39-54. See also Armellini, p. 111; Marucchi, p. 102.

⁴¹ The earliest extant reference to the *Acheropoiita* is from the eighth century. A covering of silver was provided by Innocent III (1198-1216). The nature of the earlier coverings is obscure. See Grisar, p. 41.

⁴² Whether or not this cross is the one used previously on Good Friday, it was almost certainly elevated from the relic-chest under the altar. The two important crosses kept in this chest are described by Grisar, pp. 58-97.

seems to establish no particular bond with the *Elevatio*, the adoring of the elevated cross and the giving of the *Pax* will be frequently paralleled in the dramatic texts to be considered.⁴³

Since a knowledge of the liturgical uses of Rome must have been widely disseminated, we are amply justified in citing the papal ceremonies as possible sources for the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*. We have already observed that the Roman *Adoratio Crucis* antedates the earliest versions of the *Depositio*.⁴⁴ Although the papal ceremony of Easter morning cited above comes from documents later than the earliest manifestations of the *Elevatio*,⁴⁵ it is highly probable that this ceremony is much older than these particular documents; and in any case, even though this particular ceremony may not be among the ultimate origins of the *Elevatio*, it may well have influenced the dramatic office at some period of its career.

III

From a consideration of the origins of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* I now pass to the examination of actual texts of these dramatic offices. For convenience, I shall divide the versions before me into three groups. Into the first group fall the versions in which the object "buried" is the Host, in the second group of versions this central object is the Cross, and in the versions of the third group are found both the Host and the Cross. In arranging the texts within each group I shall proceed, in general, from the simple to the more complex. Hence I am guided not so much by chronology of documents as by relative amplitude of liturgical content and of ceremonial. One scarcely need remark that the simpler, and often earlier, versions are sometimes preserved in documents later than those containing examples of a more complex development. I do not, however, insist that the order in which I present the several versions, and groups of versions, demonstrably repre-

⁴³ For example, see below, pp. 99-101, 103, 108, 124.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 26.

⁴⁵ *Ordo Romanus XII* from which I quote above is of the twelfth century, as is also *Ordo Romanus XI*, which also describes the papal ceremony under consideration.

sents the precise historical evolution. For such a demonstration the historical *data* are, as yet, insufficient. The following survey, then, attempts not so much to establish an historical sequence as to present an orderly exposition.

In the present section of this study I shall examine those versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*¹ in which is buried the *Host* alone.

The simplest example in this group is the following *Elevatio* of the eleventh century from St. Gall:²

<ELEVATIO HOSTLÆ>³

SUBLATO IGITUR CORPORE *Domini* DE MONUMENTO INCIPiAT CANTOR *responsorium*:

Angelus *Domini* descendit <de cœlo et accedens revolvit lapidem, et super eum sedit, et dixit mulieribus: Nolite timere; scio enim quia crucifixum queritis; jam surrexit, venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus, alleluia. VERSUS: Angelus *Domini* locutus est mulieribus dicens: Quem queritis, an Ihesum queritis? Jam surrexit.>⁴

INTRANTIBUS AULEM IN CHORUM INCIPiAT CANTOR ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Xpictus et illuxit populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo, a <ll>e <l>uia.

VERSUS:

Haec est alma dies in qua spoliatur auernus;
Resurrexit homo Deus, exultate redempti.
Te Deum Laudamus.⁵

This brief text prescribes merely the raising of the *Corpus Domini* from the *sepulchrum*, after which the procession from the place of burial proceeds to the choir during the singing of the reponsory *Angelus Domini*. As the procession enters the

¹ Throughout this study I shall consider the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in conjunction, and, as far as possible, shall allow the two offices to elucidate each other. Unhappily, however, a good many of the documents happen to preserve only one of the two offices. It should, of course, be remembered that the absence of either of the offices from a manuscript does not prove its absence from the use of the church concerned.

² St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 387, Breviarium Sangallense saec. xi, p. 55. The *Elevatio* from this manuscript was first published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy*, XVI, Part II, pp. 897-898. The manuscript contains neither *Depositio* nor *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

³ St. Gall MS 387, p. 55. In the manuscript this text is immediately preceded by the responsory *Dum transisset*, the last responsory of Easter Matins.

⁴ This responsory is commonly found as the first of Easter Matins. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 769.

⁵ Followed immediately by the rubric *In Matutinis Laudibus*.



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In pace in idipsum dormiam et <fol. xcv^r> requiescam.¹²

ALIA ANTIPHONA:

Caro mea requiescet in spe.¹³

IN REDITUM AD CHORUM CANTUR *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, volentes lapidem ad ostium monumenti; <fol. xcv^v> ponentes milites qui custodirent eum.

Versus: Ne forte veniant discipuli eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. Ponen <fol. xcvi^r> tes milites.¹⁴

In this version of the *Depositio* the ceremonial is very simple. At the close of Vespers, during the singing of the antiphons *In pace in idipsum* and *Caro mea*, the *Host* is carried to the *locus* where it is to be hidden. For the laying down of the *Host* no rubrics are given. The processional for the return to the choir is the reponsory *Sepulto Domino*.

In the *Ordinarium* of the year 1580 for the use of Gran, in Hungary, we find definite provision made for the reservation on Holy Thursday of two *Hosts* for Good Friday: one for the *Missa Præsanctificatorum* and one for burial in the *sepulchrum*:¹⁵

< IN CENA DOMINI >¹⁶

ET PRO DIE CRASTINA CONSECRANTUR HOSTIÆ DUÆ: ALTERA QUAM SUMP-
TURUS EST EPICOPUS VEL SACERDOS OFFICIUM PERACTURUS, ALTERA QUÆ REPON-
ETUR IN SEPULCHRUM.

After Vespers on Good Friday the *Depositio* was performed as follows:

< DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ >¹⁷

DEMUM¹⁸ PONTIFEX¹⁹ VEL SACERDOS OFFICIANS, EXUTA CASULA, PORTANS IN

¹² First antiphon of Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 767.

¹³ Third antiphon of Matins of Holy Saturday. See *id.*, col. 768.

¹⁴ Followed immediately by the rubric: *Ordo in Vigilia Paschæ*.

¹⁵ *Ordinarium officii Divini secundum consuetudinem Metropolitanæ Ecclesiæ Strigoniensis*, Tirnaviæ, 1580, sig. H 7 recto. I use the copy in the British Museum. The *Depositio* from this book is now reprinted, I believe, for the first time. The *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* have been reprinted by Lange, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XLI (1897), p. 81. The uses attached to the *sepulchrum* in Hungary are treated by J. Dankó, in *Oesterreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1872, pp. 103–136, 175–208. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are considered by Dankó on pp. 175–190 *passim*.

¹⁶ *Ordinarium . . . Ecclesiæ Strigoniensis*, Tirnaviæ, 1580, sig. H 7 recto.

¹⁷ *Id.*, sig. I 4 recto.

¹⁸ Preceded immediately by Vespers.

¹⁹ Pontifex] Pontefex (Print).

MANIBUS ALTĒRAM HOSTIAM CONSECRATAM QUÆ PRO SEPULTURA HERI FUIT RESERUATA, IN PATENA SUPRA CALICEM COLLOCATAM, PALLA & LINTEOLO TECTAM, DESCENDIT CUM MINISTRIS VERSUS SEPULCHRUM, PRÆCEDENTIBUS CEROFERARIIS & TURRIBULO, QUOD SEMEL CIRCUMIT. DEINDE REPONIT IN ILLUD EANDEM HOSTIAM UNA CUM CALICE, CLAUDIT, OBSIGNAT, & PER CIRCUITUM INCENSAT, CHORO CANTANTE RESPONSORIA:

Hierusalem, luge, <et exue te vestibus jucunditatis; induere cinere cum cilicio, quia in te est occisus Salvator Israel. VERSUS: Montes Gelboe, nec ros, nec pluvia super vos descendat. Quia.>²⁰

ET:

Sepulto Domino.

QUIBUS COMPLETIS CANTAT VERSUS: Adoramus te, Christe, ETC.; Omnis terra, ETC.; ET ORATIONEM: Deus, qui pro nobis. COMPLETORIUM HORA CONSUETA LEGITUR UT HERI.

The ceremonial is here described in some detail. In the procession to the *sepulchrum* the bishop carries the *Host* upon a paten placed over the mouth of a chalice, the whole being covered with cloths. Eventually the *Host*, paten, and chalice are placed in the *sepulchrum*, which is closed, sealed, and censed during the singing of the responsories *Jerusalem luge* and *Sepulto Domino*. The office closes with versicles and a prayer.

The related *Elevatio* is provided for in the accompanying rubric:

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>²¹

IN FESTO GLORIOSISSIMÆ RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI. PRIUSQUAM PULSETUR AD MATUTINUM, CLAUSIS IANUIS TEMPLI, SUCCUSTOS²² APERIT SEPULCHRUM, & APERTUM RELINQUIT. CORPUS DOMINI, QUOD IN SEPULCHRO POSITUM FUIT, REPONIT IN MONSTRANTIAM, QUAM IN MENSA INDUMENTO ALTARIS DECENTER VESTITA ANTE OSTIUM SEPULCHRI SUPRA CORPORALE COLLOCAT, CUM DUABUS CANDELIS IN CANDELABRIS ARDENTIBUS. SICUT ENIM CERTUM EST CHRISTUM ANTEQUAM MULIERES & DISCIPULI AD SEPULCHRUM VENIRENT RESURREXISSE, ITA CONUENIT HANC CÆREMONIAM PERAGI PRIUSQUAM POPULUS IN TEMPLUM CONUENIAT.²³

One or two of the details in the rubric deserve special notice. Not only are we told that this office is performed by the sacristan in secret before Matins; we are also given the reason for the secrecy. It appears that since Christ rose before the arrival

²⁰ Second responsory of Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

²¹ *Ordinarium* . . . *Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, Tirnaviæ, 1580, sig. I 8 recto.

²² succustos] succostos (Print).

²³ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Matutinum, Inuitatorium.

of the Maries and the disciples at the tomb, the commemoration of the Resurrection should be made before the entrance of the people into the church.²⁴ It should be observed further that after being taken up, the *Host* is placed in a monstrance and put upon the *mensa* of the altar, before the *sepulchrum*. This arrangement suggests that the sepulchre is in this case the tabernacle behind the altar-table. For further evidence as to the disposition of the monstrance containing the *Host* we may scrutinize the related text of the *Visitatio*:

<VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>²⁵

AD MATUTINUM INUITATORIUM & ALIA OMNIA UT IN LIBRO. DUM AUTEM <SIG. I 8 VERSO>LECTIONES CANTANTUR, INDUUNTUR IN SACRARIO DIACONUS & SUBDIACONUS, PRO HOC PESTO IN TABULA NOTATI, VESTIBUS ALBIS, SUO ORDINI CONUENIENTIBUS. DISPONUNTUR DUO AD FERENDUM THUS & TURRIBULUM; ITEM DUO ALII AD PORTANDA VEXILLA. ET FINITA ULTIMA LECTIONE, DUM IN ORGANO INCIPITUR RESPONSORIUM: Dum transisset Sabbatum, DESCENDIT OFFICIANS CUM PRAEDICTIS & ALIIS MINISTRIS PROCESSIONALITER AD SEPULCHRUM, & ILLUD SEMEL CIRCUMIT, STATQUE ANTE MENSAM IN QUA EST MONSTRANTIA POSITA. UBI FINITO RESPONSORIO INCENSAT PRIMUM; DEINDE SUMIT IN MANUS MONSTRANTIAM, INCIPITQUE & CHORUS PROSEQUITUR INTROITUM: Resurrexi, SINE VERSU. QUI DUM A CHORO CANTATUR, PORTAT & PONIT SACRAMENTUM AD ALTARE SANCTÆ CRUCIS. ET POSTQUAM INTROITUS FUERIT FINITUS, DUO PUERI VENIUNT AD OSTIUM SEPULCHRI, QUORUM UNUS CANTAT:

Quem quae <sig. K 1 recto>ris mulier, alleluia.

ALTER VERO RESPONDET:

Iesum Nazarenum, alleluia.

RURSUS PRIMUS:

Surrexit, non est hic, alleluia; ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum, alleluia.

DEINDE ACCIPIENS IN MANUS MONSTRANTIAM, OFFICIANS IBIDEM APUD ALTARE SANCTÆ CRUCIS, VERTIT SE AD POPULUM, INCIPITQUE ANTIPHONAM:

Pax vobis, ego sum, alleluia,

²⁴ Another reason for excluding the general congregation from the *Elevatio* is cited by H. Alt (*Theater und Kirche*, Berlin, 1846, p. 348) from the Synod of Worms of the year 1316:

Quum a nostris antecessoribus ad nos usque pervenerit, ut in sacra nocte Dominicae Resurrectionis ad sustollendam Crucifixi imaginem de sepulcro, ubi in Parasceve locata fuerat, nimia virorum et mulierum numerositas certatim sese comprimendo, ecclesiam simul cum Canonicis et Vicariis introire nitantur, opinantes erronee: quod si viderent Crucifixi imaginem sustolli, evaderent hoc anno inevitabilem mortis horam. His itaque obviantes statuimus ut Resurrectionis Mysterium ante ingressum plebis in ecclesiam peragatur.

²⁵ *Ordinarium* . . . *Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, Tirnaviæ, 1580, sig. I 8 recto—K1 recto.



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<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>³²

Feria VI in Parasceve, vel ante, scribit suprascriptum Rituale Salisburgense sub titulo: "Ordo ponendi SS. Corpus Domini in Sepulchrum," tempestive paratur locus vel cappella pro Sepulchro, velis et luminaribus, quantum fieri potest. Et facta a Celebrante in Missa Præsantificatorum Communione, ardentibus adhuc facibus vel candelis in choro, pro reverentia Hostiae in calice relictæ, Celebrans stans imponit incensum in duo thuribula absque benedictione, incensat ter venerabile Sacramentum genuflexus. Interim ordinatur lugubris Processio. Praecedit crux, quam immediate sequitur clerus more solito, luminaria ferens, ultimo loco Sacerdos, casula nigra indutus, calicem coopertum velo albo manibus gestans, cum Ministris sub baldachino seu umbella incedens, choro interim cantante Responsorium: *Recessit Pastor* (ex II Noct. Matut. Sabb. S.) thurificantibus continuo duobus thuriferariis vel uno saltem in minoribus ecclesiis, adhibito quoque malleo ligneo cymbali loco. Interim reverenter ponitur calix cum hostia in loco, corporali mundo strato. Sacerdos facta genuflexione ac deposito velo humerali, removet calicis velum, patenam et pallam; et repetita genuflexione sacram Hostiam e calice desumptam ponit in lunula et in ostensorio, quod densiore velo sericeo albi coloris obtegit. Facta genuflexione purificat digitos super calicem, sumit ablutionem et extergit os et calicem purificatorio. Repetita genuflexione descendit in planum et genuflexus in infimo gradu expectat, donec Diaconus ostensorium in throno collocaverit. Deinde imponit incensum in thuribulum et genuflexus ter incensat Sanctissimum. Interim cantatur Responsorium: *Tenebrae factae sunt* (ex II Noct. Matut. feriae VI in Parasc.). Quo finito dicit Sacerdos v. *Christus factus est pro nobis obediens* etc. et Orationem *Respice*.

Haec expositio SS. Sacramenti in ostensorio velato durat per totam diem Parasceves usque ad horam septimam serotinam, qua SS. Sacramentum ex ostensorio sumitur et cum lunula in custodia ponitur; tum silentio cum luminibus ad tabernaculum defertur, ubi particulae pro infirmis asservantur. Sabbato Sancto autem mane ante vel post Missam (consuetudo in hoc puncto valde differt) iterum sub silentio SS. Sacramentum in custodia ad SS. Sepulchrum defertur, in ostensorium velatum includitur et sub silentio exponitur, incensatione more solito adhibita.

Ad Sepulchrum, dicit Rituale laudatum, ut supra paratum, non minus quam ad hesternum altare, adhibendi sunt nocte ac die testes quidam et custodes; nec desse debent, qui secundum ritum antiquum psallant.

Of the location of the *sepulchrum*, in this case, we are told only that it is in a "place or chapel." After the Communion of the *Missa Præsantificatorum* the celebrant places the *Host* in a chalice covered by a paten and a pall, and carries it in procession to the *sepulchrum*, the choir singing the responsory *Recessit pastor*. Here the *Host* is removed from the chalice,

³² From *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 429-430, the description being based upon the *Rituale Salisburgense* of 1686.

deposited in a monstrance, placed *in throno*, and censed. Meanwhile the choir sing the responsory *Tenebræ factæ*, at the conclusion of which the celebrant says the verse *Christus factus* and a prayer. After the monstrance has stood exposed until seven in the evening, it is placed in a tabernacle apart. On Saturday morning the *Host* is returned to the *sepulchrum*, where it is censed and again exposed in the monstrance. During the exposition of Friday and Saturday guards sing psalms at the *sepulchrum*.

The *Elevatio* at Salzburg takes the following form:

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>³³

NOCTE SANCTA PASCHAE, HORA CONGRUA, SACERDOS INDUTUS ALBA, STOLA, ET PLUVIALI ALBI COLORIS ET MINISTRI SACRI CUM DEBITIS PARAMENTIS, PRAECEDENTIBUS THURIFERARIIS CUM INCENSO ET THURBULIS FUMIGANTIBUS, SEQUENTIBUS IUXTA CRUCEM DUOBUS CEROFERARIIS CUM CANDELIS ACCENSIS, CHORO ET CLERO, SINGULIS CUM SUIS CANDELIS, VENIUNT ORDINE AD SEPULCHRUM, PRO DEFERENDO PROCESSIONALITER SS. SACRAMENTO, UBI FACTA GENUFLEXIONE UTROQUE GENU ALIQUANTISPER ORANT. SACERDOS SURGENS ET STANS IMPONIT INCENSUM IN THURIBULUM ABSQUE BENEDICTIONE. TUM GENUFLEXUS THURIFICAT VENERABILE SACRAMENTUM TRIPLICI DUCTU; DIACONUS DEINDE ILLUD E THRONO DEPROMPTUM PONIT SUPER ALTARE, CORPORALI STRATUM, ET VELUM AB OSTENSORIO REMOVET. SACERDOS VELO ALBO OBLONGO CIRCUMDATUS, ACCIPIT SANCTISSIMUM REVERENTER ET PROCESSIONALI RITU, PRAECEDENTIBUS CLERICIS CUM LUMINIBUS ET MINISTRIS CONTINUO THURIFICANTIBUS, CYMBALISQUE PERSONANTIBUS ILLUD DEPORTAT EX SEPULCHRO PER TOTAM ECCLESIAM (VEL ETIAM EXTRA ECCLESIAM CIRCA LOCA VICINA, UTI IN AUSTRIA MOS EST) ET TUNC AD ALTARE MAIUS, INTERIM CHORO INCHOANTE, ET IN TONO FESTIVO (INTERPOSITO ETIAM, UBI FIERI POTEST, ORGANO) CANTANTE HYMNUM: *Aurora coelum purpurat*, ETC.

ITAQUE SACERDOS, CUM PERVENERIT AD ALTARE MAIUS ET POSUERIT IBIDEM VENERABILE SACRAMENTUM, FACIT PROFUNDAM GENUFLEXIONEM, STANSQUE ITERUM IMPONIT INCENSUM ABSQUE BENEDICTIONE, ET SANCTISSIMUM TRIPLICI DUCTU GENUFLEXUS INCENSAT. POSTEA CANITUR A MINISTRIS VEL IP SO SACERDOTE, IPSIS DEFICIENTIBUS V<ERSUM>: *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, Alleluia.* R<ESPONSIO>: *Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, Alleluia.* Oremus: *Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem etc.* (EX MISSA SABB. S.).

TUNC GENUFLECTUNT CELEBRANS ET MINISTRI IN INFIMO ALTARIS GRADU ET A CHORO CANTATUR HYMNUM *Tantum ergo et Genitori.* INTERIM IMPONITUR THUS ET INCENSATUR SANCTISSIMUM; TUM CANTANTUR VERSICULUS ET ORATIO DE SS. SACRAMENTO. ET FACTA VENERABILI SACRAMENTO PROFUNDA REVERENTIA, SACERDOS ACCEPTO SUPER HUMEROS VELO OBLONGO ALBO, QUO IN PROCES- SIONE USUS FUIT, AD ALTARE ASCENDIT, SS. SACRAMENTUM REVERENTER ACCIPIT,

³³ From the *Rituale Salisburgense* of 1686 as quoted in *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 439.

ET STANS, CUM EODEM, POPULO IN MODUM CRUCIS BENEDICIT, NIHIL DICENS, ILLUDQUE IN TABERNACULO, ABSQUE ULTERIORE INCENSATIONE, RECONDIT ET CUM SUIS AD SACRISTIAM VEL CHORUM REDIT. IN MAIORIBUS ECCLESIIIS INCHOATUR MATUTINUM, IN CUIUS FINE HYMNUS Te Deum SOLEMNISSIME CANTATUR; IN MINORIBUS CANTARI POTERIT CANTIO PASCHALIS: Surrexit Christus hodie, AUT ALIA CONVENIENS.

According to this version the *Elevatio* begins, before Easter Matins, with a procession, in which the monstrance containing the *Host* is carried from the *sepulchrum* through the length of the church to the main altar while the choir sings the hymn *Aurora coelum purpurat*. While the monstrance rests upon the main altar, it is censed, and a versicle (*Surrexit*), a response (*Qui pro nobis*), and a prayer are uttered. Still further, the hymns *Tantum ergo* and *Genitori* are sung, and a versicle and prayer are said. The priest now raises the monstrance, blesses the congregation with it, and places it in a tabernacle.

Once more, the conspicuous use of the monstrance at Salzburg seems to reflect the influence of the reservation of *Holy Thursday* in one of its relatively modern practices.

In the first version of the *Elevatio* considered in the present section of this study³⁴ we observed at least a hint of the theme of the *Harrowing of Hell*. A more substantial reference to this theme is present in the *Elevatio* from the cathedral of Strassburg. Of this *Elevatio*, and of the related *Depositio*, we have several texts; and since these texts vary among themselves in interesting matters of detail, I shall first present the documents, in their chronological order.³⁵

A manuscript of the thirteenth century preserves both the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in the following simple forms:³⁶

³⁴ See above, pp. 30-31.

³⁵ I omit from consideration the texts printed by G. Milchsack (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Wolfenbüttel, 1880, pp. 122-123) as coming from "Ordo Wirceburgensis c. a. 1490." Lange (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, pp. 8, 48) affirms that the book from which Milchsack quotes is a Strassburg "Agende" of the year 1513.

³⁶ London, British Museum, Additional MS 23922, Liber Responsalis Argentinensis saec. xiii, fol. 37^r, 41^v. The *Visitatio Sepulchri* from this manuscript (fol. 41^v-42^v) is printed by Lange, pp. 49-50. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are, I believe, now printed for the first time.



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PRÆCEDENTE HEBDOMADARIO CAPPATO, CUM INCENSU & MAGNIS CANDELIS CONTORSIS, & LOTIS MANIBUS INTROEANT SEPULCHRUM. QUO INGRESSO, FACIANT CONFSSIONEM DICENDO: Confiteor Deo. Misereatur vestri. DEINDE DICATUR PSALMUS:

Domine, quid multiplicati sunt,

CUM ANTIPHONA:

Ego dormivi,

SUB SILENTIO PRONUNCIATA. TUNC SACERDOS ACCIPIAT CORPUS CHRISTI DE PIXIDE, & LEVANS IN ALTUM OSTENDAT ILLUD POPULO CORAM SEPULCHRO. POST OSTENSIONEM & ADORATIONEM POPULI, REPONAT IN PYXIDEM, & SIC TOLLENTES INDE CORPUS DOMINI, RECEDUNT CUM ANTIPHONA:

Cum rex gloriae,

SUB SILENTIO PRONUNCIATA. SED INTERIM IN CHORO CANTUR PRÆDICTA ANTIPHONA CANORA VOCE A CLERO, DEMISSOQUE IBI SUDARIO USQUE POST MATUTINAS. CUM AUTEM PERVENERINT IN CHORUM CUM CORPORE DOMINI, SACERDOS STET IN ALTARI, ET OSTENDAT CLERO & POPULO CORPUS CHRISTI, LEVANDO IPSUM SICUT SOLET LEVARI IN MISSA. DEINDE REPONAT IN PYXIDEM CORPUS CHRISTI, & PORTET AD ALTARE S. LAURENTII, & IBIDEM SIMILITER OSTENDAT. DIMISSOQUE IBI SACRAMENTO REVERTATUR IN CHORUM, LOTIS IBI PRIUS QUATUOR SUMMITATIBUS DIGITORUM SUORUM IN CALICE; STATIMQUE COMPULSANTUR OMNIA SIGNA.⁴⁶

We may complete our presentation of the Strassburg texts with the series from an *ordinarium* of the year 1590.⁴⁷ The reservation on *Holy Thursday* of a *Host* for the *sepulchrum* is prescribed as follows:

< IN CÆNA DOMINI >

TRES QUOQUE HOSTIAE CONSECRENTUR HODIE, UNA PRO PRAESENTI MISSA, ALTERA PRO OFFICIO CRASTINO, TERTIA PRO SEPULCHRO DOMINI. SANGUIS AUTEM PENITUS CONSUMATUR. DENIQUE PARVAE HOSTIAE CONSECRANDAE HODIE SUNT, ET RESERUANDAE IN SEQUENTEM DIEM, PRO COMMUNICANDIS.⁴⁸

The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from the same document are ordered as follows:

The *Visitatio* from it is reprinted from Martène (p. 505) by C. Lange, in *Jahresbericht über die Realschule erster Ordnung in Halberstadt* (Program No. 223), Halberstadt, 1881, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁶ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Matutinum.

⁴⁷ *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis* . . . , Coloniae, 1590. I quote from the copy in the Hofbibliothek, Munich. All the texts now printed, together with the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, have been published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 911-914. Lange duly mentions (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, pp. 8, 50) the *Visitatio Sepulchri* in the print of 1590.

⁴⁸ *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis* . . . , Coloniae, 1590, p. 214.

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>⁴⁹

COMMUNIONE⁵⁰ PERACTA, PROCEDAT SACERDOS AD SEPULCHRUM, CUM CORPORE DOMINI REPOSITO IN CORPORALI, UEL IN CALICE, UEL IN SACRATA PYXIDE. PRAECEDANT ERGO MINISTRI CUM INCENSO, ET DUO PUERI, CUM CANDELIS CUM PROCESSIONE, USQUE AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI, UBI DEBET RECONDI CORPUS DOMINI, CANTANDO RESPONSORIUM:

Sicut ouis ad occisionem ductus est, et dum male tractaretur non aperuit os suum. Traditus est ad mortem, ut vivificaret populum suum. *VERSUS*: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Sion habitatio eius.

Antiphona:

Caro mea requiescet in spe.

SACERDOTE NECTENTE FILA, CANTETUR HOC *Antiphona*:

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custo <p. 226> dierunt illud.

STATIM LEGANTUR VESPERAE IN EODEM LOCO.

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>⁵¹

ORDO VISITANDI SEPULCHRUM IN DIE SANCTO PASCHAE.

SUMMO MANE ANTEQUAM PULSETUR AD MATUTINAS CONVENIAT CLERUS, ET QUI UOLUERINT INTRARE SEPULCHRUM LAUENT MANUS SUAS, ET UENIANT ANTE PRINCIPALE ALTARE UEL PROPE SEPULCHRUM, ET LEGANT SEPTEM PSALMOS POENITENTIALES. <p. 252> QUIBUS FINITIS, DICANT:

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

PRECES:

Exurge, Domine, adiuua nos. Et redime nos propter nomen tuum. Exurge gloria mea. Exurge psalterium et cithara. Exurgam diluculo. Confitebor in populis, Domine. Domine, exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te ueniat.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus:

ORATIO:

Exaudi, quaesumus, Domine, supplicum preces, et confitentium tibi parce peccatis ut pariter indulgentiam tribuas benignus et pacem. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

DEINDE DICANT:

Confiteor Deo Patri, et Misereatur, et Indulgent, etc.

FACTA CONFESSIONE, UADANT AD SEPULCHRUM DICENDO *psalmum*:

Domine, quid multiplicati.

SEQUETUR *Antiphona*, QUAM CANTENT SUB SILENTIO:

Ego dormivi et somnum cepi, et exurrexi, quoniam Dominus suscepit me, alleluia, alleluia. Euouae.

⁴⁹ *Id.*, pp. 225–226.

⁵⁰ The Communion at the *Missa Præsanctificationum*.

⁵¹ *Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis* . . . , Coloniae, 1590, pp. 251–252.

ET TOLLENTES INDE CORPUS DOMINI REDEANT IN CHORUM, CANTANDO SUBMISSA UOCE *Antiphonam*:

Cum rex gloriae Christus infernum debellaturus intraret et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli praeciperet, sanctorum populus, qui tenebatur in morte captiuus, uoce lachrymabili clamauerat: Aduenisti desiderabilis, quem expectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac nocte uinculatos de claustris. Te nostra uocabant suspiris; te larga requirebant lamenta. Tu factus es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis, Alleluia.

QUAE CONSUETUDO UBI FUERIT, SERVANDA ERIT. ET STATIM CUM REDIERINT IN CHORUM, OSTENSO SACRAMENTO IN ALTARI SICUT FIT IN MISSA, DEINDE CANTENTUR MATUTINAE.

With these several texts before us we may now examine some of the details of the Strassburg use. In liturgical content the two texts of the *Depositio* are substantially identical, and both are found between Mass and Vespers. According to the longer rubrics of the text of 1590, the *Host*⁵² is carried to the *sepulchrum* in a corporal, a chalice, or a pyx, and the procession is provided with incense and lights. After the laying down of the *Host*, the sealing of the *sepulchrum* appears to be accomplished by the tying of chords.

For the details of the *Elevatio* we may center our attention upon the text from the fourteenth century communicated by Martène, because of its full indications as to ceremonial. The office occupies the usual liturgical position, before Easter Matins, and it opens with a familiar procession. It appears that the *sepulchrum* provided is of unusual amplitude, for at least a part of those in the procession are able to enter it. Those who enter make confession⁵³ and recite the psalm *Domine, quid multiplicati sunt*, with its antiphon *Ego dormivi*. The priest then takes the *Host* from the pyx and exposes it for the adoration of the congregation gathered before the *sepulchrum*. Replacing the *Host* in the pyx, the priest carries it in procession to the choir during the singing of the antiphon *Cum rex gloriae*,

⁵² In the *Depositio* in Add. MS 23922 the words *uadunt cum Cruce ad locum Sepulchri* raise a difficulty. They seem to indicate that the object buried was not the *Host* but the *Cross*, whereas the other Strassburg documents mention only the *Host*. The *Cruce* of the passage quoted may be merely a *processional* cross.

⁵³ The liturgical text for the confession is more fully indicated in the *Elevatio* from the print of 1590.



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ET CETERA. QUO PINITO, DICUNTUR VESPERÆ⁵⁷ ANTE OSTIUM PARADISI⁵⁸ A DOMINO EPISCOPO ET CLERICIS SUIS GENUFLEXIS, SUBMISSIS VOCIBUS; ET IPSIS FINITIS, DENUDATUR ALTARE.

From this text it appears that the *Host* to be "buried" has been reserved in a chapel of the cathedral, from which it is carried, in a procession of the bishop and clergy, to a structure called *Paradisus* situated behind the main altar. Here the *Host* is deposited during the singing of the responsory *Sepulto Domino*. Vespers are then said before the door of the *Paradisus*, and lights are kept burning during the night.

The ceremony of the *Elevatio* is known to us only through a reference in the following text of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*:⁵⁹

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>⁶⁰

IN MATUTINO PASCHAE, HORA QUASI NONA NOCTIS PULSETUR BAIONUS⁶¹ SOLEMNITER CUM ALIIS; ORNETUR ALTARE SOLEMNIUS QUAM ORNARI POSSIT, ET OMNIA LUMINARIA ECCLESIAE, UT IN NATIVITATE, ACCENDANTUR. ANTE INCHOATIONEM MATUTINI DUO GUARDACHORII⁶² ET DUO CANTORES CUM PIVIALIBUS SEPULCRUM DOMINI REVERENTER INTRANT CUM THURIBULIS ET INCENSO, CEREIS ANTE SEPULCRI OSTIUM DUOBUS POSITIS. ET INCENSANTES SEPULCRUM⁶³ QUAERUNT DE CORPORE CHRISTI, QUOD ANTE HUNC ACTUM SACRISTA PERVIGIL INDE ABSTULISSE DEBUI, ET IN SACRARIO DEPUTATO REVERENTER RECONDIDISSE, ET PALPANT LINTEAMINA MUNDA, QUIBUS ID ERAT INVOLUTUM. QUOD NON INVENIENTES, REVERTUNTUR AD OSTIUM SEPULCRI, FORIS TAMEN NON EUNTES, SED VERSUS ALTARE MAIUS IUXTA QUOD SINT ALIQUI CLERICI DICENTES:

Quem quaeritis?

QUI CLERICI RESPONDENTES DICANT:

⁵⁷ Vesperæ] Vesperi (Barbieri).

⁵⁸ The editor provides the following foot-note: Questo particolare non lascia dubbio che l'edificio, chiamato *Paradisus*, fosse chiuso; e così appunto esser dovea, vi grazia del nome attribuitogli, da poi ch' esso tanto vale quanto *hortus conclusus* (v. Isid. *Orig.* xiv, III, 1, 3).

⁵⁹ From Barbieri this text has been published by A. D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, Vol. I, Turin, 1891, pp. 30-31; and from D'Ancona, by Lange, p. 28.

⁶⁰ Barbieri, pp. 147-149.

⁶¹ *Baionus* is the name of a large bell—*campana grossa*. See Barbieri, p. 10.

⁶² This word is explained by the following passage (Barbieri, p. 66): In Guardachoratus officio quatuor sint clerici instituti, qui moribus sint et discretionem approbati, et cantus perfectione eruditi . . . istorum quatuor Guardachoriorum officio . . . totus chorus ecclesiae sublevatur atque regitur, et regi debet.

⁶³ Sepulcrum] sepulcro (Barbieri).

Iesum Nazarenum.

QUIBUS PRIMI RESPONDEANT:

Non est hic; surrexit sicut dixit,

ET CETERA. POSTEA EGREDIUNTUR SEPULCRUM ISTI QUATUOR, PRAEVIIS DICTIS CEREIS, ET DICUNT VERSUS POPULUM ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Christus; iam non moritur.

QUA FINITA MAIOR ILLORUM QUATUOR AD EPISCOPUM ACCEDIT SINE LUMINE, ET EI DICIT PLANE:

Surrexit Dominus,

ET OSCULATUR EUM. ET EPISCOPUS DICIT:

Deo gratias.

QUI EPISCOPUS ALTA VOCE DEINDE DICIT:

Te deum laudamus,

ET INCENSAT ALTARE, DICTIS DUPLERIIS ARDENTIBUS; ET DUM DICTUR Te Deum laudamus, ILLE QUI NUNTIAVIT DOMINO EPISCOPO CHRISTUM RESURREXISSE, SIMILITER NUNTiet DOMINIS CANONICIS. FINITO Te Deum laudamus INCIPIT DOMINUS EPISCOPUS: Domine, labia mea aperies.⁶⁴

Concerning the *Elevatio* itself we have here merely a brief rubric directing the sacristan to remove the *Host* from the *sepulchrum* well before the beginning of Matins, and to secrete it reverently in the sacristy. As a whole, then, the text before us describes not the *Elevatio*, but the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, which seems to have been transferred, along with the *Te Deum*, from its usual place at the end of the Matins to the place preceding Matins usually occupied by the *Elevatio*. This version of the *Visitatio* is noteworthy in that those approaching the *sepulchrum* (representing, but not necessarily *impersonating*, the *Maries*) actually enter the *sepulchrum* in search of the *Corpus Christi*, and touch the *lintheamina*, before they are challenged by the familiar interrogation *Quem quaeritis*. This bit of action may show the influence of the *Elevatio*, as may also the kiss bestowed upon the bishop by one of those who take part in the dialogue.⁶⁵

Conditions somewhat similar to those at Parma are found in connection with the cathedral of Soissons, the *ordinaria* of which provide, in the first place, for the consecration on *Holy Thursday* of three *Hosts* as follows:

< IN CÆNA DOMINI >

SCIENDUM AUTEM QUOD DIE ISTA TRES HOSTIE PROPONANTUR IN ALTARI: I^a PRO PRESENTI MISSA; II^a PRO CRASTINA; III^a RESERVETUR USQUE AD DIEM

⁶⁴ With this versicle begins Matins.

⁶⁵ Concerning the *Pax* in certain versions of the *Elevatio* see below, pp. 65-67, 88, 89, 97, 109.

RESURRECTIONIS. QUE DEFERANTUR A DIACONO AD SACRARIUM IN UASCULO QUOD DEPENDET SUPER ALTARE, UT IBI RESERVENTUR, CEREIS ANTE ACCENSO.⁶⁶

It will be observed that the third *Host* is reserved, not for burial in the *sepulchrum* on Good Friday, but for some ceremonial, not yet specified, on Easter. The object placed in the *sepulchrum* on Good Friday is not the *Host*, but the Gospel-book, as we learn from the following rubric:

FINITO EVANGELIO SUBDIACONUS ACCIPIAT ILLUD ET QUASI IN OCCULTO SUB INFULA SUA VELUT IN SINU SUO DEFÉRAT AD SEPULCHRUM, CLERICULO CUM THURE PRECEDENTE; IMPOSITOQUE SUPER ALTARE QUOD EST IN SEPULCHRO, AMBO REVERTANTUR.⁶⁷

The *ordo* of Good Friday provides in no way for a burial of a *Host*.

A special form of the *Elevatio* appears in the *ordo* for Easter Matins:⁶⁸

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>⁶⁹

SUMMO DILUCULO PULSENTUR OMNIA SIGNA; DEIN BINA ET BINA. AD ULTIMUM UERO TUM SIMUL ITERUM PULSENTUR. PAUIMENTUM INTEREA TOTIUS PRESBYTERII ET CHORI EDERA ET ALIJS UIRIDIBUS FOLIJS STERNATUR. ECCLESIA PRETEREA, CEREIS ACCENSIS, A CAPITE USQUE AD PEDES PER CIRCUITUM UESTIATUR. ALTARE SACROSANCTUM AMPLIFICATO NUMERO CEREORUM LUMINE CIRCUMDETUR. NUMERUS UERO CEREORUM CIRCA ALTARE ET ANTE SIT LXXXX^a, ET UNUS FUNICULUS INSUPER A CAPITE USQUE AD PEDES PRETENDATUR; IN QUO CIRCULUS QUIDAM FERREUS HABENS VII CEREOS SUPER OSTIUM SEPULCHRI IN ALTUM DEPENDEAT. CIRCULUS AUTEM ISTE QUI ET STELLA A NOBIS NUNCUPATUR, UERUM LUCIFERUM, QUI MANE RESURREXIT, DESIGNAT. ADHUC AUTEM X CEREI AD CRUCIFIXUM ACCENDANTUR. IN INITIO UERO OMNIUM ISTORUM CUNCTUS⁷⁰ CLERICUS DEFERAT CUM SUMMO HONORE AD SEPULCHRUM IN SUPERPELLICIO CORPUS DOMINICUM IN UASCULO A DIE CENE RESERUATUM, PONENS ILLUD SUPER ALTARE.

HIS PERACTIS, DUOBUS SACERDOTIBUS ANTIQUIORIBUS AC DUOBUS DIACONIS IN CHORO SEDENTIBUS CUM CAPIS DE PALLIO, PONTIFEX IN SEDE SUA CUM CAPA DE PALLIO MITRATUS STANS INCIPIT:

⁶⁶ *Rituale seu Mandatum insignis ecclesiae Suessionensis*, Soissons, 1856, pp. 68–69. The manuscript (saec. xii–xiii) is described on pp. vii–x.

⁶⁷ *Rituale . . . ecclesiae Suessionensis*, Soissons, 1856, p. 86.

⁶⁸ This *ordo* is printed by Martène (pp. 496–498) from a “*Rituale vetus tempore Nivelonis II episcopi scriptum*” (i.e., 13th century). From Martène, Lange (p. 26) reprints, with very unfortunate omissions. Martène’s text and that now reprinted from the edition of 1856 differ only in unimportant details.

⁶⁹ *Rituale . . . ecclesiae Suessionensis*, Soissons, 1856, pp. 108–110.

⁷⁰ cunctus] cunctos (*Rituale*).



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CANTORI, ET SUCCENTORI, ET OMNIBUS PRESBYTERIS IN CHORO DEFERTUR.
DEIN A CLERICULIS CETERIS DEPORTETUR.

The ceremonial here described begins early on Easter morning, before Matins. The choir is strewn with green branches, the altar and church are profusely lighted, a crown of seven candles is suspended over the door of the *sepulchrum*, and ten candles are lighted at the Crucifix.⁷⁴ Meanwhile the *Host* reserved from *Holy Thursday* is for the first time brought to the *sepulchrum* and placed upon the altar.⁷⁵ In so far as this act represents a *Depositio*, it is obviously inappropriate to Easter morning.

After the third responsory of Matins of the usual Roman type⁷⁶ occurs an office in which the *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* are combined. When the procession reaches the *sepulchrum*, two deacons in appropriate vestments, representing angels, utter the angelic challenge *Quem quaeritis*, and continue the familiar dialogue with two priests vested in copes. Then occurs the *Elevatio*. A chaplain,—apparently from within the *sepulchrum*,—hands to the deacons (*angeli*) the *Host* while the choir sings the antiphon *Christus resurgens*. After the *Host* has been deposited upon the main altar within the choir, and after the iron rail about the altar has been closed, the *Te Deum* is sung. During the singing of the *Te Deum* the bells are sounded, and the *Host* and altar are censed.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Possibly this crucifix is located at the door between choir and nave.

⁷⁵ As to the location of this altar with respect to the *sepulchrum*, I am uncertain. Since the *sepulchrum* seems to be capacious enough to allow the entrance of a *capellanus*, the structure may take the form of a chapel, with an altar within.

⁷⁶ See the note to the text above.

⁷⁷ For its information concerning the symbolic use of incense in Easter Matins I quote from the Soissons *Rituale* (pp. 110–111) a passage that immediately follows the text of the *Visitatio* printed above:

Notandum uero quod ad similitudinem trium Mariarum, incensum hodie ad Sepulchrum tantum defertur in initio lectionum sic: Incepto Euangelio, Decanus et Ebdomadarius exeant de Sacrario cum Capis de pallio, Clericulis precedentibus cum Thuribulis et igne; presententque se Episcopo in igne mittentes incensum, Episcopo dante benedictionem. Quo facto, eant simul ad altare. Episcopus autem accipiens Thuribulum, offerat incensum sacrosancto altari et Decanus cum illo. Interea Clericuli, elevatis Cereis suis, teneant illos ante altare. Quo facto, Episcopo in sede sua regresso, offerant incensum Decanus et Ebdomadarius. Postea cum Cereis eant ad Sepulchrum illud offerre,

In this version from Soissons we encounter for the first time an intimate combination of *Visitatio* and *Elevatio*; and we must observe at once that the combination is not entirely successful from the point of view of dramatic sequence. Nothing is clearer logically than that the *Elevatio* should precede the *Visitatio*. The *Quem quaeritis* dialogue, with its *Non est hic*, obviously implies an empty *sepulchrum*. In the present version, however, the implication is false, for the *Corpus Dominicum* is not removed from the sepulchre until *after* the delivery of dialogue mentioned.

In connection with this dialogue it is important to observe also that whatever of impersonation is present in the version before us attaches itself to the *Visitatio* element and not to the *Elevatio*. In the *Elevatio* is found no such rubric as that prescribing the impersonation of the angels at the supposedly empty tomb: *Duo Diacones albis simplicibus, capitibus amictis coopertis, niueis dalmaticis superinduti . . . in similitudinem angelorum.*⁷⁸

Similar to this version from Soissons, in some respects, is the following, from the cathedral of Laon:⁷⁹

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>⁸⁰

IN PASCHA AD MATUTINAS DUE COMPANE INSIMUL PULSANTUR; SEX CEREI JUXTA MAGNUM CEREUM ANTE ALTARE PONUNTUR. DUM CAMPANE PULSANTUR, PROCESSIO ANTE ALTARE IN HUNC MODUM ORDINATA VADIT AD SEPULCHRUM. PRECEDUNT CLERICULI CUM CEREIS, DUO CUM THURIBULIS, DUO DIACONI, ALII DUO CANTATURI Dicant nunc, CANTOR, ET SUCCENTOR, OMNES ISTI ALBIS CAPIS INDUTI. ALII SEQUUNTUR IN ORDINE, UNUSQUISQUE CEREUM ACCENSUM DEFERENS. PREDICTI VERO DIACONI AD OSTIUM SEPULCHRI VENIENTES INCIPIUNT:

Ardens est <cor meum, desidero videre Dominum meum; quaero et non inuenio ubi posuerunt eum, alleluia.>⁸¹

Clerico custode cum Capa de pallio acerram cum incenso perferente. Quo facto, reuersi in Chorum, Cantori et Succentori, ceterisque in ordine suo defertur. Processione presenti peracta, uicem secundam impleuimus, in fine Matutinarum, Tertiam exsoluimus. V. post *Te Deum*. Episcopus. *Surrexit Dominus uere*. Chorus. *Et apparuit Symoni. Alleluya.*

⁷⁸ See below, pp. 128–129.

⁷⁹ U. Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'Église Cathédrale de Laon* (Bibliothèque Liturgique, VI), Paris, 1897, pp. 118–119, from Laon MS 215 of the period 1173–1249. From Laon we have no text of a *Depositio*.

⁸⁰ Chevalier, pp. 118–119.

⁸¹ Antiphon of Easter season. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 775.

CLERICULUS IN SEPULCHRO:

Quem queritis.

DIACONI:

Jhesum Nazarenum.

CLERICULUS:

Non est hic.

QUO FINITO SACERDOS ALBA CASULA VESTITUS, PORTANS CALICEM CUM CORPORE XPISTI, EGREDIENS DE SEPULCHRO REPPERIT ANTE OSTIUM QUATUOR CLERICULOS PALLIUM SUPER BACULOS TOLLENTES; ET ILLO PROTECTUS INCEDIT ANTE PROCESSIONEM, PRECEDENTIBUS CLERICULIS CUM CEREBIS, ASTANTIBUS ALIIS DUOBUS JUXTA IPSUM CUM THURIBULIS. TUNC DIACONI PREDICTI DICUNT:

Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia.

POST HEC CANTOR ET SUCCENTOR INCIPIUNT ILLAM PARTEM ANTIPHONÆ:

Cum rex glorie Xpistus.⁸² Advenisti desiderabilis.

ET SIC CANTANDO PROCEDUNT OMNES IN MEDIO ECCLESIE ANTE CRUCIFIXUM.

POST ANTIPHONAM:

Christus resurgens <ex mortuis iam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur, quod enim vivit, vivit Deo, alleluia, alleluia> ,

DUO CANONICI CUM CAPIS VERSUM:

Dicant nunc <Judæi quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdidit regem ad lapidis positionem, quare non servabant petram justiciæ; aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent, nobiscum dicentes alleluia, alleluia.>

POST V<ERSUM>PROCESSIONE, CANTANDO Quod enim vivit, vivit Deo, INTRAT CHORUM. SACERDOS CALICEM SUPER ALTARE DEPOSIT. INTERIM CAMPANE INSIMUL PULSANTUR.⁸³

This ceremonial occurs before Matins. The procession sets out from the main altar, and when it reaches the door of the *sepulchrum*, two deacons in the procession sing the antiphon *Ardens est*. A cleric within the *sepulchrum* now sings the interrogation *Quem quaeritis*, and continues the familiar dialogue with the two deacons of the procession. Then a priest issues from the sepulchre carrying a chalice containing the Host,⁸⁴ which is carried in procession to a place before the Crucifix,⁸⁵ appropriate persons meanwhile singing *Surrexit Dominus* and *Cum rex gloriæ*. At the Crucifix is sung the antiphon *Christus resurgens*, after which the priest places the chalice upon the main altar.

⁸² Xpistus] Xpiste (Chevalier).

⁸³ Matins follows immediately.

⁸⁴ Such is a fair, but not an inevitable, interpretation of the rubric *portans calicem cum Corpore Christi*. See above, pp. 14, 16.

⁸⁵ Possibly this Crucifix is at the entrance to the choir from the nave.



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DUO DIACONI CANTANT V<ERSUM> :

Dicant nunc.

QUO CANTATO PROCESSIO INTRAT CHORUM CANTANDO:

Quod enim vivit.

SACERDOS CALICEM SUPER ALTARE DEPOSIT. INTERIM CAMPANÆ SIMUL PULSANTUR. EPISCOPUS STANS IN CATHEDRA MITRA & CAPPÆ PRÆPARATUS INCIPIT: Domine, labia mea aperies.⁸⁹

This text differs from the preceding one only in details, such as a more extended *ordo* for the procession to the *sepulchrum* and the substitution of the sequence *Victimæ paschali* for the antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ*.

For our knowledge of the ceremonial of the *sepulchrum* at Laon, however, we are not confined to these texts from the *ordinaria*. This cathedral was fortunate in having as dean, about the middle of the seventeenth century, Antoine Bellotte, a liturgiologist of the first order.⁹⁰ In his monumental volume *Ritus Ecclesiæ Laudunensis*⁹¹ this author describes the dramatic office of Easter morning as follows:⁹²

⁸⁹ With this formula Matins begins.

⁹⁰ He was dean from 1650–1662. See Chevalier, pp. vii–viii.

⁹¹ Paris, 1652.

⁹² Bellotte, pp. 215–217. The same author provides also (p. 819) a shorter description of this office as follows:

Vtrumque solet Ecclesia Laudunensis obire, dum summo mane paulo post medium noctis pulsantur in ea campanæ pro singulari festiæ exultationis signaculo; & circa horam diluculi, conueniunt omnes in Ecclesiam candido apparatu, quibus statim cerei diuiduntur, quibuscum procedunt ad altare sepulcri, vbi fores occlusæ, & sanctissimum Corporis, & Sanguinis Dominici sacramentum in altari repositum, locum monumenti referunt. Et dum ibidem celebratur statio, Puer Choralis adheret altari agens personam Angeli sedentis in sepulchro, dicens: *Quem queritis?* Respondentibus autem duobus Diaconis: *Iesum Nazarenum*, ipsemet Puer symphonicus subjungit: *Non est hic*. Mox Cantor & Succentor cappis sericis & baculis choralibus accincti incipiunt: *Surrexit Dominus vere, etc.*, & statim præ lætitia in jubulum erumpentes intonant hymnum *Victimæ Paschali laudes immolant Christiani*; & sine mora aperiuntur fores sepulcri, e quibus Christus egreditur quippe conditus in sepulcro, cum sub mortis imperio captius ess<e> videretur, quasi præruptis inferni tepagulis, liber ad vitam rediit, iuxta illud quod ab Ecclesia canitur, *Hodie portas mortis & seras pariter Saluator noster dirupit*. Tandem procedunt omnes per circuitum, & mediam nauim Ecclesiæ ad Crucifixum cum cereis ardentibus in quibus lux est vitæ, & resurrectionis symbolum, de quo in Pentecostario Graecorum: *Prodeamus cum lampadibus obuiam Christo ex monumento prodeunti, tanquam sponso, & simul cum ordinibus Angelorum hac solemnitate lætantibus festum agamus*.

Inter antiquissimas Ecclesiæ Christianæ consuetudines annumeratur processio, quæ solemnî ritu, quotannis celebratur in Dominica Resurrectionis ante Matutinum, quo tam salutaris mysterij gaudium, aliquo lætitiæ signo, fidelibus populis nuntietur. Hinc est, quod in Ecclesia Laudunensi summo mane pulsantur campanæ hora post mediam noctem secunda in signum festiæ exultationis, priusquam detur signum Matutini. Quo tempore custos Sacrarij, vel alius Sacerdos ad hoc deputatus, superpellicio & stola paratus, accedit ad locum Pastophorij⁹³ præeuntibus duobus clericulis cum cereis ardentibus, & inde sanctissimum Sacramentum reuerenter & cum debitis genuflexionibus extrahit, vbi pridie fuerat ritu præscripto collocatum; ipsumque ambabus manibus tenens ob oculos eleuatum, defert super Altare Sepulchri, vndique cereorum sufficienti numero collustratum, vt locus lucidior appareat, & nox ipsa quasi dies illumineatur; nullusque Sæcularium illuc accedit, nec vllus alius præter Clericos qui dicti Sepulchri ritibus & ceremonijs inseruire debent, ac qui proinde fuerint choralî veste parati.

Hora vero quarta matutina conueniunt in Ecclesiam omnes de Clero, Episcopus, vel Decanus, aut Sacerdos Hebdomadarius in Sacrarium, cum ijs qui futuræ processioni debent inseruire. Canonici vero Chorum intrant, in albis, hoc est, superpelliceis, armilauzis parati, vbi stant in subsellijs, vsque ad initium præfate processions. Celebrans & ministri parantur vestimentis albi coloris, ordini suo congruentibus; vbi Celebrans & duo ex senioribus Sacerdotibus Canonicis induunt planetam Subdiaconi vero pallium; seu baldachinum delaturi tunicas sine manipulis. Mox erogantur cerei singulis Canoncis & alijs de gremio Ecclesiæ per Custodes Laicos, tam in Choro, quam in Sacrario, dignioribus primo, subinde junioribus per ordinem, eodem ritu quo in festo, seu processione Purificationis Beate Mariæ, quos singuli deferre debent in honorem sanctissimi Sacramenti toto tempore processions.

His vt supra dispositis, accenduntur prædicti cerei per ministros ecclesiæ, qui candelam accendunt primi cujusque ordinis ab vtraque parte Chori, vt cæteri deinde sibi mutuo candelas suas accendant; & dato signo procedendi, duo Diaconi pluuiialibus induti procedunt de Sacrario in Chorum, cum alijs ministris, hoc ordine. Præcedunt duo Acolythi deferentes candelabra cum cereis accensis, tum duo Clericuli, qui Cruces aureas deferunt processionales. Has sequuntur duo prædicti Diaconi pluuiialibus induti; deinde Præcentores cappis & baculis choralibus accincti; postremo quatuor Subdiaconi tunicis albi coloris induti, qui hastas pallij seu baldachini deferre debent, omnes ex ordine Canonicorum. A dextris & a sinistris eorum incedunt ab vtraque parte omnes de choro, primo Pueri chorales, deinde Mansionarij & Capellani; postea Canonici secundum ordinem antiquitatis vel dignitatis; ita tamen, vt discedentes a subsellijs dexteræ partis, migrent in sinistram; & qui stant a sinistra transeant ad dexteram, suas quinque candelas ita deferentes propriis manibus, vt qui procedunt a dextris, dextra; qui vero a sinistris, sinistra deferant paululum ad extra inclinatas.

Probably the most significant aspect of this passage is the symbolizing of the opening of the *sepulchrum* as the Harrowing of Hell.

⁹³ The *pastophorium* is some sort of sacristy, which, as we learn below, is on the left side of the choir.

Proceditur autem per speciosam portam chori, recta per mediam nauim versus Sepulchrum, quo peruenientes qui deferunt baldachinum, seu pallium, consistunt ante ostium præfati Sepulchri, facie versa ad Altare, in quo existit sanctissimum Sacramentum, stantibus in eadem regione seu præcinctu Ecclesie, omnibus de choro vultibus ad inuicem conuersis dum Celebrans transit de Sacrario in Sepulchrum per aditum secretiorem, a duobus prædictis senioribus Canonicis comitatus qui velum in modum gremialis ipsum deferunt, sequentibus eos duobus Thuriferariis, cum thuribulis igne tantum refertis. Quo cum perueniunt, Celebrans statim genuflectit in infimo gradu Altaris ante sanctissimum Sacramentum, cæteris post eum in plano genuflexis, vbi aliquantulum orant dum prædicti duo Diaconi, stantes ad ostium Sepulchri, cantant insimul, *Ardens est*. Quo decantato Clericulus juxta dictum Sepulchrum stans in abscondito, respondet eodem tono, *Quem quaeritis*. Tum duo supradicti Diaconi, iterum cantant *Iesum Nazarenum*; ad quos idem Clericulus dicit vt supra cantando, *Non est hic*. Mox Præcentores incipiunt, *Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluya*. Deinde sequitur immediate Prosa *Victimæ Paschali laudes*, quam prædicti Præcentores similiter incipiunt. Tunc Celebrans surgit, curatque incensum imponi in thuribulum; deinde genuflexus ad oram suppedanei, triplici ductu incensat sanctissimum Sacramentum cum debitis inclinationibus; & reddito thuribulo, accedit ad Altare, vbi iterata genuflexione sumit reuerenter sanctissimum Sacramentum, ambabus manibus tenens ante faciem eleuatam.

Sumpto vt supra sanctissimo Sacramento, Celebrans descendit in planum Sepulchri, & inde incipit procedere pallio feu baldachino protectus, præcedentibus eum prædictis duobus senioribus Canonicis prædictum velum hinc & inde ferentibus. Mox duo Thuriferarij cum thuribulis igne & incenso refertis, recessim incedentes, incensant continuo sanctissimum Sacramentum, ac eodem tempore incedunt omnes de Clero nudo capite, æquali passu, parem inter se mutuo seruantes distantiam, cauentes præcipue ne vltimi, plus justo distent a sanctissimo Sacramento. Proceditur autem circumcirca ecclesiam a prædicto loco Sepulchri vsque ad maiorem porticum versus Occidentem, & ab eo per mediam nauim, in qua sistit processio per modum stationis ante Crucifixum, vbi Præcentores incipiunt responsorium *Christus resurgens*; cuius versum cantant duo prædicti Diaconi pluuiialibus induti, cum quibus omnes de Choro genuflectunt sanctissimo Sacramento ad ipsum conuersi, ad hæc verba, aut *Resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes*.

Sub finem prædictæ stationis, dum repetitur a choro pars prædicti Responsorij, processio intrat Chorum, vbi omnes a subselliis iterum genuflexione adorant sanctissimum Sacramentum eo tempore quo transit per medium Chori. Et cum Celebrans ascendit gradus Altaris, sistunt qui baldachinum seu pallium deferunt, et statim illud a medio collocant a latere juxta Pastophorium a sinistra parte Presbyterij, donec officio completo remoueat per custodem sacrarij. Thuriferarij vero peruenientes ad infimum gradum Altaris, secedunt paululum ab utraque parte, viam præbentes Celebranti, qua per medium eorum transire possit, et tunc cessant a thurificatione, ac ibidem in plano genuflexi, cum prædictis duobus senioribus canonicis in infimo gradu altaris genuflectentibus, sanctissimum Sacramentum adorant. Celebrans interim ascendit ad altare, vbi stans conuertit se statim ad Chorum sanctissimum Sacramentum tenens,



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the editorship of Alberto Castellani.⁹⁵ The *Depositio* from this book takes the following form:

<DEPOSITIO HOSTIÆ>⁹⁶

DE PROCESSIONES IN FERIA VI IN PARASCEUE AD
PONENDUM CORPUS Domini in SEPULCHRO.

FERIA VI IN PARASCEUE POST OFFICIUM MISSE, VEL ETIAM POST PRANDIUM, ORDINATUR SOLENNIS SED LUGUBRIS PROCESSIO. PARATUR ENÍM SACERDOS OMNIBUS PARAMENTIS ET PLUUIALI DESUPER CUM DIACONO ET SUBDIACONO CUM DALMATICIS NIGRI COLORIS. PARANTUR ETIAM QUATUOR SACERDOTES, VEL DUO AD MINUS, INDUTI CAMISIIS NIGRIS CUM AMICTU ET CINGULO EIUSDEM COLORIS; SI HABERI POSSUNT ALIOS, IN ALBIS PARANTUR ETIAM DUO ALII SACERDOTES, VEL UNUS TANTUM UBI PAUCI FUERINT SACERDOTES, CUM AMICTU, ALBA, CINGULO, MANIPULO, ET STOLLA ET DUO THURIFERARII IN ALBIS. PREPARETUR ETIAM FERETRUM A QUATUOR PORTANDUM CUM SUPERIORI COOPERTURA IN MODUM SEMICIRCULI, ET COOPERIATUR ALIQUO PANNIO NIGRO DE SERICO, SI HABERI POTERIT, IN QUO SACRAMENTUM DEPORTETUR. PARANTUR ETIAM LUMINARIA: SCILICET INTORTITIA ET CEREI AD <FOL. 263^v> ILLUMINANDUM CORPUS CHRISTI. ET CONGREGATO POPULO, SACERDOS ACCIPIT REUERENTER SACRAMENTUM DE ALTARI ET TENENS ILLUD IN MANIBUS VERSUS AD POPULUM, OMNIBUS ALIIS GENUFLEXIS, IPSE STANS INCIPIT *responsorium*: Plange, CETERIS PROSEQUENTIBUS:

Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea; ululate, pastores, in cinere et cilicio; quia venit dies Domini magna et amara valde. DUO CLERICI CANTENT VERSUM:⁹⁷ Accingite vos, sacerdotes, et plangite; ministri altaris aspergite vos cinere. Quia.⁹⁸

COMPLETO *responsorio* CUM VERSU ET REPLICA, DUO SACERDOTES APPARATI CUM STOLLIS VT SUPRA STANTES ANTE SACRAMENTUM VERSIS VULTIBUS AD POPULUM CANTENT VERSUM: Popule me <us>, OMNIBUS ALIIS PRETER EUM QUI FACIT OFFICIUM GE <FOL. 264^r> NUFLEXIS ET VERSIS VULTIBUS AD SACRAMENTUM:

⁹⁵ *Liber Sacerdotalis nuperrime ex libris Sancte Romane Ecclesie et quarundem aliarum ecclesiarum et ex antiquis codicibus . . . collectus*, Venetiis, 1523. Concerning the several editions of this work and its liturgical history see R. Dörner, *Die Auferstehungsfeier am Charsamstag nach dem Sacerdotale Romanum*, in *Caecilien-Kalender*, Jahrgang X (1885), pp. 27–36. From an edition not precisely indicated, Dörner (pp. 32–35) reprints the *Elevatio-Visitatio*. He provides also (p. 32) a brief description of the *Depositio*. I reprint both texts from the edition of 1523. It should be observed that Castellani compiled this book from the uses of other localities than Rome, and that no edition of the work received complete papal approval (See Dörner, pp. 29–30). The texts here reprinted were communicated to me by my friend Dom G. M. Beyssac, of Quarr Abbey.

⁹⁶ *Liber Sacerdotalis*, 1523, fol. 263^r–269^v.

⁹⁷ *versum*] printed twice.

⁹⁸ Third responsory in Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

Popule meus, quid feci tibi, aut in quo contristavi te? responde mihi, quia eduxi te de terra Egypti, parasti crucem saluatori tuo.

DICTO VERSU PREDICTO, CHORUS GENUFLEXUS VT SUPRA CANTET:

Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et immortalis, miserere nobis.

HOC DICTO, SACERDOS PONAT CORPUS *Domini* REUERENTER IN FERETRO QUOD PORTABUNT *quatuor* SACERDOTES PREDICTI, VEL DUO VBI PAUCITAS SACERDOTUM EST, IN ALBIS PARATI, CAPITIBUS AMICTO COOPERTIS, ET INCEPTO *responsorio*: Recessit pa<stor>, PROCEDIT PROCESSIO ISTO ORDINE: PRIMO ACOLITI CUM CEREIS ACCENSIS ET CRUCE; POSTEA CLERICI, IUNIORIBUS *responsorio*; VLTIMO DUO SACERDOTES PARATI QUI CANTAUERUNT: Popule meus. POST IPSOS SEQUITUR FERETRUM CUM CORPORE *Domini* PORTATUM A QUATUOR VEL DUOBUS, VT SUPRA; ET SUPER SACRAMENTUM BALDACHINUM NIGRUM PORTETUR AB ALIQUIBUS PERSONIS MAGIS DIGNIS. EX LATERE SINT DUO ACOLITI CUM TURRIBULIS, QUI CONTINUO SACRAMENTUM INCENSABUNT CIRCUM; CIRCA SINT LUMINARIA ET INTORTITIA. POST FERETRUM SEQUITUR SACERDOS CUM PLUUIALI ET <FOL. 264^v> DYACONUS ET SUBDIACONUS; ET VLTIMO SEculares, MAIORIBUS PRECEDENTIBUS. PROCESSIONE ISTO MODO ORDINATA PROCEDUNT CUM DEUOTIONE QUOUSQUE DICTA FUERIT REPLICA POST *versum Responsorii*, QUEM *versum* DICENT DUO CLERICI, ET IDEM SERUETUR IN ALIIS *responsoriis* SEQUENTIBUS. *responsorium*:

Recessit pastor noster, fons aque viue ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est; nam et ille captus est qui captiuum tenebat primum hominem. Hodie portas mortis et seras pariter saluator noster dirupit. *Versus*: Destruxit quidem claustra inferni et subuertit po<fol. 265^r>tentias dyaboli. Nam et.⁹⁹

FINITA REPLICA POST *versum*, FIRMETUR PROCESSIO, ET OMNES FLECTANT GENUA, EXCEPTIS ILLIS QUI PORTANT FERETRUM ET DUOBUS SACERDOTIBUS QUI CANTAUERUNT Popule meus, QUI STANTES VERSIS VULTIBUS¹⁰⁰ AD POPULUM OMNIBUS ALIIS GENUFLEXIS HA<BEN>TIBUS VULTOS SUOS AD FERETRUM CONVERSOS CANTENT *versum*: Quia eduxi; ET HOC QUIDEM SERUETUR IN *omnibus* SEQUENTIBUS STATIONIBUS. *Versus*:

Quia eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annis et manna cibavi te, et introduxi in terram satis optimam, parasti crucem saluatori tuo.

CHORUS:

Sanctus Deus, VT SUPRA.

QUO DICTO, SURGANT OMNES ET INCIPIATUR *responsorium*: Ecce uidimus, ET PROCEDATUR AD SECUNDAM STATIONEM CANTANDO *responsorium* TOTUM USQUE IN PINEM CUM *versu* ET REPLICA. RESPONSORIUM:

Ecce vidimus eum non habentem speciem neque decorem; aspectus <fol. 265^v> eius in eo non est; hic peccata nostra portauit, et pro nobis dolens; ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras, cuius liuore sanati sumus. *Versus*: Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros ipse portauit. Cuius.

⁹⁹ Fourth responsory in Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

¹⁰⁰ vultibus] vultibus (Print).

OMNIBUS GENUFLEXIS DUO SACERDOTES STANTES VT PRIUS¹⁰¹ DICANT VERSUM:

Quid vltra debui facere tibi, et non feci? Ego quidem plantaui te vineam meam spe <fol. 266^r> ciosissimam; et tu facta es mihi nimis amara; aceto namque sitim meam potasti. et lancea perforasti latus saluatori tuo.

CHORUS:

Sanctus Deus, TOTUM DICITUR VT SUPRA.

SURGENTIBUS OMNIBUS INCIPIATUR *responsorium*: Hierusalem, ET PROCEDATUR AD TERTIAM STATIONEM VT SUPRA.

Responsorium:

Hierusalem luge et exue te vestibus iocunditatis induere cinere et cilicio; quia in te occisus saluator Israel. *Versus*: Deduc quasi torrentem lachrymas per diem, et nocte non taceat pupilla oculi tui.

Quia in.¹⁰²

OMNIBUS UT PRIUS GENUFLEXIS, DUO SACERDOTES STANTES DICANT *versum*:

Ego propter te flagellavi Egyptum cum omnibus primogenitis suis; et tu me flagellatum ad crucifigendum cum latronibus tradidisti.

CHORUS:

Sanctus Deus, VT SUPRA.

QUO DICTO OMNES SURGANT ET INCIPIATUR *responsorium*; Calligauerunt, ET PROCEDAT PROCESSIO AD QUARTAM STATIONEM QUE FIAT CIRCA INGRESSUM ECCLESIE REDEUNDO ANTE SEPULCHRUM. *RESPONSORIUM*:

Calligauerunt oculi mei a fletu meo, quia elongatus est a <fol. 267^r> me qui consolabatur me. Videte, omnes populi, si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus. *Versus*: O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte. Si est.¹⁰³

OMNIBUS VT PRIUS GENUFLEXIS DUO SACERDOTES PREDICTI STANTES CANTENT *versum* VT SUPRA:

Ego dedi tibi sceptrum regale, et tu meo capiti coronam spineam; ego te exaltaui magna virtute, et tu me suspendisti in patibulo crucis.

FINITO VERSU CHORUS CANTET:

Sanctus, TOTUM VT SUPRA: Sanctus Deus.

DICTO Miserere nobis, SACERDOS CUM REUERENTIA ACCIPIAT CORPUS *Domini* DE FERETRO ET ILLUD IN MANIBUS ELEUATUM TENEAT CONUERSUS AD POPULUM ET VERSIS RENIBUS <fol. 267^v> AD SEPULCHRUM. TUNC DUO CLERICI GENUFLEXI CANTENT VERSUM: Cum autem venissent, ET RELIQUOS INFRA NOTATOS:

Versus: Cum autem venissent ad locum ubi crucifigendus erat filius meus, statuerunt eum in medio omnis populi, et vestibus expoliatis, nudum dimiserunt corpus sanctissimum.

Versus: O dulcissime filie Syon, o dulcissime, videte dolorem meum. Inspicite nudum in medio omnis populi filium meum dulcissimum; vulneratus est in medio eorum.

¹⁰¹ prius] primus (Print).

¹⁰² Second responsory in Matins of Holy Saturday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 768.

¹⁰³ Responsory in Matins of Good Friday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 767.



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FO. 258. VEL IPSA IMPROPERIA CANTANTUR IN SEXTO TONO PSALMORUM. ET CUM IN DICTA PROCESSIONE FIERI DEBET ALIQUA STATIO SEU MANSIO, OMNES GENUFLECTANT ET ILLI DUO CANTENT *antiphonam Venite et*, VT SUPRA. QUA DICTA SURGANT OMNES ET SEQUANTUR PROCESSIONEM CANTANDO *versum Popule*, ET IMPROPERIA, VT SUPRA. CUM AUTEM PERUENERINT AD SEPULCHRUM FACIANT OMNIA VT SUPRA IN PRECEDENTI PROCESSIONE. <fol. 269^v>

Venite et ploremus ante Dominum, qui passus est pro nobis dicens.¹⁰⁴

According to this *ordo* the *Depositio* is performed either after the *Missa Præsanctificationum* or later, after dinner. The procession is made especially impressive through the use of a bier (*feretrum*) and a canopy (*baldachinum*). The ceremonial begins with the priest's taking the *Host* reverently from the altar at the singing of the responsory *Plange quasi virgo*. At the conclusion of the responsory two priests begin the *Improperia* (*Popule meus*),¹⁰⁵ to which the choir responds (*Sanctus Deus*). The priest places the *Host* on the bier, over which a canopy is held, and beside which are carried thuribles and lights. The procession to the *sepulchrum* is made in four stages, each stage having its processional responsory. At each station the two priests already mentioned sing a verse of the *Improperia*, to which the choir makes a response. The fourth station occurs before the *sepulchrum*, where, after a final verse of the *Improperia*, followed by the *Miserere*, the priest takes the *Host* from the bier and holds it aloft before the congregation while two clerics kneeling sing a series of *versus*. The priest now blesses the congregation with the *Host* and reverently places it in the *sepulchrum*. During the singing of the responsory *Sepulto Domino* he closes the *sepulchrum* and seals it. The office closes with a versicle, a response, and a prayer.

More significant than the splendor of this procession is the use of the *Improperia*, borrowed directly from the traditional *Adoratio Crucis* of the *Missa Præsanctificationum*. The presence of this liturgical element is definitive proof of the influence of the *Adoratio* upon the *Depositio*.¹⁰⁶ Particularly noteworthy also is the use of the *feretrum* for bearing the *Corpus Christi* to

¹⁰⁴ The last word is written twice, with varying musical notation. It will be observed that this antiphon (*Venite et . . . dicens*) is referred to above, on fol. 269^r of the print. The last word *dicens* is followed immediately by a rubric beginning: *Sabbato Sancto*.

¹⁰⁵ See above, pp. 20–29.

¹⁰⁶ See above, pp. 20–29.

the *sepulchrum*. It will be observed, however, that with all its careful construction and elaboration, this dramatic office contains no impersonation, and hence stops short of true drama.

No less striking in its content is the combined *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* from the same compilation of Castellani:

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRI>¹⁰⁷

DE PROCESSIONE IN NOCTE PASCHE ANTE MATUTI<NUM>

AD SEPULCHRUM *Christi*.

DIE *sancto* RESURRECTIONIS CUM FUERIT PULSATUM AD MATUTI<NUM>, ANTEQUAM POPULUS INTRET ECCLESIAM, SACERDOS CUM CRUCE ET THURIBULO APPARATUS SUPERPELLICEO, STOLLA, ET PLUUIALI, PRECEDENTIBUS CEREIS ACCENSIS ET SEQUENTE TOTO CLERO CUM REUERENTIA, APERTO SEPULCHRO ACCIPIAT CORPUS DOMINI ET PORTET ILLUD IN LOCO SACRARIUM UBI SACROSANCTUM SACRAMENTUM SERUARI CONSUEUIT. ET INTERIM CHORUS CANTET SEQUENTES *psalmos* VEL ALIQUEM EORUM:

Psalmus: Domine, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me. . . . et super populum tuum benedictio tua. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.¹⁰⁸

Psalmus: Domine, probasti me et cognouisti me. Supra fo. 160.

Psalmus: Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei, quoniam in te confidit anima mea. .<fol. 275^v>. . et super omnem terram gloria tua. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.¹⁰⁹

FINITIS PSALMIS, SACERDOS, PRECEDENTIBUS CEREIS ET THURIBULO, CORPUS DOMINI PORTET AD SANCTUARIUM SUUM, SEQUENTE CLERO ET CANTANTE *Responsorium* Surrexit pastor; SEPULCHRUM PATENTER DIMITTATUR APERTUM. *Responsorium*:

Surrexit pastor bonus qui animam suam postuit pro ouibus suis, et pro suo grege mori dignatus est, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia. *Versus*: Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno.<fol. 276^r> Et pro suo grege.¹¹⁰

TUNC SACERDOS FACIENS OFFICIUM STANS CUM SACERDOTIBUS IN CHORO DICIT *versum*:

Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia.

Responsio:

Et apparuit Simoni, alleluia.

Oremus.

¹⁰⁷ *Liber Sacerdotalis*, 1523, fol. 275^r–278^v.

¹⁰⁸ Ps. iii. I omit the body of the psalm, giving only the beginning and ending.

¹⁰⁹ Ps. lvi. I omit the body of this psalm.

¹¹⁰ Responsory for Matins of Thursday in Easter Week. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 773.

ORATIO:

Omnipotens semipiterne Deus, qui hac sacratissima nocte cum potentia tue maiestatis resurgens portas inferni confregisti, et omnibus ibi detentis dexteram tue misericordie porrexisti, scilicet miserando diucius penis estuantis Gehenne cruciatis quos dudum ad ymaginem tuam creasti, quesumus nos indigni et vltima pars creature tue vt per gratiam tue miserationis ac per sancte resurrectionis tue amorem necnon omnium sanctarum animarum quas hac sacratissima nocte de penis inferni ad celestia regna perduxisti, simulque per omne mysterium quod in resurrectione tua celebrasti, nobis indignis ac fragilibus omnium peccatorum nostrorum indulgentiam largiri digneris atque iram et furorem et indignationem tue vindicte a nobis repellas, et auxilium, consolationem, ac protectionem in omnibus peccatis, periculis, ac infirmitatibus animarum et corporum nobis concedas; et sicut corpus tue humanitatis, quod ad tempus pro nostra salute exuisti post triduum tue maiestatis potentia resuscitasti, ita corpora et corda nostra ab omnibus vicijs emundari et animas nostras in futura resurrectione beatorum spirituum cetibus facias aggregari. Qui cum patre et cetera.

In memoriam et laudem gloriose resurrectionis tue hymnum dicat tibi omnis creatura tua, Domine; et nos quamuis peccatores et dilinquentes hymnum dicimus et gratias agimus, venerandamque crucem tuam adoramus sanctamque resurrectionem tuam laudamus et glorificamus, quoniam per te redempti sumus; ideoque crucifixum Dominum laudamus, et sepultum propter nos magnificamus, resurgentemque a mortuis adoramus et petimus vt per te et sanctam resurrectionem tuam nos a morte animarum nostrarum resuscitare digneris. Qui cum patre.

Oratio:

Domine Iesu Christe, propter hoc gaudium quod tu cum sanctissima anima tua et corpore in tua sancta resurrectione <fol. 276^v> voluisti habere cum omnibus fidelibus tuis iustis et peccatoribus viuentibus et mortuis miserere nobis, sicut vis et scis necessitates animarum et corporum; et da nobis spacium penitentie, et veram compunctionem, emendationem, omnium peccatorum nostrorum; et presta nobis, Iesu Christe, vt precium corporis et sanguinis tui cum quo nos in sancta cruce redemisti, percipiamus ad salutem animarum nostrarum in nouissima hora, et quod spiritalem unctionem spiritalis olei et salutaris cum omni affectu cordium et corporum percipiamus. Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto viuis ac regnas in vnitae, et cetera.

ORATIONIBUS FINITIS SACERDOS CORPUS DOMINI REUERENTER THURIFICET.

DUM PREDICTE ORATIONES DICUNTUR DUO DIACONI PARENTUR CUM DALMATICIS ALBIS ET IN ECCLESIA REMANEANT. SACERDOS AUTEM PARATUS VT SUPRA CUM TOTO CLERO EXEAT PER PORTAM ECCLESIE MINOREM, MAIORI PORTA CLAUSA RELICTA, ET VENIANT AD PORTAM MAIOREM ECCLESIE CANTANDO *responsorium*: Dum transisset sabbatum; ET CUM ILLUC PERUENERINT, SACERDOS ACCEDIT AD PORTAM CLAUSAM; CLERUS CIRCUMSTAT EUM. *RESPONSORIUM*:

Dum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalene, Maria Iacobi, et Salome emerunt aromata, ut venientes vngerent Iesum, alleluia, al<fol. 277^r>



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ET ILLE RESPONDEAT:

Deo gratias.

DEINDE OMNES SIBI MUTUO DENT PACEM DICENTES:

Surrexit Dominus.

ET ILLE CUI PAX DATUR RESPONDEAT:

Deo gratias.

POSTMODUM VADANT OMNES AD ALTARE BEATE VIRGINIS PROCESSIONALITER, ET CORAM ALTARI GENUFLEXI SACERDOTE INCIPIENTE *antiphonam* Regina celi, EAM TOTAM CANTENT PRO GAUDIO RESURRECTIONIS FILII SUI DOMINI NOSTRI.

ANTIPHONA:

Regina celi letare, alleluia,

Quia quem meruisti portare, alleluia,

Resurrexit sicut dixit, alleluia.

Ora pro nobis Deum, alleluia. <fol. 278^v>

Versus:

Ora pro nobis, Sancta Dei Genitrix, alleluia.

Responsio:

Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi, alleluia.

Oremus:

ORATIO:

Deus, qui per unigeniti filii tui Domini *Nostri* Iesu Christi resurrectionem familiam tuam letificare dignatus es, presta, quesumus, vt per eius venerabilem genitricem virginem Mariam perpetue capiamus gaudia vite. Per eundem Christum.

Oremus:

ORATIO:

Gratiam tuam, quesumus, Domine, mentibus nostris infunde, vt qui angelo nunciante Christi filii tui incarnationem cognouimus, per passionem eius et crucem ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum.

HIS FINITIS REUERTANTUR AD CHORUM ET CANTENT MATUTINAS.

This dramatic office occurs before Easter Matins, and the raising of the *Host* is accomplished before the arrival of the laymen.¹¹¹ During the singing of psalms by the choir, the priest opens the *sepulchrum* and takes up the *Corpus Domini*. Then while the choir sings the responsory *Surrexit pastor*, the priest carries the *Host* to the sacristy, where after a versicle, response, and prayer, it is given its final censing.

The clergy now proceed to a ceremony inspired by the theme of the *Harrowing of Hell*. While two deacons remain within the church, the priest and other clerics pass in procession to a position outside the closed central door, the processional

¹¹¹ One should note, however, the presence of the *populus* during the later parts of the office.

responsory being *Dum transisset*. The priest, or a *plebanus*, now strikes the door with his hand, or with a cross, saying *Attollite portas*. This is done three times. After each of the first two strikings follows an interval of silence. To the third challenge the two deacons within the church respond with the interrogation *Quem quæritis?* Now follows the usual dialogue of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, at the conclusion of which the door of the church is opened. At the invitation of the two deacons (*Venite et videte*) the *plebanus* peers through the window of the *sepulchrum*, and then turning to the choir utters the *Surrexit Christus*, the choir responding *Deo gratias*. After this versicle and response have been repeated twice, and after the Kiss of Peace has been given, the whole congregation moves from the *sepulchrum* to the altar of the Blessed Virgin, where the office closes with an antiphon, a versicle and response, and prayers.

It may fairly be said that this version consists of three distinct parts: (1) the *Elevatio*, (2) a representation of the *Descensus ad inferos*, and (3) a *Visitatio Sepulchri*. These parts, however, do not occupy positions equally independent. Whereas the *Elevatio* may be said to stand by itself, the other two divisions are amalgamated in a somewhat conspicuous manner, and this amalgamation cannot be considered completely successful. Although the action of this part of the office is smooth, the incongruity of the themes is not surmounted. The *Quem quæritis* dialogue, implying the visit of the Maries to the empty tomb, is inappropriately used in a representation of the yielding of the gates of *Hell*.

Although in describing this ceremony I have used the word "representation," it should be observed that since the text presents no evidence of impersonation, we are dealing, once more, not with a true play, but with a dramatic office.

Finally one other detail in the version before us calls for comment: the *Pax*, or Kiss of Peace. It may be that this part of the ceremonial shows the influence of a certain practice prescribed as a prelude to Easter Matins by some of the oldest of the *Ordines Romani*. Thus in the *Ordo* of St. Amand, representing the liturgy of about the year 800, we read the following:¹¹²

¹¹² Duchesne, p. 471, from a manuscript of the ninth century.

In ipsa nocte sancta Resurrectionis, post gallorum cantu surgendum est. Et dum venerint ad ecclesiam et oraverint, osculant se invicem cum silentio. Deinde dicit *Deus in adjutorium meum*.¹¹³

In this case the celebration is very simple, consisting merely in the saying of prayers and in the Kiss of Peace. A similar observance is seen in the following from *Ordo Romanus I*:

In ipsa nocte post gallorum cantum, matutino irrumpente luce tenebras, surgentes in ecclesia veniunt, & mutua caritate se invicem osculantes dicunt: *Deus in adjutorium meum*.¹¹⁴

The same tradition is found outside Rome in such a passage as the following:¹¹⁵

In crastino summo diluculo ueniunt studiose omnes in ecclesiam & mutua pace inuicem se osculantes dicunt:

Surrexit Xpistuc.

Responsio:

Gaudeamus omnes.

Deinde:

Domine labia mea.¹¹⁶

It will be observed, however, that none of the observances just cited is explicitly associated with the *sepulchrum*. Such association is seen in the following:¹¹⁷

Dum classis pro officio nocturno pulsatur, duæ candelæ in Sepulcro ponantur, & ceroferarii mittantur ad Archiepiscopum, qui veniens indutus cappa serica alba ante Sepulcrum dicat:

Confiteor, &c.

Deinde intrans, facta oratione, Sepulcrum osculatur & altaria. Inde vero exiens Decanum osculetur. Postea intrans in chorum, ceroferariis præcedentibus, & stans inter Cantores in medio choro dicat:

Resurrexit Dominus,

& cantor respondeat:

Et apparuit Petro,

¹¹³ With the words *Deus in adjutorium meum* Matins begins.

¹¹⁴ Mabillon, II, 28. More extensive Roman ceremonials for early Easter morning, including the *Pax*, have been introduced above, pp. 27-29.

¹¹⁵ Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, Graduale Ratisbonense saec. xi, fol. 1^r. This manuscript of seventy-one folios has no shelf-mark in the Udine library. For the text now published I am indebted to my friend Dom G. M. Beyssac, of Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight. To Dom Beyssac I am deeply grateful for many generous services in connection with the present study.

¹¹⁶ With these words begins Easter Matins.

¹¹⁷ Martène, p. 503, from an *Ordinarium Viennense*, of uncertain date.



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ACCENSOS PORTANTES. POSTEA QUATUOR CLERICI DALMATICIS NIGRIS INDUTI, THURIBULUM & NAVICELLAS CUM INCENSO DEFERENTES. DEINDE QUATUOR CANONICI CUM DALMATICIS VELLUTI NIGRI, FERETRUM CUM SANCTISSIMO CHRISTI CORPORE DEFERENTES. POSTMODUM DUO ALII JUVENES PRESBYTERI CAMISIIS NIGRIS & STOLIS VIOLACEIS PECTORI TRANSVERSATIS INDUTI, CEREOS MAJORES ACCENSOS PORTANTES. ET CUM SANCTISSIMUM CHRISTI CORPUS EST SUPER SACRARIUM PORTAM, OMNIBUS FLECTENTIBUS GENUA, CANTORES CANUNT *versum*:

Venite, & ploremus ante Dominum, qui passus est pro nobis, dicens:

QUO DECANTATO OMNES SURGUNT, & CANTORUM TURBA AD OMNES PAUSAS RESPONDET *versum*:

Popule meus, quid feci tibi? aut in quo contristavi te? responde mihi.

Versus:

Quia eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annis, & manna cibavi te, & introduxi te in terram optimam.

Versus:

Aceto namque¹²¹ sitim meam potasti, & lancea perforasti latus Salvatori tuo. <p. 279>

POSTEA EXIT E SACRARIO REVERENDUS VICARIUS, SEU QUI FACIT OFFICIUM, CUM PLUVIALI & STOLA VELLUTI NIGRI. HUNC SEQUUNTUR ALII DECEM SCHOLASTICI SCHOLÆ SANCTI MARCI. DEINDE SCUTIFERI & SECRETARII CEREOLOS, QUOS APUD PORTAM CHORI IN CAPSELLIS PRÆPARATOS, & ACCENSOS AD HOC INVENERINT, DEFERENTES. POSTREMO SEQUITUR SERENISSIMUS PRINCEPS CUM ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINIO. ET CUM PERVENERIT SUBTER PORTICUM PALATII CLERUS ORDINATE A QUINQUE SCHOLARUM PRÆDICTARUM SCHOLASTICIS, PARTIM A DEXTRIS & PARTIM A SINISTRIS COMITETUR. SIT AUTEM SUBTER PALATII PORTICUM UMBELLA NIGRA PRÆPARATA CUM SEX SUBCANONICIS PLUVIALIBUS SAMITI NIGRI INDUTIS, & IPSAM UMBELLAM DELATURIS. CUM PERVENERIT IGITUR SANCTISSIMI CORPORIS CHRISTI FERETRUM, IPSUM SUBTER UMBELLAM MAGNA CUM REVERENTIA RECIPIATUR, & SIC AD SANCTAM PROCESSIONEM DEVOTE PROCEDATUR, STANTIBUS SEMPER APUD DUAS ULTIMAS HASTAS UMBELLÆ DUOBUS EX HONORABILIBUS SCHOLASTICIS SCHOLÆ SANCTI MARCI. POST FERETRUM SEQUITUR REVERENDUS VICARIUS, DEINDE SCUTIFERI, SECRETARII, <p. 280> MAGNUS CANCELLARIUS, & SERENISSIMUS PRINCEPS CUM ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINIO. CUMQUE FIT PRIMA PAUSA AD PETRAM BANNI, OMNES FLECTANT GENUA, & CANTORES CANENT *versum*:

Venite, & ploremus,

UT SUPRA. QUO DECANTATO, OMNES SURGUNT. ET CANTORUM TURBA RESPONDENTE *versum*:

Popule meus,

UT SUPRA, TALIS ORDO PER TOTAM PROCESSIONEM SERVARI DEBEAT. SECUNDA PAUSA FIT PER MEDIAM PORTAM ECCLESIE SANCTI MARCI, OMNIBUS GENUA FLECTENTIBUS &, UT SUPRA, CANENDO. TERTIA PAUSA FIT PER MEDIAM PORTAM SANCTI BASSI, SIMILITER FLECTENDO GENUA & CANENDO, UT SUPRA. CUM AUTEM OMNES SCHOLÆ IN TEMPLUM PERVENERINT, FACIANT CHORUM, PRIMA APUD PORTAM MAJOREM ECCLESIE, CAETERISQUE TALITER SE DISONENTIBUS, UT ULTIMA SIT APUD SANCTISSIMUM CHRISTI SEPULCHRUM COLLOCATA. RESTITUTISQUE AB

¹²¹ namque] nanque (Print).

OMNIBUS AD PORTAM MAJOREM ECCLESIAE CEREOLIS, SCUTIFERI & SECRETARII ASCENDUNT CHORUM PER PORTAM QUÆ DUCIT APUD SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS SEDEM. SED CLERUS TOTUS VADIT CONTRA SANCTISSIMUM CHRISTI SEPULCHRUM. AD QUOD CUM SANCTIS<P. 281>SIMUM CHRISTI CORPUS PERVENERIT, SERENISSIMUS PRINCEPS CUM ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINIO SISTIT SE. REVERENDUSQUE¹²² VICARIUS CUM TABERNACULO IN MANIBUS STAT SUPER SEPULCHRI ARAM, & OMNIBUS GENUA DEVOTE FLECTENTIBUS, CANTORES CANUNT *versum*:

Cum autem venisset ad locum ubi crucifigendus erat filius meus, statuerunt eum in medio omnis populi, & vestibus expoliatis, nudum dimiserunt corpus sanctissimum.

QUO DECANTATO, DICTUS REVERENDUS VICARIUS CUM TABERNACULO, MORE SOLITO DAT SUAM SANCTAM BENEDICTIONEM. DEINDE REVERENTER DEPOSITO SANCTISSIMO CHRISTI CORPORE IN SEPULCHRO, MAGNUS CANCELLARIUS RECEPTO PRIUS A SERENISSIMO PRINCIPE ANNULO, IPSUM DEFERT DICTO REVERENDO VICARIO, QUI IPSIUS SEPULCHRI OSTIUM SIGILLAT; QUO SIGILLATO CANTORES CANUNT *versum*:

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum ad ostium monumenti: ponentes milites qui custodirent illud, ne forte veniant discipuli & furentur eum, & dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis.<p. 282>

DEINDE OMNES SURGUNT, & SERENISSIMUS PRINCEPS CUM ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINIO CHORUM ASCENDIT. SCHOLASTICI QUOQUE REDEUNT IN CANONICAM AD EXTINGUENDA & RESTITUENDA INTORTITIA. CLERUS VERO REMANET ANTE SEPULCHRUM, & DICITUR COMPLETORIUM LEGENDO, UT SUPRA, CUM RELIQUIS. ET IN FINE ORATIO:

Respice, quæsumus, Domine, fol. 175.

QUO FINITO OMNES REDEUNT IN CHORUM, & INCHOATUR MATUTINUM.

This office is performed *post prandium*, immediately before Compline. The most conspicuous part of the ceremonial is the elaborate procession into the church, and of this procession the most notable aspect is the use of the *Impropria* at the beginning and at three subsequent stations. Since the significance of this use of the *Impropria* has already been commented upon,¹²³ we need not emphasize it here. The actual placing of the Host in the *sepulchrum* is accomplished very simply, and the concluding *Sepulto Domino* allies the present version of the *Depositio* with the normal type.

The other ceremonials connected with the *sepulchrum* take the following form:

¹²² Reverendusque] Reverendisque (Print).

¹²³ See above, p. 69.

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ ET VISITATIO SEPULCHRUM I>¹²⁴

DOMINICA RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI.

SUMMO MANE, APERTO PRIUS A SACRISTA SEPULCHRO & SANCTISSIMO SACRAMENTO IN SUO LOCO DEBITA REVERENTIA COLLOCATO, CLERUS NOSTER HORA COMPETENTI IN SACRARIUM HODIE CONVENIAT, AC UNUSQUISQUE MAGISTRI CÆREMONIARUM CURA SUO FUNGATUR OFFICIO. ET PALLA IN PRIMIS APERTA, AC THESAURO SUPER ALTARE BENE DISPOSITO, QUATUOR ACOLYTI ORDINARII CAMISIS MUNDIS INDUTI, CEREOS ARGENTEOS DEFERENTES, E SACRARIO MODERATE DISCEDUNT. CRUCIFERI AUTEM DALAMTICIS ALBIS DAMASCENIS NOVIS SUPRA LINEAS TUNICAS INDUTI, IN MEDIO EORUM MAGNAM CRUCEM ARGENTEAM DEFERUNT. HOS SEQUITUR CLERICORUM & SACERDOTUM TURBA JUNIORUM. POSTEA SUBCANONICI & CANONICI GRADATIM SOLEMNIBUS PLUVIALIBUS INDUTI. DEINDE REVERENDUS VICARIUS VEL SENIOR CANONICUS PRE<P. 346>TIOSIORIBUS CUM MINISTRIS INDUTUS MISSALIBUS PARAMENTIS, CUM TRIBUS CANDELIS ACCENSIS SERENISS. PRINCIPI, PROCURATORI, & CELEBRANTI DISTRIBUTIBUS. POSTREMO SEQUITUR CÆREMONIARUM MAGISTER UNA CUM TRIBUS CLERICIS, QUORUM ALTER DEFERAT LIBRUM ORDINARIUM, ALTER ORATIONALE PRO DECENDA PRIMA OPPORTUNO TEMPORE AD SEPULCHRUM, TERTIUS SIT A NEGOTIIS EJUSDEM MAGISTRI. HUIUSMODI PROCESSIO EXIT PER PORTAM SANCTI CLEMENTIS & RECTA AD SCALAM MAJOREM AD SINISTRAM SUB PORTICU CONTENDIT. QUÆ FIRMATUR SUB PORTICU SUPERIORI PALATII, & FACTO CHORO EX UTRAQUE PARTE, CELEBRANS UNA CUM MINISTRIS, COMITE CÆREMONIARUM MAGISTRO, ASCENDENS SCALAM DUCALEM, OCCURRIT SERENISS. PRINCIPI E SCALA COLLEGII DESCENDENTI, UBI PRIUS FACTA DEBITA REVERENTIA, OFFERT CANDELAM ACCENSAM SUÆ SERENITATI, ALIAM PROCURATORI NOSTRÆ ECCLESIE, QUI HOC PROCESSIONIS ITINERE PRÆCEDIT, DE MORE, CÆTEROS ORATORES, & EST PROPE SERENISS. PRINCIPEM, SED IN REDITU LOCUM PETIT SUUM. TERTIAM CANDELAM CELEBRANS SIBI RETINET. QUIBUS CANDELIS OBLATIS, PRÆDICTUS CLERUS <P. 347> SUMMA MODESTIA DESCENDENS E SCALA MAJORE PALATII, EXIT PER PORTAM AUREAM, NISI PLUAT; TUNC ENIM EODEM ORDINE, QUO VENIT, FIERET INTROITUS PER PORTAM SANCTI CLEMENTIS, & IRETUR AD SEPULCHRUM PER PARVAM SCALAM SANCTI JACOBI, PRIUS AMOTIS SEDIBUS OB PRÆDICATIONEM IBIDEM PRÆPARATIS. ET CUM NOSTRA CRUX INGREDITUR PLATEAM, CAMPANÆ PULSANTUR. LICET MANE CAMPANA DUCALIS ADVENTUM PRINCIPIS INDICANS, NON PULSETUR, NEQUE A CELEBRANTE DE DOMINICA RESURRECTIONE SERENISS. PRINCEPS ADMONEATUR. CUM PERVENERIT AUTEM PROCESSIO AD ECCLESIAM, OMNES PROCEDUNT USQUE AD SECUNDAM JANUAM MAJOREM ECCLESIE, QUÆ CLAUSA EST, & OMNES ALIÆ CLAUSÆ SINT, PRÆTER DUAS PARVAS: SCILICET QUÆ TENDUNT IN CANONICAM & IN PALATIUM AD SANCTUM CLEMENTEM. ET FACTO CHORO INTER DUAS ILLAS JANUAS MAJORES SUB PORTICU ECCLESIE, QUO MELIUS PIERI POTEST, INTRAT ETIAM SUA SERENITAS EO SUB PORTICU CUM PROCURATORE & ORATORIBUS. CANONICUS CELEBRANS ACCEDIT AD JANUAM CLAUSAM & PULSAT TER CUM ANNULO ÆNEO PENDENTE EX IPSA, TRIBUS ICTIBUS PRO QUALI<P. 348>

¹²⁴ *Officium Hebdomadæ Sanctæ . . . Sancti Marci . . .*, Venice, 1736, pp. 345-349.



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only that in general sequence and in the inclusion of the *Pax* the present version is similar to that of Castellani.

In view of the analyses already made of the actual texts of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, one need offer for the present division of this study only a very brief summary. The texts range in date from the eleventh century¹²⁶ to the eighteenth, they are distributed over Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Hungary, and they show every possible degree of ceremonial elaboration. Particularly notable is the liturgical nature of their content. Although the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are extra-liturgical in the sense of being deliberate additions to the authorized liturgical system, the actual utterances provided for these offices are well-known antiphons and responsories from the official liturgy itself. Most noteworthy of all, however, is the absence of dialogue and impersonation. An approach to dialogue, to be sure, is seen in connection with the theme of the *Descensus*; but in the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* proper, dialogue does not occur. None of the texts thus far examined shows unequivocal evidence that the clerics who serve in the dramatic offices undertake to impersonate characters connected with the events commemorated. In other words, none of the versions reviewed thus far can be considered true drama.

IV

We pass now to those versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in which the center of the ceremonial is not the *Host* but the *Cross*.

Since, as we have already observed,¹ the *Depositio* forms a natural sequel for the *Adoratio Crucis*, we may expect to find that a certain number of versions of the *Depositio Crucis* attach themselves to the *Adoratio* so directly as to form with the *Adoratio* a consecutive ceremonial. This is true of the earliest extant version of the *Depositio*, that preserved in the *Concordia*

¹²⁶ I refer to the *Elevatio* from St. Gall (above, p. 30). It should be remembered, however, that a *Depositio* of the type under consideration, and probably an *Elevatio*, are referred to in the tenth-century life of St. Udalricus (See above, p. 17).

¹ See above, p. 26.

Regularis of St. Athelwold. The *Adoratio Crucis* from this document, printed in full above,² is followed immediately by this version of the *Depositio*:³

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁴

NAM QUIA EA DIE DEPOSITIONEM CORPORIS SALUATORIS NOSTRI CELEBRAMUS, USUM QUORUNDAM RELIGIOSORUM IMITABLEM AD FIDEM INDOCTI UULGI AC NEOFITORUM CORROBORANDAM EQUIPARANDO SEQUI, SI ITA CUI UISUM FUERIT UEL SIBI TALITER PLACUERIT HOC MODO DECREUIMUS. SIT AUTEM IN UNA PARTE ALTARIS, QUA UACUUM FUERIT, QUEDAM ASSIMILATIO SEPULCHRI, UELAMENQUE QUODDAM IN GYRO TENSUM QUOD DUM *Sancta* CRUX ADORATA FUERIT DEPONATUR HOC ORDINE. VENIANT DIACONI QUI PRIUS PORTAUERUNT EAM, *et* INUOLUANT EAM SINDONE IN LOCO UBI ADORATA EST. TUNC REPORTENT EAM CANENTES ANTIPHONAS:

In pace in idipsum. Habitabit,

ITEM:

Caro mea requiescet in spe,

DONEC UENIANT AD LOCUM MONUMENTI,⁵ DEPOSITAQUE CRUCE, AC SI *Domini* NOSTRI IHESU XPISTI CORPORE SEPULTO, DICANT ANTIPHONAM:

Sepulto *Domino*, signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum.

IN EODEM LOCO *Sancta* CRUX CUM OMNI REUERENTIA CUSTODIATUR USQUE DOMINICE⁶ NOCTEM RESURRECTIONIS. NOCTE UERO ORDINENTUR DUO *Fratres* AUT TRES AUT PLURES, SI TANTA FUERINT CONGREGATIO, QUI IBIDEM <FOL. 20^r> PSALMOS DECANTANDO EXCUBIAS FIDELES EXERCEANT.⁷

This text of the *Depositio* not only shows a direct attachment of this office to the *Adoratio*, but it also explains the didactic purpose of the dramatic ceremonial. The *Depositio* is

² See above, pp. 20–22.

³ The *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio* from the *Concordia Regularis* have been printed numerous times. An adequate bibliography of this monastic rule is given by Chambers, II, 306–307. I take my texts directly from Cotton MS Tiberius A. III., in the British Museum. This manuscript dates from the early eleventh century, and represents the use of Winchester in the latter part of the tenth century. I scarcely need say that I have made full use of W. S. Logemann's admirable texts from the same manuscript, in *Anglia*, XIII, 421–428. Except for my omission of the Anglo-Saxon glosses, my texts differ in no essential way from those of Logemann.

⁴ Cotton MS Tiberius A. III., fol. 19^v–20^r. In the manuscript the first word *Nam* of the present text follows immediately the last word *faciat* of the *Adoratio Crucis* printed above, pp. 20–22.

⁵ monumenti] monumento (MS).

⁶ Dominice] dominica (MS).

⁷ Followed immediately by the *ordo* for fetching the Host reserved for the *Missa Præsantificatorum*.

designed for enforcing the intention of the *Adoratio*, and for strengthening the faith of the unlearned and of the neophytes. In a vacant part of the altar is prepared a likeness of the *sepulchrum*, with a veil stretched upon a ring. The deacons who have carried the Cross for the *Adoratio* wrap it in a cloth in the place of the adoration, and carry it to the *sepulchrum* singing the antiphons *In pace in idipsum* and *Caro mea*. The deacons now deposit the Cross in the *sepulchrum* as if it were the buried body of Christ, meanwhile singing the antiphon *Sepulto Domino*. Here the Cross is guarded until the night of the Resurrection. Two, three, or more brothers are appointed to keep faithful watch at the *sepulchrum* by night, singing psalms.

Our knowledge of the *Elevatio* is confined to the following sentence:⁸

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>

EIUSDEM TEMPORE NOCTIS ANTEQUAM MATUTINORUM SIGNA MOUEANTUR, SUMANT EDITUI CRUCEM *et* PONANT IN LOCO SIBI CONGRUO.

In this brief rubric the sacristans of the church are charged with taking the Cross from the *sepulchrum* and putting it in an appropriate place,—this to be done before Matins on Easter morning.

The close relationship of the *Depositio* to the *Adoratio*, as seen in the *Concordia Regularis* of St. Athelwold, is further exemplified in the use of the cathedral of Rouen. The Rouen Gradual of the thirteenth century provides for the *Depositio* as follows:⁹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹⁰

Quando CRUX ADORATA FUERIT A CLERO *et* POPULO ELEUET EAM SACERDOS ALTE *et* INCIPIAT CANTOR HANC *Antiphonam*:

Super omnia ligna cedrorum, tu sola excelsior, in qua uita mundi pependit, in qua Xpistus triumphauit *et* mors mortem superauit in eternum.

QUO UISO CLERUS *ET* POPULUS GENUFLECTANT *ET* CHORUS FINIAT *ANTIPHONAMS* QUA CANTATA CRUX *paruula* in commemoratione sanguinis *et* aque DEFLENTI.

⁸ Cotton MS Tiberius A. III., fol. 21^r.

⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS latin 904, Graduale Rothomagense saec. xiii, fol. 92^v-93^r. A photographic reproduction of this manuscript occupies the second volume of *Le Graduel de l'Église Cathédrale de Rouen au xiii^e Siècle*, Rouen, 1907 edited by H. Loriquet, J. Pothier, and A. Collette. So far as I know, the *Depositio* from MS 904 is now printed for the first time. A bibliography of the Rouen manuscripts that contain liturgico-dramatic offices is given by the present writer in *Modern Philology*, Vol. VI (1908), pp. 224-227.

¹⁰ Bibl. Nat. MS latin 904, fol. 92^v-93^r.



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<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹⁶

QUO¹⁷ FINITO DEFERATUR CRUCIFIXUS AD SEPULCHRUM A DUOBUS PRESBYTERIS REUESTILIS QUI CANTAUERUNT Popule meus. ARCHIEPISCOPUS ET PLURES FRATRES CUM EIS CANTANTES INCIPiant Responsorium:

Sicut ovis ad occisionem. Versus: In pace factus est.

QUO COLLOCATO DICATUR Antiphona:

In pace in idipsum dor<miam>.

POSTEA ARCHIEPISCOPUS UEL SACERDOS OSTIUM SEPULCRI CLAUDAT et DUO PRESBYTERI CUM EO et HUMILI UOCE INCIPiant Responsorium:

Sepulto domino. Versus: Ne forte ueniant. Ponentes.

QUO PERACTO ARCHIEPISCOPUS UEL SACERDOS LAUET MANUS SUAS, et CUM MAGNA REUERENTIA AD SACRATORIUM PERGAT.¹⁸

In liturgical content this text is identical with that printed above from the Rouen Graduale of the thirteenth century; and it cannot be urged that the differences in the rubrics are of substantial importance.

The extant service books of Rouen do not mention the *Elevatio*. That this office was introduced early into the Rouen use, however, is clear from the *Liber de Officiis Ecclesiasticis* of Jean d'Avranches, archbishop of Rouen in the eleventh century. This writer describes the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* as follows:

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹⁹

Quo<i.e. Adoratio Crucis>peracto, Crucifixus in commemoratione sanguinis et aquæ fluentis de latere Redemptoris vino et aqua lavetur, de quo post sacram Communionem chorus bibat et populus. Post responsum *Sicut ovis ad occisionem*, cantando, ad<locum>aliquem deferant in modum Sepulcri compositum, ubi recondatur usque in diem Dominicum. Quo collocato, antiphona *In pace in idipsum*, et responsum *Sepulto Domino* cantetur.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>²⁰

Decima hora noctis pauci clerici induti veniant, et Crucifixum cum incenso et thymiamate levantes, antiphonamque *Surrexit Dominus de*

(1) Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 1213; and (2) Rouen, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 382 (olim Y. 108). On this point I happen not to have precise information at hand. For a bibliography of these manuscripts see *Modern Philology*, VI, 224.

¹⁶ Rouen MS 384 (olim Y. 110), fol. 80^r.

¹⁷ This refers to the washing of the Cross at the end of the *Adoratio*.

¹⁸ The Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum* follows immediately.

¹⁹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 51–52. Substantially the same text is found in the anonymous twelfth century treatise in Montpellier MS H. 304, fol. 36^v. In regard to this manuscript see *Modern Philology*, VI, 202–206.

²⁰ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, 53. Substantially the same text is found in Montpellier MS H. 304, fol. 37^v.

sepulcro <cantantes>, loco suo honorifice constituent. Post cunctis campanis sonantibus, januas ecclesiæ aperiant, et Matutinas incipiant.

This brief *ordo* for the *Elevatio* provides merely that before Matins on Easter morning a few clerics open the *sepulchrum*, cense the Cross, and carry it to an appropriate place, singing the antiphon *Surrexit Dominus*.

The absence of the *Elevatio* from the Rouen service-books that contain the *Depositio* and *Visitatio* is unfortunate, but it does not prove definitely that during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the *Elevatio* was obsolete.²¹ It is, indeed, not easily conceivable that a use preserving the *Depositio* and *Visitatio* should suppress the intermediate office.²²

The close attachment of *Depositio* to *Adoratio* which we have observed in the uses of Winchester and Rouen is further exemplified in a version of the fourteenth century from Durham:²³

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>²⁴

ET SCIENDUM QUOD DUM CRUX PORTATUR et REPORTATUR per ME <FOL. 177^v> DIUM CHORI, ADORARI DEBET AB OMNIBUS FLEXIS GENIBUS. CUM UERO PERUENERINT AD GRADUS PAUMENTI, PROCEDANT DUO FRATRES CUM CANDELABRIS et TERTIUS CUM THURIBULO PRECEDENTES CRUCIS PORTATORES et EPISCOPUM UEL PRIOREM, QUI, CUM PORTATORIBUS CRUCIS, CRUCEM IN SEPULCRO COLLOCATURUS EST. FINITA *antiphona* Super omnia, INCIPIAT CANTOR *Responsorium*:

Tenebre <factæ sunt dum crucifixissent Jesum Judæi, et circa horam nonam exclamavit Jesus voce magna: Deus, Deus, ut quid me dereliquisti? Tunc unus ex militibus lancea latus ejus perforavit, et inclinato capite

²¹ The bibliography of these service-books is given in *Modern Philology*, VI, 224–225.

²² A suppression of this sort is suggested by the editors of *Le Graduel de l'Église Cathédrale de Rouen au xiii^e Siècle*, Vol. I, Rouen, 1907, p. 58.

²³ British Museum, MS Harl. 5289, Missale Dunelmense saec. xiv, fol. 177^r–177^v. The manuscript contains no *Elevatio* or *Visitatio*. So far as I know, the *Depositio* is now printed for the first time. Parts of this manuscript are printed in *Publications of the Surtees Society*, Vol. CVII (1902), pp. 172–191; but the *Depositio* is not included. With the *Depositio* now printed should be compared the sixteenth-century account of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* found in *Surtees Society*, Vol. XV (1842), pp. 9–11 (reprinted by Chambers, II, 310–311), and in a new edition in *Surtees Society*, Vol. CVII (1903), pp. 11–13. With the Durham *Depositio* may be classed a version from Fécamp published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 902.

²⁴ London, Brit. Mus., MS Harl. 5289, fol. 177^r–177^v.

emisit spiritum. *Versus*: Et velum templi scissum est a summo usque deorsum, et omnis terra tremuit. Tunc unus.²⁵

QUO DECANTATO, COLLOCETUR CRUX IN SEPULCRO, INCENSATO LOCO ANTE POSITIONEM et POST. DUM HEC AGUNTUR INCIPIAT CANTOR HAS *Antiphonas*:

Proprio filio suo non pepercit Deus, pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum.

Antiphona:

Caro mea requiescet in spe.

Antiphona:

Dominus tanquam ovis ad uictimam ductus est et non aperuit os suum.

Antiphona:

Oblatus est quod ipse uoluit, et peccata nostra ipse portabit.

Antiphona:

In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.

DEINDE DUO UERTENTES UULTUM AD CONUENTUM CANANT HANC *Antiphonam*:

Ioseph ab Arimathia petiit corpus Ihesu et sepelliuit eum in sepulcro suo.

EAQUE PERCANTATA DESCENDAT IN REUESTIARIUM QUI OFFICIUM CELEBRAT.²⁶

At the conclusion of the *Adoratio*, in this case, is sung the reponsory *Tenebræ*, after which the Cross is placed in the *sepulchrum*, and the place is censed. During the laying down of the Cross are sung a series of five antiphons. Then two clerics, turning toward the *conuentus*, close the office with the singing of the antiphon *Joseph ab Arimathea*.

This immediate attachment of the *Depositio* to the *Adoratio* is, however, not general. Appropriate though the *Depositio Crucis* truly is as a direct sequel to the *Adoratio Crucis*, in most cases the extra-liturgical office is separated from the *Adoratio* by other liturgical elements. This is the situation in the following version from a thirteenth-century manuscript of Benedictine use:²⁷

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET ELEVATIO CRUCIS>²⁸

SACERDOTES QUI AD ALTARE DOMINICUM MINISTRABANT, STATIM POST MISSALE OFFICIUM CRUCEM QUAM FRATRES DEOSCULATI SUNT IN SEPULCHRO HOC ORDINE COLLOCANT.

²⁵ Fifth responsory in Matins of Good Friday. See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 766-767.

²⁶ The Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificationum* follows.

²⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canonici Liturg. 325 (19414), *Ordinarium Benedictinum* saec. xiii, fol. 78^r. The manuscript is of German origin. See W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, Vol. I, London, 1901, p. 21. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are now published, I believe, for the first time. The *Visitatio* from this manuscript has been published by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 312.

²⁸ Bodleian, MS Canonici Liturg. 325, fol. 78^r.



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<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>³³

DEINDE RECIPIATUR CRUX ET UOCE LENTA DICATUR *responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur.

Responsorium:

Sepulto Domino.

Responsorium:

Recessit pastor.

ASPERGATUR ET THURIFICETUR. SEQUITUR *versus*:

In pace factus est locus eius.

ET SIC EST FINITUM.

From these meagre rubrics we learn little more than that after the laying down of the Cross the *sepulchrum* is sprinkled and censed.

More generous details are provided in the following *ordo* from Andechs:³⁴

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>³⁵

COMMUNIONE³⁶ EXPLETA, DICANTUR *Vespere* SUBMISSA UOCE, PSALMI Confitebor CUM RELIQUIS. DEINDE SEQUITUR *psalmus*: Magnificat; QUO FINITO DICITUR *versus* Proprio filio suo non.

SI UERO QUIS INTERFUERIT SEPULTURE, PERACTO OFFICIO SEPULTURE CRUCIFIXI, TUNC SUB SILENCIO CIRCA SEPULCHRUM LEGUNTUR *Vespere* ET CLAUDUNTUR CUM *versu* In pace factus est locus eius, et in Syon habitacio eius.

DEINDE SEPULCERO *preparato* ET DECENTER ORNATO, SINT INPROMPTO *tria* THURIBULA CUM INCENSU, THURE, MIRRA, ET THIMIAMATE, ET QUATUOR CANDELE ARDENTES. ET PONTIFEX SIUE *Prespiter* CUM ALIIS *ministris* ET SACERDOTIBUS PORTENT YMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI UERSUS SEPULCHRUM LUGUBRI UOCE CANTANTES *responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus. *Versus*: In pace factus.

RESPONSORIO FINITO COLLOCETUR IN SEPULCHRO ET LINTHEAMINIBUS ET SUDARIO COOPERIATUR. DEINDE LAPIS SUPERPONATUR. QUO PACTO CLERUS INPONAT ISTA *responsoria*:

Sepulto Domino. *Versus*: Ne forte.

Responsorium:

Recessit pastor. *Versus*: Ante cuius.

³³ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 23068, fol. 291^v. The text printed above is preceded immediately by the *ordo* for Vespers.

³⁴ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 24882, Breviarium Andecense saec. xv, fol. 269^v. The *Depositio* is now printed for the first time. The manuscript contains no *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* (fol. 274^r-275^r) is presented by Lange (pp. 99-101; cf. p. 13) by way of incomplete variants appended to another text.

³⁵ Munich, Cod. Lat. 24882, fol. 269^v.

³⁶ The Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificalorum*. From the opening rubrics it appears that the *Depositio* is not obligatory. When the *Depositio* occurs, it occupies a position immediately after Mass and before Vespers.

QUIBUS FINITIS DICATUR *Versus*:

In pace factus est locus eius.

QUO UERSU OMNES SEQUENTES HORE CLAUDUNTUR.³⁷

The *Depositio* is again designed for performance immediately before Vespers. During the singing of the responsory *Ecce quomodo* the *Imago Crucifixi*³⁸ is carried in procession to the *sepulchrum*. After the *Imago* has been laid down and covered with a linen cloth and sudary, the *sepulchrum* is closed by the placing of a stone.³⁹ The office is concluded by the singing of the responsories *Sepulto Domino* and *Recessit pastor* and of the versicle *In pace factus*.

In the present series of texts belong the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from Raitenbuch, in Bavaria:⁴⁰

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁴¹

ET POSTQUAM OMNES COMMUNICAUERINT, ET SACERDOS PEREGERIT OFFICIUM,⁴²
UADAT CUM MINISTRIS ET TOLLAT CRUCIFIXUM QUOD FUERAT ANTEA PRESENTATUM,

³⁷ The rubric *Ad Completorium* follows immediately.

³⁸ The term *Imago Crucifixi*, which we shall frequently encounter below, is far from clear. In most cases it probably indicates merely the Crucifix: that is, the cross with the *corpus* affixed. It may sometimes mean the *corpus* alone, detached from the cross, or even some sort of special representation of the Crucifixion—a painting or a carving. That the words *Imago Crucifixi* may indicate the *corpus* alone seems to be certain from the following passage in the *Custumarium* of Sarum (W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1898, p. 219): "Omnibus dominicis quadragesime, excepta prima dominica, deferatur una crux ante processionem lignea sine ymagine crucifixi." The sixteenth century "Rites of Durham" (*Surtees Society*, Vol. cvii, 1903) speaks of "a goodly large crucifix all of gold of the picture of our sauour Christ nailed upon the crosse" (p. 11), and of "another picture of our sauour Christ, in whose breast they did enclose with great reuerence the most holy and blessed sacrament of the altar" (p. 12). We are told further that "in the north allye was a most faire roode or picture of our sauour" (p. 18). From these passages one infers that the word "picture" of the Durham account refers merely to the ordinary crucifix (See *op. cit.*, p. 204).

³⁹ The use of the *lapis* here motivates, of course, the interrogation *Quis reuoluet nobis ab hostio lapidem quem tegere sanctum cernimus sepulchrum?* at the beginning of the subsequent *Visitatio*. See Lange, p. 100.

⁴⁰ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. '12301' Breviarium Raitenbuchense anni 1431, fol. 88^r, 90^r. These texts are now printed for the first time. The *Visitatio* (fol. 90^v) has not been published, but a description of it is given by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 299.

⁴¹ Munich, Cod. lat. 12301, fol. 88^r.

⁴² This rubric shows that the *Depositio* occurs immediately after the *Missa Præsantificatorum* of Good Friday.

PRECEDENTE CANDELA EXTINGTA *et* CRUCE UELATA THURIBULO *et* ASPERSORIO.
DEFERAT AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI CANTANDO LENTA UOCE *responsorium*:

Recessit pastor bonus.

Responsorium:

Ante cuius.

Responsorium:

In pace factus est.

DEINDE LOCATUR CRUCIFIXUM IN SEPULCHRO. *Et* STANTES CITRA DICANT *Vesperas*.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁴³

IN SANCTA NOCTE ANTE MATUTINUM SURGANT SACERDOTES *et* CLERICI, *et* INTRENT ECCLESIAM, NEC ETIAM LAYCOS INTRARE PERMITTANT. *Et* UADANT AD SEPULCHRUM CUM REUERENTIA, *et* DICANT PSALMUM: Domine, quid multiplicati *et* psalmum: Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei, *et* psalmum: Domine, probasti me. DEINDE Kyrie, Pater noster. Versus: Exurge, Domine, adiuua nos. Versus: Domine, Deus uirtutum conuerle. Versus: Foderunt manus meas. Versus: Domine, exaudi orationem. ORATIO: Da nobis. DEINDE CRUX ASPERGATUR *et* THURIFICETUR. *Et* TOLLENTES CRUCEM CANTANT *responsorium* SUBMISSA UOCE scilicet:

Dum transisset.

Et DUM PERUENERINT AD LOCUM CRUCIFIXI dicatur Versus:

In resurrectione tua, Xpiste.

ORATIO:

Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum.

IBIQUE LINTHEAMINA DIMITTUNT, *et* post ECCLESIA APPERITUR, *et* PULSETUR AD MATUTINUM.

Since the *Depositio* calls for no special comment, we may confine our attention briefly to the *Elevatio*. This office is performed early Easter morning, before the laymen have been admitted to the church. At the *sepulchrum* three psalms are rendered, followed by the *Kyrie*, the *Pater Noster*, four versicles, and a prayer. After the sprinkling and censuring of the Cross, it is raised, during the singing of the responsory *Dum transisset*, and carried in procession to its appropriate place, where the versicle *In resurrectione* and a prayer are said. The cloths are now removed from the Cross, and the doors of the church are opened for Matins.

In the present somewhat miscellaneous group we may include the following versions from Treves:⁴⁴

⁴³ Munich, Cod. lat. 12301, fol. 90^r.

⁴⁴ British Museum, Harleian MS 2958, Ordinarium Treverense saec. xiii, fol. 36^r-37^r. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are, I believe, now published for the first time. The *Visitatio* (fol. 37^v) has been published by Lange (No. 105, pp. 10, 71-74).



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CUM REPETITIONE. DEINDE EGREDIATUR PROCESSIO, RELICTO SUDARIO IN MONUMENTO, et PULSETUR AD MATUTINUM.

The most conspicuous aspect of this office is the location of the *sepulchrum*: in the crypt of the church. Neither the *Depositio*, after Vespers, nor the *Elevatio*, before Matins, includes any unusual ceremonial. Noteworthy, perhaps, is the fact that when the Cross is taken up from the *sepulchrum*, the *sudarium* is left behind, for use in the subsequent *Visitatio*.⁴⁸

We may now consider a few texts that specifically provide for a bit of ceremonial reminiscent of the central act of the *Adoratio Crucis*,—the definite adoring of the Cross. This ceremonial detail is present in the *Depositio* from Clermont-Ferrand:⁴⁹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>

TUNC CRUX TOLLATUR ET DEPORTETUR IN SACRARIO, ET SEQUATUR AB OMNI CLERO CANTANDO:

Sepulto Domino.

IBIQUE DEPONATUR ET COOPERIATUR, ADORETUR, VENERETUR, INLUMINETUR; et IBI STET USQUE IN DIEM RESURRECTIONIS.⁵⁰

In this simple office the Cross is borne, immediately after Vespers, to the sacristy. In the laying down of the Cross specific provision is made for an “adoration.”

Similar reverence to the Cross is provided for in the use of the cathedral of Freising:⁵¹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁵²

QUANDO IMAGO CRUCIFIXI DEFERTUR AD SEPULCHRUM CANITUR
Responsorium:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus,

⁴⁸ See Lange, pp. 72–73.

⁴⁹ Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 63 (*olim* 58), Missale Claromontense saec. xiv, fol. 32^v. This text is now printed for the first time. The manuscript contains no *Elevatio* or *Visitatio*.

⁵⁰ Followed immediately by the rubric: In Sabbato Sancto.

⁵¹ *Breuiarium Frisingense, Pars Hyemalis*, Venice, 1516 (British Museum), fol. 194^v, 196^v–197^r. These texts are now reprinted for the first time. The *Visitatio* (fol. 197^v–198^r) is reprinted by Lange, pp. 102–103. With the *Elevatio* may be compared the text from Indersdorf published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 904–905.

⁵² *Breuiarium Frisingense, Pars Hyemalis*, Venice, 1516, fol. 194^v.

SUBMISSA VOCE. COLLOCATA IMAGINE AD SEPULCHRUM *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino,

ET *responsorium*:

Recessit pastor,

UT INFRA SABBATO SEQUENTI. DEINDE *versus*:

In pace factus est locus eius. Et habitatio eius in Sion.⁵³

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁵⁴

IN NOCTE *sancta* ANTE PULSUM MATUTI<NI>, CONGREGATIS SACERDOTIBUS CIRCA ALTARE *Sancte* CRUCIS, DECANUS CONSUEUIT DICERE *Confiteor, et cetera*. RELIQUI SUBIUNGUNT: *Misereatur, et cetera; et* REPETUNT *Confiteor*, <FOL. 197^r> SICUT ANTE MISSAM.

DEINDE REUERENTER ACCEDUNT SEPULCHRUM ET IBIDEM DICUNT:

Psalmum: Domine, quid multiplicati.

Psalmum: Miserere mei, Deus, miserere.

Psalmum: Domine, probasti me, cum Gloria.

Kiri<e eleyson>, Chri<ste eleyson>, Kiri<e eleyson>.

Pater noster. Et ne<nos inducas in tentationem>.

Versus: Exurge, Domine, adiuua nos.

Versus: Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Dominus vobiscum.

COLLECTA:

Da nobis, *quesumus*, Domine, *auxilium* gratie tue, ut paschalia gaudia que letantes exequimur perpetua virtute nos tueantur et saluent. Per Christum.

FINITA COLLECTA, THURIFICATUR ET ASPERGITUR IMAGO CRUCIFIXI, DEFERTURQUE AD ALTARE PREFATUM CANENTIBUS CLERICIS SUBMISSA VOCE *responsorium*:

Surrexit pastor bonus,

UT INFRA FERIA QUINTA. *Antiphona*:

Christus resurgens,

UT INFRA IN *Vesperis*. *Versus*:

Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia. Et apparuit Petro, alleluia.

COLLECTA:

Deus in hodierna,

UT IN MATUTINO. QUIBUS PERACTIS MAIOR OSCULATUR IMAGINEM ET DICIT:

Surrexit Dominus.

Gaudeamus omnes.

SIMILITER ET ALIJ FACIUNT.⁵⁵

Although the Freising *Depositio* needs no comment, we may give at least passing notice to the *Elevatio*, performed before Easter Matins. After the *Confiteor* at the altar of the Holy Cross, the priests pass to the *sepulchrum*, where they say three

⁵³ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Ves<peras>.

⁵⁴ *Breuiarium Frisingense, Pars Hyemalis*, Venice, 1516, fol. 196^v-197^r.

⁵⁵ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Matuti<num>.

psalms, the *Kyrie*, the *Pater Noster*, and another prayer. During the singing of the responsory *Surrexit pastor* the *Imago Crucifixi*, previously censed and sprinkled, is carried to the altar of the *Holy Cross*. Here are rendered an antiphon and a prayer. The office closes with the kissing of the *Imago Crucifixi* by each of the priests in turn, a ceremonial act suggestive of the *Adoratio*.

Relevant to the present stage of our survey are the following two texts from Prague:⁵⁶

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁵⁷

STATIM POST *Vesperas* EUNT IN MEDIUM ECCLESIE *et* ACCEPTA CRUCE DEFERANT EA <M> IN LOCUM SOLEMNIBUS AULEIS ORNATUM CANTANTES *responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur,

CUM SUO *Versu*, PRECEDENTIBUS CEREIS, CRUCIBUS, AQUA BENEDICTA, *et* INCENSO. ET REPOSITA IN LOCO CUM REUERENTIA A PRELATO ASPERGITUR *et* INCENSATUR, AC COOPERITUR SACRA PALLA, *et* DICITUR *Versus*:

In pace factus est locus eius. Et in Sy<on habitatio ejus>.

REDEUNTES CANTENT *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino,

CUM *Versu* ET REPETITIONE. LUMEN ARDENS REPONITUR AD SEPULCHRUM DOMINI, *et* LEGANT CANONICI A SENIORIBUS INCIPIENDO PSALTERIA VEL VICARII CANONICORUM SEDENTES AD SEPULCHRUM BINI ET BINI USQUE AD VISITATIONE <M> SEPULCHRI MATUTINALEM.⁵⁸

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁵⁹

IN SACRA NOCTE ANTE MATUTINUM MAGNA CAMPANA⁶⁰ PULSATUR, AD QUAM DOMINI CANONICI *et* CLERICI CONSURGANT *et* EANT AD SEPULCHRUM IN PROCESSIONE PRECEDENTIBUS CEREIS, VEXILL<IS>, INCENSO, ET AQUA BENEDICTA. ET ACCEPTA CRUCE REDEUNTES CANTENT *antiphonam*:

Cum rex glorie.

ET PONITUR ANTE MAIUS ALTARE, IBIQUE A CLERO *et* POPULO SALUTATA STATUITUR IN LOCUM SUUM.⁶¹

⁵⁶ *Breuiarium Horarum Canoniarum secundum veram rubricam Archiepiscopus Pragensis*, Venice, 1517, fol. 199^v, 270^v (British Museum). The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are now reprinted for the first time. The *Visitatio* (fol. 271^r-271^v), not yet reprinted, is identical with the *Visitatio* published by Lange (pp. 122-124) from a Prague "Brevier, 1572" (See Lange, p. 15, No. 194).

⁵⁷ *Breuiarium* . . . *Archiepiscopus Pragensis*, Venice, 1517, fol. 199^v.

⁵⁸ Immediately followed by the rubric: Completo <rium> ut iero cantetur in choro.

⁵⁹ *Breuiarium* . . . *Archiepiscopus Pragensis*, Venice, 1517, fol. 270^v.

⁶⁰ campana] campanam (Print).

⁶¹ Followed immediately by the rubric: Ad Matu<tinum>.



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Surrexit pastor bonus <qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis, et pro suo grege mori dignatus est, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia>,⁶⁸

Cum suo versu:

Versus: Surrexit Dominus <de sepulcro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno>.⁶⁹

Antiphona:

Xpistuc resurgens.

QUIBUS FINITIS STANTES ANTE ALTARE *et* MUTUA CARITATE SE INVICEM OSCULANTES DICUNT *Versum:*

Surrexit Dominus uere, *et* apparuit Symoni.

ET DICATUR ORATIO DE RESURRECTIONE. DEINDE COMPULSATIONE SIGNORUM FACTA, CONUENIANT OMNES AD MATUTINUM.

In the use of Ranshofen the detail of special interest for the moment, is the Kiss of Peace administered at the end of the *Elevatio*. Since, however, the associations of the *Pax* have been considered in the preceding division of this study,⁷⁰ we need not re-examine the matter here, but may merely observe the same phenomenon in the fifteenth-century observances of Regensburg:⁷¹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁷²

POSTQUAM OMNES COMMUNICAUERINT, UENIANT SACERDOTES CUM MINISTRIS ALTARIS *et* CETERIS CANONICIS INSTANTIBUS CUM MAGNA REUERENTIA, PRECEDENTIBUS DUABUS CRUCIBUS UELATIS ET UNA CANDELA EXTINGTA *et* ASPERSORIO ET THURIBULO. ET TOLLANT CRUCIFIXUM QUOD ANTE PUIT PRESENTATUM ET DEFERANT AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI *et* CANTANDO⁷³ LENTA UOCE *responsorium:*

Recessit pastor. *Versus:* Ante cuius conspectum.

SEQUITUR *responsorium:*

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus. *Versus:* In pace factus.

TUNC LOCENT CRUCIFIXUM IN SEPULCHRO. ET STANTES CIRCA DICANT *Vesperas.*

⁶⁸ See Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVIII, 773.

⁶⁹ See *id.*

⁷⁰ See above, pp. 45, 65–67.

⁷¹ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 26947, Ordinarium Ratisbonense saec. xv, fol. 117^v, 120^v–121^r. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are now published for the first time. The *Visitatio* has been published by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 298–299. With the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from Regensburg and Ranshofen may be compared the versions from other churches published by the present writer in the following places: *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 899, 906–908; *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 313; *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXV, 343, 351–354.

⁷² Munich, Cod. lat. 26947, fol. 117^v. The text is immediately preceded by the Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificationum*.

⁷³ cantando] cantanda (MS).

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁷⁴

IN NOCTE ANTE MATUTINAS SURGANT FRATRES IN MONASTERIUM INTRANTES, NEC ALIQUEM LAYCORUM INGREDI PERMITTUNT. TUNC UADUNT AD SEPULCHRUM CUM MAGNA REUERENCIA, ET FACIANT ORATIONES. DEINDE CANTORES PSALMOS:

Domine, quid multipli <fol. 121^r>cati.

Psalmus: Miserere mei, Deus, miserere.

Psalmus: *Domine*, probasti.

Kyrie.

Pater Noster.

Versus: Exurge, *Domine*, adiuua nos.

Versus: *Domine*, Deus uirtutum, conuerte nos.

Versus: Foderunt manus.

Versus: *Domine*, exaudi orationem.

Versus: Da nobis, *Domine*, auxilium.

DEINDE CRUX ASPERGATUR ET THURIFICETUR. DEINDE TOLLANT CRUCEM ET CANTANT RESPONSORIUM:

Dum transisset Sabbatum, <Maria Magdalene et Maria Jacobi et Salome emerunt aromata, ut venientes ungerent Jesum, alleluia, alleluia.

Versus: Et valde mane una Sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum, orto jam sole. Ut venientes.>,

SUBMISSA UOCE. DUM PERUENERINT AD LOCUM CRUCIFIXI SACERDOS SUBIUNGAT UERSUM:

In resur<r>eptione tua, Xpiste.

SEQUITUR ORATIO.

Deus, qui hodierna die.

IBIQUE LINTHEAMINA ET LUMINA DIMITTANTUR. POSTEA IUBENT IANUAS APERIRI ET MATUTINAS SONARE. POST HEC CLERUS MUTUA CARITATE SE INVICEM OSCULANTES DICANT UERSUM:

Surrexit Dominus.

ALII RESPONDEANT:

Guadeamus omnes.

DEINDE AD MATUTINAS UERSUS: *Domine*, labia mea.

Hitherto in the present section of our study we have encountered only a slight suggestion of the theme of the Harrowing of Hell. Although we have observed the presence of the antiphon *Cum rex gloriae*,⁷⁵ we have seen no evidence of a treatment of the theme dramatically. For a treatment of this kind we may resort to the use of St. Gall:⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Munich, Cod. lat. 26947, fol. 120^v–121^r.

⁷⁵ See above, p. 87.

⁷⁶ St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 448, Ordinarium Sangallense saec. xv, pp. 102, 105. The *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio* from this manuscript have been previously published by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 319–324.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>⁷⁷

*Antiphona*⁷⁸ FINITA, OMNES ASCENDUNT CIRCA ALTARE ET DOMINUS ABBAS EXUENS CASULAM, STANTES ANTE CRUCEM AD DEXTRUM⁷⁹ CORNU ALTARIS CANTANTES *responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo, SUBMISSA UOCE. *Versus*: In pace factus. *Repetitio*: Et erit.

POST ACCIPENTES CRUCEM DOMINUS ABBAS ET SENIORES PORTANTES AD SEPULCHRUM CANTANTES *responsorium*:

Sicut ovis. *Versus*: In pace. *Repetitio*: Traditus.

INTERIM PONENT CRUCEM IN SEPULCHRO ET CLAUDUNT EUM, PONENTES ANTE SEPULCHRUM QUATUOR LUMINA IUGITER ARDENTIA, CANTANTES *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino. *Versus*: Ne forte. *Repetitio*: Ponentes mi<lites>.

DEINDE DOMINUS ABBAS DICAT *versum*:

In pace factus est locus eius.

Collecta:

Respice, Domine.

ET ASPERGENS SEPULCRUM AQUA BENEDICTA, ET THURIFICETUR CUM INCENSU, ET MISSE SUNT.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁸⁰

ORDO AD LEVANDUM CRUCEM SANCTAM IN SACRATISSIMA NOCTE PASCALI.

PARUM ANTE MATUTINAS DOMINUS ABBAS, PREPOSITUS DECANUS, CUSTOS, ET SENIORES AD HOC DEPUTATI SURGANT DILUCULO, ET INDUUNT SE ALBIS ET CAPPIS, PERGENTES CUM SUMMA REUERENCIA, CUM MINISTRIS PORTANTES AQUAM BENEDICTAM CUM INCENSU, ET CUM SILENCIO, AD SEPULCRUM. ET DOMINUS ABBAS CUM SUMMO HONORE TOTAQUE DEUITIONE FLEXIS GENIBUS DEPONAT SUDARIUM ET LINTEAMINA CUM QUIBUS SANCTA CRUX EST INUOLUTA, ET ASPERGENS AQUA BENEDICTA ET THURIFICETUR CUM INCENSU, ET CANTENT SUBMISSA UOCE:

Xpiste, salus rerum. *Versus*: Pollicitam, usque Surge, sepulte meus.

ET ELEUANTES CRUCEM DE SEPULCHRO CANTENT HOS *versus*:

Solue cathenatus.

Versus:

Redde tuam faciem.

QUIBUS FINITIS, CANTATUR *antiphona*:

Cum rex glorie.

SUBMISSA UOCE, PORTANTES CRUCEM ANTE CHORUM IN MONASTERIO. *Antiphona* FINITA, CANTANT *antiphonam*:

Attollite portas prin<cipes> ,

TRIBUS VICIBUS, PULSANTES CONTRA IANUAM CUM PEDE CRUCIS IN SIGNUM REDEMPTIONIS ANIMARUM EX LIMBO. AD ISTUM PULSUM IANUA APERITUR. POSTEA PONATUR CRUX ANTE ALTARE BEATE VIRGINIS, PANNO SUPPOSITO AC LUMINE ACCENSO, UT A POPULIS ADORETUR. DEINDE DOMINUS ABBAS DICA<T> *versum*:

⁷⁷ St. Gall, MS 448, p. 102.

⁷⁸ The antiphon of the *Magnifi:al* at Vespers.

⁷⁹ dextrum] dextram (MS).

⁸⁰ St. Gall, MS 448, p. 105.



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V

Now that we have examined the versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* in which the *Host* and the *Cross* respectively are the centers of devotion, we must complete our survey by considering the versions in which are employed both the *Host* and the *Cross*, along with an inevitable extension of the ceremonial.

A simple *Depositio* of this type is at hand from the use of St. Adelph:¹

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>²

POSTEA VADUNT CUM CANDELIS ARDENTIBUS ET INCENSU <FOL. 41^v> AD LOCUM SEPULCHRI ET IMPONANT CRUCEM CUM EUCHARISTIA. IN EUNDO CANTETUR *Responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, et nemo percipit corde; et viri iusti tolluntur, et nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est iustus, et erit in pace memoria eius. *Versus*: In pace factus est locus eius, et in Sion habitatio eius. Et erit.

Responsorium:

Recessit pastor noster, fons acque vive, ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est, nam et ille captus est qui captivum tenebat primum hominem, hodie portas mortis et seras pariter Saluator noster dirupit. *Versus*: Ante cuius conspectum mors fugit, ad cuius uocem mortui resurgunt, uidentes autem eum porte mortis confracte sunt. Ho<die>.

IMPOSITA AUTEM CRUCE, CANTENTUR HEE ANTIPHONAE. *Antiphona*:

In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.

Antiphona:

Caro <fol. 42^r> mea requiescet in spe.

SUDARIO SUPERPOSITO, CANTETUR *Responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, uolentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. *Versus*: Ne forte veniant discipuli eius et furentur eum, et dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes.

SEQUUNTUR VESPERAE³ SUB SILENTIO.

¹ Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS latin 9486, Ordinarium saec. xii, fol. 41^r-42^r. L. Delisle (*Inventaire des Manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les Numéros 8823-18613*, Paris, 1863-1871, p. 35) mentions this document briefly as "Rituel de l'abb. de S. Adelphe." The manuscript contains no *Elevatio*. The *Visitatio* (fol. 60^r-60^v) has been published by N. C. Brooks in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, 466. Both the *Depositio* and the *Visitatio* are printed by the present writer in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXV, 341-342, 351.

² Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 9486, fol. 41^r-42^r. The text printed here is immediately preceded by the following rubric: Tunc accedant omnes ad communionem—referring to the Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificationum*.

³ Vesperae] Vespera (MS).

This office occurs immediately after the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*. The Cross and the Host are carried to the *sepulchrum* in a single procession. For the laying down of the Host no special rubrics are given. The burial of the Cross evokes at least the ceremonial of wrapping it in a *sudarium*. The musical pieces accompanying the action are already familiar.

A similar version of the *Depositio*, with a fuller description of the ceremonial, is seen in the following from the use of Aquileia:⁴

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁵

FINITO HYMNO⁶ INCIPIT OFFICIUM DIEI, UT IN MISSALI CONTINETUR. ORATIONE⁷ VERO EXPLETA, *et* SEPULCHRO PREPARATO *et* DECENTER ORNATO, ASSINT INPROMPTU TRIA THURIBULA CUM INCENSO THURIS, MIRRHE, *et* THIMIAMATIS, *et* QUATUOR CANDELE ARDENTES; *et* MINISTRI CUM SACERDOTIBUS PORTENT IMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI VERSUS SEPULCHRUM, *et* OFFICIANS SEQUATUR PORTANS SACRAMENTUM EUCHARISTIE IN SANCTUARIO REPOSITUM. CHORUS VERO IN TALI PROCESSIONE LUGUBRI VOCE CANTET RESPONSORIUM CUM SUO VERSU:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus, *et* nemo percipit corde; *et* viri iusti tolluntur, *et* nemo considerat; a facie iniquitatis oblatus est iu<p. 121>stus, *et* erit in pace memoria eius. <VERSUS>: In pace factus est locus eius, *et* in Syon habitatio eius. Et erit in pace.

QUO FINITO *et* DUM AD SEPULCHRUM VENTUM SIT, OFFICIANS LOCET SACRAMENTUM IN SANCTUARIO REPOSITUM⁸ AD LOCUM IN SEPULCHRO AD HOC PARATUM. DEINDE MINISTRI, *et* SACERDOTES IMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI COLLOCENT IN SEPULCHRO, *et* COOPERIANT LINTHEAMINIBUS *et* SUDARIO, *et* SUPPONANT LAPIDEM. CHORUS CANTET *Responsorium* CUM SUO VERSU:

Recessit pastor noster, fons aque viue, ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est; nam *et* ille captus est qui captium tenebat primum hominem. Hodie portas mortis *et* seras pariter Saluator noster destruxit. <p. 122> *Versus*: Ante cuius conspectum mors fugit, ad cuius vocem mortui resurgunt; videntes autem eum porte mortis confracte sunt. Hodie portas.

OFFICIANS VERO THURIFICET IMAGINEM CRUCIFIXI SIC IN SEPULCHRUM POSITAM, *et* ASPERGAT AQUA BENEDICTA. ET POSTEA CLAUDITUR SEPULCHRUM, *et* CLAUSO APPONUNT SIGILLA OFFICIANTES *et* LAICI PRESIDENTES, *et* CHORUS CANTET RESPONSORIUM SEQUENTEM CUM SUO VERSU:

⁴ *Agenda Diocesis Sanctae Ecclesiae Aquilegiensis*, Venice, 1575, pp. 120–123 (Paris, Bibl. Nat.). The *Depositio* is now reprinted for the first time. The *Visitatio* (pp. 115–117) has been published by Lange (No. 167, pp. 13, 105–106). The edition of 1575 contains (pp. 112–115) also an *Elevatio*; but the only copy of this edition accessible to me lacks the pages (pp. 113–114) containing the greater part of this office.

⁵ *Agenda Diocesis Sanctae Ecclesiae Aquilegiensis*, Venice, 1575, pp. 120–123.

⁶ The *Crux fidelis*, closing the *Adoratio Crucis*.

⁷ The closing *Oratio* of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*.

⁸ repositum] reposito (*Agenda*).

Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, volentes lapidem ad hostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud. <VERSUS>: Ne forte veniant discipuli eius *et* furentur eum, *et* dicant plebi: Surrexit a mortuis. Ponentes. <p. 123>

QUO PINITO OFFICIANS DICAT VERSICULUM:

In pace factus est locus eius.

Et RESPONDENT MINISTRI *et* SACERDOTES:

Et habitatio eius in Syon.

TANDEM CIRCA SEPULCHRUM DICANTUR VESPERE SECUNDUM RUBRICAM BREVIARI. ET SUB Magnificat OFFICIANS *et* MINISTRI CUM TRIBUS THURIBULIS SEPULCHRUM THURIFICENT *et* SACERDOS ACQUA BENEDICTA ASPERGAT. FINITIS AUTEM VESPERIS, SCHOLARES SECUNDUM MOREM PATRIE INCIPIUNT LEGERE PSALTERIUM.

The office here occurs immediately after the *Missa Præsanctificationum*. In the procession to the *sepulchrum* the ministers of the Mass carry the *Imago Crucifixi*, and the officiant,⁹ the *Host*.¹⁰ The first deposits the *Host* in a part of the *sepulchrum* especially prepared for it. Then the ministers and priests, after laying down the *Imago Crucifixi*, cover it with cloths and the sudary,¹¹ and place over it a stone.¹² After censuring and sprinkling the *Imago*, they seal the *sepulchrum*. The musical pieces accompanying the action require no comment. The most notable aspect of this version is the distinctness with which the *Host* and Cross are separated in their ceremonials.

In association with these two versions of the *Depositio* we may appropriately consider one or two relatively simple texts of the *Elevatio*. Such a text may be seen in the following from Harlem, in Holland:¹³

⁹ I take this to be the priest who has officiated at the *Missa Præsanctificationum*.

¹⁰ I am not absolutely certain of the meaning of the phrase *in sanctuario repositum*, which occurs twice. The word *sanctuarium* may indicate the sacristy, or place of reservation, in which the special (third) Host was reserved from Holy Thursday; but the word may also indicate (see Du Cange) a *theca*, or box, for carrying the Host in the procession before us.

¹¹ In the *Visitatio* occurs (p. 117) the rubric *lintheamina et sudarium quibus Imago Domini erat involuta*, indicating that only the *Imago*, and not the *Host*, is covered in this way.

¹² The rubric may intend that the *lapis* for closing the door of the *sepulchrum* confines within the structure only the *Imago*, the *Host* being exposed upon a sepulchre—altar outside.

¹³ Harlem, Bischöfliches Museum, MS 258, Graduale Harlemense (?) saec. xiii, fol. 44^v. This text of the *Elevatio* has been previously printed by Lange



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DEUOTIONE ET REVERENTIA, ADOLENTES ET ASPERGENTES EA, AC CANENTES SUB SILENCIO RESPONSORIUM:

Surrexit pastor bonus, qui posuit animam suam pro ovibus suis; et pro suo grege mori dignatus est, aeuia, <fol. 102^v>aeuia, aeuia. <Versus>: Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Et pro.

DEINDE HOS PSALMOS CANTENT:

Conserva me, Domine. <fol. 103^r>

Domine, probasti me.

REQUIRE IN PARASCEVE.

VERSICULA:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, alleluja. Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluja.

ORACIO:

Oremus: Deus qui hodierno die per unigenitum tuum eternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti, vota nostra, quae praeveniendo aspiras eciam adiuvando proseguere. Per eundem Dominum.

This office occurs before Matins. During the singing of the responsory *Surrexit pastor* the abbot, accompanied by other clerics, takes the Cross and Host from the *sepulchrum* and places them in some appropriate place. The observance concludes with the rendering of two psalms, a versicle, and a prayer.

We have already noticed a tendency to discriminate clearly between the Host and the Cross in the ceremonial.²⁰ This distinction is particularly evident in the following version of the *Elevatio* from Augsburg:²¹

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>²²

IN IPSA NOCTE, MATTUTINA LUCE APPROPINQUANTE, CUSTODES ECCLESIE CUM SACERDOTIBUS MATURIUS ANTE ALIOS SURGENTES CONUENIANT IN ECCLESIAM. Et LOTIS MANIBUS, CUM CEREIS DUOBUS et THURIBULIS et AQUA BENEDICTA REVERENTER, QUASI SECRETO, PROCEDANT AD LOCUM UBI CRUX et CORPUS DOMINI IN SEXTA FERIA FUERANT TUMULATA. ASPERSA AUTEM et THURIFICATA CRUCE, MAIOR INTER SACERDOTES REVERENTISSIME TOLLAT CALICEM CUM CORPORE DOMINI; CETERI UERO CRUCEM PORTENT. SINDONE QUA FUT COOPERTA IN IP SO LOCO RELICTA, et LUMNIBUS, NE LOCUS DESPECTUS VIDEATUR, PRECEDENTIBUS CEREIS et INCENSO PORTENT ILLAM AD ALTARE UBI OFFICIUM EST PERAGENDUM SUBMISSA UOCE CANTANTES *responsorium*:

Surrexit pastor bonus qui posuit animam,

²⁰ See the texts from St. Adelphe and Aquileia, above, pp. 92-94.

²¹ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 226, Rationale Officiorum Divinorum Augustanense saec. xi-xii, fol. 10^r. The *Elevatio* is now published for the first time. The manuscript contains no *Depositio*. The *Visitatio* (fol. 10^v-11^r) is printed by Lange (No. 110, pp. 10, 82-83).

²² Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 226, fol. 10^r

CUM VERSU:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.

SEQUITUR ORATIO:

Deus, qui unigenitum.

ET COOPERIATUR CRUX DE LINTEO MUNDO. CALIX AUTEM CUM CORPORE DOMINI REPONATUR IN PRINCIPALI ALTARE DONEC ALICUI DETUR AD CONSUMENDUM. QUO PACTO REVERTANTUR IN CHORUM ET OMNES MUTUA CARITATE SE²³ INVICEM OSCULENTUR. Et DICAT PRIOR:

Surrexit Xpistuc.

RESPONDENT:

Gaudeamus omnes.

ET STATIM COMPULSENTUR omnia SIGNA SOLLEMNISSIME AD EXCITANDUM ET CONUOCANDUM; et INTERVALLO MODICO FACTO, BINA ET BINA SIGNA MOROSIUS PULSENTUR; et IN PINE ILLORUM RURSUS COMPULSETUR. ET IMPONAT SACERDOS TONALI VOCE:

Domine, labia mea aperies.

This office is performed privately before Easter Matins. After being sprinkled and censed, the Cross is taken up from the *sepulchrum* by the assistant clerics. Leaving behind the winding sheet, they carry the Cross to a special altar.²⁴ Here a prayer is said, and the Cross covered with a clean cloth. The chalice containing the *Host*²⁵ is taken up separately by the senior priest, and placed upon the main altar. The *ordo* provides that the *Host* shall be left upon the main altar until it is given to an appropriate person to be consumed. After these ceremonials the procession returns to the choir, where the *Pax* is given and a versicle and response delivered.

In the following versions from York the separation between *Host* and Cross is extreme:²⁶

²³ se] si (MS).

²⁴ I infer that this is an altar connected with the *sepulchrum*. It may, however, be the *altare majus*.

²⁵ That the *Host* is carried *within* the chalice may fairly be inferred from the rubric *Calix autem cum Corpore Domini*. See above, p. 50. It may, however, be intended merely that the chalice *accompany* the *Host*. See below, p. 102.

²⁶ *Manuale et Processionale ad Usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in *Surtees Society*, Vol. LXIII, 1875, pp. 163–164, 170–174. This edition of the *Manuale* is based upon that of Wynkyn de Worde, London, 1509. The *Depositiō*, but not the *Elevatiō*, is found also in *Missale ad Usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in *Surtees Society*, Vol. LIX, 1874, pp. 106–107. The liturgical documents of York contain no *Visitatio*.

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>²⁷

TANDEM ADORATA CRUCE BAJULANT EAM DUO PRESBYTERI ASCENDENTES PER PARTEM AQUILONAREM CHORI USQUE AD SEPULCHRUM, ET IBI SACERDOS INCIPIAT ANTIPHONA <M>:

Super omnia ligna cedrorum tu sola excelsior, in qua vita mundi pependit, in qua Christus triumphavit, et mors mortem superavit in æternum.

ANTIPHONA:

In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.

ANTIPHONA:

Habitavit in tabernaculo tuo; requiescet in monte sancto tuo.

ANTIPHONA:

Caro mea requiescet in spe.

POSTEA EXSECUTOR OFFICII GENUFLECTENS PONAT CRUCEM IN SEPULCHRO, ET THURIFICET EAM, ET ERECTUS INCIPIAT, ET CHORUS FINIAT:

Sepulto Domino signatum est monumentum; ponentes milites qui custodirent illud.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>²⁸

IN AURORA PULSATIS CAMPANIS AD CLASSICUM, CONGREGATO CLERO ET POPULO, FLEXIS GENIBUS DICITUR ORATIO DOMINICALIS; ET POSTEA SACERDOS THURIFICET SEPULCRUM, ET PROFERATUR SACRAMENTUM CUM IMAGINE CUM CORONA SPINEA. INCIPIATUR RESPONSORIUM: Christus regnat, QUOD CANTETUR CIRCA PONTEM, CEREIS PRÆCEDENTIBUS. RESPONSORIUM:

Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur; mors illi ultra non dominabitur. Quod enim vivit, vivit Deo, alleluja, alleluja. V<ERSUS>: Dicant nunc Judæi quomodo milites custodientes Sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem. Quare non servabant petram justitiæ? Aut sepultum reddant, aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes. Quod.

PSALMUS:

Te Deum laudamus . . . non confundar in æternum.²⁹

V<ERSUS>:

Resurrexit Dominus. Sicut dixit vobis.

ORATIO:

Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut in resurrectione Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum omnibus sanctis percipiamus portionem. Qui tecum vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia.

DEINDE OSCULETUR CUPPA IN QUA EST SACRAMENTUM, PRIMO A SACERDOTE, ET POSTEA A POPULO.

It will be observed that the York *Depositio* is attached directly to the *Adoratio Crucis*, and that the *Host* is not mentioned. That the *Host* was involved in the *sepulchrum* offices

²⁷ *Manuale . . . Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in *Surtees Society*, LXIII, 163-164.

²⁸ *Id.*, pp. 170-174.

²⁹ In the *Surtees* text the *Te Deum* is given in full.



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The *Elevatio* from Exeter is described in the following *ordo*:

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>³⁶

IN AURORA DIEI ANTE PULSACIONEM CAMPANARUM ET ANTE ECIAM MATUTINAS CONUENIANT CLERICI OMNES ET LAICI AD ECCLESIAM, ET ACCENDANTUR OMNIA LUMINARIA PER ECCLESIAM. EPISCOPUS ET DECANUS VEL ALIE DUE DIGNIORES PERSONE PRESENTES IN SUPPERELLIJS CUM CEROFERARIJS ET THURIBULARIJS ALBIS INDUTIS AD SEPULCRUM UNA CUM TOTO CHORO CIRCUMSTANTE ACCEDANT, ET PACTA DEUOTA GENUFLEXIONE, INCENSATOQUE PRIUS SEPULCRO, CUM MAGNA UENERACIONE CORPUS DOMINICUM ACCIPIENTES PRIUATIM SUPER ALTARE DEPONANT. ITEM ACCIPIENTES CUM GENUFLEXIONE CRUCEM DE SEPULCRO INCHOENT EPISCOPUS ET DECANUS, SI ASINT; SIN AUTEM, DECANUS CUM ALIA EXCELLENCIORE PERSONA, ALTA UOCE HANC ANTIPHONAM:

Christus resurgens.

CUM QUA ANTIPHONA EAT PROCESSIO CHORO CANENTE TOTAM ANTIPHONAM CUM VERSU. ET TUNC PULSENTUR OMNES CAMPANE IN CLASSICUM. ET SIC CUM MAGNA UENERACIONE DEPORTETUR CRUX SOLEMPNITER INTER EOS SUPER BRACHIA, ET THURIBULARIJS ET CEROFERARIJS PRECEDENTIBUS, PER HOSTIUM AUSTRALE PRESBITERIJ INCEDENTES ET CIRCUMEUNDO PER MEDIUM CHORI REGREDIENTES, CHORO SEQUENTE HABITU NON MUTATO, SCILICET IN CAPIS NIGRIS, AD LOCUM UBI PROUISUM FUERIT, EXCELLENCIORIBUS PERSONIS PRECEDENTIBUS. FINITA ANTIPHONA CUM SUO VERSU A TOTO CHORO, DICAT EXCELLENCIOR PERSONA IN IPSA STACIONE ANTE ALTARE AD CLERUM CONVERSUS HUNC *versum*:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro;

Responsum:

Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluya;

CUM ORACIONE:

Deus qui pro nobis.

NEC PRECEDAT NEC SUBSEQUATUR: Dominus vobiscum, SET FINIATUR: Per Christum Dominum nostrum. FINITA ORACIONE, OMNES CUM GAUDIO GENUA FLECTANT IBIDEM ET IPSAM CRUCEM ADORENT, IN PRIMIS A DIGNIORIBUS PERSONIS. INTERIM PULSETUR AD MATUTINAS.

This office is celebrated before Matins on Easter morning in the presence of laymen and clergy. After the arrival at the *sepulchrum* of the Bishop, Dean, and two others in procession, and after the censuring of the place, the *Host* is taken up separately and carried, without processional singing, to the altar. Then the Cross is raised and taken in procession into the choir, during the singing of the antiphon *Christus resurgens*. During the procession all the bells of the church are rung. In the choir are said a versicle and response, and a prayer. The office closes with an adoration of the Cross. The special reverence paid to the Cross in the *Elevatio*, along with the closing obser-

³⁶ *Henry Bradshaw Society*, XXXVII, 138-139.

vance of the *Depositio*, seems especially to indicate the influence of the *Adoratio Crucis*.

In the present part of our review belong the texts from the cathedral of Bayeux.³⁷ The *Depositio* is found as follows:

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>³⁸

DEINDE³⁹ EXUAT PONTIFEX CASULAM, ET ACCIPIENS CRUCEM SUPER ALTARE JACENTEM, CUM ALIO SACERDOTE, INCENSATO PRIUS SEPULCHRO, PONAT EAM CUM MAGNA REVERENTIA IN IPSO SEPULCHRO, SUPPOSITIS PULVINARI ET MUNDIS ET ALBIS LINTHEAMINIBUS, ASTANTIBUS DUOBUS CEROFERARIIS IN SUPPELLITIIS; ET PONENDO INCIPIAT CANTOR MEDIA VOCE *responsorium*:

Estimatus sum <descendentibus in lacum; factus sum sicut homo sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber. VERSUS: Et sicut vulnerati dormientes; projecti in monumentis, quorum non es memor amplius, et ipsi de manu tua repulsi sunt. Factus sum.>

CHORO EXCIPIENTE IN EADEM VOCE ILLUD IDEM CUM SUO VERSU ET REGRESSU. DEINDE ACCIPIAT EPISCOPUS DE MANU DIACONI IN PIXIDE SINDONE COOPERTA CORPUS DOMINICUM A DIE PRECEDENTI RESERVATUM ET REPONAT ILLUD HONORIFICE IN IPSO SEPULCHRO JUXTA CRUCEM. PONAT ETIAM IBIDEM EPISCOPUS EX ALIA PARTE CRUCIS CALICEM [VACUUM], PATENAM, [CORPORALIA] SINDONE ETIAM INVOLUTA. DEINDE CLAUDENS IPSE SEPULCHRUM ITERUM INCENSET ILLUD, ET INCIPIAT CANTOR *responsorium*:

Sepulto Domino,

VOCE QUA PRIMUM, ET SIMILITER EXCIPIATUR A CHORO CUM SUO VERSU ET REGRESSU. QUIBUS CANTATIS INCIPIAT IPSE PONTIFEX *antiphonam*:

In pace in idipsum.

ITEM INCIPIAT [SIMILITER] *antiphonam*:

In pace factus est.

³⁷ I present the texts given by U. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'Église cathédrale de Bayeux* (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, Vol. VIII, Paris, 1902), from Bayeux MS 121 of the thirteenth century. Martène prints the *Depositio* (p. 367) and *Elevatio* (p. 478) from "Bajocensis ecclesiæ ordinarium ante annos 400 quantum conjicere licet exaratum,"—a document that we may date about the year 1300. Except for a passage that I reprint in foot-note 40 below, Martène's *Depositio* does not differ substantially from the text given by Chevalier (pp. 133–134) from MS 121. Martène's *Elevatio* I reprint in a foot-note. From the Bayeux *Consuetudinarium*, contained in manuscripts of the thirteenth century, Chevalier gives brief *ordines* for the *Depositio* (pp. 388–389) and *Elevatio* (p. 390). Similar to this last text is the *Elevatio* printed by A. Gasté (*Les Dramas liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen*, Évreux, 1893, p. 63) from "indications que nous fournit Radulphe l'Angevin dans son *Cérémonial*, rédigé en 1269." The liturgical manuscripts of Bayeux do not contain the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

³⁸ *Bibliothèque Liturgique*, VIII, 133–134. Cf. the *ordo* in the *Consuetudinarium*, *id.*, pp. 388–389.

³⁹ This text is immediately preceded by the *ordo* for Vespers.

ULTIMO AUTEM INCIPIAT ANTI*pho*nam:

Caro mea.

ET SIC COMPLEATUR DIEI ISTIUS OFFICIUM. NOTA VERO QUIA, QUAMDIU CORPUS DOMINICUM JACET IN SEPULCHRO, ARDENT CONTINUE DUO CEREI ANTE ILLUD SUPER TAPETUM IBIDEM PROTENTUM.

This office occurs after Vespers. The bishop, assisted by another priest, takes up the Cross lying on the altar, deposits it in the *sepulchrum*,⁴⁰ and places over it a cushion and clean white cloths. Meanwhile is sung the responsory *Aestimatus sum*. Then the bishop places beside the Cross a pyx containing the *Host*,⁴¹ and on the opposite side of the Cross, an empty chalice and a paten. After the *sepulchrum* has been closed, are sung the responsory *Sepulto Domino* and three antiphons. It is to be observed that for the period during which the *Host* remains in the *sepulchrum* two lights are kept burning before the place.

The *Elevatio* at Bayeux is ordered as follows:⁴²

⁴⁰ The location and furnishing of the *sepulchrum* are described briefly in the following rubric communicated by Martène (p. 367): *Hodie paretur sepulcrum versus cornu altaris sinistrum, lintheaminibus mundis et palliis pretiosis, et aliis sicut pretiosius fieri consuevit.*

⁴¹ That this *Host* is especially reserved from Thursday we learn from the *Consuetudinarium* of Bayeux, in which it is spoken of (*Bibliothèque Liturgique*, VIII, 389) as *Corpus Dominicum a die precedente reservatum*. See also Martène, p. 367.

⁴² Since the *Elevatio* communicated by Martène (p. 478) differs considerably from the text of Bayeux MS 121 used by Chevalier, I reprint Martène's text entire:

Ante matutinas facta pulsatione & conglobato choro ante altare, cereis & thuribulis accensis, episcopus superpelliceo & stola indutus, facta oratione ante altare, stans ad cornu dextrum altaris, lavat manus, incensum benedicit, illudque ponit in thuribulo, & in medio altaris corporale explicat. Sacerdos similiter indutus. Deinde accedit ad sepulcrum ex utraque parte expansum, in quo pyxis cum reliquiis supradictis reservatur: quam flexis genibus incensat, eamque postea defert ad altare, & cum ea clero & populo in modum crucis benedicit more consueto, & supradictum corporale reponit & incensat, moxque ex ea sumptum Corpus Dominicum genibus flexis adorandum ostendit. Quo in pixide reposito, redit ad eundem locum, unde calice cum patena & bursa sumptis, & ad altare delatis, ultimo vero crucem extollens, & ad altare conversus incipiat antiphonam *Christus resurgens* cum suo versu & regressu. Tunc omnes cum gaudio flexis genibus adorent crucem, cantantes eandem antiphonam, quæ dum cantatur supra altare crucem deponit. Quo facto, stans episcopus dicat *versum Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro*, & orationem *Deus qui pro nobis Filium tuum*. Deinde cantatur antiphona *Regina cæli* cum suo versu & oratione,



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We now proceed to a series of texts of especial interest through the fact that the versions of the *Elevatio* among them contain suggestions of the theme of the *Harrowing of Hell*.⁴⁵ From Eichstätt are available a text of the *Depositio* and two texts of the *Elevatio*:⁴⁶

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁴⁷

DEMUM⁴⁸ SACERDOS CUM PARTICULIS MINORIBUS RETENTIS *et* CALICE VACUO AC CRUCE QUAM PRIUS SUBDIACONI GESTABANT, *PROCEDAT AD SEPULCHRUM et* HEC IN SEPULCHRO HONORIFICE RECONDAT, CHORO SUBMISSA VOCE CANENTE *RESPONSORIUM*:

Recessit pastor noster,

ET *RESPONSORIUM*:

Ecce quomodo moritur iustus.

ET *IBIDEM VESPERE SUB SILENTIO*.

<ELEVATIO HOSTIÆ>⁴⁹

INCIPIT ORDO IN FESTO SANCTE PASCE. *ITEM ANTE MATUTINUM ITUR AD SEPULCHRUM ET CANUNTUR ANTIPHONE SUBSCRIPTAE. ET TRES DOMINI SIMUL CANTENT PREVIAM ANTIPHONAM*.⁵⁰

and the *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio*, from the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, have been printed by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 901, 916-924. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* of the Sarum use are fully presented by Chambers, II, 312-315.

⁴⁵ See above, pp. 31, 90-91.

⁴⁶ So far as I know, these texts are now published, or reprinted, for the first time. The *Depositio* is reprinted from *Missale secundum Chorum et Ritum Eistetensis Ecclesie*, Nuremberg, 1517, fol. LXXXV^r (British Museum). This book contains no version of the *Elevatio* or *Visitatio*. The first text of the *Elevatio* published below is from Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 3918, Obsequiale Eystettense saec. xiv, fol. 75^r-75^v. The manuscript contains no text of the *Depositio*. The *Visitatio* (fol. 75^v-76^v) is mentioned by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 302, but is still unpublished. The second text of the *Elevatio* printed below is found in *Reverendissime in Christo patris D. Christophori pie memorie Episcopi Eistetensis iussu inchoatus est liber iste Obsequiorum Ecclesie absolutus vero electo iam Reverendissimo D. Mauritio ab Hutten: et Deus bene vertat*, 1539, fol. cxlviii^r-cl^r (British Museum). This book contains no *Depositio*. The *Visitatio* from it is printed by Lange (No. 106, pp. 10, 71-74).

⁴⁷ *Missale . . . Eistetensis Ecclesie*, Nuremberg, 1517, fol. LXXXV^r.

⁴⁸ Preceded immediately by the rubric: *Et communicare volentes communicent*.

⁴⁹ Munich, Cod. lat. 3918, fol. 75^r-75^v.

⁵⁰ antiphonam] antiphonam (MS).

Ad monumentum venimus gementes; angelum Domini sedentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus.

PRIMUS EORUM CANIT ANTIPHONAM⁵¹ SEQUENTEM:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia.

SECUNDUS EORUM CANIT ANTIPHONAM:⁵¹

Surrexit Xpistus et illuxit populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo, alleluia.

TERCIUS CANIT ANTIPHONAM:

Venit Maria nuncians discipulis quia vidi Dominum, alleluia.

DEINDE LEGANTUR ORATIONES QUE IN PARASCAVE LEGEBANTUR ANTE CRUCEM FLEXIS GENIBUS scilicet:

Domine Ihesu Xpiste gloriosissime conditor,
et cetera UT SUPRA PATESCUNT.⁵² FINITIS AUTEM ORATIONIBUS PORTATUR CORPUS XPISTI AD CHORUM SEU AD LOCUM SUUM DEPUTATUM, ET CANITUR *antiphona* SUBSCRIPTA: <FOL. 75^v>

Cum rex glorie Xpistus infernum debellaturus intraret, et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas⁵³ principum tolli preciperet, sanctorum populus qui tenebatur in morte captius uoce lacrimabili clamauerat: Advenisti desiderabilis quem expectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac nocte uinculatos de claustris; te nostra vocabant suspiria, te larga requirebant lamenta; tu factus es spes desperatis magna consolacio in tormentis.⁵⁴

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁵⁵

ORDO IN FESTO SANCTO PASCHE.

ITEM ANTE MATUTINUM ITUR AD SEPULCHRUM ET CANUNTUR *antiphone* SUBSCRIPTÆ. ET TRES DOMINI SIMUL CANTENT PRIMAM *antiphonam*:

Ad monumentum venimus gementes; angelum Domini se <fol. cxlviii^v> dentem vidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus.

PRIMUS EORUM INCIPIT:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia.

<fol. cxlix^r>

SECUNDUS EORUM INCIPIT:

Surrexit Christus et illuxit populo suo quem redemit sanguine suo, alleluia.

TERTIUS EORUM INCIPIT:

Venit Maria nuncians di <fol. cxlix^v> scipulis quia vidi Dominum, alleluia.

DEINDE LEGANTUR ORATIONES QUE IN PARASCEUE LEGEBANTUR Fol. cxi ANTE CRUCEM FLEXIS GENIBUS, scilicet:

Domine Ihesu Christe.

⁵¹ antiphonam] antiphanam (MS).

⁵² As to the reading *patescunt* I am uncertain.

⁵³ portas] portans (MS).

⁵⁴ Followed immediately by the rubric: Deinde Matutinum peragitur more suo.

⁵⁵ *Reverendissimi in Christo . . . Episcopi Eistetensis iussu . . . bene vertat*, 1539, fol. cxlviii^r-cl^r.

FINITIS ORATIONIBUS PORTAT CORPUS CHRISTI AD CHORUM SEU AD LOCUM SUUM DEPUTATUM ET CANITUR ANTHIPONA SUBSCRIPTA SUBMISSA VOCE;

Cum rex glorie Christus infernum debellaturus intraret, et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli preciperet, sanctorum populus qui tenebatur in morte captius <fol. cl^r> voce lacrimabili clamauerat: Advenisti desiderabilis quem expectabamus in tenebris, vt educeres hac nocte vinculatos de claustris; te nostra vocabant suspiria, te larga requirebant lamenta; tu factus es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis, alleluia.

DEINDE FIT PULSUS CAMPANIS, ET MATUTINUM PERAGITUR MORE SUO.

The Eichstätt *Depositio* is unusual in its close attachment to the *Missa Præsanctificationum*. Immediately after the Communion the Celebrant carries to the *sepulchrum* certain particles of the Host used in the Mass,⁵⁶ along with the empty chalice and the Cross. These objects he reverently lays down during the singing of two responsories.

It will be observed that the two texts of the *Elevatio* are substantially identical. At the *sepulchrum*, before Easter Matins, are rendered some four antiphons and a series of prayers. Then during the singing of the antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ* the *Corpus Christi* is carried to the choir, or to some other appropriate destination. The dramatic theme of the *Descensus* latent in this antiphon is in no wise developed. Noteworthy is the silence of the rubrics concerning the Cross.

Somewhat more highly elaborated than the versions from Eichstätt are those from Meissen. Of the *Depositio* from this church we possess the following two texts:⁵⁷

⁵⁶ That no Host was reserved on Holy Thursday specifically for the *Depositio* appears from the following rubric in the *Missale* of 1517 (fol. lxxviii^r): *Duas hostias maiores, quarum unam ipse in hac Missa sumat, alteram uero in crastinum pro celebrante officium reseruet.*

⁵⁷ One of these texts is found in *Benedictionale siue Agenda secundum ritum et consuetudinem Ingenuæ ecclesie Misnensis*, Meissen, 1512, fol. xxxvii^v–xxxviii^r, reprinted in *Liturgische Bibliothek*, Vol. I (ed. A. Schönfelder), Paderborn, 1904, p. 14. A similar text from *Agenda Numburgense*, Nuremberg, 1502, fol. Lxxiiii, is reprinted *ibid.*, p. 69. The second text of the *Depositio* printed below is found in *Breuiarius denuo reuisus et emendatus Ceremonias Ritum canendi legendi ceterasque consuetudines in choro insignis et ingenuæ Misnensis Ecclesie obseruandas compendiose explicans*, Meissen, 1520, sig. F 3 recto (British Museum). I reprint also the *Elevatio* from this book (sig. F 4 verso). The *Visitatio* (sig. F 4 verso–F 5 recto) has been reprinted by Lange, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, XLI, 82–83.



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bier,⁶³ and that the *Host* is carried by the Officiant. The processional piece is the responsory *Ecce quomodo*. The *Host* and the bier bearing the Crucifix are placed upon the altar in the Chapel of Simon and Jude, where the *sepulchrum* is arranged. After the sprinkling and the censuring of the *pheretrum*, the seven penitential psalms are said,⁶⁴ followed by a versicle and a collect. The procession returns to the choir with the singing of the responsory *Sepulto Domino*.

The *Elevatio* from Meissen is as follows:

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁶⁵

IN NOCTE PASCHE ANTE PULSUM MATUTINARUM CIRCA HORAM UNDECIMAM AD LEVATIONEM CRUCIS PIAT CONUENTUS IN CHORO, ET OMNES PERSONE ACCIPIUNT LUMINA ARDENTIA IN MANUS. ET TRES CANONICI MAIORES CAPPIS RUBEIS SERICEIS INDUTI, SEQUENTE EOS CONUENTU, EXEUNT PROCESSIONALITER CHORUM PER IANUAS DOMINORUM PREPOSITI ET DECANI CUM VEXILLIS, THURIBULIS, ET CANDELIS AD SEPULCHRUM CUM SEPTEM PSALMIS QUI IN CHORO INCIPIUNTUR SINE Gloria patri. QUIBUS DICTIS, DICITUR Alleluia. ET TUNC PREDICTI MAIORES CANONICI THURIFICENT CRUCEM ET LEUANT CANTANDO SUBMISSA VOCE CUM CHORO:

Resurrexi.

DUO RECIPIUNT IMAGINEM RESURRECTIONIS ET MAIOR SACRAMENTUM, ET OMNES REDEANT AD CHORUM. IMAGINE AD MEDIUM SUMMI ALTARIS LOCATA ET SACRAMENTO IN SUMMO ALTARI POSITO CANTETUR *antiphona*:

Cum rex glorie, SUBMISSA VOCE.

QUA PINITA, DECANUS AUT PREPOSITUS DICAT VERSUM:

In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia,

CHORO RESPONDENTE:

Celum et terra letentur, alleluia.

Collecta:

Presta, quesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut in resurrectione.

POSTEA CANONICI OSCULENTUR IMAGINEM ET OFFERENT, ET DETUR PAX CIRCUMSTANTIBUS. DATA PACE, QUILIBET DICAT ALTERI:

Surrexit Dominus vere, alleluia.

⁶³ The fact that the bier (*pheretrum*) supports the Crucifix is made clearer in the rubrics of the *Elevatio*, printed below. In the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* together the Crucifix seems to be designated by a variety of words: *corpus*, *crux*, *imago*. The *Host* is uniformly called *sacramentum*. The expression *Imago resurrectionis* puzzles me. It may indicate a special object, or it may—inappropriately, it would seem—refer to the Crucifix, or to the *Corpus* upon the Crucifix. See above, p. 81, note 38.

⁶⁴ The use of these psalms allies the *Depositio*, once more, to such forms of the *Adoratio* as that seen in St. Athelwold's *Concordio Regularis*. See above, pp. 20–22.

⁶⁵ *Breviarius . . . Misnensis Ecclesie . . .*, Meissen, 1520, sig. F 4 verso.

ET ILLE RESPONDEAT:

Et apparuit Petro, *alleluia*.

TUNC CANTOR VEL UNUS *Dominorum* INCIPIAT ALTE:

Christ ist enstanden.

TUNC CAMPANATOR ACCEDAT *et* LUMINA ACCIPIAT, ET AD LOCA DESTINATA APPONAT; IBIQUE *quamdiu* DURENT, ARDEANT. HIIS PERACTIS PULSENTUR CAMPANE.⁶⁶

This procession to the *sepulchrum*, before Matins, begins with the saying of seven psalms. After the censing of the Crucifix, it is taken up from the *sepulchrum* while the Introit *Resurrexi*⁶⁷ is being rendered. During the singing of the antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ* the *Imago Resurrectionis*⁶⁸ and the Host are carried separately to the choir and placed upon the altar. After a versicle and a response, a collect is said, the *Imago Resurrectionis* is kissed, and the *Pax* is administered. The office closes appropriately with the singing of the vernacular *Christ ist enstanden*.⁶⁹

Although clearly belonging in the succession of texts now under examination, the following *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from Regensburg present unusual aspects:⁷⁰

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁷¹

DICTIS VESPERIS SACERDOTES QUI INDUTI CASULIS AD ALTARE MINISTRABANT ACCIPIUNT CRUCEM UT EAM PRECEDENTIBUS EOS MINISTRIS CUM CEREIS *et* THURIBULO COLLOCENT IN SEPULCHRUM. Post HOS SEQUITUR DOMINUS ABBAS DEFERENS CORPUS DOMINICUM IN APERTO. HOS SEQUITUR CONUENTUS CANTANS *Responsorium*:

Ecce quomodo moritur, CUM VERSU.

Responsorium:

Recessit pastor, CUM VERSU.

⁶⁶ Followed immediately by Matins.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 35.

⁶⁸ The precise meaning of the term *Imago Resurrectionis* I do not know; nor am I certain as to the relation of the object signified to the *Imago Crucifixi*, discussed above. See p. 81.

⁶⁹ See Lange, pp. 99-129. *Erstanden* is, of course, the usual reading.

⁷⁰ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 14183, Ordinarium Monasterii Sancti Emmeranni Ratisbonensis saec. xv, fol. 47^v-48^r, 50^v. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* are now published for the first time. The important *Visitatio* from this manuscript has been published by N. C. Brooks, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 300-302. It will be observed that the texts now printed differ substantially from those printed above (pp. 88-89) from the Regensburg *Ordinarium* in Munich MS 26947.

⁷¹ Munich, Cod. lat. 14183, fol. 48^r-48^v.

Antiphona:

Ioseph ab Arimathia.

INTERIM DOMINUS ABBAS ET SACERDOTES LOCAVERUNT CRUCEM ET CORPUS DOMINI SUPER SEPULCHRUM, ET IPSUM OPERIENTES LINTHEO INCENSANT, ET CANTANT RESPONSORIUM:

Sepulto Domino.

FINITO RESPONSORIO DOMINUS ABBAS, DICTO PATER NOSTER, DICAT VERSUM:

Tu autem, Domine, miserere mei.

Oratio:

Deus, qui filium tuum unigenitum.

TUNC DOMINUS ABBAS CLAM <fol. 48^v> SUB CASULAM ACCIPIT CORPUS DOMINI, ET PRECEDENTIBUS EUM CEREIS PORTAT IPSUM IN SACRARIUM MORE SOLITO RESERVANDUM. DEINDE EXTRAHUNT SE MINISTRI ET IPSI ET CONUENTUS INDUUNT CALCEOS ET PREPARANT SE AD REFECTIONEM. PULSATAQUE TABULA, UENIUNT AD REFECTORIUM.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS>⁷²

IN SANCTA NOCTE ANTE PULSATAS MATUTINAS, DOMINUS ABBAS ET SENIORES VENIUNT AD SEPULCHRUM CUM CANDELIS ET INCENSO ET ASPERSORIO SUBMISSA VOCE DICENTES PSALMUM:

Domine, probasti me, TOTUM.

Sequitur Pater noster. Versus:

In resurrectione tua, Xpiste, alleluia.

Oratio:

Deus, qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum eternitatis.

TUNC DOMINUS ABBAS THURIFICAT CRUCEM ET ASPERGIT. TOLLENS CRUCEM SUPER HUMERUM SUUM CANTOR SUBMISSA VOCE INCIPIT:

Cum rex glorie.

QUO FINITO SEQUITUR:

Alleluia, surrexit pastor bonus.

ET SIC CIRCUMEUNT TOTUM AMBITUM. ET INTRANTIBUS CHORUM DOMINUS ABBAS ASSIGNAT CRUCEM ECCLESIASTICO AD AMBONEM, QUI EAM CUM HONORE DEBITO LOCABIT AD LOCUM SUUM. POST HEC DATUR SIGNUM AD PULSANDAS MATUTINAS.

The *ordo* for the *Depositio* provides that after Vespers both the Cross and the Host be carried in the procession and placed upon the *sepulchrum*. The *sepulchrum* is now covered with a cloth⁷³ and censed. At the close of the office, after saying the *Pater Noster* and a collect, the abbot privately carries the Host from the *sepulchrum* to the sacristy, where it is reserved with accustomed reverence. In so far as the present study is con-

⁷² *Id.*, fol. 50^v.

⁷³ I construe the Latin to mean that both the *sepulchrum* and the objects upon it are thus covered.



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EPISCOPUS TERCIO ALTIUS CANTET:

Elevamini, UT SUPRA.

CHORUS SIMILITER:

Quis est iste rex glorie? Dominus virtutum, UT SUPRA.

TUNC APERTO SEPULCHRO, EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII INGREDIATUR SEPULCHRUM, ET ABLATO AMICTU CRUCEM ET SACRAMENTUM THURIFICET; INDE CEREUM QUEM TENET ACCENDAT A CEREIO INFRA SEPULCHRUM, EX QUO OMNES ALII CEREI ACCENDANTUR. POSTEA EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII ELEUANS CRUCEM ET SACRAMENTUM CONIUNCTIM DE SEPULCHRO INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM:

Domine, abstraxisti,

ET PINE TENUS CANTET. CHORUS PSALMUM:

Exaltabo te, Domine,

PROSEQUATUR; ET IN FINE POST UNUMQUEMQUE VERSUM PSALMI PIAT REPETITIO ANTIPHONE, SCILICET: Domine, abstraxisti, QUOUSQUE SANCTA CRUX AB EPYSCOPO VEL EXECUTORE OFFICII SUPER ALTARE OFFERATUR, ET QUOUSQUE VEXILUM SANCTE CRUCIS APPOSITUM FUERIT; ET VEXILO APPOSITO EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII INCIPIAT HUNC VERSUM:

Consurgit Christus tumulo,

CHORO PROSEQUENTE:

Victor redit de baratro.

DEINDE EPISCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII:

Quesumus, auctor omnium,

CHORUS:

In hoc paschali gaudio.

EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII:

Gloria tibi, Domine.

HIC OMNES GENUFLECTANT, ET PULSENTUR OMNIA SIGNA, CHORO PROSEQUENTE:

Qui surrexisti a mortuis.

TUNC EPYSCOPUS ALTA VOCE INCIPIAT ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluya, alleluya, alleluya.

EPYSCOPUS VEL EXECUTOR OFFICII DICAT VERSICULUM:

Dicite in nationibus.

Responsio:

Quia Dominus regnavit in ligno, alleluya.

ORATIO:

Deus, qui pro nobis . . . famulis tuis, ut resurrectionis eius gratiam consequamur.

QUE TERMINETUR SIC:

Per eundem Cristum Dominum nostrum.

CHORUS RESPONDEAT:

Amen.

NEC PRECEDAT NEC SEQUATUR Dominus vobiscum, NEC Benedicamus Domino. TUNC ACCENDANTUR DUO CEREI, ET PONANTUR A DEXTRIS ET A SINISTRIS CRUCIS; NON AMOVEANTUR USQUE AD PROCESSIONEM. SEPULCRUM VERO STET OSTIO APERTO VACUUM USQUE POST VESPERAS HAC DIE IN TESTIMONIUM RESURRECTIONIS. POSTEA REDEANT IN CAPITULUM EODEM ORDINE QUO VENERUNT. EPYSCOPUS VERO HAC DIE POST DEBITAM CAMPANARUM PULSATIONEM ASSUMPTIS PONTIFICIBUS ASCENDAT AD SEDEM SUUM, ET IBI INCIPIAT MATUTINAS HOC MODO.

The Hereford use provides that after midnight the whole *conventus* shall pass from the chapter-house to the *sepulchrum* in the church, the place being lighted only by the Easter candle and the candle at the door of the sepulchre. During the procession is sung lugubriously the familiar antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ*. At the door of the *sepulchrum* the bishop sings the antiphon *Elevamini*, to which the chorus responds *Quis est iste rex gloriæ?* This challenge and response are delivered three times, each time in a higher tone. The bishop now enters the *sepulchrum*, censes the Cross and *Host*, and from the sepulchre-candle lights his own candle and that in the hand of each cleric in the procession. He next takes up from the *sepulchrum* both Cross and *Host*, and proceeds with the Cross to the altar.⁷⁷ The raising of the Cross and *Host* is accompanied by the singing of the psalm *Exaltabo* and its antiphon *Domine abstraxisti*. After a banner (*vexillum*) has been attached to the Cross, appropriate persons deliver several versicles and responses, an antiphon, and a prayer; and leaving a light on either side of the Cross, the procession returns to the chapter-house. In commemoration of the Resurrection the door of the *sepulchrum* is left open throughout the day.

Although it will be readily admitted that in this version of the *Elevatio* the theme of the *Descensus* advances to the stage of dramatic dialogue, it will be observed both that the advance stops short of impersonation, and that it results in certain improprieties in detail. The use of the sepulchre itself as a *limbus* involves an obvious jostling of concepts, and the utterance of the choir, in that it includes both interrogation (*Quis est?*) and reply (*Dominus virtutum*), ignores dramatic consistency.

That improprieties of this sort were perceived and removed is clear from other versions of the *Elevatio*, such as that used at the cathedral of Bamberg. In the case of this church, however, we are fortunate in possessing the text not only of the *Elevatio*, but also of all the other offices and ceremonials associated with the *sepulchrum*.⁷⁸ The reservation of a par-

⁷⁷ The disposal of the *Host* is not elucidated.

⁷⁸ *Agenda Bambergensia* . . . , Ingolstadii, 1587 (Munich, Hofbibliothek), Part II, pp. 489–490, 522–527, 585–597, 597–604. The *Depositio* is now reprinted for the first time. The *Elevatio* and *Visitatio* have been reprinted

ticular *Host* for use at the sepulchre, for example, is provided for in the following rubric from *Holy Thursday*:

Quoniam Ecclesia Catholica in die sancto Parasceves Corpus Christi consecrare non solet, idcirco Parochus sub sacro hodierno duas Hostias maiores consecret, quarum unam in Missa sumat, alteram vero in sequentem diem sumendam servet; eamque corporali involutam, peracto sacro, reverenter, praecedente lumine, et campanula tinniente, portet; atque recondat eo in loco, ubi aliae Hostiae consecratae asservari consueverunt. In Ecclesiis porro maioribus, Tertia quoque Hostia magna consecretur, quae postridie in Sepulchrum Domini posita, ibidem a populo Christiano usque ad tempus Dominicae resurrectionis adorari queat. Et haec quoque Hostia cum praedicta coniugatur et asservetur.⁷⁹

In this rubric we are given the special information that the *Host* for the *Depositio* was of large size, and that it was to be exposed for general adoration from Friday until Easter.

The *Depositio* is ordered as follows:

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁸⁰

POSTEA⁸¹ REDEAT AD ALTARE, ET ACCIPIAT HOSTIAM MAGNAM CONSECRATAM, UNA CUM PARVA CRUCE, IBI RELICTAM, EAMQUE AD SEPULCHRUM PORTET, ITE-

by Lange in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XXIX (1885), pp. 247-251, and the *Visitatio* alone is reprinted again by Lange in *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, No. 141, pp. 12, 93-95. Because of their general resemblances to the texts from Bamberg, we may appropriately mention here the versions from Mainz, Wurzburg, and Augsburg. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from Mainz are published by the present writer in *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, Part II, 914-915. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from Wurzburg are reprinted from a service-book of the year 1564 by G. Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Wolfenbuettel, 1880, pp. 134-135. The *sepulchrum* offices of Augsburg are accessible in several prints. From *Obsequialis secundum diocesis Augustensis morem*, 1487, Milchsack (pp. 127-129) reprints the *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio*. From *Ritus Ecclesiastici Augustensis Episcopatus*, Dilingæ, 1580, Milchsack (pp. 131-132) and Lange (No. 170, pp. 108-110) have reprinted the *Visitatio*. The *Elevatio* (pp. 582-593) has, I believe, not been reprinted. The *Depositio* referred to in a rubric (p. 517) may be supplied from *Missale . . . Augustensis Ecclesie*. Dilingæ, 1555, fol. 114^v (British Museum), not yet reprinted. In *Obsequiale . . . secundum ecclesiam Augustensem*, [Augsburg, 1499] (British Museum) are found a *Depositio* (fol. xv^r-xv^v), an *Elevatio* (fol. xxx^v-xxxii^v), and a *Visitatio* (fol. xxxii^v-xxxiii^v), none of which has, I believe, been reprinted.

⁷⁹ *Agenda Bambergensia*, Ingolstadii, 1587, pp. 489-490.

⁸⁰ *Id.*, pp. 522-527.

⁸¹ Preceded immediately by the Communion of the *Missa Præsanctificatorum*.



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<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁸⁴

ORDO CELEBRANDI COMMEMORATIONEM DOMINICAE RESURRECTIONIS IN SANCTA NOCTE.

ET HAEC QUOQUE DOMINICAE RESURRECTIONIS COMMEMORATIO CELEBRIORIBUS SERVIT ECCLESIIIS. UNDE ALIARUM ECCLESiarUM, UT POTE MINORUM ET RURALIUM RECTORES ET PAROCHI, EX ORDINE HIC DESCRIPTO, ALIQUID SALTEM DESUMERE POSSUNT, QUOD PRO LOCI ET PERSONARUM ILLIC CONVENIENTIUM QUALITATE COMMODUM PORE IUDICAVERINT.

UBI IGITUR CORPUS DOMINI IN DIE PARASCEVES SEPULCHRO IMPOSITUM, INDE ELEVANDUM EST, SEQUENS SERVETUR MODUS. <p. 586> CIRCA HORAM NOCTIS HUIUS SACRAE UNDECIMAM POPULUS CHRISTIANUS AD SEPULCHRUM DOMINI CONVENIAT, SACERDOS VERO SUPERPELLICEO, STOLA, ET PLUVIALI, SEU CAPPA, UT VOCANT, CHORALI INDUTUS, E SACRARIO PRODEAT, VERSUSQUE SEPULCHRUM LENTO GRADU PERGAT, PRAECEDENTIBUS IPSUM DUOBUS CEROFERARIIS, UNOQUE ET ALTERO CLERICO SIMILITER SUPERPELLICEATO SEQUENTE. AD SEPULCHRUM UBI PERVENERINT, IN GENUA PROCUMBANT, SICQUE CORAM VENERABILI SACRAMENTO SEQUENTES DUOS PSALMOS, FLEXIS GENIBUS, DEUOTE RECITENT:

Psalmus iii. Domine, quid multiplicati⁸⁵ . . <p. 587> super populum tuum benedictio tua. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, etc.

Psalmus cxxxviii. Domine, probasti⁸⁵ . . , <p. 590> et deduc me in via aeterna. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc et semper, et in secula seculorum, Amen.

Kyrie eleison. Christe eleison. Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster, etc. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera, etc.

Versus: In resurrectione tua, Christe, alleluia.

Responsum: Coelum et terra laetentur, alleluia. <p. 591>

Oremus:

Gregem tuum, Pastor bone, placatus intende, et oves, quas pretioso sanguine redemisti, diabolica non sinas incursione lacerari. Qui cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti vivis ac regnas Deus, per omnia secula seculorum.

Responsum: Amen.

HIS DICTIS, APERIATUR SEPULCHRUM, FIATQUE THURIFICATIO ET AQUAE BENEDICTAE ASPERSIO SUPER VENERABILE SACRAMENTUM, ET PARVAM CRUCIFIXI IMAGINEM, QUAE UTRAQUE DEINDE SACERDOS REVERENTER IN MANUS CAPIAT, VERSUSQUE AD POPULUM SEQUENTEM ANTIPHONAM TRIBUS VICIBUS, VOCE SEMPER ALTIUS ELEVATA, INCIPIAT, AC RELIQUUM CHORUS PROSEQUATUR:

Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro.

CHORUS:

Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia.

POSTEA INSTITUATUR PROCESSIO, VEL PER COEMITERIUM, VEL (SI TUTUM NON VIDEBITUR) PER TEMPLI AMBITUM, HOC MODO: PRIMO PRAECEDANT DUO CERO-

⁸⁴ *Agenda Bambergense*, Ingolstadii, 1587, pp. 585-597.

⁸⁵ In the print these psalms are given in full.

FERARII PRAEDICTI, QUOS IMMEDIATE SEQUANTUR DUO SACERDOTES, VEL CLERICI, PORTANTES EAM CRUCIFIXI IMAGINEM MAGNAM, QUAM CASULA COOPERTAM, IN DIE PARASCEVES GESTAVERUNT DUO SACERDOTES. DEINDE SUBSEQUATUR SACERDOS CUM VENERABILI SACRAMENTO ET SANCTA CRUCE, QUAE UTRAQUE PAULO ANTE EX SEPULCHRO LEVAVIT; CHORUS VERO CANTET ANTIPHONAM:

Cum rex gloriae Christus infernum debellaturus intraret, et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli praeciperet, sanctorum populus, qui tenebatur in morte captivus, voce lacrymabili clamaverat: Advenisti desiderabilis quem expectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac nocte vinculos de claustris; te nostra vocabant suspiria, te larga requirebant lamenta, tu factus es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis, alleluia.

UBI AD PRIMAM VEL PROXIMAM TEMPLI IANUAM VENTUM FUERIT, DUO SACERDOTES PRAEDICTI CUM STIPITE CRUCIFIXI TRIBUS VICIBUS FORTITER PERCITANT IANUAM, HUNCQUE IN MODUM INTER PERCUTIENDUM CANTENT:

Tollite portas principes vestras, et elevamini portae aeternales.

CHORUS QUOD SEQUITUR CANIT:

Et introibit Rex gloriae.

SIT DEINDE ALIQUIS IN TEMPLO (SI TAMEN EXTRA TEMPLUM PROCESSIO FIT; SI VERO IN TEMPLO INSTITUATUR PROCESSIO, SIT IS EXTRA TEMPLUM) QUI DIABOLI PERSONAM SIMULANS, FERRO, MALLEO, AUT CATHENA, FORTITER QUOQUE IMPINGAT IN IANUAM EANDEM, DICATQUE VEL CLAMET ALTA VOCE:

Quis est iste Rex gloriae?

MOX CHORUS, VEL EO DEFICIENTE, SACERDOS SUBIUNGAT:

Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in praelio.

POST HAEC CHORUS IN INCOEPTA, ET PAULO ANTE INTERRUPTA, ANTIPHONA: Cum Rex gloria, ETC. CANERE PERGAT, TOTAQUE PROCESSIO, ORDINE PRAEDICTO, VERSUS SECUNDAM TEMPLI IANUAM PROGREDIATUR, APUD QUAM OMNIA FIANT, UTI APUD PRIMAM. ET NOTANDUM QUOD HAEC UTRAQUE IANUA MANERE DEBET CLAUSA. QUANDO VERO AD ULTIMAM IANUAM VENERINT, FACTIS IBIDEM QUOQUE IIS QUAE CIRCA PRIMAM INDICAVIMUS, APERIRI DEBET ILLA. PER QUOD DESIGNATUR, VEL CIRCUMSTANTI POPULO AD OCULUM REPRAESENTATUR, QUOMODO CHRISTUS DOMINUS POST PASSIONEM SUO AD INFEROS DESCENSU, EUM INFERNI LOCUM QUI PATRUM LYMBUS DICITUR APERUERIT, VEL QUOD ALIBI DICITUR, PORTAS AEREAS VEL VECTES FERREOS CONFREGERIT, SUOSQUE CAPTIVOS INDE LIBERAVERIT. DEINDE CONTINUETUR ANTIPHONA: Cum Rex gloriae, ETC. USQUE AD FINEM, PERGATQUE PROCESSIO AD CHORUM TEMPLI. SACERDOS VERO GRADUS ALTARIS ASCENDAT, IBIQUE VERSUS POPULUM CONSISTENS, AC CHRISTI CORPUS ADHUC IN MANIBUS TENENS, CANTET TRIBUS VICIBUS, VOCE SEMPER ALTIUS ELEVATA: O vere digna hostia, ETC., CHORO VERSUM ILLUM PROSEQUENTE. <P. 596>

O vere digna hostia,

CHORUS: Per quam fracta sunt tartara,
redempta plebs captivata,
redit ad vitae praemia.

ADDATUR DEINCEPS EIUSDEM HYMNI ULTIMUS VERSUS, SACERDOTE INCIPIENTE:

Gloria tibi, Domine. CHORUS: Qui surrexisti a mortuis, cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu, in sempiterna secula, Amen.

SUB HOC ULTIMO VERSU, SACERDOS, PACTO SIGNO CRUCIS SUPER POPULUM CUM VENERABILI<P. 597>SACRAMENTO, PORTET ILLUD AD SUUM LCCUM IN QUO CONSERUARI SOLET; CHORUS VERO INCIPIAT:

Victimae paschali laudes, etc.

ET POST QUEMLIBET VERSUM, INSERAT UNUM TANTUM PASCHALEM GERMANICUM, QUEM POPULUS QUOQUE CELEBRITER DECANTET; SITQUE PRIMUS:

Christ ist erstanden, etc.

HOS CANTUS INVENIES IN PINE HUIUS LIBRI. POST HAEC INCIPIANTUR MATUTINAE.

According to this version, a general congregation is allowed to gather at the *sepulchrum*, where they are joined by a procession of clerics from the sacristy. After the saying of two psalms, the *Gloria Patri*, the *Kyrie*, the *Pater Noster*, a versicle, and a prayer, the *sepulchrum* is opened and the *Host* and *Cross* are censed and sprinkled, and elevated into general view. Both the *Host* and *Cross* are then carried in procession through the cemetery outside the church, the chorus singing the antiphon *Cum rex gloriæ*. When the procession reaches the first door of the church, the two priests who carry the *Magna Crux*⁸⁶ strike the door three times with the shaft, singing *Tollite portas*. A person within the church, representing Satan, responds with the words *Quis est iste rex gloriæ?* The chorus in the procession outside replies *Dominus fortis*. Since this door remains closed, the procession passes on and repeats the dialogue at a second portal. When this door yields, the procession enters the church and advances to the choir. This ceremonial at the church-doors, the rubric tells us, specifically represents the *Harrowing of Hell*. Having entered the choir, the priest sings three times the verse *O vere digna Hostia*. After the *Host* has been put in its accustomed place,⁸⁷ the choir sings the sequence *Victimæ paschali*, the congregation responding to each sentence with a verse of the vernacular hymn *Christ ist erstanden*.

Our consideration of the representations of the *Harrowing of Hell* may appropriately conclude with an examination of the fifteenth century texts from the monastery of Barking, near London, for the *Elevatio* from this church shows a remarkable development of the theme of the *Descensus*. First, however,

⁸⁶ This *Magna Crux*—apparently from the *Adoratio* of Good Friday—is to be distinguished from the *parva crux* placed in the *sepulchrum*.

⁸⁷ This may be the tabernacle of the main altar.



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indication is not decisive. The text mentions the *Ymago* alone as the object placed in the sepulchrum; but from the *Elevatio* we infer that the burial included also the *Host*.

We may now consider the *Elevatio*, for which we have the following *ordo*:

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>⁹⁴

Nota quod secundum antiquam consuetudinem ecclesiasticam Resur<R>exio Dominica celebrata fuit ante Matutinas, et ante aliquam campane pulsacionem in die Pasche. Et quoniam populorum concursus temporibus illis videbatur deuocione frigessere, et torpor humanus maxime accrescens, venerabilis Domina Katerina de Suttone, tunc pastoralis cure gerens vicem, desiderans dictum torporem penitus extirpare et fidelium deuocionem ad tam celeb<R>em celebracionem magis excitare, unanimi consensorum consensu instituit ut statim post iii. responsorium Matutinarum die Pasche fieret Dominice Resur<R>exionis celebracio, et hoc modo statuatur processio.

In primis eat Domina Abbatisa cum toto conuentu et quibusdam sacerdotibus et clericis capis indutis, quolibet sacerdote et clerico palmam et candelam extinctam manu deferente⁹⁵ intrent capellam Sancte Marie Magdalene, figurantes animas sanctorum patrum ante <P. 120> adventum Xpisti ad inferos descendentes, et claudant sibi ostium dicte capelle. Deinde superveniens sacerdos ebdomadarius ad dictam capellam appropians alba indutus et capa cum duobus diaconis, uno crucem deferente cum vexillo dominico desuper pendente, altero cum turribulo manu sua baiulante, et aliis sacerdotibus et clericis cum duobus pueris cereos deferentibus ad ostium dicte capelle incipiens ter hanc antiphonam:

Tollite portas.

Qui quidem sacerdos representabit personam Xpisti ad inferos descenduram et portas inferni dirupturam, et predicta antiphona unaquaque vice in altiori voce incipiatur, quam clerici tociens eandem repetant, et ad quamquam incepcionem pulset cum cruce ad predictum ostium, figurans dirupcionem portarum inferni; et tertia pulsacione ostium aperiat. Deinde ingrediatur ille cum ministris suis. Interim incipiat quidam sacerdos in capella existente antiphonam:

A porta inferi,

quam subinferat cantrix cum toto conventu:

Erue, Domine, et cetera.

Deinde extrahet sacerdos ebdomadarius omnes essentes in capella predicta, et interim incipiat sacerdos antiphonam:

Domine abstraxisti,

et cantrix subsequatur:

Ab inferis.

⁹⁴ University College MS 169, pp. 119-121.

⁹⁵ deferente] deferentem (MS).

Tunc OMNES EXEANT DE CAPELLA, ID EST, DE LIMBO PATRUM, et CANTENT SACERDOTES et CLERICI *Antiphonam*:

Cum REX GLORIE,

PROCESSIONALITER per MEDIUM CHORI AD SEPULCRUM PORTANTES SINGULI PALMAM et CANDELAM, DESIGNANTES UICTORIAM DE HOSTE RECUPERATAM, SUBSEQUENTIBUS DOMINA ABBATISSA, PRIORISSA, et TOTO CONUENTU SICUT SUNT PRIORES.

Et cum AD SEPULCRUM PERUENERINT, SACERDOS <P. 121> EBDOMADARIUS SEPULCRUM THURIFICET et INTRET SEPULCRUM INCIPIENDO *Versum*:

Consurgit.

DEINDE SUBSEQUATUR CANTRIX:

Xpistuc tumulo.⁹⁶

Versus:

Omnis auctor.

Versus:

Gloria tibi, Domine.

Et INTERIM ASPORTABIT CORPUS DOMINICUM DE SEPULCRO INCIPIENDO *Antiphonam*:

Xpistus resurgens,

CORAM ALTARI, verso UULTU AD POPULUM, TENENDO CORPUS DOMINICUM IN MANIBUS SUIS INCLUSUM CRISTALLO. DEINDE SUBIUNGAT CANTRIX:

Ex mortuis.

Et cum dicta *Antiphona* FACIANT PROCESSIONEM AD ALTARE Sancte TRINITATIS cum SOLENNI APPARATU, VIDELICET cum TURRIBULIS et CEREIS. CONUENTUS SEQUATUR CANTANDO *predictam Antiphonam* cum *Versu*:

Dicant nunc,

et *uersiculo*:⁹⁷

Dicite in nacionibus.

Oratio:

Deus qui pro nobis Filium tuum.

E HEC PROCESSIO FIGURATUR per HOC quo Xpistuc PROCEDIT post RESUR<R>XITONEM IN GALILEAM, SEQUENTIBUS DISCIPULIS.⁹⁸

From the generous rubrics in this text it appears that the present form of this office is due to the reform of Katherine of Sutton, Abbess of Barking from 1363 to 1376.⁹⁹ Although she recognizes the tradition of the *Elevatio* before Easter Matins, she undertakes to establish a special form of this office for observance *at the close of* Matins, directly before the usual *Visitatio*.

⁹⁶ tumulo] timulo (MS).

⁹⁷ uersiculo] uersiculus (MS).

⁹⁸ Immediately followed by a version of the *Visitatio Sepulchri*.

⁹⁹ See W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. I, London, 1846, p. 437.

The *Elevatio* divides itself naturally into two parts: a representation of the *Descensus*, and a raising of the *Host* from the *sepulchrum*. The representation of the *Descensus* occurs neither at the *sepulchrum* nor at the church doors, but, very appropriately, at the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen. Behind the closed doors of this chapel are imprisoned all the members of the *conventus*, representing the spirits *in limbo Patrum*. After a triple challenge, *Tollite portas*, from a priest without, the door of the chapel is opened and the imprisoned spirits are allowed to depart in procession toward the *sepulchrum*. The full rubrics explaining this representation leave little doubt that impersonation is deliberately intended.

The subsequent raising of the *Host* from the *sepulchrum* includes no novelties in the way of action. The central observance is the adoration of the *Host* at the main altar. The concluding procession from this altar to the altar of *Holy Trinity* is interpreted for us as representing the journey of Christ into Galilee. The absence from this office of all mention of the *Ymago Crucifixi*, used in the *Depositio*, is somewhat puzzling.

As we approach the end of the present section of this study, we have still to consider certain versions of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* which, by reason of one peculiarity or another, have thus far resisted classification, but which deserve at least brief notice. The following are fifteenth-century versions from Hungary:¹⁰⁰

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹⁰¹

INTERIM¹⁰² SUBCUSTOS EXPORTAT MONSTRANTIAM CUM SACRAMENTO PRO SEPULTURA AD ALTARE MAGNUM. HIS PERACTIS DESCENDAT CHORUS PROCESSIONALITER AD LOCUM UBI SEPULTURA ORDINATA¹⁰³ EST, EPISCOPO IPSOS CUM SACRAMENTO SEQUENTE, PRECEDENTIBUS QUATTUOR PRECEDENTIBUS SEU IUUENIBUS CUM BACULIS AURATIS CUM CANDELIS ACCENSIS. ET DOMINUS EPISCOPUS RECONDAT CRUCEM CUM SACRAMENTO REVERENTER THURIFICANDO

¹⁰⁰ Published by J. Dankó, *Vetus Hymnarium Ecclesiasticum Hungariae*, Budapest, 1893, pp. 535-538, from "Ordinarius Scepusiensis sive Strigoniensis saeculi decimi quinti e codice manuscripto Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Budapestinensis." With the *Depositio* should be compared the text from Gran printed above, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰¹ Dankó, pp. 535-536.

¹⁰² Immediately preceded by Vespers.

¹⁰³ sepultura ordinata] sepulturam ordinatam (Dankó).



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Special considerations of a different sort arise in connection with the following versions from Diessen:¹⁰⁷

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹⁰⁸

HIS FINITIS DUO *Presbyteri* INDUTI ALBIS PORTENT YMAGINEM que SEPULIENDA Est, PRECEDENTE CONUENTU CUM ACCENSIS CANDELIS ET THURIBULO; FACIANT PROCESSIONEM per ECCLESIAM CIRCUMEUNDO ET CANTANDO LUGUBRI VOCE RESPONSORIUM:

Ecce quomodo moritur. *Versus*: In pace factus.

POSTEA LOCENT YMAGINEM AD SEPULCHRUM CUM THURIFICATIONE et ASPERSIONE. ET DICANT *Vesperas* IBIDEM PRIVATIM. *Psalmus*: Confitebor, cum UERSICULO. SEQUITUR *Magnificat*. *Antiphona*: Cum accepisset. *Psalmus*: Miserere mei, cum ORATIONE. <FOL. 20^r> SEQUITUR RESPONSORIUM:

Sepulto Domino. *Versus*: Ne forte veniant.

ET SIC REDEANT IN CHORUM. TUNC COMPULSENTUR TABULE OMNES.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹⁰⁹

IN SANCTA NOCTE ANTE HOROLOGIUM DECANUS CUM SENIORIBUS TOLLANT YMAGINEM SALUATORIS, REPORTATO PRIUS SACRAMENTO, DE SEPULCHRO CUM PSALMO:

Domine, quid multiplicati.

ET CANTANT *Antiphonam*:

Surrexit Dominus.

CUM INCENSO ET ASPERSORIO PORTENT YMAGINEM SUPER SUMMUM ALTARE, ET OSCULENTUR EAM CUM GAUDIO ET DEUOCIONE. TUNC COMPULSENTUR OMNIA SIGNA.

The specialty of the Diessen *Depositio* is its apparent assimilation of Vespers. After the Communion of the Mass, when the *Imago* has been placed in the *sepulchrum*, Vespers are immediately said in this place *privatim*. At the close of Vespers is sung the responsory *Sepulto Domino*. Since this responsory is commonly associated with the closing action of the *Depositio*, the present version of this office may be viewed as including Vespers within itself.

The *Elevatio* raises no particular question except through the obscurity surrounding the use of the *Host*. Although the

¹⁰⁷ Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5545, Ordinarium Diessense saec. xv, fol. 19^v-20^v. The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from this manuscript are now published for the first time. The *Visitatio* has been published by N. C. Brooks in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, L, 305-306. It is possible that with these texts should be associated those cited above from Munich, Hofbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5546. See above, p. 88, note 71.

¹⁰⁸ Munich, Cod. Lat. 5545, fol. 19^v-20^r.

¹⁰⁹ *Id.*, fol. 20^v.

Depositio does not mention it, the *Elevatio* indicates that the Host must have been included in the burial, and that it was secretly removed from the *sepulchrum* before the time of the *Elevatio*, early Easter morning (*reportato prius Sacramento*).

The last texts that we need consider are the following from Regensburg:¹¹⁰

<DEPOSITIO CRUCIS>¹¹¹

EXPLETA AUTEM COMMUNIONE FIDELIUM, PARTICULAE CORPORIS CHRISTI, SI QUAE SUPERFUERINT, SERVENTUR ET PORTENTUR IN LOCUM HONESTUM.¹¹² QUIBUS OMNIBUS PERACTIS SACERDOS CUM MINISTRIS TOLLAT CRUCIFIXUM, QUOD REPRAESENTATUM FUERAT, ET DEFERANT AD SEPULCHRUM CANTANTES
Responsorium:

Recessit pastor noster, VEL
Ecce quomodo moritur.

TUNC LOCENT CRUCIFIXUM IN SEPULCHRUM, ET FLEXIS GENIBUS LEGANT VESPERAS SUBMISSA VOCE. POSTREMO CANTETUR LENTA VOCE CUM VERSU RESPONSORIUM:

Sepulto Domino.

TUNC SACERDOS DICAT *versum*:

In pace factus est,

ET ORATIONEM:

Respice.

ASPERGATUR ET THURIFICETUR.

<ELEVATIO CRUCIS ET HOSTIÆ>¹¹³

EPISCOPUS AUT PRAEPOSITUS AUT DECANUS SIVE SENIOR CANONICUS, INDUTUS STOLA, ANTE PULSUM MATUTINARUM, CONGREGATO CHORO, CUM PROCESSIONE ET DUOBUS LUMINIBUS, FORIS ECCLESIAE CLAUSIS, SECRETIUS TOLLAT SACRAMENTUM SEU CRUCIFIXUM; ET ANTEQUAM TOLLAT, DICANTUR PSALMI FLEXIS GENIBUS ET SINE Gloria Patri, videlicet:

Domine quid multiplicati sunt (Ps. 3),
Miserere mei Deus (Ps. 56),
Domine probasti me (Ps. 138).

SEQUITUR:

Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster. *Versus*: Et ne nos.

Versus: Exsurge Domine, adiuva, etc.

Versus: Foderunt manus meas, etc.

Versus: Domine exaudi, etc.

¹¹⁰ In connection with these texts should be considered those from Munich Cod. Lat. 26947, printed above, pp. 88-89.

¹¹¹ *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 432, from *Obsequiale Ratisbonense*, 1491.

¹¹² The liturgiologist of the *Decreta Authentica* infers (p. 432) that the *locus honestus* is the *sepulchrum*.

¹¹³ *Decreta Authentica*, IV, 440, from *Obsequiale Ratisbonense*, 1491.

ORATIO:

Da nobis, Domine, auxilium de tribulatione, qui dedisti pro nobis premium magnum, et quos mors Filii tui D. N. I. C. redemit, eorum vita te digne glorificet. Per eundem, etc.

FINITA COLLECTA ASPERGATUR ET THURIFICETUR CRUX, ET PORTETUR AD LOCUM SUUM, CUM *responsorium*:

Cum transisset Sabbatum, etc.,

MEDIA VOCE CANTATUR. ET ANTEQUAM CRUX IN SUUM LOCUM REPONATUR, TANGATUR PORTA ECCLESIAE CUM CRUCE ET DICATUR *versus*:

Quis est iste Rex gloriae?

Responsum:

Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in praelio.

FINITO RESPONSORIO EPISCOPUS VEL SACERDOS DICAT SUBMISSA VOCE *versus*:

In resurrectione tua, Christe, allel.

Responsum:

Coelum et terra laetentur, allel.

ORATIO:

Deus, qui hodierna die etc. (ex Offic. Dom. Resurr.)

SEQUITUR:

Versus: Surrexit Dominus vere, allel.

Responsum: Gaudeamus omnes, allel.

FINITIS HIS INCIPIATUR PULSUS MATUTINARUM, ET FINITO TERTIO RESPONSORIO REINCIPIATUR IDEM RESPONSORIUM:

Cum transisset, etc.

ET FIET PROCESSIO CUM TOTO CHORO AD SEPULCHRUM, IBIQUE PERFICIETUR RESPONSORIUM. QUO FINITO DUO PRESBYTERI STANTES ANTE SEPULCHRUM, ACCEPTIS (SIC!) OBUMBRALI LOCO SUDARII EXTENDENTESQUE ILLUD CANTENT ALTA VOCE TOTAM ANTIPHONAM:

Surrexit Dominus de Sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, alleluia.

ET CANTATA ANTIPHONA, EPISCOPUS, PRAEPOSITUS, VEL DECANUS AUT SENIOR CANONICUS INCIPIAT CANTICUM LAETITIAE:

Te Deum.

CUM QUO REDITUR AD CHORUM ET COMPLETUR MATUTINUM IBIDEM.

In its organic relation to Vespers, the *Depositio* of Regensburg resembles that of Diessen.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the *Elevatio* is the use of an abbreviated form of the *Descensus* dialogue *Quis est iste Rex gloriae?* This brief dialogue is introduced *after* the taking up of the Cross, and the familiar command *Tollite portas* is omitted.

Brief mention should be made, finally, of the embryonic version of the *Visitatio*, at the close of Matins. Between the last responsory and the *Te Deum*, a procession visits the empty *sepulchrum*, where at the displaying of a veil representing the *sudarium*, is sung the antiphon *Surrexit Dominus*.



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I infer that the *Depositio*, along with the complementary *Elevatio*, was the original development, and that the *Visitatio* attached itself to the *sepulchrum* later, as a sequel. In support of this inference I would cite first the difference between the *Depositio-Elevatio* and the *Visitatio* in liturgical content and tone. The former dramatic sequence is completely liturgical in content, devoid of original composition and of dialogue. The *Visitatio*, on the other hand, is essentially a free composition. Although the developed versions of it contain numerous liturgical pieces,² the invariable central element of the *Visitatio* is an independent literary production: the dialogued trope *Quem quæritis in sepulchro*.³ I infer that if the *Visitatio* had preceded the *Depositio-Elevatio*, the later offices would, through natural imitation, have reflected something of the dialogue and freer composition of the *Visitatio*. That the *Visitatio* should not have conformed to the liturgical rigor of the *Depositio-Elevatio* is due, apparently, to the fact that the *Visitatio* brought to the *sepulchrum* an independent literary dialogue ready for dramatic use.

Another consideration leads me to the same general conclusion as to the priority of the *Depositio-Elevatio*. From the present study nothing is more apparent than that these offices, however *dramatic* their ceremonials, never in themselves developed true drama. That is to say, the performers never impersonated the characters concerned. However imitative or commemorative the acts may have been, the agents in the action never specifically assumed the personalities involved in the story inspiring the action.⁴ In the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, on the other hand, impersonation is frequent. Of this fact one of the earliest extant versions of the *Visitatio*,—from St. Athel-

² See Lange, pp. 167-170, *et pass.*

³ See, for example, *id.*, pp. 131-132; Chambers, II, 28; and above, p. 7.

⁴ In making this statement I have in mind what we may call the normal forms of the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, which are concerned with the laying down (or "burial") and the raising (or "resurrection") of the Cross or Host, or of both. The dramatic treatment of the Harrowing of Hell, added to certain versions of the *Elevatio*, does sometimes develop impersonation (See above, pp. 117-122); but the *Descensus* is not the central theme of either the *Depositio* or the *Elevatio*. In their central action, the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* do not develop impersonation.

wold's *Concordia Regularis*,—may serve as an illustration. Whereas in the pages above⁵ we have found that the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* from this document involve no impersonation at all, the *Visitatio* prescribes it with insistent explicitness in such rubrics as the following:

Dumque tertium percelebratur responsorium residui tres succedant, omnes quidem cappis induti turribula cum incensu manibus gestantes, ac pedetemptim ad similitudinem querentium quid ueniant ante locum Sepulchri. Aguntur enim hec ad imitationem Angeli sedentis in monumento atque mulierum cum aromatibus venientium ut ungerent corpus Jhesu.⁶

Now I assume that if the *Visitatio*, with impersonation of this sort, had preceded the *Depositio* and *Elevatio*, these latter offices would, in some measure, have imitated the *Visitatio* in this important aspect. The consistent absence of impersonation from the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* seems to me to indicate that they had attained their rigid liturgical character before the advent of the *Visitatio*.

I may, then, summarize my conception of the development as follows:

1) The authorized liturgy itself early developed the idea of *sepulchrum* in connection with such ritualistic objects as the altar, the tabernacle, and the chalice.

2) Availing themselves of this idea of burial, the extra-liturgical *Depositio* and *Elevatio* arose, in the course of the tenth century, under the influence especially of the reservation on Holy Thursday and of the *Adoratio Crucis* of Good Friday.⁷ In many cases the *Depositio* allies itself to the authorized liturgy with especial intimacy.⁸ I infer that the *Depositio* was invented first, and that the *Elevatio* arose as a necessary complement. The two offices are mutually complete,⁹ and both are essentially liturgical in spirit and content.

3) During the early years of the tenth century was produced the trope *Quem quæritis in sepulchro* as an independent

⁵ See pp. 73–74.

⁶ Logemann, in *Anglia*, XIII, 427.

⁷ See above, pp. 9–29.

⁸ See above, for example, pp. 73, 76.

⁹ “The *Depositio* and *Elevatio* mutually presuppose each other and, together, are complete” (Chambers, II, 25).

literary composition in the form of dialogue.¹⁰ During the course of the tenth century this trope was very appropriately brought into association with the *sepulchrum*, and its dialogue became the basis of the dramatic *Visitatio Sepulchri*.¹¹ This office formed a fitting, but not an inevitable, sequel for the *Depositio-Elevatio*.

Many churches observed both the *Depositio-Elevatio* and the *Visitatio*; but since the former sequence is complete in itself, and since the *Visitatio* is quite capable of independent performance, a church could freely omit either the one or the other.¹²

¹⁰ See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX, 5-13. See above, p. 7.

¹¹ Some may wish to argue that *Depositio*, *Elevatio*, and *Visitatio* attached themselves to the *sepulchrum* simultaneously. As I have suggested above, these persons will have to account for the fact that even at an early period (represented by the *Concordia Regularis* of St. Athelwold) the *Visitatio* became true drama, whereas the *Depositio-Elevatio* never attained this development.

¹² Disregard of this simple fact sometimes leads to the investigator's confusion. The rarity of the *Visitatio* in England, for example, might seem puzzling in view of the large number of "Easter sepulchres" still to be seen throughout the country. These sepulchres, in general, were evidently designed not for the *Visitatio*, but for versions of the *Depositio-Elevatio*, such as those from Sarum, York, and Exeter. See above, for example, pp. 97-100.



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CONTENTS

- The Plundering of the *Hoard* in *Beowulf*
Frank Gaylord Hubbard 5
- Sentimental Morality in Wordsworth's Narrative
Poetry
Oscar James Campbell - 21
- The Scansion of Middle English Alliterative Verse
William Ellery Leonard 58
- The Sources of Milton's *History of Britain*
Harry Glicksman 105



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very beginning of the narrative (2208-11) we are told that Beowulf's reign was fortunate until the dragon began his devastation. This is followed by a brief account of the discovery of the hoard by the fugitive, the story of its hiding, the rousing of the dragon, and his devastation (in which we have, ll. 2309-11, a foreshadowing of the fatal ending). We are *then* told of Beowulf's great grief at this disaster, his thought that he must have greatly angered God to bring such a calamity upon his people:

brēost innam wēoll
þēostrum geþoncum, swā him geþywe ne wæs⁴

A few lines farther (2342-44), after an account of the preparation of the iron shield, it is intimated that this is all in vain, Beowulf is doomed to meet his death in the combat with the dragon:

Sceolde lān⁵-daga
æþeling ær-gōd ende gobīdan
worulde līfes.

He was over-confident in his determination to fight the dragon alone; he underestimated the prowess of the monster (2345-49). As he approaches the conflict, the impending doom casts its shadow:

þenden hāelo ābeād heorð-genēatum,
gold-wine Gēata. Him wæs gēomor sefa,
wāfre ond wæl-fūs, wyrd ungemete nēah.⁶

When the warriors go to look upon their fallen lord, the poet emphasizes the strange manner of his death:

þā wæs ende-dæg
gōdum gegongen, þæt se gūð-cyning,
Wedra þēoden, wundor-dēaðe swealt.⁷

⁴ Ll. 2331-32.

⁵ MS *þend*.

⁶ Ll. 2418-20.

⁷ Ll. 3035-37.



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Now the first motive, which is more in keeping with Beowulf's high character, has the effect of emphasizing the fact that he was not morally responsible for the tragic result, and it accords with the prominent motive in the account of the discovery of the hoard, namely, that the discoverer was prompted by no desire to win the hoard. The wretched fugitive, seeking shelter, comes by accident upon the entrance to the dragon's lair; he carries off the cup, not from a desire to possess the treasure, but in order that he may bring about a reconciliation that will put an end to his desolate condition.¹⁴

This hoard was cursed, like Fafnir's treasure, and we see the fateful working of the curse in the death of Beowulf; there is a likeness, too, in the fates of the hoards; one lies at the bottom of the Rhine, the other in *Bēowulf's Beorh*,

eldum swā unnyt swā hi[t ær]or wæs.

But in the *Bēowulf* (and this is the striking feature of the story) the treasure is not sought by gold-greedy men; the hero slays the dragon to protect his people; the dragon was roused by a poor wretch, who took but a single piece¹⁵ for the purpose of bringing an end to his woeful condition. This insignificant man, by an act innocent of hostile intent to the dragon, set in motion the fateful train of circumstance that ended in the death of Beowulf.

II

THE PLUNDERER OF THE HOARD WAS A SLAVE

I pass now to a consideration of the much disputed question of the plunderer's social status: Was he *þegn* or *þēow*? a thane or a slave? Lawrence gives a full discussion of the state of the manuscript at line 2223,

ac for þrēa-nēdlan þ::: nāt-hwylces,

which need not be repeated here.¹⁶ His conclusion is: "No one can tell what the missing word in the MS was, but *þegn* is

¹⁴ Cf. ll. 2221-31, 2280-85, 2408-9, 3074-75. Concerning the interpretation of ll. 3074-75, see pp. 17-19.

¹⁵ See pp. 11-15.

¹⁶ Pp. 553-555.

surely better than *þcōw*. I think it will be clear, from an examination of the action, that we are not dealing with the escape of a slave, but with a feud in which a freeman was involved."¹⁷ Passing over, for the present, what seem to me to be weak points in the "examination of the action," I shall set forth the evidence that appears to support the contention that the plunderer was a slave. Much of this evidence has been suggested by Bugge;¹⁸ I shall try to state more explicitly what he has suggested and to adduce further evidence in support of his conclusion.

In the first place, the plunderer of the hoard, whatever his social status, was the most inconsiderable of men. He is first mentioned (l. 2215) as *nīða nāt-hwylc*; in l. 2223 he is *þ::: nāt-hwylces hæleða bearna*; in ll. 2280-81 he is *ān mon*; he is *secg syn-bysig* (l. 2226), *earm-sceapen* (l. 2228); when he shows the way to the dragon's lair (ll. 2408-9),¹⁹

*hæft hyge-gīomor sceolde hēan ðonon
wong wīsian. He ofer willan gīong.*

Now all this is language that fits a slave better than a thane, and it is in accord with the dominant motive of this part of the poem: the woe of the Geats had an insignificant beginning.

In the second place, the language in which his condition is described naturally (with meaning not forced) applies to a man in servile condition. In ll. 2223-24 it is said of him that "for dire necessity he fled the blows of hate (hateful blows),"²⁰ *for þrēa-nēdlan hete-swengeas flēah*. Now it is true that the word *hete-swengeas* may be taken in an abstract or figurative meaning, "hateful violence" or "hateful persecution," but it is just as natural to take it in a concrete meaning, "scourging." That slaves were scourged in Anglo-Saxon times is plainly shown by the Anglo-Saxon laws.²¹ The

¹⁷ P. 554.

¹⁸ *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, IV, 210. Paul and Braune, *Beiträge*, XII, 370-71, 374.

¹⁹ Cf. Lawrence, p. 557.

²⁰ Cf. Lawrence, p. 555.

²¹ See *Laws of Ine*, 48; 54, 2; *Laws of Æthelstan*, 19; *Ecgberti Poenitentiale*, II, 4. Cf. Bosworth-Toller, *Dictionary* s. v. *swingan*, *swinge*, *swingel*.

outcast took the cup stolen from the hoard to his lord (*man-dryhten*, l. 2281) and asked for a peace settlement, reconciliation, or pardon (*freoðu-wære bæd hlāford sīnne*, l. 2282);²² this was granted (*bēne getīðad fēa-sceaftum men*, l. 2284). There is nothing in all this that does not naturally imply that the relation between the two men was that of master and slave, even though it be granted that it *may* imply that the relation was that of lord to thane.²³ In l. 2408 the word *hæft* is applied to the outcast.²⁴ This may be the past participle of *hæftan*, "bound, fettered;" in general, however, editors and translators have taken it as the noun *hæft*, and have translated it "captive." The word may have, however, the meaning "slave," as is plainly shown in the following passages:

hweorfon þā hāðenan hæftas fram þām hālgum enihton
Daniel, l. 267
Gearwe stōdun
 hæftas hēarsume, þā þæs hālgan word
 lýt oferlēordun *Guthlac*, 697.

Now, even without insisting that the word in this case (l. 2408) should be translated "slave," it is certainly reasonable to maintain that it implies here servile condition.

In the third place, all the words used to name the lord of the outcast are words that are used to name the master (owner) of a slave. I cite the following examples of such use: *man-dryhten* (l. 2281), *Laws of Wihtræd*, 9; 10 (*dryhten*); *hlāford* (l. 2283), *Laws of Ine*, 3; 74; *Laws of Cnut*, II, 45, 3; *frēa* (l. 2285), *Riddles* 44, 10; *āgend*²⁵ (l. 3075), *Laws of Hlothhære and Eadric*, 1; 3; *Laws of Wihtræd*, 27.

Concerning the word applied to the outcast in l. 2223, the first letter of which (þ) only can be read, Lawrence's statement may be accepted: "No one can tell what the missing word in the MS. was."²⁶ There is almost unanimous agree-

²² For an example of *freoðu-wære*=reconciliation, pardon, see *Andreas* l. 1632, *Hi onfēngon ful-wihte and freoðu-wære*. Cf. Grein, *Glossar s.v. freoðu*.

²³ Cf. Lawrence p. 556.

²⁴ *hæft hyge-giomor sccolde hēan ðonon wong wisian*.

²⁵ Concerning this word, see p. 19; cf. Bugge, *Beiträge*, XII, 374.

²⁶ P. 554.



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perhaps, acting as mediator. This "common procedure in early Germanic justice" Lawrence very aptly illustrates by reference to the story of Ecgtheow, *Beowulf*, 459–472.

Inasmuch as this proposed version of the outcast's story involves the question of the amount of treasure taken by him from the hoard, it may be worth while to examine the text with reference to that matter. The text of the narrative of the outcast's action in the dragon's lair is, unfortunately, in a very bad state, and subsequent references to it are not so specific as one might wish; nevertheless certain features of the narrative stand out very distinctly.

The outcast was very badly frightened, and saved his life by beating a hasty retreat, getting away so quickly that the dragon did not catch sight of him: *ðām gys[te gryre]-brōga stōd³⁴* (2227); *se fār begeat* (2330); *he tō forð gestōp dracan heāfde nēah. Swā mæge un fæge eāðe gedīgan wēan ond wræc-sið* (2289–92); *hlāw oft ymbehwearf ealne ūtan-weardne; nē ðār ænig mon on þære wēstenne* (2296–97). When the outcast directs Beowulf to the dragon's lair it is said of him, *Hē ofer willan gīong*;³⁵ concerning this remark Lawrence well says, "Anyone who had once come to close quarters with the dragon had no taste for more of him."³⁶ Now, if the thief was as badly terrified as all this indicates, and if he beat such a hasty retreat, it is not at all probable that he tarried long enough to help himself generously to the treasure.

There is constant reference throughout the narrative to a precious cup that the outcast took. It is the most prominent feature; by means of it a reconciliation was effected, *mandryhtne bær fæted wæge, frioðo-wære bæd hlāford sinne bēne getiðad fēa-sceaftum men* (2281–86); in one passage it is apparently considered as *fons et origo malorum*, *hæfde [Beowulf] þā gefrunen hwanan sio fæhð arās, bealo-nið biorna; him to bearne cwōm māðpum-fæt mære þurh ðæs meldan hond* (2403–5); it is mentioned in connection with the terror that

³⁴ Cf. Zupitza's note.

³⁵ L. 2409.

³⁶ P. 557.

came upon the thief, *þā hyne se fār begeat sinc-fæt [geseah]*³⁷ (2230–31); in ll. 2280–82 there is a reference to the rousing of the dragon, in immediate connection with the cup, *oð ðæt hyne ān abealch mon on mōde; man-dryhtne bær fāted wāge*; it is the object for whose loss the dragon takes vengeance, *wolde se lāða*³⁸ *līge forgyldan drinc-fæt dūre* (2305–6).

In the passage that tells of the reconciliation two expressions are used, *ðā was hord rāsod, onboren bēaga hord* (2283–84), that have been taken by some scholars to mean that the hoard was plundered and a quantity of rings carried off by the outcast. Lawrence translates, “So the hoard was plundered, a store of rings borne off.”³⁹ It is in these lines apparently, that he finds expression of the idea that there was a feud which was settled by treasure taken by the outcast in addition to the cup.⁴⁰ As the position of these half lines, 2283^b and 2384^a, in the context may be of some significance, I quote ll. 2278–86.

Swā se ðēod-sceaða þrēo hund wintra
 hēold on hrūsan hord-ærna sum
 2280 ēacen-cræftig, oð ðæt hyne ān ābealch
 mon on mōde; man-dryhtne bær
 fāted wāge, frioðo-wāre bād
 hlāford sīne. þā wæs hord rāsod,
 onboren bēaga hord; bēne getiðad
 2285 fēa-sceaftum men. Frēa scēawode
 fīra fyrgeweore forman sīðe.

The lines that follow tell of the rousing of the dragon and his vain pursuit of the thief. It is to be noticed that the lines quoted begin with a statement concerning the long time that the dragon had held the hoard undisturbed, and end with an expression on the same theme, “The lord looked upon the an-

³⁷ No word can be read here, but it was almost certainly a verb, of which *sinc-fæt* is the object.

³⁸ MS *fela ða*.

³⁹ P. 552.

⁴⁰ “It looks, as already noted, as though the feud were settled by rings plundered from the hoard, *onboren bēaga hord, bēne getiðad fēa-sceaftum men* (2284–5), while the mediator retained the cup, *him to bearme cwōm, māðpum-fæt mære* (2404–5).” P. 556.

cient work of men for the first time [since it had been hidden]."⁴¹ The intervening lines tell, in summary form, the facts concerning the discovery; they do not seem intended to express additional facts concerning the discovery.

Inasmuch as the translation of the expressions in question turns upon the meaning given to the past participles *rāsod* and *onboren*, it is necessary to consider in some detail the use of these words in Anglo-Saxon.

The simple verb *rāsian* appears to have been rarely used; the only example recorded is in the passage under discussion. Of the compound *ārāsian* there are numerous examples, and it is from these that we must deduce the probable meaning of *rāsod*. Klæber (*Anglia*, 25, 315) connects *ārāsian* with *rīsan* "seize, snatch away, carry off,"⁴² examples of *ārāsian* in this meaning are given in Grein and Bosworth-Toller. But the word has other meanings. In *Genesis* 44, 16, *hæfð ārāsod* translates *invenit*;⁴³ in *Gregory's Dialogues*, 2, 14, *ārāsian* translates *explorare*;⁴⁴ in *Crist*, l. 1230, we have *ārāsade* (pp. n. pl.) "detected, discovered, exposed."⁴⁵ We may, then, with confidence translate, *ðā wæs hord rāsod*, "then the hoard was discovered."⁴⁶

It is generally assumed by editors and commentators that the word *onberan* has the meaning (suggested by its derivation) "carry off;" but, on the basis of the recorded examples of its use, it would be difficult to establish that meaning; its general meaning seems to be, "diminish, enfeeble, impair."⁴⁷ Bugge (*Beiträge*, XII, 102) calls attention to the gloss *in-*

⁴¹ Ll. 2285-86.

⁴² Cf. Leo, *Angelsächsisches Glossar*, 327, 35.

⁴³ God hæfþ ārāsod ūre unrihtnessa, *Deus invenit nostras iniquitates*.

⁴⁴ þæt he sceolde gecunnian and ārāsian hwæpre se drihtnes wer hæfde witedōmes gāst, *An vir Dei prophetiæ spiritum haberet explorare conatus est*. Grein, *Prosa*, Vol. 5, p. 130, ll. 28-30. Cf. also l. 13, *Hū hē ārāsode þā hrowunge Totillan þæs cyninges*, and p. 132, ll. 7-9 on *hū mycelre hrowunge hī wūron ārāsode*. See Thorpe, *Ælfric's Homilies* II, pp. 168, 172.

⁴⁵ þæt he sceolde rēolað and beoflað fore frēan forhte.

⁴⁶ It is not to be denied, of course, that *rāsod* could here be translated "seized, carried off," if that meaning better suited the context.

⁴⁷ See Bosworth-Toller, Grein.



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sages, 3054-57 and 3074-75. It must be admitted that this reluctance may be inferred from the first of these passages (3054-57), which states that after the spell or charm had effectively protected the hoard for a thousand years, it came to pass, in God's providence, that a man opened it; but that the second passage (3074-75, called by Bugge *locus desperatus*) contains any expression of "the reluctance of the poet" etc. is very doubtful indeed.

I consider first ll. 3054-57

nefne God selfa,
 3055 sigora Sōð-cyning, sealde þām þe hē wolde
 -he is manna gehyld- hord openian,
 efne swā hwylcum manna, swā him gemet ðūhte.

Lawrence translates:⁵³

unless God himself,
 the true king of glories, should grant a favored man
 -he is the protector of mankind- to open the hoard,
 whatever man might seem to him meet for this.

The translation of l. 3055^b, "should grant a favored man," is rather highly colored; the words *sealde þām ðe hē wolde* mean simply "should grant to whom he would." It is doubtful if the translation of l. 3057, colored in the same tone, is correct. In all recorded examples, the adjective *gemet* is used only in impersonal constructions; l. 3055 is exactly parallel to ll. 686-87, *on swā hwæpere hond swā him gemet þince*, and 3055^b is exactly parallel to *Genesis* 2895^b, *swā him gemet þinceð*, and to *Boethius Metra* 29, 42, *swā him gemet þinceð*; in all four cases the expression is used concerning the Deity. We may be certain, then, that in the expression under discussion *gemet þūhte* is impersonal, and that l. 3055 is to be translated, "even to whatever man it should seem to him meet;" there is no basis at all for Lawrence's "whatever man might seem to him meet for this." Lines 3052^b-57 state, in substance, that the hoard was so bound by a spell that no one could touch

⁵³ P. 561.

it, unless God, in his power and providence, should permit some man to open it. While they express the idea that the Christian God can break the heathen spell, so far as opening the hoard is concerned, they certainly carry no suggestion that a man of the right character could, in God's providence, open the hoard without incurring the peril of the curse.⁵⁴

Inasmuch as Lawrence finds strong support for his views in ll. 3074-75 (for which he offers a new interpretation, confirming his interpretation of ll. 3054-57), it will be necessary to discuss this famous crux. For the purpose of ready reference I give the lines, with the preceding context.

Swā hit oð dōmes dæg dīope benemdon
 3070 þēodnas mære, þā ðæt þær dydon,
 þæt se secg wære synnum seildig,
 hergum geheaðerod, hell-bendum fæst,
 wommum gewitnad, sē ðone wong strude;⁵⁵
 næs hē gold-hwæte; gearwor hæfde
 3075 āgendes ēst ær gescēawod.

In l. 3074 Lawrence adopts the emendations *næfne* (MS *næs*) and *gold-hwæt* (MS *gold-hwæte*); in l. 3075 he capitalizes *āgendes*, making it refer to God; he translates, "unless he, rich in gold, had very zealously given heed in the past to the grace of the Lord." The emendation *næfne* seems to have been first suggested, but not adopted, by Sievers;⁵⁶ *gold-hwæt* has been adopted by some editors.

To the word *gold-hwæt* Lawrence gives the meaning "prosperous, rich in gold,"⁵⁷ and he objects to the rendering

⁵⁴ Cf. Lawrence, p. 563, "But piety, bringing the favor of the Lord, gives a man great practical advantages." "The Christian God was superior to spells, and the Christian hero was one who ought to be saved by the Christian God, on account of his piety."

⁵⁵ MS *strade*; cf. l. 3126, *hwā þæt hord strude*.

⁵⁶ *Beiträge* XII, 144, "Doch nehme ich anstoss *næs* in *næfne* zu ändern;" cf. Lawrence, p. 561, n. 14.

⁵⁷ P. 562, n. 15. "The meaning of the phrase *gold-hwæt* is difficult to render in modern English. It combines the significance of 'active, keen, bold' (See Chambers, Glossary, sub *hwæt*) with the idea of the possession of gold. Perhaps the word 'prosperous' might come near the meaning; I have rendered it here 'rich in gold' in order to keep the double significance of the phrase. It is quite in place as applying to the *secg* of 3071, who might plunder the hoard."

“greedy for gold,” adopted by some editors, as reading “into the phrase a meaning which does not belong to it.” As this is the only recorded example of the use of the word, we must look to the use and meaning of other compounds with *hwæt* to determine the meaning of *gold-hwæt*. The other compounds are *flyht-hwæt*, *fyrð-hwæt*, *sund-hwæt*, *dæd-hwæt*, *dōm-hwæt*, *mōd-hwæt*; in all of these it is plain that the meaning of *hwæt* (as in the simple word *hwæt*) is “keen about, eager for, bent upon, active in;” they certainly give no support to the interpretation of *gold-hwæt*, as “rich in gold.” To give to the word the meaning “greedy for gold” may be going too far, but it is going in the right direction.

Another weakness in the proposed translation lies in the rendering of the comparative *gearwor* by the superlative (absolute) “very zealously.” Now it may be granted that, in some cases, such a substitution of superlative for comparative may be justified by the context, but in the case before us, where an emendation of the context is proposed (*næfne* for *næs*), it is a serious objection to the emendation, that it seems to require such a substitution.

I have called attention to these points of weakness in the proposed interpretation of these lines, because they are all connected with textual change and coloring of translation apparently necessary to bring this passage into accord with the proposed interpretation of ll. 3054–57. I have stated above⁵⁸ my objections to the proposed interpretation of the latter passage. I have shown that it has been found necessary to color the translation of both passages,⁵⁹ and to emend one of them, in order to bring them into accord, and to force them to the expression of the extraneous idea, that a man of the right character could, in God’s providence, plunder the hoard without incurring the peril of the curse.

Against Lawrence’s interpretation of ll. 3074–75 I wish to set another; it has, perhaps, little, if any, originality, as it follows Bugge⁶⁰ in some details, but it has, at least, the merit

⁵⁸ P. 16.

⁵⁹ Ll. 3054–57 and 3074–75.

⁶⁰ *Beiträge* XII, 370–1, 374–5. I do not accept Bugge’s emendation, *Gæst be gold-fæte*.



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In both passages we have a disclaimer of evil intent, of malice aforethought towards the dragon and his hoard. In the later passage this suggestion of the innocence of the plunderer is associated with the curse; in the earlier, with the fateful effect of the plunderer's act. Both passages accord with the dominant motive, the strange manner of Beowulf's death.



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much lauded as the high priest of Nature; whereas, in reality the important innovation introduced by him into English poetry is not the appreciation of Nature but his humanitarianism, his peculiarly sentimental mental attitude toward humble life.'"³

In spite of such protests against the neglect of his narrative poems, the specific moral power which Wordsworth believed many of his *Lyrical Ballads* and such works as *Peter Bell* and some of the tales in *The Excursion* to possess, has not ordinarily been made clear. Wordsworth, it is commonly said, believed these poems to be of great ethical worth because he was a thorough-going democrat. He thought that the upper classes could learn specific lessons of conduct from contemplating the lowly peasant. The common man could teach the more complex civilized man, just because he devoted his life to the simple, primary, universal human experiences. For only in these essentials can any human being find real peace and happiness.

The attention of critics has been directed almost exclusively to this phase of Wordsworth's attitude toward the peasant. This is natural. The most memorable passages in the poet's preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* exalt the life of the peasant as a model for that of all men. "Humble and rustic life was generally chosen because in that condition, the essential passions of the heart find a better soil in which they can attain maturity, are less under restraint and speak a plainer and more emphatic language," is the passage from the Preface most frequently quoted. It explains what qualities in the life of peasants he believed to be worthy of universal imitation,—the simplicity and intensity of their emotional life.

Comment on Wordsworth's narrative poems has usually been mere reiteration of the ideas contained in this sentence. John Churton Collins, for example, writes, "The joy offered to us in the simple, primary affections and duties—and the extraordinary power with which, in case after case, he shows us this joy and renders it so as to make us share it, gives him this place mainly on the strength of the unique power

³ Shelburn Essays, 1st Series, p. 208.

found in such poems as *Michael*, *The Fountain* and *The Solitary Reaper*.”⁴ Mr. Paul Elmer More similarly calls attention to this democratic moral feeling which is expressed in his poems of peasant life. “Art is no longer the desire of select spirits to ennoble and make beautiful their lives, but an effort to teach and elevate the common man and to bring the proud into sympathy with the vulgar.”⁵ Professor Harper expresses a similar notion when he says that Wordsworth’s sad tales show us “patience learned through suffering, humility through defeat, strength from striving; and many another virtue easily overlooked except by the eye of love.”⁶ It is scarcely necessary to accumulate critical comment of this nature; for Wordsworth’s belief that the life of the peasant must be sympathetically comprehended by those seeking the durable satisfactions in life, has been generally understood.

Now and then, however, a voice has been raised in perplexity over Wordsworth’s peasant stories. Many of them obviously can not perform the joyous democratic service expected of them. In certain of these tales neither joy nor hope is to be discovered. They are, on the contrary, tragedies of a peculiarly painful and hopeless sort. How are they to make the happy happier or to teach the young and gracious of every age to become more actively and securely virtuous?

Mr. A. C. Bradley suggests that these poems represent in a negative way Wordsworth’s efforts to exalt Nature. “Wordsworth,” he says, “yields here and there too much to a tendency to contrast the happiness, innocence and harmony of Nature with the unrest, misery and sin of man. How many of his most famous narratives deal with sad or painful subjects; even (as in *Ruth* or *The White Doe of Rylstone* or the story of Margaret in the *Excursion*) with subjects that are terribly sad or painful.”⁷ This fact is beyond question. It is probably not, however, as Mr. Bradley thinks, an indirect way of exalting Nature or an effort to

⁴ *Posthumous Essays*, London, 1912, p. 101.

⁵ *Shelburn Essays*, 1st Series, p. 209.

⁶ *William Wordsworth*, II, p. 224.

⁷ *English Poetry and German Philosophy in the Age of Wordsworth*, Manchester Univ. Press, 1909, p. 25.

show that although man's life is dark, in his celestial spirit there is a power that can win glory out of agony and even out of sin. It is rather the result of Wordsworth's complete adoption of the moral doctrines of 18th century humanitarian sentimentalism.

The essential tenet of this philosophy was that man could be stimulated to morality through awakening his compassion for undeserved suffering,—his pity for virtue in distress. Wordsworth, it will appear, did not at first give this familiar ethical principle an important place in his system of thought. Much of his first distinctive poetry was written while he was under the influence of the radical rationalism of William Godwin. A kind of humanitarianism, however, was consistent with Godwin's life of reason; and Wordsworth wrote a number of poems to display the sufferings of the humble among mankind under the weight of the irrational social institutions of property and war. The purpose of such poems was to awaken man's moral indignation by appealing to his sense of justice and to his cool understanding.

Later Wordsworth rejected Godwin's entire system as destructive of the most elemental and vital human qualities. About the same time he came under the influence of the philosophy of David Hartley as set forth in his *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty and his Expectations*. Hartley gave a central place in his moral system to compassion for undeserved human suffering. He regarded it as one of the principal incentives to a life of joyous virtue. Wordsworth found in this theory the highest philosophical sanction for the employment of one of his most characteristic mental qualities. Godwin's contempt for pity which was awakened by human misery served at this time only to commend the more urgently this doctrine of eighteenth century sentimentalism. Wordsworth, therefore, began to write a kind of poetry which he had not attempted before. He retained his interest in the common man, but he no longer presented his condition as one to invite the reforms of rational humanitarians. He made him the object of compassion by showing him enduring with fortitude undeserved suffering; he gave



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But we have known that there is often found
In mournful thoughts, and always might be found,
A power to virtue friendly.'"⁹

In this interesting passage Wordsworth, in the first place, explicitly denies that he tells the sad tale to luxuriate in sorrowful feeling. This form of sentimentalism was always abhorrent to him.¹⁰ He clearly agreed with Coleridge in regarding this indulgence in the "softness of humanity" and in "sweet anxiety"¹¹ as a thinking disease.¹² He tells the story because he believes that the mournful thoughts that it produces will be a direct stimulus to virtue. A tale of distressing sorrow—such is his unequivocal statement—tends to make those who hear it morally better men.

This is one tenet of the familiar eighteenth century sentimentalism.¹³ The history of this extensive literary movement need not be reviewed here. It will be enough to recall the philosophical beliefs upon which its central moral theory was founded and to indicate how the sentimental tale came to be regarded, by those who wrote it, as a very effective stimulus to virtue.

Belief in the innate goodness of human nature is the main-spring of sentimentalism. Man's benevolent and altruistic impulses are innate; his anti-social passions such as pride, envy, and malice, which are the instigators of vice, are acquired. If these fundamental and natural sympathies of

⁹ Legouis says, (p. 395) that in these lines "The poet almost passes censure for having dwelt so long on a subject which can yield nothing but sorrow. In the midst of the narrative, the peddler who recounts it becomes ashamed of his tears and pauses abruptly to ask, 'Why should we thus, in an untoward mind' etc. Not without regret, not without a kind of remorse, does he yield to the entreaties of his listener and resume his story." This comment completely neglects the answer which the Wanderer very presently makes to his own question, one which justifies his telling of the tale.

¹⁰ When Prof. Harper, *William Wordsworth*, II, p. 103 says, "No man, especially no poet, was ever less of a sentimentalist than Wordsworth," he is, of course, using sentimentalist in this sense of the word.

¹¹ These phrases appear in Steele's description of his own sensibility.

¹² *Anima Poetae*, p. 143.

¹³ Bernbaum, Ernest, *The Drama of Sensibility*, Boston, 1915, p. 2. In the following résumé of the principles of the movement I am frequently indebted to this indispensable work.



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in distress. In the first sort of story this moving sight restored the villain to his native virtue and the catastrophe was avoided. In the tragic tale the catastrophe descended, and the reader was left with his pity actually aroused for the undeserved suffering he had witnessed. This pity was calculated to liberate and enfranchise his natural virtue.

The account given by Mistress Jenny Distaff of a noble lord's attempt to seduce her is a good example of Steele's tales of the first sort.¹⁵ This virtuous girl at the tender age of sixteen falls in love with a nobleman. An evil woman Sempronia takes Jenny to the country and enables her lover to meet her at a seductive hour and a romantic spot. However, when the lord's immoral design becomes only too evident to Jenny, she falls upon her knees before him and says, "My lord, pity me, on my knees—on my knees in the cause of virtue. *Assume yourself* my lord, and do not attempt to vitiate a temple sacred to innocence, honour and religion"—and more to the same effect. The noble lord is effectually touched by this sight, "assumes himself",—that is becomes virtuous, so that Jenny sees her lover "astonished and reformed" by her behavior.

*The History of Caelia*¹⁶ is an excellent example of the tragic sentimental tale. The charm and innocence of the heroine is at first abundantly established. "Her every look and motion spoke the peaceful, mild resigning, humble inhabitant that animated her beauteous body." Palamede becomes enamoured of her and she wins even his worldly-minded father by "a certain irresistible charm in her whole behavior." After her marriage, alas, she discovers that her husband is a bigamist. Then she can only lament her undeserved woe. "How bitter, heaven, how bitter is my portion! How much have I to say, but the infant which I bear about me stirs in agitation. I am, Palamede, to live in shame, and this creature to be heir to it. Farewell forever." Her only consolation is that "her sufferings are not the effect of any guilt or misconduct" and that she has "for her pro-

¹⁵ *Tatler* 33, June 25, 1709.

¹⁶ *Tatler* 198, July 15, 1710, written by Charles Johnson.

tection the influence of a Power which can give not only patience, but pleasure to *innocence in distress*." Steele more than once makes clear his belief that "the contemplation of distresses of this sort softens the mind of man and makes the heart better."¹⁷

Fiction in the manner of Steele's pathetic tales appeared widely throughout the eighteenth century. There is little doubt, as Professor Bernbaum says,¹⁸ that Richardson's "great edifices were built after smaller models of the sentimental tale and the sentimental drama." The tale of Caelia, summarized above, is remarkably close in its spirit and central idea to *Clarissa Harlowe*; and *Pamela* is analogous in plot and spirit to the tale of *Amanda*, which appears in *Spectator* 375. In Thomson's *Seasons*, tales of this nature first appeared in poetic form. The story in *Winter* of the swain lost in the snow is quite in Steele's manner and that of *Celadon and Amelia*, which appears in *Summer*, only a little less so.

To recount the subsequent history of these sorts of sentimental tales in English literature is not the purpose of this essay. The type existed in a distinct form in almost every kind of writing of the eighteenth century. It remains to discover first how far Wordsworth's belief that there existed in mournful thoughts "a power to virtue friendly" led him to fit his narrative poems into the well-worn moulds of the eighteenth century sentimental tale. Then it will be interesting to determine how this belief in the moral efficacy of tears seemed to Wordsworth thoroughly consistent with the philosophical views which are reflected in his most characteristic poems.

III

Among Wordsworth's poems there is at least one sentimental tale of the purely non-tragic sort,—that is a tale in which *a character in the poem* is reclaimed to himself and

¹⁷ *Tatler* No. 82.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

to virtue by the sight of undeserved human suffering. I refer to *Peter Bell*.

The traditional view of the author's purpose in writing this poem is quite different. It has been admirably phrased by Professor Harper as follows:

"The original *motif* was the same as that of the *Ancient Mariner*. A hard-hearted, wayward man is arrested and touched by nature. In the *Ancient Mariner*, nature unfolds her extraordinary powers; she shows a face of terror. In *Peter Bell* it is the 'blue and grey and tender green' of the mild night, it is a 'soft and fertile nook' a 'silent stream' that creeps into the soul." The ass, according to this view, is "the animal whose fidelity completes the conversion begun by the soft influences of 'moving waters at their priest-like task.'"¹⁹ Legouis has almost the same idea of the poem. "It is," he writes, "an account of the conversion of a brutal and profligate churl, who is brought to a state of grace by the impressions made upon his sense, one fine evening, by a donkey and a landscape."²⁰

A careful examination of the poem, however, will show the inadequacy of these explanations. Nature, whether by herself, or aided by the fidelity of the ass, had but little to do with Peter's conversion. The extraordinary fact about the reprobate at the beginning of the poem was that in spite of his out-of-door life, he had remained utterly impervious to the influences of Nature. For "two and thirty years or more" he had been "a wild and woodland rover", yet

Nature could not find a way
Into the heart of Peter Bell.

Michael's life alone on the heights had enobled him; Peter, though roving "among the vales and streams," had become debased.

He was the wildest far of all;—
He had a dozen wives.

¹⁹ *William Wordsworth*, II, pp. 301-302.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 408.



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father leaves Peter "high in preparation" for his conversion. When he hears the rumbling of an explosion set off by miners underground, he is sure that the earth is about to yawn for him. The sound of drunken uproar from a tavern which he passes fills him with remorse. While in this state of mind, he makes the first step in his actual moral progress under the influence of sentimental tragedy evoked from his own past. He calls to mind the innocent highland girl who

left her mother at sixteen,
And followed Peter Bell.

When she learned of his evil courses, she died of a broken heart. At this moment the story recurs to his mind so vividly that he sees her in a vision and hears her crying as she cried

The very moment that she died,
"My mother! oh my mother!"

The contemplation of the undeserved suffering which he has brought upon this innocent girl has a powerful effect upon him. And when he fortuitously hears at this moment the voice of a fervent Methodist minister shouting "Repent, repent!"

He melted into tears.

.
Through all his iron frame was felt
A gentle, a relaxing, power.

Through this series of percussions Peter's hardness has been relaxed until his mind is normally sensitive to influences of tenderness and pity. His true nature has been violently awakened. At that moment the sentimental tragedy of one of his victims, aided by the shock which the preacher's shouts gave him, melted him into tears. Then he feels the last recesses of his hardness relax; then he is ready for the transforming experience. This time he does not *remember*, he actually *witnesses*, the overwhelming grief of innocent human beings.

When Peter is carried to the door-yard of the dead man, his wretched wife, aroused by the cry of her little girl at sight of the ass, rushes out of the house to see,—not her husband, but Peter Bell. She falls in a half-swoon, but is raised by Peter while she weeps out her conviction that her husband is dead. The vagrant sees her “wring and wring her hands” and hears her lament:

“He never will come home again—
Is dead, for ever dead.”

Beside the woman Peter stands;
His heart is opening more and more;
A holy sense pervades his mind;
He feels what he for human-kind
Has never felt before.

But there are more tears for him to witness, more grief for him to behold. The man's little girl Rachael runs weeping loud for the neighbor; an infant makes a piteous cry in the house; the mother sighs that she has seven fatherless children.

And now is Peter taught to feel
That man's heart is a holy thing;
And Nature, through a world of death,
Breathes into him a second breath,
More searching than the breath of spring.

This distress has roused Peter's sympathy and love for the woman, and his mind, for years in a trance, awakens. And when at last he beholds the little boy who has sought his father in the woods return, and at sight of the ass, in a fit of unfounded joy kiss the faithful beast a thousand times, his feelings of pity culminate.

And Peter Bell, the ruffian wild,
Sobs loud, he sobs even like a child,
“Oh! God, I can endure no more!”

This is the undeniable sign that his reformation is complete. The sentimental belief in tears has been vindicated. We know that he has been softened into virtue, and we are not at all surprised that he



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Forsook his crimes, renounced his folly,
 And, after ten months' melancholy,
 Became a good and honest man.

Peter Bell's case was an extreme one. His mind, therefore, needed to be brought by a series of violent shocks to a state nearly as sensitive as that of the normal man before the sentimental leaven could work. Then pity for undeserved suffering inevitably softened him into virtue by way of tears. The poem thus analyzed, proves to be not another piece of evidence for the beneficent influence of Nature upon wayward man, but cogent proof of the moral efficacy of tearful pity for undeserved human suffering.

IV

Although *Peter Bell* is the only one of Wordsworth's tales in which the sentimental reformation is circumstantially presented, the poet has written other tragic sentimental stories the influence of which for moral good upon those who hear them is definitely indicated. Such is the story of Margaret; its purpose is made explicit by the Wanderer. It is to be an agent of morality by awakening that compassion which arouses the innate virtue in the soul of man.

In its original form, as *The Ruined Cottage*, it was merely the story of a woman whose happy home was ruined by the plague of war. But it is generally agreed that as it appears in *The Excursion*, it carries new significance of some sort. This added meaning has commonly been thought to lie in the quiet courage with which Margaret endures her fate. In other words, it is supposed that she has been presented in such a way as to win admiration for one of the sturdiest and most necessary of human virtues. But it is hard to see how the wretched woman's actions after the loss of her husband can be considered essentially courageous or in any deep sense admirable. She seems to be unnerved and fairly possessed by her uncertainty and grief. She wanders disconsolately about the country-side; she neglects her infant; she allows

her garden to become choked with weeds and to show first "the sleepy hand of negligence" and then actual decay. After her babe dies, "she lingers in unquiet widowhood nine tedious years, until she, too, dies in the ruins of her home." This woman, who allows all her natural duties to be swallowed up in grief, can hardly have been presented as a splendid example of the robust fortitude of the peasants. Her story is told for no such purpose, but, as the Wanderer carefully explains, to awaken moral impulses through its sheer piteousness.

The poet who hears the tale is moved as the narrator obviously desired:

The old man ceased: he saw that I was moved;

 I turned aside in weakness, nor had power
 To thank him for the tale which he had told.
 I stood, and leaning o'er the garden wall
 Reviewed that woman's sufferings; and it seemed
 To comfort me while with a brother's love
 I blessed her in the impotence of grief.

This "impotence of grief" brought comfort to the listener, because in that feeling of softness he knew that his heart grew better and his aspiration to virtue more secure.

The Pastor's stories in the sixth and seventh books of *The Excursion* are told for the effect that they will have upon the Solitary. The purpose of the entire poem may be said to be the re-establishment of the misanthrope in the current of normal moral life. Professor Harper believes that the Pastor's sole method of reformation is the creation in the Solitary of a zest for life as it is. He says, "The mere recital of human stories, with no effort to point a moral, awakens in the Solitary a certain zest for things as they are."²² Some of the stories are doubtless intended to restore his respect for men and a desire to share their virtues. But a careful examination of the discussion which provoked the Parson's narrative, will show that some of them, at least,

²² *Op. cit.*, II, 222.

were intended to supply the misanthrope with a more positive moral principle than mere zest for living.

The Solitary and the two other principal characters come to a graveyard. The misanthrope presently expresses the belief that if he could read these graves as volumes, he would find them to be, without exception, tales of anguish and shame,—the *Spoon River Anthology* anticipated by a hundred years. The Pastor of the parish enters in the midst of this discussion and is asked by the Wanderer certain general questions concerning the value of human life. He replies that life, including virtue, cannot be appraised by pure reason. Its character, on the contrary, depends entirely upon the emotional point of view from which it is regarded.

This doctrine is hailed with “complacent animation” by the wise Wanderer, who approves the doctrine that “we see, then, as we feel.” He then proceeds to make the following important pronouncement about the nature of morality.

“Moral truth
Is no mechanic structure, built by rule.
..... but a thing
Subject, you deem, to vital accidents;
And, like the water-lily, lives and thrives,
Whose root is fixed in stable earth, whose head
Floats on the tossing waves.”

But granted this be true, it still remains necessary to know how to gain the correct point of view. In other words, how is the necessary inward emotional principle, this soul of virtue, to be found. “How”, asks the Wanderer,

“shall man unite
With self-forgetting tenderness of heart
An earth-despising dignity of soul?
Wise in that union, and without it blind!”

In his search for a principle which will consummate this union of sensibility and aspiration, he asks the Pastor to supply the necessary facts from life.

“Give us, for our abstractions, solid facts.”



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alone, but also of the aspiring soul which "can upward look to Heaven." In other words, the birth of pity is proof of the union of tenderness of heart, and dignity of soul. It is the principle which the Wanderer has asked the Pastor to reveal. By arousing this compassion the Pastor can produce that fusion of spiritual faculties which signalizes the establishment of the highest moral equilibrium. Hence many of the stories are dedicated to this purpose. The first of these is the tragic tale of Ellen.²⁵

In many respects this narrative follows closely the formula for sentimental tales of seduction established by Steele's *History of Caelia*. In the first place, our sympathies for the girl are made vividly awake. Her innocent and pathetic charm is insisted upon. Ellen, the daughter of a poor widow, is a paragon of beauty and simple virtue.

Serious and thoughtful was her mind; and yet,
 By reconcilment exquisite and rare,
 The form, port, motions, of this Cottage-girl
 Were such as might have quickened and inspired
 A Titian's hand, addrest to picture forth
 Oread or Dryad glancing through the shade.

Trusting naturally, but alas! too easily, to the vows of her lover, she is seduced and then deserted by him. Her grief, though acute, is made patient and meek enough to arouse all our tender pensiveness. When her baby is born, she finds it

A soothing comforter, although forlorn;
 Like a poor singing-bird from distant lands.

After four months she feels that she can no longer impose her support and that of her infant upon her mother. She therefore takes upon herself a foster-mother's office, and the parents of the child she nurses forbid her to visit her own baby. During Ellen's absence her child dies. She sees it only once during its illness, but we are given a picture of her at its burial gazing long into the unclosed coffin.

²⁵ *Excursion* VI, ll. 795-1064.

Weeping and looking, looking on and weeping,
 Upon the last sweet slumber of her child,
 Until at length her soul was satisfied.

Then it becomes her wont to visit her child's grave where she kneels "a rueful Magdalene," bewailing her loss and mourning her transgression. Thereafter she lives devoid of all interest in life, awaiting death with saint-like patience. At last she dies and is buried by the side of her infant. Thus are we brought back to the grave of the "tender lamb", the sight of which prompted this narrative.

This story is clearly told to awaken compassion. The narrative emphasis is such as to accentuate at every point the lovely innocence of the girl, her suffering, and her tears. When the story is finished, Wordsworth is at pains to make the reader realize the beneficent effect of this sentimental tale upon those who have heard it. The poet exclaims:

For me the emotion scarcely was less strong
 Or less benign than that which I had felt
 When
 I heard
 The story that retraced the slow decline
 Of Margaret, sinking on the lonely heath
 With the neglected house to which she clung.

The fates of Margaret and Ellen, similar in the appeal which the undeserved suffering of the innocent women makes to our pity, produce in the poet the same tenderness,—benign, because it is the soil from which moral impulses spring.

The other listeners were similarly affected, even the misanthrope:

I noted that the Solitary's cheek
 Confessed the power of nature,—Pleased though sad,
 More pleased than sad, the grey-haired Wanderer sate:
 Thanks to his pure imaginative soul,
 Capacious and serene.

The innate goodness of the Solitary's nature, existing always beneath his crust of misanthropy, has been released by tears. The Wanderer, for his part, illustrates the truth that he im-

parted when telling the story of Margaret. By means of his compassion he rises above the immediate sadness produced by the tale to the serenity of moral aspiration.

No other tales of the Pastor have their sentimental moral character so clearly attested. Yet a number of the stories told in the seventh book of *The Excursion* have no other reason for existence than that carefully indicated for the story of Ellen. Of such a nature is the tale about the clergyman²⁶ who lived in a remote dwelling with his family for forty years without suffering from the death of a single member of his immediate circle. Then suddenly his house is swept by death as of a plague. Even "his little smiling grandchild" is taken and he is left alone, still cheerful and unsubdued in aspect but with

his inward hoard

Of unsunned griefs, too many and too keen,

until in one blest moment the sleep of death overcomes him. This story produced calm of mind and "tender sorrow for our mortal state," which the Wanderer, to be sure, relieves by drawing a trite moral of cheerfulness in affliction.

The Pastor then presently tells the story of the peasant parents²⁷ of seven lusty sons, to whom is born in their older age a daughter. She diffuses gladness throughout the family until she dies.

Oh! dire stroke

Of desolating anguish for them all!

The tale of Oswald follows.²⁸ He is a fine athlete and a noble patriot,—as brave as any who marched with righteous Joshua or Gideon. One morning he chases the reindeer and returning from that sport "weakened and relaxed," he plunges "into the chilling flood" to wash "the fleeces of his Father's flock." Convulsions seize him and he dies amid

²⁶ *Excursion* VII, ll. 38-290.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 632-694.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 695-890.



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Such a poem is *The Thorn*. It is a picture of the mad, despairing anguish of Martha Ray. The blithe and gay creature, abandoned by her false lover, Stephen Hill, on her wedding day, sits at the grave of her illegitimate child moaning,

“Oh misery! oh misery!
Oh woe is me! oh misery!”

Efforts to disinter the child in a search for evidence of murder against poor Martha are met by supernatural protests from Nature:

But instantly the hill the moss,
Before their eyes began to stir!
And, for full fifty yards around,
The grass—it shook upon the ground!

Nature will tolerate only pity for the abandoned girl. It joins with the poet in bidding us regard Martha Ray not as a criminal, but as a woman overwhelmed with suffering. The poem was written to invoke not justice but compassion.²⁹

Her Eyes are Wild is almost exactly the same sort of poem, except that the abandoned girl seems to have been deserted after her marriage and not to have lost her child. The poem, however, like *The Thorn*, makes, through the mad lament, the same direct appeal to our pity. The *Lament of the Forsaken Indian Woman* presents another very similar tragic situation, and the form of the complaint makes the sentimental appeal the most direct and unavoidable.

²⁹ Wordsworth in the Fenwick note to the poem gives the following description of its inception: After observing a thorn-tree tossed in a storm, he asks himself, “Cannot I by some invention do as much to make this thorn permanently an impressive object as the storm has made it to my eyes at this moment?” In answering this question affirmatively he attaches to the tree a tragic sentimental tale. Critics have usually not recognized it as such. For example, Professor Harper says (I, 375) about *Martha Ray*, the *Mad Mother* and *Ruth*: “In the ruin of the faculties which once adapted these poor women to social life, they have preserved, he shows us, a healthful relation to Nature. Upon Nature they fall back for consolation when hopes of human life have failed.” *Ruth*, to be sure, is made sane enough by Nature to realize that it is not to blame for her sorrow and to discourse upon the flute, but the spirit of the poem emphasizes not her fragmentary consolations, but her suffering. Martha Ray does not gain one scrap of consolation and leaves us with her cry “Oh misery, oh misery,” ringing in our ears.



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starts out in a snow storm, blither than "the mountain roe", to meet her mother. She becomes lost in the snow, steps off the bridge, and is gone. In *There Was a Boy*, the poet presents a child keenly sensitive to the natural beauty of the vale in which he lives. This boy dies and the pity of his early death causes the poet to stand a long half-hour

Mute—looking at the grave in which he lies.

Two pseudo-ballads of Wordsworth, *Ellen Irwin* and *The Seven Sisters*, both founded on other works, are sentimental stories in which death overtakes an innocent girl at a moment when she is enjoying unusual felicity. Wordsworth's choice of this material to revamp is as strong proof of his sentimental bias as the composition of an original poem of the same sort would have been. *Ellen Irwin* is a version of *Helen of Kirkconnell*, a ballad appearing in *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.³² The story is as follows: As Ellen sits caressing her accepted lover, Bruce, abandoned to innocent felicity, Gordon, her rejected lover, springs from a covert and jealously thrusts at Bruce with his javelin. Ellen interposes her body and is slain. Bruce immediately kills Gordon and after vainly seeking death in battle against the Moors, dies of a broken heart on Ellen's grave. The ballad is a lament of the lover; Wordsworth's poem gives much more prominence to the sad death of Ellen.

The Seven Sisters, founded on the German of Frederica Brun, is the story of the untimely death of the seven daughters of Lord Archibald Campbell. One day as the seven lovely girls, filled with boundless mutual love, "lie like fauns reposing," rapacious rovers break in upon them.

Away the seven fair Campbells fly.

and rather than be subjected to the lust of their pursuers, they all plunge into a lake and drown.

The poems hitherto discussed in this chapter³³ seem to

³² II, p. 317.

³³ To these might be added *Hart-Leap Well*, which seeks to arouse pity for a stricken animal.

have been written purely for a sentimental moral purpose. In none of them is any other sort of instruction to be discerned. There are other poems, however, in which another purpose is combined with the sentimental moral. *The Brothers* is in essence a story of undeserved suffering. A sailor comes back from the sea, where he has always felt himself an exile, to spend the rest of his life with his dearly loved brother. He learns from the village clergyman that the fellow has died. He has rolled over the edge of a precipice in his sleep and been killed. The last part of the poem describes the grief of the sailor, which drives him to resume his uncongenial life on the sea. *Michael*, too, is essentially a story of the undeserved affliction that comes upon the old peasant through the evil courses of his son. Wordsworth, himself, speaks with particular pride of the tears which this poem has drawn from its readers, as though these marks of pity were sure proof of its success.³⁴

Wordsworth, however, gives a different account of his actual purpose in writing these poems. He says that they were both written to show "that men who do not wear fine clothes can feel deeply" and that they were designed to "excite profitable sympathies in many kind and good hearts" and may "enlarge our feelings of reverence for our species and our knowledge of human nature."³⁵ This democratic message did not require a tale of suffering for its vehicle. In this case, as in some of the stories in *The Excursion*, Wordsworth clearly shows that he believed those sympathies most profitable which stimulate, besides increased knowledge of human nature, compassion sympathetic to moral aspiration.³⁶

³⁴ Cf. letter to Thomas Poole, April 9, 1801 quoted in Mrs. Margaret E. Sandford, *Thomas Poole and His Friends*, London, 1888, II, p. 51. "This poem has, I know, drawn tears from the eyes of more than one—persons well acquainted with the manners of the Statesmen, as they are called, of this country; and moreover, persons who never wept in reading verse before."

³⁵ Letter written in 1802 to Charles James Fox to accompany a copy of *The Lyrical Ballads*. (*Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, Knight Ed. I, p. 138.)

³⁶ *The White Doe of Rylstone* will doubtless seem to many to belong to this class of poems. But it seems to me clearly designed to show how one may triumph over grief. It never allows the mind to rest for a

Other poems were undoubtedly written, as Legouis has pointed out, to confute some of Godwin's ideas. *The Last of the Flock* may have been written as this critic suggests³⁷ to show that the feeling for property is not the evil offspring of human institutions, but a vigorous instinct.³⁸ Yet the story that he selects to illustrate this truth is a sentimental tale, surely not the only narrative form suitable for the author's purpose. The poem begins with a picture of

A healthy man, a man full-grown,

weeping in the public road, alone. He has in his arms the last of his flock of fifty sheep, all of which he has had to slaughter to feed his six children. He is lamenting, strangely enough, not the distress of his children, but the loss of his sheep. No adequate reason for this affliction is given in the poem:

"Six children, Sir, I had to feed;
Hard labour in a time of need!"

and therefore his "full fifty comely sheep" had to be slaughtered. Obviously the undeserved character of the

moment in mere compassion. The anguish of Emily at every moment suggests its own balm. The White Doe is the embodiment of the comfort that Wordsworth believed a person stricken with grief could find in the persistent gentle influences of Nature. We are shown through Emily's mastery of her fate how sorrow may lead the soul to a calm which for its impenetrability is a foretaste of the peace beyond death.

"The mighty sorrow hath been borne,
And she is thoroughly forlorn,
Her soul doth in itself stand fast,
Sustained by memory of the past,
And strength of Reason; held above
The infirmities of mortal love,
Undaunted, lofty, calm and stable,
And awfully impenetrable."

This poem, then, at least in moral intention, is much greater than Wordsworth's sentimental tragic tales.

³⁷ *The Early Life of William Wordsworth*, p. 310.

³⁸ Wordsworth says of *Michael* in the letter to Thos. Poole quoted above, that it is the picture of a man "agitated by two of the most powerful affections of the human heart—parental affection and the love of property—landed property."



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the work which Wordsworth produced between 1796 and 1804.⁴³ It is important, therefore, to discover how far this sentimentalism is consistent with the main philosophical views which Wordsworth held during these years. When Wordsworth abandoned his allegiance to the doctrines expounded in William Godwin's *Political Justice*, he adopted a system of thought utterly unlike this philosophy of rigid reason. His reaction against the whole tendency of this work was so strong that Godwin's acceptance of an idea became almost sufficient reason for Wordsworth's abhorring it.

In the rational system of *Political Justice*, however, there was room for one great principle of action, which at first sight seems closely akin to sentimentalism. I refer to humanitarianism. This feeling, Godwin believed, was inspired in no sense by pity, but through an appreciation of the principle of "moral equality", which established "the propriety of applying one unalterable rule of justice to every case that may arise."⁴⁴ This principle makes it just and reasonable that human beings "should contribute, so far as it lies in their power, to the pleasure and benefit of each other."⁴⁵

Now Wordsworth, while under the influence of Godwin, wrote some poems illustrating this sort of reasoned humanitarianism. Of such a nature are *Lines Written in Early Spring*, *Lines Left on a Seat in a Yew Tree*, and *The Convict*.⁴⁶ Certain other poems such as *The Female Vagrant*⁴⁷ and *The Old Man Travelling* were written to advance the special form of humanitarianism which protested against the evils of war. All of these poems were devised to show

What man has made of man.

⁴³ The tales in the *Excursion*, Books VI and VII, are the only sentimental stories of any importance composed after this date.

⁴⁴ *Political Justice*, I, 99.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 100.

⁴⁶ *The Convict*, it will be remembered, is a poetic version of Godwin's plea for a reformation of the penal laws.

⁴⁷ Of this poem Wordsworth himself says (Letter to Francis Wrangham Nov. 20, 1795) "Its object is partly to expose the Vices of the penal law and the calamities of war as they affect individuals."

with his detestable system of property and its attendant evils.⁴⁸ They are all expressions of humanitarian zeal uncontaminated by sentimental notions. No one of them contains a hint of any sacredness in suffering or any moral good in the pity which it arouses.

The difference between his humanitarian and sentimental poems can be seen clearly in comparing *The Ruined Cottage* as it was written sometime before June 1797⁴⁹ with the revised form of 1801, which is incorporated into the first book of *The Excursion*. The earlier poem, though it lacks completely the horror and violence of *Guilt and Sorrow*, was clearly written to depict the spiritual evils caused by war. It contains none of the reflections and explanations of the Wanderer, which transform the tale, as I have indicated above, into a story designed to arouse feelings of compassion which are friendly to virtue.

Godwin, indeed, expressly denies that morality is, in any sense, dependent upon feeling. It is, on the contrary, entirely the offspring of understanding. Virtue he says "may be defined as a desire to promote the benefit of intelligent beings in general"—"If I desire the benefit of intelligent beings," he continues, "not from a clear and distinct perception of what it is in which their benefit consists, but from the unexamined lessons of education, *from the physical effect of sympathy* (italics are mine), or from any species of zeal unallied to and incommensurate with knowledge, can this desire be admitted for virtuous? Nothing seems more inconsistent with our ideas of virtue."⁵⁰ That Wordsworth conceived Godwin to regard mere pity for misery as worthy only of contempt, is evident from the words which he puts

⁴⁸ Cf. *Political Justice*, II, 334. "And here with grief it must be confessed, that, however great and extensive are the evils that are produced by monarchies and courts, by the imposture of priests and the iniquity of criminal laws, all these are imbecil (sic) and impotent compared with the evils that arise out of the established system of property."

Also (*Ibid.*, II, 346.) "It is clear then that war in every horrid form is the growth of unequal property."

⁴⁹ Cf. Legouis, *op. cit.*, 343, n. 1.

⁵⁰ *Political Justice*, I, 234.



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into the mouth of Oswald, the Godwinian villain-hero of *The Borderers*. He says:

A whipping to the moralists who preach
That misery is a sacred thing; for me
I know no cheaper engine to degrade a man
Nor any half so sure.

The wiles of woman
And crafty age, seducing reason, first
Made weakness a protection, and obscured
The moral shapes of things.

Sympathy and pity have not, according to Oswald and Godwin, stimulated true virtue. They have obscured its true face and diverted man from the only path by which it can be achieved,—the one clearly marked out by human understanding.

Godwin's complete rejection of pity, even of sympathy, from his system may have led Wordsworth to give it an important place in his own, which was devised, in part, as a refutation of the principles of *Political Justice*.⁵¹ Yet the negative character of Wordsworth's new system, the phase of it ably explained by Legouis, has, I believe, been over-emphasized. Its positive qualities are obviously more important. Of these not sympathy for human sorrow, but a deliberate and determined joy is the radiating center. This settled optimism, the poet believed, was the inevitable result of a true conception of the nature of the Universe. Therefore, to say that the chief end of poetry is to produce pleasure is not to attribute to it an unworthy aim. It is, on the contrary, to assign to it the highest degree of philosophic truth, because joy is "an acknowledgment of the beauty of the universe. It is homage paid to the naked dignity of man, to the grand elementary principle of pleasure, by which he knows and feels and lives and moves."⁵²

⁵¹ It is of no importance for the present inquiry whether Wordsworth's abandonment of Godwinism produced a severe moral crisis in his life (cf. Legouis, Chapter IV), or whether it was accomplished peacefully and naturally, (Cf. Harper I, pp. 290-291). The evidence clearly favors this latter view.

⁵² Preface to the 2nd Edition of *The Lyrical Ballads, Works*, Knight's ed., IV, pp. 290-291.

It follows that no one can be an authentic poet who does not realize the central position of joy in the cosmos, for it is through "the deep power of joy" that "we see into the life of things." Coleridge, it will be remembered, gives poetic voice to this theory in his *Dejection: An Ode*. He there says that the "sweet and potent voice" which goes from the soul at the moment of poetic creation, or "the beauty-making power", is joy.

Joy, virtuous William, joy that ne'er was given
Save to the pure, and in their purest hour.

Joy, William! is the spirit and the pow'r
Which wedding Nature to us gives in dow'r.

.
And thence flows all that charms or ear or sight,
All melodies the echoes of that voice,
All colours a suffusion from that light.⁵³

Armed with this creative principle, this illumination from the soul, Wordsworth asserts that the ultimate truth of the world is revealed by immediate sensations, uninvolved with reason. Furthermore, he believes that he can trace the primary laws of human nature by examining the life of simple folk in whom "our elementary feelings co-exist in a state of greater simplicity." Life, if it is to be apprehended in its ultimate reality, must enter the mind of man in its simplest terms,—there to be transformed by the auxiliary light from the soul into the highest forms of wisdom.

This cursory review of the mode of thought which Wordsworth adopted after revolting from Godwinism, has been intended only to recall the essential position which creative joy henceforth held in the poet's artistic creed. How, it may be asked, can any belief in the moral value of sorrow and anguish, find place in such a system? This apparent inconsistency in Wordsworth's system can be partially reconciled, I believe, by reexamining the formative influence which the philosophy of David Hartley had upon him at this time.

⁵³ Cf. Knight's *Life of Wordsworth*, II, p. 86 for this, the earliest form of the poem.



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Professor Arthur Beatty has recently shown⁵⁴ how much of Wordsworth's thought was based upon David Hartley's *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty and his Expectations*.⁵⁵ The main tenets of the associative philosophy explained in this work were the notion that all ideas are derived ultimately from sensations, which by the power of association are gradually transformed into simple ideas; then these simple ideas by means of association will run into the complexes of mature mental life, or what Hartley calls "intellectual ideas." From these various complexes come "pleasures and pains" or motives to conduct. These are, in an ascending scale the following: sensation, imagination, ambition, self-interest, sympathy, theopathy and moral sense.

Now these theories enable a man to turn back and retrace with mathematical surety the method by which his mind has been formed. Wordsworth, in performing this essential philosophical service for his own mind, wrote *The Prelude*, and was able in *Tintern Abbey* and the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* to connect in a causal relation, through reminiscence, the simple experiences of childhood with the complex ideas of maturity. In this way he retains for mature life, in transmuted form to be sure, the glory of childhood, and makes the child in a real psychological sense the father of the man. Retrospect, in other words, vitalized by Hartley's doctrine of constructive association, becomes a key with which to unlock the innermost secrets of personality.

Perhaps more constructive for Wordsworth's mind at this crisis was the relation of the grand elementary principle of pleasure which was to be henceforth the heart of Wordsworth's philosophy, to Hartley's system. Proving that the world is a system of benevolence, the philosopher's work culminated in joy. The last section of Hartley's volume is called *The Final Happiness of all Mankind in Some Distant*

⁵⁴ Arthur Beatty, *Wordsworth and Hartley*, *New York Nation*, Vol. XCVII, July 17, 1913, pp. 51 ff.

⁵⁵ This work was first published in 1751; Wordsworth read the three volume edition of 1791. It is possible that Coleridge first interested Wordsworth in this philosopher; he was so taken by his ideas, he called his son born in 1796, Hartley Coleridge.

Future State. There he shows, in the precise mathematical form of his work, the perfectibility and ultimate good and happiness of all men. Wordsworth, accepting the system, began his subsequent work in the joy to which this philosophy had triumphantly ascended.

This is not the place to develop the numerous points of similarity between Hartley's philosophy and Wordsworth's poetry. The point of present concern is to discover how the poet found in this system of benevolence and delight a sanction for his tragic tales. At the apex of Hartley's great structure of the pains and pleasures of our nature, or motives to action, are the passions of sympathy, theopathy, and moral sense. But the central place in the entire system from the point of view of human conduct is given to sympathy. One of the propositions in the chapter called *The Rule of Life* is as follows:⁵⁶ "The Pleasures of Sympathy improve those of Sensation, Imagination, Ambition and Self-Interest; and unite with those of Theopathy and the Moral Sense; they are self-consistent, and admit of an unlimited Extent; they may therefore be our primary Pursuit." Now it soon appears that compassion plays an important part in developing this essential sympathy or "benevolent affections." "Compassion is," we read, "in this imperfect probationary state, a most principal part of our benevolent affection." And under proposition *LXX*, a part of the book devoted to the deduction of practical rules for the conduct of men towards each other in society, we read:⁵⁷

The natural motives of good-will, compassion, etc., must have great regard paid to them, lest we contract a philosophical hardness of heart by endeavoring or pretending to act upon higher and more extensively beneficial views than vulgar minds, the softer sex, etc. Some persons carry this much too far on the other side, and encourage many public mischiefs, through a false misguided tenderness to criminals, persons in distress through present gross vices, etc.

In this interesting passage the philosopher issues direct warning against tenderness for deserved distress. It is ap-

⁵⁶ Part II, Chap. III, Section VI, Prop. LXVIII.

⁵⁷ Hartley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 474-477, *passim*.

parently only the sympathy and tears for virtue in distress and for undeserved suffering in which he can see a moral virtue.

In an earlier part of the work where the pleasures and pains of sympathy are analyzed, Hartley devotes one section to an explanation of "the affection by which we grieve for the misery of others." There the importance of compassion in the moral system is clearly set forth:

Compassion is the uneasiness which a man feels at the misery of another . . . A compassionate temper being great matter of praise to those who are endued with it, *and the actions which flow from it being a duty incumbent on all*, (the italics are mine) men are led to practice these actions and to inculcate upon themselves the motives of compassion, by *attending to distress actually present* or described in history, real or fictitious. . . . The peculiar love and esteem which we bear to morally good characters make us *more sensibly touched with their miseries*;—In like manner the simplicity, the ignorance, the helplessness, and many innocent diverting follies of young children and of some brutes lead men to pity them in a peculiar manner.⁶⁸

These passages are quoted not for the novelty of the ideas which they express, but because they show that the doctrines of sentimental morality were caught up into Hartley's system and given a central place there. Pity for undeserved human suffering is made the centre of a mathematically established moral system which culminates in joy.

Wordsworth in his Preface to the 2nd edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* is, himself, at pains to show that compassion introduces no real inconsistency into his system. "Wherever we sympathize with pain, it will be found that the sympathy is produced and carried on by subtle combinations with pleasure." Man is considered "as looking upon this complex scene of ideas and sensations and finding everywhere objects that immediately excite in him sympathies which from the necessities of his nature, are accompanied by an overbalance of enjoyment." This language sounds transcendental until we realize that the subtle combination with pleasure arises from

⁶⁸ Hartley, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 474-477, *passim*.



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joy over the truth derived from David Hartley,—that the experiences of childhood,—now become to Wordsworth's mind a rare blessedness,—are inevitably a part of the adult mind and so pronounce forever their benediction upon the life of man. Therefore man must not grieve at the loss of the first divine vividness of the senses; but find comfort first, in the fact of their persistence in the soul; second, in the sympathy; and third, theopathy which they have generated

We will grieve not, rather find
Strength in what remains behind,

1. In the primal sympathy which having
Been must always be;
2. In the soothing thoughts that spring
Out of human suffering;
3. In the faith that looks through death
In years that bring the philosophic mind.

In both of these poems compassion for human suffering is shown to be one of the principal sources of mature human satisfaction, one of the animating passions or motives to moral conduct. In the fourteenth book of *The Prelude*, a poem which is a special application of Hartley's theories of association, this passion is given an even more prominent place. There the supreme achievement of the busy associations of life is apparently the production of a sentimental tenderness and softness of heart, or an intense proneness to Hartley's essential sympathy.

And he whose soul hath risen
Up to the height of feeling intellect
Shall want no humbler tenderness; his heart
Be tender as a nursing mother's heart;
Of female softness shall his life be full,
Of humble cares and delicate desires,
Mild interests and gentlest sympathies.

I trust that the purpose of this brief analysis of Wordsworth's relation to Hartley will not be misunderstood. It is not intended to prove that the poet learned the moral

value of the sentimental tragic tale from this philosopher. The literature of the 18th century was so thoroughly saturated with that belief that it would be folly to attempt to discover from what work the notion first came to Wordsworth.⁶¹ The point of significance is that the poet found, in the moral system which he in large measure adopted, a central place given to compassion for undeserved human suffering. A type of literature to which Wordsworth may have been naturally attracted⁶² was thus given the highest sanction. Without arousing feelings inconsistent with the grand elementary principle of joy or breaking with blessed primal sympathies existing between man and nature, such tales could inspire the loftiest morality. It is perhaps not too much to say that man gradually assumed the most important place in Wordsworth's world because of the central position which sympathy with man is given in Hartley's system.

We may then cease to wonder with the critics that so many of Wordsworth's tales of human beings are stories of deep distress and sorrow. A poet who believed that the importance of his poetry lay "in the quality and in the multiplicity of its moral relations," would feel it his solemn duty to arouse often that essential pity for undeserved suffering which was, to his mind, a mighty "power to virtue friendly."

⁶¹ James Beattie, of whose work Wordsworth had intimate knowledge, in his discourse *On Poetry and Music* explains very clearly the sentimental moral theory. "By instruction," he says, "I do not here understand merely the communication of moral and physical truth. Whatever tends to raise those human affections that are favorable to truth and virtue—will always gratify and improve our moral and intellectual powers and may properly enough be called instructive. All poetry, therefore, is entitled to this epithet, not only which imparts knowledge we had not before, but also which awakens our pity for the sufferings of our fellow creatures, promotes a taste for the beauties of Nature animate or inanimate" etc.

⁶² We have numerous bits of evidence of the sensibility of both Wordsworth and his sister. Dorothy's journal records innumerable occasions when such things as a letter from Coleridge or a fine passage from Milton moved them both to tears.



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THE SCANSION OF MIDDLE ENGLISH ALLITERATIVE VERSE

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

In one of the recent publications¹ of our University, I registered a long-time skepticism of the orthodox (two-accent) creed in Germanic versification, explaining what the four-accent theory really must mean, confessing my faith and setting down some reasons thereof. When I mailed my off-prints to a selected list of the judicious, I fully expected the humorous or impatient shrug, the neutral acknowledgment, or the unbroken silence. I was not disappointed, particularly in the silence. But quite to my surprise, a number of heartening letters came. Four or five old pupils of Sievers, or the Sievers' school, admitted they had long cherished misgivings in secret; others, too, now beginning to be troubled in spirit, vowed to investigate a little further for themselves. From Professor Otto Jespersen at Copenhagen—who had received the publication through the University and not through myself and whose comment could therefore not have the bias of mere personal good will—came a testimony as welcome as it was unexpected: "I am inclined to think you are right in all your main conclusions, though I say it with some diffidence, as I cannot pretend to be a specialist² in these matters. I have always had a kind of instinctive feeling against Sievers' metrical system, many parts of which appear to me as extremely artificial. Many verses belonging according to him to the same 'type' are so different in their

¹ *Beowulf and the Niebelungen Couplet, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, number 2.

² But Jespersen is the author of that profound and thorough metrical study, *Den psykologiske Grund til nogle metriske Fænomener*, published in *Oversigt over det kgl. danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandlinger*, 1900, pp. 487 ff.

structure that the impression on the ear cannot possibly have been the same. Many of these difficulties seem to be obviated through a four stress reading, though in some cases it is not easy now to see which syllables to stress''. I'm quoting without permission, but I trust without offense. It is not that this open-mindedness toward the heterodox view—essentially, however, the primitive view, just as modern heterodoxy in Christianity is so largely a return to the primitive faith before Councils and Formulas and Authority—is witnessed by the countryman of Thorkelin and Grundtvig, the pioneer scholars in Germanic poetry; it is rather that Jespersen is a phonetician and a psychologist, a living master in the characteristics of Germanic speech as sound and as thinking, the *nature* of which speech is perhaps the outstanding argument for the four-accent delivery of old Germanic verse. Professor Jespersen's position is of course as such no proof: it is cited here simply as a reminder, for some American friends in the MLA, that anti-Sievers is perhaps not as negligible a heresy as they think; and that, if they mean to hand down their faith intact to the next generation, they may have to do more than chalk up the blackboard with the magic St. Andrew's crosses arranged ABCDE.

Perhaps ultimately, for the rehabilitation of Europe from war and diplomacy or for the redemption of mankind from thieving, thuggery, and peevishness, it doesn't much matter. But if our discipline as a phase of human culture matters, if old Germanic studies matter for those who have given to them nights and days of zeal and delight, then the metrical question is the question that matters most of all. The low-German authorship of the *Hildebrandslied*, the meaning of an Anglo-Saxon Riddle, the interpretation of the Dragon's Cave or the Finnsburg Episode, the Greenland provenience of one or another song of the *Edda* may be settled one way or another and is indeed worth settling right; but no one of these problems has the creative significance for the whole range of thought and imagination that belongs to the metrical problem. Creative significance: the term is not idle. The scholar lives in two different worlds, accordingly: the two



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accents *create* one, the four another. Which is right and real? The fight is not for a dry bone but for a living spirit; and concerns not one poem or one people, but the whole compass of Germanic life as it expressed itself in poetry, the one art in which it found adequate spiritual expression at all. The fight concerns a whole epoch in European culture, as individual and autochthonous as the epoch of the Greeks—dusky and delimited though it be in comparison with their radiant civilization. Any one who shakes his head with amusement, fails, it seems, to realize the function of form in man's eagernesses, passions, and dreams. Or would Vergil be Vergil if we read Vergil with the prose cadences of his prose-imitator Livy? It is only because the metrical question is vital, in the strictest etymological sense, that I ventured to raise it,—and to answer it as I could. For, in general, I have supinely left to others the problems of our discipline for any settlement in print. It is only because it is so vital that I'm now venturing on it again.

I

I want now to suggest some possible bearings of Middle English alliterative verse on the four-accent theory, presupposing the discussion of the previous paper. ME alliterative lines, whatever our theory, are, as we all know, the epigoni of the AS and the OG. The crescendo-decrescendo of the sentence cadences is lost; end-rhyme becomes more and more integral; the harmonious variation of types from first to second half-lines yields somewhat to a repetition of the type in the second half, especially where the half-lines are mated and *coupled* by rhyme; the old run-on style disappears and we have the end-stop style, with the long-line, rather than the half-line, as the unit, even when the long-line unit is not created by long-line rhyme. We note too—this review of familiar facts is brief enough to be pardoned, I hope—a number of departures from the older habits of alliterating, sometimes in the direction of less alliteration and of irregularity of recurrence, sometimes in the direction

of over-alliteration and of alliterative refinements (runs on special combinations of letters aside from the *st*, *sp*, *sc* of the AS rules). With these differences of versification are associated differences of poetic style: the old parallelisms of phrase (and with them the kennings which contributed so much to their support) are lost; and the related phenomena of parallelism of sentences and ideas (repetitions of description, action, apothegm) are likewise lost. The differentiation from prose-speech, to which every thread in the texture of OG poetry contributed its due part, becomes less marked, or marked mainly in aural elements—in sound-combinations (initial or end rhyme), in stanza-complexes, and in the persistence of the old stress-system in the midst of greater speech-filling between stresses. But the differences reveal quite as much as they repudiate their OG ancestry; and it is generally conceded (with Luick's ingenious but unwarranted conjectures in the *Grundriss* on Layamon's verse as the one notable exception) that the theory which holds for existing AS verse holds for existing ME verse. So generally is it conceded, that in fact the argument for a two or four accent reading of ME alliterative verse has been generally based on one or the other theory for the AS.

This is in itself not an altogether illicit process. But it ought to be possible to come to some decision on the ME *as if the AS were not in existence*. ME alliterative verse is surely ample enough in quantity and clear enough in speech-form to reveal to Modern English readers its metrical purpose without recourse to a language and a poetry far more estranged. Most of it is indeed nearer to Modern English than to Anglo-Saxon,—some of it is essentially Modern English—and we have in our modern versification helps to its understanding of at least equal usefulness to those helps from the AS which for the present we arbitrarily reject. But when we have decided on our ME scansion *without* the AS, we can make all the inferences from ME we please *for* the AS. In other words, if ME alliterative verse is a four-accenter, we have additional proof for the AS and the OG as a four accenter.



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One such study of a ME poem in the alliterative tradition there is: *Untersuchungen zur mittlenglischen Metrik*, by Professor K. D. Buelbring of Bonn.³ After listing and discussing with bibliographical thoroughness the views of scholars to date, it subjects *The Avowyngge of King Arther* to an almost meticulous analysis, citing other ME poems chiefly for illustration rather than for argument, and citing AS not at all. The opening stanza is representative:

He that made us on the mulde,
 And fair fourmed the folde,
 Atte his will, as he wold,
 The see and the sande,
 Giffe hom joy that will here
 Of dugti men and of dere,
 Of haldurs that before us were,
 That lifd in this londe.
 One was Arther the kinge,
 With-owtun any letting;
 With him was money lordinge,
 Hardi of honde.
 Wice and war, ofte thay were,
 Bold undur banere,
 And wigte weppuns wold were,
 And stifly wold stond.⁴

Purely on internal evidence of syllables, stresses, alliterations, relations of end-verses to triplet-verses, etc., in sundry comparative tabulations, he comes to the conclusion that the end-verses were recited (let the fact of *recitation* not be forgotten) with three, the triplet-verses with four stresses (secondary, of course, intermingled with primary). "Kurz"—so ends his monograph on the 114th page—"die hier methodisch erschlossene Theorie ist den andern in jeder Hinsicht ueberlegen; fuer sie spricht alles, gegen sie nichts". Three readings of the monograph—no easy task for an im-

³Halle, 1913. *Sonderabdruck aus Studien zur englischen Philologie*, Heft L. Lorenz Morsbach gewidmet.

⁴From a manifolded MS copy in Buelbring's handwriting, made from the original, for use in his seminary. I have inserted punctuation and substituted Modern English letters for ME symbols (thorn, etc.), as regularly in ME citations throughout the paper.

petuous American—have convinced me. F'uer sie spricht alles; and it is one of life's little duties to the memory of an old teacher now dead (with whom youth in callow seminary days had too pertly contested) to make this public confession, while calling attention to a study less known than it deserves. His findings are of wide application: to Layamon, to the *Bestiary*, to the *King Horn* couplets, to the four-line rhymes at the end of the popular alliterative stanza-form of *Rauf Coilyear*, *The Awntyrs off Arthure*, *The Pistill of Susan*, etc.,—four-line rhymes which are exactly the same in metrics as any one of the four-line sections of the sixteen-line stanza above quoted, as

Efter thame, baith fer and neir,
 Folkis following in feir,
 Thankand God with gude cheir
 Thair Lord was gane to toun.
 (*Coilyear*, l. 346 ff.)

They apply to the four-line rhymes at the end of the *Gawain and the Green Knight* stanzas, as

He blenched agayn bilyve,
 And stifly start onstray,
 With alle the wo on lyve,
 To the wod he went away,
 • (l. 1715 ff.)

lines of three stresses like the end-verses between the triplets of the *Avowynge*. But these same findings apply quite as cogently to the two halves of the ME alliterative long-line, showing the four-stress and the three-stress short rhymed lines as corresponding to, and obviously organically related to (as a derivative), a first half of four stresses, a second half of three—the scansion I accept for the ME long line.

This long-line is my main concern in this paper. Layamon is so near to the AS epic tradition—his very phrases, *e. g.*,

mid sele than kinge
 spelles uncuthe
 domes waldend
 the eorl wes abolge,

being often like fragments of *Beowulf* merely a little mouthed—that any discussion too temptingly invites that reference to AS metrics I wish here to eliminate. I note simply that any collation of his rhymes plainly indicates the time-marking (stress) function of final secondary syllables. Besides a couplet like

and thu gif me swa muchel lond
to stonden a mire agere hond,
(M. and S. 401)⁶

where a final primary rhymes with a primary, we have a normal-secondary (= secondary in normal prose-speech) rhyming with a primary, as in

tha hit wes daeiliht
garu tha wes heore fiht;
(E. 182, 25)

and a primary rhyming with a verse-secondary (= a syllable, unstressed in prose-speech, taking stress in verse), as

this weoren tha faereste men
that avere her comen,
(M. and S. 13)

and other combinations of primary, normal-secondary, and verse-secondary that make inevitable a four-stress scansion (with secondary on the final syllables) of his so frequently recurring lines' of the following type:

thurh thi lond heo aerneth
and haerieth and berneth,
(M. and S. 215)

and gunne to tellen
a feole cunne spellen,
(E. 184, 1)

for ich wat to iwisse
agan is al mi blisse.
(E. 182, 5)

⁶ These few citations are from the handy selections in Emerson's *Reader* (by page and line) and Morris and Skeat's *Specimens* (by line), vol. I.



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per, *et al.* I frankly face this fact: the proofs we act upon (*i. e.*, apply in our reading of verse) are ultimately accepted not by our reason but by our ear,—by which, however, I do not mean that there are not still plenty of unused opportunities for the application of the reason to metrical science. And the devices for communicating that seven-accent character, the thoroughfares I hope to find to modern ears, may incidentally have some value as proofs for the modern reason, wedded as it is to pragmatic sanctions.

II

Let us first renew acquaintance with *The Tale of Gamelyn*,⁹ written about 1350, famous as once accredited to Chaucer, and as a ME version of *As You Like It*, and in itself a well-conducted yarn in narrative movement and metrical manipulation. And let us take particularly to heart, as metrical students, its opening adjuration:

Litheth, and lesteneth and herkeneth aright.

The poem, like many another tale in alliterative rhymes, was obviously recited (at gatherings of the gentles): the call for attentive ears at the opening of each important new moment of the story—so often repeated that it becomes a veritable refrain—is something quite different from the dramatic devices of Chaucer, like

Now wol I seye my tale, if ye wol here,

to remind us, while he is himself *writing*, that his pilgrims are supposed to be *speaking*. Thus one hearkeneth to its cadences aright most readily if it is read aloud, and from beginning to end. At least let a few lines be read aloud—for instance:

Litheth, and lesteneth and holdeth your tonge,
And ye schul heere talkyng of Gamelyn the yonge.
Ther was ther bysiden cryed a wrastlyng,

⁹ Ed. Skeat. Clarendon Press.

And therfor ther was set vp a ram and a ryng;
 And Gamelyn was in wille to wende thereto,
 For to preuen his might what he cowthe do.
 "Brother", seyde Gamelyn, "by seynt Richer,
 Thou most lene me to-nyght a litel courser
 That is freisch to the spores on for to ryde;
 I most on an erande a litel her byside".
 "By god!" seyde his brother, "of steedes in my stalle
 Go and chese the the best and spare non of alle
 Of steedes or of coursers that stonden hem bisyde;
 And tel me, goode brother, whider thou wolt ryde".
(ll. 169-182)¹⁰

To put its scansion out of all doubt—for I want to reach the interested layman in ME and OG as well as the specialist—I have rendered it into Modern English. The movement is like this:

Hearn ye, and listen ye and hold ye your tongue,
 And ye shall hear a tale told of Gamelyn the young.
 In the shire anear was cri-ed a wrestle-ing,
 And for a prize was set up a ram and a ring.
 And Gamelyn he devis-ed to wend him thereto
 For to prove in true might what he'd learn'd to do.
 "Brother", said this Gamelyn, "by sainted Rich-er
 Thou must lend to me tonight, a little cours-er,
 That's a fresh one to boot-spur, on for to ride;
 I must on an errand a little here beside."
 "By God", said his brother, "of steeds within my stall
 Go and choose for thee the best and spare of none of all
 Of stallions or of coursers that stand there side by side,
 And tell me, good my brother, whither thou wilt ride".

The metrical system may be emphasized sufficiently for our purposes merely by quoting one or two more of the same cadences wrought out of different speech-material, and several cadences not represented above, all typical:

¹⁰ Throughout this paper there is almost no explicit reference to the ME pronunciation of final *e* or of other syllables which were originally unstressed in prose, often unstressed in verse, and finally unpronounced in either prose or verse. But I have tried to take my examples where a *problematic* final *e*, etc., either does not occur or, if occurring, does not matter for our discussion.

Afterward cam his brother wálkýnge tháre,
 And séydè to Gámelyn “is our mete yare?”
 (89)

I am no worse gadelyng ne no worse wight,
 But bórn òf a ládý and geten of a knight.
 (107)

‘Lórdès’, he séydè ‘for Cristes passioun,
 Helpeth brynge Gamelyn óut of prísoún’.
 (477)

A’fter thát ábbòt thán spák anóther,
 “I wold thin heed were of though thou were my brother!”
 (483)

(Note that *that*, as contrasted with *another*, takes the accent with legitimate narrative force.)

‘Felow’, seyde the porter, ‘stónd thére stílle,
 And I wil wende to Gamelyn to wítèn his wílle’.
 Ín wènte the pórtèr to Gamelyn anoon,
 And seyde, “Sir, I warne you her ben come your foon.”
 (571)

(In went[e] the porter = “Póp, gòes the wéas-èl”. Strictly these five syllables run with emphasis 4, 3, 1, 4, 2, *goes* being a stronger secondary than *-el*. This notation—Jespersen’s—seems better than Kaluza’s adopted in my earlier paper, for 0 really equals merely a *pause* not a syllable).

I cúrse nón óthèr but ríght mý-sélue;
 They [=though] ye fette to yow fyue thánne yè be
 twélue!
 (651)

(This is not bad metre, but good dramatic emphasis in whole-hearted recitation.)

Gamelyn into the woode stáلكède stílle,
 And Adam, the spenser, líkedè ful ýlle.
 (617)

(Note the differing treatment of stress in the two weak preterits.)



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which is like (except for the syllable *e* in *yonge*) the

“Four and twenty blackbirds”

of the nursery rhyme in the same old metre. There is clearly this shift of stress in a line like

For to colen thy blood as I dide myn,
(540)

where *thy* robs *blood* of the primary stress, by the emphatic contrast with *I* and *myn*. Cases where a fourth stress fails altogether are extremely rare, if the lines are lilted properly, and point rather to the need of emending the text than of chiding the poet.¹² The line,

Chef Justice of al his fre forest
(892)

becomes normal by simply changing the mid-line division:

Chef Justice of al his fre forest,

where we have two primaries plus two secondaries in the first half and in the second three primaries of the “three blind mice” sort, without speech-filling, as also in above examples or in

And I wil parte with the of *my free lond*.
(402)

I need hardly note that omission of unstressed syllables between stresses (not only between primary and primary, but between primary and secondary) is an integral part of the metrical technique, and that stresses (secondaries) on syllables entirely unstressed in ME prose frequently occur, not only at the end of the first half, but in the body of either half, as in

Lithèth and lestenèth and holdèth your tonge

¹² Of course sometimes in ME alliterative verse this fourth stress is indubitably lacking; yet the typical movement is merely varied (rather than disturbed), if we supply its place by a longer musical rest than we instinctively supply after the fourth. But I anticipate.

of our sample, or in

Had I now etèn and dronkèn aright.

(421)

Considerable *flexibility* of language with reference not only to prose-speech, but to the speech-uses of his own verse, was his, even as it was every poet's of the good old days, even the scholarly Chaucer's. For instance,—though previous examples may suffice—in the verses

Adam spenser me thinkth I faste to longe,
Adam spenser now I byseche the,
For the mochel loue my fader loued the.....

(398 ff.)

the *-er* of *spenser* is a secondary, even as it was a secondary normally in late ME prose-speech according to recessive accent of words from OF. (The solemn cadence *Adam spenser*=*take cup, drink up.*)¹³ But in an adjacent verse (403) it is made a primary:

Thanne seyde Adam that was the spenc-*er*,
“I have served thy brother this sixtene yeer.”

Or take the first verse of the couplet (a verse also in its syncopation significant for our subsequent comparisons):

A'bbòt or priòur mónk or chánóun,
That Gamelyn ouertok, anon they yeeden doun:

(509)

chanoun in prose was pronounced of course like *priour*, a primary plus a strong secondary; here *priour* retains the prose stress, but *chanoun* becomes primary plus primary.

But no disquisition of mine can take the place of an alert metrical ear in the service of an intimate philological experience with ME as a living tongue. And though Chaucer, too, makes an excited fellow swear *by Cristes passioun* to the same scansion of that good round oath, and though Chaucer, too, talked practically the same dialect and shared some of

¹³ See my *op. cit.*, pp. 133-4.

the same speech-licenses in his verse, his metrics are founded on an entirely different system: the *Tale of Gamelyn* was never told either by Cook or by Yeoman. Chaucer cannot be in these matters our master dear, dear as he is in so many other matters. Again, the line of our couplet is not an Alexandrine nor a Septinarius, and the author of *Gamelyn* has handled it with more skill and conformity to type, I think, than Skeat in his *Introduction* allows. The movement is not theoretically in dispute; yet there is still need to hearken aright; for this line is the line to which the italics a few pages back referred: it is a long-line, sporadically alliterative and obviously of the alliterative, the Germanic, tradition *with the traditional mid-line division*. Or are such lines as the following mere accidents:

Tho that *wardeynes* were of that *wrastelyng*.
(279)

Other alliterative examples follow below, as the plot (against the established order) thickens.

We well know, we say, the scansion of the *Gamelyn* long-line (four plus three); we well know the scansion of the accepted alliterative long-line as in *Piers Plowman* (two plus two); we can distinguish them well enough. Let us see how well, after all. Can the gnostic distinguish herewith these five *Gamelyn* from these five *Piers Plowman*¹⁴ long-lines, by any *metrical* clue:

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | For he <i>hopede</i> to God | for to <i>have</i> his deel |
| 2 | And <i>pleyden</i> with the <i>monkes</i> | and <i>made</i> hem agast |
| 3 | And now <i>wolde</i> I <i>witen</i> of the | what <i>were</i> the best |
| 4 | They <i>ben</i> <i>ascaped</i> good <i>aventure</i> | now <i>god</i> hem <i>amende</i> |
| 5 | But I can <i>rymes</i> of <i>Robyn</i> hood | and <i>Randolf</i> erle of <i>Chestre</i> |
| 6 | Tho that we <i>comen</i> <i>hider</i> | it was a <i>cold</i> reed |
| 7 | If I <i>shulde</i> <i>deye</i> by this <i>day</i> | me <i>liste</i> <i>nougte</i> to <i>loke</i> |
| 8 | And <i>leet</i> the <i>wicket</i> <i>stonden</i> | <i>y-steke</i> ful <i>stille</i> |
| 9 | He <i>stumbled</i> on the <i>threschewolde</i> | an <i>threwe</i> to the <i>erthe</i> |
| 10 | Whan alle the <i>gestes</i> were <i>goon</i> | how <i>Gamelyn</i> was <i>dight</i> . |

This last, which names its own author, is inserted for courtesy (G 344): as for the others, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9 are from *Piers Plow-*

¹⁴ I use Skeat's small, one volume edition, Clarendon Press.



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by a desire to have the combinations make sense so that the unity of metrical impression be as little disturbed as possible by lack of other unity):

Gamelyn yede to the gate and leet it up wyde; (G 311)
A bolle and a bagge he bare by his side. (PP V, 526)

Alle lybbyng laboreres that lyven with her hondes,
(PP VII, 62)
Thou schalt biseke hem alle to bryng the out of bondes.
(G 440)

“Pieres,” quod the prest tho, “I can no pardoun finde,
(PP VII, 112)
And ben harde bystad under woode-lynde”. (G 676)

Except for the decisive word *Pieres* and the impeccable alliteration, if one were deciding between these last two lines, one would say the latter was more likely the rugged and ragged PP line than the former—“rugged and ragged”, however, because the usual scansion is wrong.

The same sort of metrical jugglery is quite as easy between *Gamelyn* and the equally contemporaneous, though slightly more archaic, *William of Palerne*:¹⁵

“Felaw”, seyde the champioun, “Al-so mot I thrive,
(G 227)
For me non harm schal he have never in his live!¹⁶
(WP 253)

Anón às sche¹⁷ hêrdè how it was bifalle, (G 685)
Than studied sche stify as step-moderes wol alle....
(WP 137)

In both these couplets *Gamelyn* contributes the first line; and so one might say it contributes the movement too. But it will be noted that, in the last two couplets of the preceding exercise, PP lines preceded *Gamelyn* lines. So with the WP

¹⁵ Citations of WP, *The Deluge*, and *The Destruction of Sodom* are from Morris and Skeat's *Specimens*, Vol. II.

¹⁶ The above is particularly good, because the characteristic alliteration of WP is obscured.

¹⁷ For *he* of the text, to give consistent sense to the cento-couplet.

lines below; it is quite indifferent to our metrical purpose which contributes the first:

I was bore here fast bi by this wodes side; (WP 240)
And tel me, goode brother, whider thou wolt ryde. (G 182)

And briddes ful bremely on the bowes sing[e] (WP 23)
To the maister outlawe that tho was her king. (G 688)

And sone as he it seiy¹⁸ sothe forto telle: (WP 34)
“Me ben comen tydynges I may no lenger dwelle”.
(G 692)

So we may make *Gamelyn* couplets by matching different lines of any poems in the accepted alliterative tradition. *William of Palerne* is still open before us; let us turn over the pages:

Ak nowthe ye that arn hendi haldes ow stille, (106)
To herknen after his houndes, other horn schille. (213)

That hade him sent tho sonde swiche prey to finde, (64)
And how that best therwe bale was brought out of kinde.
(107)

He was wigtliche a-wondered and gan to wepe sore, (310)
But themperour had god game of that gomes lore. (346)

Or from *The Destruction of Sodom*, these:

The grete god in his greme bygynnes onlofte (947)
That the thik thunder-thrast thirled hem ofte. (952)

Swe aboute sodamas and hit sydes alle— (956)
For it is brod and bothemles and bitter as the galle.
(1022)

Or these from *The Deluge*:

For to ende alle at ones and for ever twynne— (402)
Al was wasted that ther wonyed the worlde withinne.
(431)

¹⁸ Musical rest for lacking fourth (secondary) stress (see p. 70), or preliminary secondary on *and*, with *seiy* a primary.

- And he fonges to the flygt and fannes on the wyndes; (457)
 He croukes for comfort when carayne he fyndes. (459)
- And ho skyrmes under skwe and skowtes aboute; (483)
 Ledes logen in that lome and loked ther-oute. (495)

On testing these comparisons (alond!), as on testing all the others, if there be cases where the cadences tend to reveal to responsive ears differences from the norm with which we are making the comparisons, we must distinguish clearly between metrical differences that are variations and metrical differences that are cancellations of the norm—between differences that keep us still inside and differences that take us outside the seven-stress movement. Differences of the latter type are so few as to be negligible; of the former there are a number: WP, D, DS, for instance, in the cento-couplets above—in this respect representatively—tend to more frequent syncopation (and of one metrical variety) in the second half-line than *Gamelyn*—or, for that matter, than their acknowledged metrical brother, *Piers Plowman*, though the same syncopations are found sporadically in both.

PP, WP, D and DS are all unrhymed verse, whilst *Gamelyn* is rhymed; and rhyme technique is supposed to have introduced epochmaking changes in OG. May I not be producing similar changes,—as it were, artificially repeating a ME process that perhaps turned the two plus two alliterative line into a four plus three rhymed line? I give the objection a formal statement, merely to make a formal reply: there are probably more rhymed long-lines (stanzas) in the huge mass of ME verse in the accepted alliterative tradition than unrhymed, and they have never been distinguished, and cannot be distinguished, as metrically different. And, as we may compare later, these unrhymed alliterative lines above match with the *Gamelyn* lines precisely as the rhymed alliterative lines will be found below to match. Rhyme may have assisted in the original reduction of the second half-line from a four stresser to a three but it has nothing to do with the question before us now.



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- b) Gamelyn, we may
 Bydde and biseche, if be thy wille thus,
 That art our fader and our brother, be merciabile to us,
 And have ruth on thise Abbotes, that repente hem here sore
 That ever they wrathed the in this toun, in deedes,
 worde, or lore.

Example *a* is—as my introductory comment implies—from *Gamelyn*, example *b* from PP. It will be observed how slight the alterations were:

- a) A little above the girdel the rigge-bone to-barst;
 And set him in the feteres ther he sat arst.
 “Sitte ther, brother,” sayde Gamelyn ,
 “For to colen thy blood as I dide min.²² (537 ff.)
- b) the sikerere we mowe
 Bydde and beseche, if it be thi wille,
 That art oure fader and oure brother, be merciabile to us,
 And have reuthe on thise Ribaudes that repente hem here
 sore,
 That evere thei wratthed the in this world, in worde,
 thougte, or dedes.
 (Passus V, 509 ff.)

And now these lines suggest another demur: though PP may not be distinguishable by *shorter* second half-lines, it is by *longer* first half-lines. So

Question V. Distinguish *a* and *b*.

- a) His bretheren loved wel here fader and of him were afeered;
 The eldest deserved his fadres curse, and had it at the last.
- b) Sissoures and sompnoures,— suche men now were,—
 Shireves of shires were shent if she nere.

These are from *Gamelyn* (7–8), with *afeerd* substituted for *agast*, and from PP (Passus III, 133–4), with *now were* substituted for *hir preiseth*. There is evidently as little help for identification by the character of either half-line as by the impression of the line as a whole. In the present experiment,

²² The final *e*, if pronounced, gives this line a slightly different lilt from that of my variation, *as I can min*.

there are no metrical variations, even in narrowest limits, to furnish a clue to differences.

My purpose is not to enter into minute distinctions: that, poem for poem, PP (composed to be read) and Gamelyn verses (composed to be recited) will be found to differ in some nuances of *metrical* detail, creating some cumulative differences in the total *metrical* effect, is herewith once for all admitted. Moreover, the insistent alliterative technique of the one and the rhyme couplets of the other would alone tend to produce concomitant variations in metrics, like the concomitant variations of gait appearing in two varieties of pacers whom natural or artificial selection has differentiated, inside the one species, by diverse femurs and diverse knee-joints—though the analogy breaks down at least in one particular, since both varieties of horse go on *four* feet, while both varieties of verse go on *seven*. But the nuances of gait are less than, say, between Pope's and Leigh Hunt's five-stress line, the so-called iambic pentameter of the heroic couplet.

Let us attempt another similar, but more difficult, exercise. Let us weave together some random lines from *William of Palerne* and *Gamelyn*, into a consecutive narrative of the alliterative (unrhymed) tradition, striving only for as much clarity of action and characterization as we find in many a dull ME alliterative poem. We shall be in good Medieval company,—for the monks, too, made centos.

- 1) Erly on a mornynge on the eighte day
It bifel in that forest, there fast by-side,
We fond the lord yfetered faste with-alle,
In gode clothes of gold agrethed ful riche.
- 5) He was wigtliche a-wondered and gan to wepe sore:
“Now wot i never in this world of whom y am come,
Ne what destine me is digt but God do his wille”.
He²³ smot the wyket with his foot and brak away the pyn,
And cast away the feteres and come to me anoon,
- 10) And seide, “thou swete sone, seththe thou schalt hennes
wende,
I have a draught of good wyn— drynk er ye passe”.²⁴

²³ Apparently “the lord”—if it was so easy to free himself, why the fuss?

²⁴ Was he fettered in the butlery of some greenwood tavern?



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stresses of a French Alexandrine. Thus, if the fact that they *can be made* to lilt to one tune (and this much will be granted me, I trust) is presumptive evidence that they really *are* one tune, then that tune must be the tune of *The Tale of Gamelyn*—ME alliterative verse must be, in short, a four plus three, a seven-stresser, as I've already insisted so eagerly and often.

IV

But just here is the rub, you say: *can be* is not presumptive evidence for *must be*. You may even embarrass my argument and my modesty by quoting my own words against me, italicized words too: in English "a line of verse has no independent existence";²⁷ and so the preceding illustrations show nothing more than the familiar plastic nature of English accentual speech. The performance is indeed what it was named a moment ago—"metrical jugglery", a pleasant game for a rainy day in mid-summer when one wearies of tinkering with the basement drainage; but scarcely to be taken seriously for a scientific monograph for reading between semesters in strenuous mid-winter. Yet the objection is to me as invalid as it is plausible. Aside from the fact that some of this "jugglery" was with consecutive passages and not single lines, I must reply that there are limits to the plasticity of speech, or any prose could be read as any metre; and that to affirm a line has no independent existence out of metrical context is not to affirm it may be forced into any metrical movement by any given metrical context.

Take two different verse-forms alike in rhymelessness and in number of stresses, say, hendecasyllabics and blank-verse, and take them both from one poet. Take from Tennyson:

O you chorus of indolent reviewers
 Irresponsible, indolent reviewers,
 Look, I come to the test, a tiny poem
 All composed in a metre of Catullus,
 All in quantity careful of my motion,
 Like the skater on ice that hardly bears him,

²⁷ See my *op. cit.*, p. 118.

*Lest I fall unawares before the people.....
 Hard, hard, hard it is only not to tumble,
 So fantastical is the dainty metre
 As some rare little rose, a piece of inmost
 Horticultural art, or half coquette-like
 Maiden, not to be greeted unbenignly.*

Try forcing these by blank-verse context into a typical blank verse movement (say, that of *The Coming of Arthur*):

Be thou the King and we will work thy will,
 Lest I fall unawares before the people.

Here by the stressing of *I* through the logical contrast prepared for in the stressed *thou*, and by the associated unstressing of *fall*, we have radically altered the metrical character of the line: this roughly illustrates rhythmical plasticity. But in the cento

Half-blinded' at the coming of a light,
 Hard, hard, hard it is, only not to tumble,

OR

And Lancelot passed away among the flowers
 (For then was latter April) and returned
 Among the flowers, in May, with Guinevere—
 Maiden, not to be greeted unbenignly,

the hendecasyllabics will not be altered from their native cadences: this illustrates a limit of placidity, though a rather nice limit. And to affirm that a line has no independent existence²⁸ is least of all to affirm that a goodly number of lines of one metrical texture in one metrical context can be forced in another metrical context to take on a metrical texture as crassly different as the two plus two is from the four plus seven.

This would be possible were the four plus seven rigidly dipodic with only a modicum of unstressed syllables between, —where the adaptation could be made by cancelling the

²⁸ This is, in any case, the statement of a general law: single lines there are which constitute exceptions (as far as mere stress, as distinct from pitch, tempo, etc., is concerned), but these are lines characterized by very elementary metrical structure.

metrical (time-marking) value of the regularly alternating secondary stresses. To illustrate. *Here* is a seven-accent monopodic couplet (monopodic, if read normally):

The hills are green and green the dales, and children
 now may run
 In play till rings the curfew bell and sets the summer
 sun.

Here a seven-accent dipodic:

Up the hill, across the hill, run, child, run—
 It's playtime till curfew and down goes the sun.

And here a four-accenter:

The hills are green and the children run
 Till curfew rings at the set of sun.

We can combine

The hills are green, and the children run—
 It's playtime till curfew and down goes the sun,

turning the dipodic seven-accenter into a four-accenter by destroying the secondary stresses in a changed metrical context. We cannot combine

The hills are green, and the children run
 In play till rings the curfew bell and sets the summer sun

so that the second takes on the four of the first—the second remains a monopody of seven stresses. There are some regular dipodic lines in *Gamelyn*, as the first in our sample,

Litheth and lesteneth and holdeth your tonge.

which can easily be made to read with four-stresses, like

Harken and listen and bridle your tongue;

and old seven-stressers of this sort, in my opinion, contributed to the development of that four-stress "anapestic" verse of which my Modern English line here is one illustration



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a human being with psychic processes presumably like our own) would every now and then get so badly out of step through the embarrassing intrusion upon consciousness of a totally extraneous and different time and tune. Both the linguistic and the psychologic difficulty are noteworthy. Moreover, let him try himself the cento-game with PP or WP open beside *Gamelyn*. He should find, as I found, the lines may be metrically matched in nineteen cases out of twenty. I wish to be strictly honest—hence the admission of the twentieth case. Yet in justice to my position I should add that by “metrically matched” I mean a metrically easy and obvious matching, and that by twentieth case I really mean the fiftieth—and that the fiftieth itself, if not “obviously” matchable with a seven-stresser, is still less obviously matchable with a genuine four-stresser.

It may be that no lines from one poet can be interpolated into the lines of another, without a resulting organic disturbance (observed or unobserved), as Sievers in his seminary, in his table-talk, and in his published studies is set upon establishing: the *Lenz* complex may always be detachable from the *Goethe* complex in *Sesenheimerlieder*; and Sievers' wizardry may be—is, I think—the opening of entirely new chapters, not only in phonetics, versification, and text-criticism, but in the abysmal deeps of Personality and their subtle and unconscious manifestations in spoken or written speech. But this is another and profounder problem than ours, involving factors of another order—differences within what for our purposes are samenesses. For instance, Sievers' method is applicable to the putative three authors announced by Manly for *Piers Plowman*; it is irrelevant to our question of the seven accents of the putative three authors and the relation of these accents, as a generalized verse-form, to the *Gamelyn*. This is said to forestall the malicious.

V

It may be trifling with human nature to record my experiments with other types of poems of the accepted alliterative tradition. But I will risk an illustration or two. Here is a stanza (LIX) from *Rauf Coilyear*.³⁰

Befoir mony worthie he dubbit him Knicht,
 Dukis and digne Lordis in that deir hall:
 ‘‘Schir, se for thy self, thow semis to be wicht,
 Tak keip to this ordour, ane Knicht I the call;
 To mak the manly man I mak the of micht.
 Ilk yeir thre hundreth pund assigne the I sall;
 And als the nixt vacant, be ressonabill richt,
 That hapnis in France, quhair sa euer it fall,
 Forfaltour or fre waird, that first cummis to hand,
 I gif the heir heritabilly,
 Sa that I heir, quhen I haue hy,
 That thow be fundin reddy
 With Birny and brand’’.

The seven stresses and the general movement are readily reproducible in Modern English:

Before full many worthies he dubb-ed him a Knight,
 Dukes and daring Lordlings in that dear hall:
 ‘‘See unto thyself, sir; thou seem’st a brave wight;
 Have care to this order— a Knight I thee call;
 To make thee a manly man I make thee of might.
 Every year three hundred pound assign thee I shall;
 And at the next vacance, by reasonable right,
 That in France happeneth, wheresoever it fall,
 Forfeiture or free ward, that first comes to hand,
 I’ll give thee the heritage,
 So I hear, when war I wage,
 Thou be ready to engage
 With breast-plate and brand.

Old speech-habits, and with them some old-verse habits, have changed; some cadences have fallen out of mode, except as supported by more familiar cadences. We are used to fuller arses (Senkungen) than ME, though we have more omissions

³⁰ *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, ed. Armour, STS.

of unaccented elements than we realize—certainly more than our metrical Manuals realize. My own metrical modification is typified in the first line—a modification introduced chiefly because, as the first line, it *is* unsupported. Note, incidentally, that by merely omitting an intermediate line—

Tak keip of this ordour, ane Knicht I the call;
Ilk yeir thre hundreth pund assigne the I sall—

we get again good *Gamelyn* couplets.

In a Modern English stanza, with its more allusive alliteration and its less allusive (irregular) “feet”, the generic similarity is still obvious; and the genre itself perhaps more obvious to the unconverted than in the preceding reproduction from ME:

Yonder hides a woodthrush, singing in the May,
Yonder from my window, down amid the trees,
Where the bosky roadside bends along the bay,
And rush and reed is lolling landward with the breeze.
Now, whereof is she singing this old weird lay—
Heard by the blackbirds, and Indian tepees
In the sunny mornings of an earlier day,
Ere her haunts were pestered with thoughts like these:
What’s the woodthrush singing with insistent throat?—
She sings: ‘Leonard in your chair,
Meditating metrics there,
Come down here—take the air,
Come!—take your boat.’”

That the long-lines of this graceful little lyric were intended by their author for seven (four plus three) stresses may be accepted without further discussion. But for any poem, ME as well, the question “how is it to be scanned” means how did the author *intend* it to be scanned; and familiarity with metrical intentions of one’s own is at least no handicap in penetrating the metrical intentions of others.

Read now a metrically similar stanza (say LXXXII) of *Golagros and Gawane* from the same volume, without a Modern English version:

Lordingis and ladyis in the castell on loft,
Quhen thai saw thair liege lord laid on the landis,
Mony sweit thing of sware swownit full oft,



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ner of the ME alliterative rhymed stanza (except for relative "regularity" of movement and relative irregularity in the position and length of the mid-line pause—in line three, as regularly in ME, after the fourth stress, in the others after the third, as only rarely in ME) :

Lovely are the curves of the white owl sweeping
 Wavy in the dusk lit by one large star.
 Lone on the fir-branch, his rattle note unvaried,
 Brooding o'er the gloom, spins the brown eve-jar.

A re-reading of Meredith's poem as a whole—whose music, even in the earlier version, was such delight to the great metrist Tennyson—will in fact do much to make manifest the ME versification under discussion.

But to keep a moment longer to our ME examples. Instructive are the verses of John Audelay,³² "the penitent and righteous monk" of Haghmon[d] monastery, Shropshire, who composed his MS about 1426, ad honorem (as his colophon puts it) Domini nostri et ad exemplum aliorum. Ad exemplum, then, repunctuated (p. 16) :

Oure gentyl ser Jone, joy hym mot betyde!
 He is a mere mon of mony among cumpane;
 He con harpe, he con syng, his orglus ben herd ful wyd;
 He wyl noght spare his prese to spund his selare;
 Alas he ner a parsun or a vecory!
 Be Jhesu! he is a gentylmon and jolye arayd;
 His gurdlis harnesschit with silver, his baslard hongus bye,
 Apon his parte pautener uche mon ys apayd,
 both maiden and wyfe;
 I-fayth he shal noght fro us gon,
 Fore oure myrth hit were e-don—
 Fore he con glad us everychon:—
 y pray God hold his lyve.

Reproduced with metrical approximation :

Our Sir John the gent-le, joy may him betide!
 He's a merry man of many among company;
 He can harp, he can sing, his "orgles" be heard full wide;

³² Percy Society, vol. XIV. On Audelay see *Der Dichter John Audelay und sein Werk*, J. Ernst Wuefing, *Anglia*, neue Folge, 6, p. 175-217.

Both your maret and your mede in heven ye schul have,
 Fore God hath grauntyd of his grace be his auctorete,
 Be he never so synful youre soulys may he save—
 Have this in thoght;

The masse is of so hye degre,
 Apayryd forsoth hit mai not be,
 Ne no mon mend it may,

Theron doctours han sought. (p. 44)

Suffice it to emphasize their metrical character by reproducing four lines:

Though he sing and say his mass, the priest, unworthily,
 Both your merit and your meed in heaven ye shall have,
 For God hath granted of his grace by his authority,
 Be he nev-er so sinful your souls he yet may save.

These lines practically bring us round to our starting point. Stanzas in which such lines dominate the movement, while still being intermingled with the more syncopated lines (so that there can be no question of *two* distinct *metrical* forms for *different* stanzas of *one* distinct *stanzaic* form)—such stanzas are so numerous, so indisputable, I say, in their stress-intent, that I might have made them the basis of my presentation quite as well as the *Gamelyn* verses, except that initially I should have had to embarrass my case by attending to a metrical fact that has so often been misconstrued in accounts of ME, OHG, and MHG versification: the alternation of stress and non-stress is in the verses of Audelay more regular than in the *Gamelyn*, and is due presumably to his monkish practices in singing Latin verses,³⁴ and from his piety we can conjecture he sang them very often.³⁵

And one final appeal. As between the two plus two scansion of the scholar's comfortable study and the outlawed

³⁴ See my *op. cit.*, p. 141-2.

³⁵ The reader will find in Wuefing, *op. cit.*, p. 213, one of these stanzas of Audelay with the scansion marked. It happens to be a stanza I had previously carefully scanned myself, and I was naturally pleased to find our metrical reading identical; except that Wuefing has omitted a stress (a misprint?) on the first word of the first line,

An a byrchyn bonke ther boues arne bryght,

and has not attempted to differentiate on paper between primary and secondary stresses. He comments on the well-preserved character in the



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tion: "It differeth not from the rest." So the rest must be out of doubt, too.^{36a}

VI

Such simple laboratory tests as those recorded in this paper—and the laboratory is a better analogy than the examination-room implied in section III—are, it seems to me, quite as clear proof of metrical identity as would be elaborate tabulations of speech-stresses, cadence-types, phrasal groups, etc. By which I don't mean, however, that such tabulations would be difficult in the making or superfluous for the proving. And for those still skeptical of my method as either trivial or unscientific or unsanctioned by academic tradition, I suggest (without bitterness or irony!), for example, a comprehensive tabulation comparing the speech-material of all second half-lines (902) from *Gamelyn*, or any other poem acknowledged to be scanned four plus three, with an equal number of second half-lines from any poem or poems supposed to be scanned two plus two. I jot down here a few of the possible types (with illustrations) from my own incomplete notes. The thorough investigator (whose harbinger I hope I am) will be able doubtless to collate many parallels still more correspondent in speech-details than some that follow.

1) Verbal identity.

Soth forto telle (G 691)

Sothe forto telle (WP 34, 303)

If one pronounces *sothe* as a dissyllable, the greater shortening is still in G,—contrary to expectations. Incidentally,

^{36a} Once when I read this poem of Minot's aloud, a friend remarked (as others had remarked of my reading *Beowulf* aloud): "Why, that's Vachel Lindsay." "Yes," I replied; "but rather say, Vachel Lindsay's *that*." As he goes so sturdily up and down this new continent, banging out so resonantly his modern verses on Booth, the Chinese Laundryman, and the American negro—

"Then I saw the Congo, creeping through the black,
Cutting through the jungle with a golden track"—

this Illinois Gleeman is unwittingly reviving the ancestral metrics with something, I think, of the ancestral manner of delivery. My friend Lindsay may not thank me for this comparison; but I feel bound to thank him.

the phrase *sothely to say*, in various spellings, occurs and recurs in second half-lines of (supposed two plus two stress) unrhymed alliterative verse; and is to be compared with its occurrence in the (three-stress) end-verses of the *Avowynge* stanzas and of the tag-stanzas in poems associated with the *Avowynge* type (as in *Golagros and Gawane*, the *Pistell of Swete Susanne*)—the (four plus three) scansion of which has been settled by Buelbring, see p. 62.

2) Verbal similarity.

withouten eny greeve (G 313)
withoute ani faile (WP 316)

This type is perhaps not always distinguishable from

3) Similarities of syntactical groups, with its innumerable subdivisions (depending upon the analytic acumen, the patience, or the pedantry of the tabulator), for example,

a) Noun pair (here with possessives besides).

his lond and his leede (G 71)
thi menske and thi grace (WP 314)

b) Prepositional phrase pair.

for hate and for ire (G 698)
for kare and for drede (WP 288)
in rigt and in skille (WP 336)

c) Prepositional phrase with noun-modifier.

under woode-shawes (G 696)
by this wodes side (WP 240)

(Note that each is a locative construction too.)

d) Prepositional phrase with noun-modifier corresponding to adjective modifier.

agein the kinges pees (G 548)
agene the hote sunne (WP 12)

e) Prepositional phrase with demonstrative and adjective.

to that goode knight (G 729)
of this semly childe (WP 298)

f) Adjective with dependent genitive.

the béste òf us alle (G 737)
 thou gréttèst of alle (WP 312)

g) Dependent clauses (here discriminating subdivisions of subdivisions might be devised during many happy months).

tho I his rigge brak (G 712)
 as yif it were hire owne (WP 99)

h) Infinitive groups (here also are infinite opportunities for the profession).

to hele his rigge-boon (G 614)
 to listen ani more (WP 162)

i) Second halves of compound sentences (ditto).

and answerde nought (G 473)
 and his cryinge stint (WP 61)

(Here the parallelism in the medial secondary stresses of the half-line should be noted too.)

Many second half-lines, of verbal or syntactical similarity, might be grouped, by another principle of division, under

4) Similarities of stock-phrases (*second* half-lines of course offer more temptation to padding).

as he wel couthe (G 164)
 as he wel migt (WP 247)

I swere by Cristes ore (G 139)
 on Godis holy name (WP 306)

as it mighte falle (G 16)
 as that God wold (WP 215)

But whatever the classification, it is plain that phrasings like the above examples represent fairly fixed speech-material, not normally amenable to such radically different manipulation in discourse as required for these hypothetically radically different versifications. Aside from the two extremes,—exact identities among the groups, and a generalized collation



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not only three systems of versification (three *systems*, not merely three metres), but the two Germanic representatives among these systems in some principles of speech and of metrics the two most widely separated. We have, for instance, in the *Gamelyn* type the crowding of stress upon stress with still one resultant, easily distinguishable *measure*; we have in Chaucer the alternation of stress and non-stress (his Germanic exceptions aside), with one distinguishable *measure*; and we have in WP or PP sometimes a crowding of stress upon stress, but more often huge irregular gulfs (gulps) between stresses, and only sporadically—a line here, a line there—anything that approaches *measure* at all. Crede quia absurdum.

VII

The only objection to the seven-accent reading that need give us pause is the contrary testimony of a well-known and respected contemporary, which indeed for some scholars is of itself decisive. In Chapter III of the *Revlis and Cavtelis of Scottis Poesie*³⁸ no less a personage than James I expounds as follows:

Let all zour verse be *Literall*, sa far as may be, quhatsumeuer kynde they be of, bot speciallie *Tumbling* verse for flyting. Be *Literall* I meane, that the maist pairt of zour lyne, sall rynne vpon a letter, as this tumbling lyne rynnys vpon F.

Fetching fude for to feid it fast furth of the Farie.

Ze man obserue that thir *Tumbling* verse flowis not on that fassoun, as vtheris dois. For all vtheris keipis the reule quhilk I gaue before. To wit, the first fute short the secound lang, and sa furth. Quhair as thir hes twa short and ane lang throuch all the lyne, quhen they keip ordour: albeit the maist pairt of thame be out of ordour, and keipis na kynde nor reule of *Flowing*, and for that cause are callit *Tumbling* verse: except the short lynis of aucht in the hinder end of the verse, the quhilk flowis as vther verses dois, as ze will find in the hinder end of this buke, quhair I gaue exemple of sindrie kyndis of versis.

³⁸ Arber's *English Reprints*, no. 8.

The customary summary method of disposing of these disconcerting paragraphs won't suffice. We read in Kaluza's *Englische Metrik*:³⁹

Dass die aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts stammenden Aeusserungen Gascoignes und Koenig Jacobs I. fuer unsere Auffassung des Alliterationsverses des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts nicht weiter in Betracht kommen koennen, haben schon Trautmann (*Anglia* 18, 94f.) und Kuhnke (*Die alliterierende Langzeile in der mittlenglischen Romanze Sir Gawayn and the Green Knight*, Berlin 1900, S. 8ff.) zur Genuege auseinandergesetzt, und wenn Luick (*Anglia Beiblatt* 12, 35f.) trotzdem ueber diese "Zeugnisse des 16. Jahrhunderts nicht hinwegkommen" kann, so muesste er auch dem 'Zeugnis' Drydens (Vorwort zu den *Fables*) von der Mangelhaftigkeit des Chaucerschen Versbaues trotz der von uns inzwischen gewonnenen besseren Kenntniss Glauben schenken.

But Kaluza, keen thinker on metrics though he be, has himself unwittingly indicated later in the same volume⁴⁰ why this method won't suffice:

Die meisten der in § 156 erwaehten in reimlosen Alliterationsversen oder in der dreizehnzeiligen Alliterationsstrophe abgefassten Dichtungen fallen wohl erst in unsere Periode, in das Ende des 14. oder in das 15. Jahrhundert; die beiden in der Percyhandschrift enthaltenen alliterierenden Gedichte *Death and Liffe* und *Scottish Feilde* (Schlacht auf dem Flodden Field 1513) und Dunbars *The Twa Marriit Wemen and the Wedo* gehoeren sogar erst in den Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Der rhythmische Bau des Alliterationverses ist aber in diesen juengeren Gedichten genau derselbe wie in den aelteren; vgl. Adolf Schneider. *Die mittlenglische Stabzeile im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (*Bonner Beitr.* 12, 103-172).

Indeed, from Chapter VIII, the hinder end of this same Book of Cautions, Kaluza might have noted James' own sample alliterative stanza (cited as suited "for flyting, or Invec-tives"), explicitly named "Tumbling verse", in which the rhythmical structure is likewise "genau derselbe wie in den aelteren". No. It is plain there is something here that still needs disposing of.

But I must admit my own method of disposing of it will seem at first still more summary: I believe, as a good democrat,

³⁹ P. 185; see too Anmerkung, p. 30.

⁴⁰ P. 256.

that the royal expounder didn't know what he was talking about. I believe this literary protagonist of the *Divine Right of Kings*, this author of the *Demonology*, and of the *Counterblast to Tobacco* was as ill a judge of poetic numbers as he was of politics, of witches, and of that blessed Indian weed without whose kindly assistance this monograph could scarcely be nearing completion.

In the first place, he makes two mistakes that all will at once recognize as mistakes. His *sample* of what "*Litteral*" means in a "tumbling lyne", shows how little he understood the principles of alliterative verse,—according to which, even in the over-ingenuities of later versifiers in the mode, "the maist pairt" did *not* run upon one letter in this mechanical and rhythmically meaningless fashion, but continued to follow, to a surprising degree, the traditional norm, as in the line below from *Scottish Field*⁴¹ about "Henery, the Seaventh",

How he *moved* in at *Milford*, with *men* but a *fewe*.

In general, their characteristic departures from tradition added but one more alliteration, sometimes in the first, sometimes in the second half-line: it was no part of their characteristic technique to hunt the letter after the simpering and mincing manner of the Euphuists or—the Stuart muse. Likewise, his distinction between the tumbling verse of the long-lines in the stanza, and "the short lynes of aucht in the hinder end of the verse, the quhilk flowis as uther verses dois" (a muddling use of "verse" both for a line and for a line-group) shows how little he understood the structural relations between the two major formal parts of an alliterative stanza. It would possibly be found that "the hinder part", the four short rhymed lines—perhaps, because they *are* short and run usually on three identical rhymes plus a tag-rhyme—do tend to greater metrical regularity, i. e., more uniformity of alternation of stress and non-stress "as uther verses dois",

⁴¹ Quoted from that excellent study of Adolph Schneider's, *Die mittelenglische Stabzeile im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Bonner Beitrage*, 12. Schneider reads ME and Early MdE alliterative lines with seven stresses.



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Some hotche and on a hemp stalk, hovand on a heicht,

the same is apparently true for *on, stalk, on*. Let the reader examine the whole stanza with this eventuality in mind. Yes, but James himself describes how the verses actually sounded, with a term, too, not of his own invention: "This kynde of verse callit Rouncefallis, or Tumbling verse". The description, however, fits the seven-accent scansion as well as the four: both, with reference to that rigidly monotonous monopodic "iambic" step of the early Tudor Renaissance verse, may be said to "tumble".⁴²

This neglect of the time-marking function of secondary stresses—with a subsequent misinterpretation of the "flowing"—is a crime often committed by later and better metrists than James, and should make us more ready both to admit and to pardon that crime in him. I still recall with pain the confusion that once ruined an informal dinner-party of a dozen professors of English by my following up the recitation of this bit of Calverley's *Ode to Tobacco* with an exposition of its metrical niceties:

How they who use fusees
All grow by slow degrees
Brainless as chimpanzees,
Meagre as lizards;
Go mad and beat their wives;
Plunge (after shocking lives)
Razors and carving-knives
Into their gizzards.

The point made was that the triplet verses were of four, the intermediate of three stresses,⁴³ a definite secondary stress recurring with horrible solemnity immediately after the initial syllable (with its strong primary stress) of each line; and that the movement (consciously or unconsciously devised)

⁴² But "tumbling verse", as a modern *terminus technicus*, belongs strictly to a (normally) four-stress line—Knittelvers in German—related to, but not identical with, the old alliterative line. It would take me away from the present enterprise to discuss it.

⁴³ Of course, not according to the metrical technique of the ME stanza in triplets and end-verses.

was to be distinguished from the three stress line with initial "dactyl" with which it was always identified,—*e. g.*, to be distinguished from a movement like this:

BROWNIES OR BEETLES?

Merrily all the day
Utterly lost in play
Under the bush and spray
Hidden from peepers,
Safe on their leafy shelves,
Scamper the ancient elves—
Called by our sapient selves
Wrigglers and creepers.

The distinction was pronounced "pedantic"; and the distinguisher left the chamber groggy and disconsolate and alone—save that one wiser colleague⁴⁴ and wisest Apollo and the Comic Muse were at his side. The same perversity seems to obsess some modern theorists when they analyze the French Alexandrine, illustrating, again, that contemporary testimony does not necessarily spell finality. Lewis in *The Foreign Sources of Modern English Versification*⁴⁵ quotes

C'est pour lui que l'on tremble; et c'est moi que l'on craint

as having its rhythmical parallel in

For the angel of Death spread his wings on the blast.

My Breton friend Dondo, in an unusually intelligent paper, *Vers Libre*,⁴⁶ scans

Je viens selon l'usage antique et solennel

with four stresses, by marking the four primary stresses and neglecting the secondary stresses on *-on* in the first half and on *sol-* in the second, which are surely there as Bernhard or Coquelin—or, I surmise, as Dondo himself—would read the

⁴⁴ Who happens to be a specialist in Modern English versification.

⁴⁵ *Yale Studies in English*, I, p. 66.

⁴⁶ PMLA, vol. XXXIV, no. 2, p. 195.

line; just as they are there in the second line of this couplet of Hugo's,⁴⁷

Carnage affreux! moment fatal! l'homme inquiet
Sentit que la bataille entre ses mains pliait,

on *la* and *en-*, supporting the indisputable six primary stresses of the first line. The six-fold rhythmical complex of the French Alexandrine is as certain and as implicated with secondary stresses as is the sevenfold rhythmical complex of the ME long-line. But, as I have already involved myself in an academic unpleasantness with the Anglists and the Germanists, it is the part of discretion to leave my colleagues in the Romance languages to settle their own troubles.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Les Châtiments, L'Expiation*, 99-100.

⁴⁸ The second verse of Hugo's couplet seems to represent the average numerical proportion of primary and secondary stresses in an Alexandrine. An examination of all the poems composed wholly or in part of Alexandrines in Passy-Rambeau's *Chrestomathie* where the *speech-stresses* are indicated by *caractères gras* shows an enormous preponderance of four, though three, five, and six occur. In English blank-verse the average proportion would be presumably three to two. But the four primaries (speech-stresses) as little eliminate the two secondaries (additional metrical stresses, often very delicately impressed, mere allusive hints of rhythm) in the Alexandrine, as the three primaries eliminate the two (though usually less allusively defined) secondaries of our own blank-verse. Most French Alexandrines can be read as four-stress verse; even as all can be read—by some modern Frenchmen are designedly read—practically as prose: but they are then not what *l'art poétique* long before Boileau and long after has meant by Alexandrines. But the English ear, particularly,—lacking the subtilty of the French ear in catching secondary stresses, or brutally distorting them to totally un-French primaries,—is responsible for the English dislike of this beautiful measure (so delicately responsive both to intellectual and to emotional nuances) called by Byron

That whetstone of the teeth—monotony in wire,—

a stupid remark, even in his specific application to the period of Boileau.

In reading Verhaeren's Alexandrines I have observed, however, that I tend to give even to secondary stresses an almost Germanic beat. Cf. the comment of Ludwig Lewisohn (in the study prefatory to his admirable translations, *The Poets of Modern France*, p. 31) on the poem, in *vers libre*.

Je suis le fils de cette race:

“One feels in such verses almost the march and accent of Germanic versification”. Is it in truth the *accent* of his Germanic temperament and blood? Or an intrusion of Lewisohn's and my Germanic speech—and verse-habits? But why, then, should they intrude in reading Verhaeren and not in reading Racine, Lamartine, Musset, or Rostand? A question which reminds us, again, how profoundly implicated with rhythmical form may be the individuation of man and his literary output.



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scholars. For its ecclesiastical data Milton had little regard, but mingled with these he would find material of a political character that could readily serve his ends. The treatise on the Roman occupation in Camden's *Britannia* was another valuable work; and in two instances Milton renders it plain, by marginal references, that only through Camden's conspectus has he found his way to the original sources.⁴ For this period, also, he must have summoned the help of the painstaking Speed, who, with his abundant citations, doubtless recalled the days of the *Commonplace Book*; the elaborate description of British manners and customs in the Second Book, for instance, shows resemblance, in many features, to a chapter on the same subject in Speed's work.⁵ The use of a conspectus is likewise indicated in the Third Book, especially for the period dealing with the Britons' resistance to the Teutonic invaders. Here one meets the names of Paulus Diaconus, Blondus, Sabellicus, Constantius, Sigonius, Widukind, and Sigebert,⁶ each of whom makes a relatively insignificant contribution; and the direct marginal references to Usher's work⁷ enhance the probability that it was employed as a *vade mecum*. It was largely to Usher, though in part also to Camden and Speed, that Milton seems to have owed his knowledge of the early British chronicler Nennius, whose *Historia*, which did not appear in print until 1691, he used freely.⁸ The digests of modern writers were resorted to, moreover, for the legendary material, which Milton examined with sceptical scrutiny. He called *Holinshed* into service

⁴ Pp. 227-9.

⁵ Pp. 197-8; see also Speed, *History Great Brit.*, ed. 1627, pp. 166 ff.

⁶ Pp. 241 ff.

⁷ Pp. 245, 251, 256.

⁸ The following letter from Usher to Sir Simonds D'Ewes is contained in Parr, *Life and Letters of James Usher* (p. 506).

Quo tempore & Ninlum, (ita enim appello, & vetustissimi codicis auctoritatem, & nominis ejusdem in Ninla, & Niniano expressa vestigia, secutus) cum variis MSS. à me non indiligentè comparatum, tecum sum communicaturus; ut Exemplaria Cottoniana (quibus in hac ipsa collatione ego sum usus) denuò consulete necesse non habeas. Nam ad diplomata Anglo-Saxonica quod attinet: non in uno aliquo volumine simul collecta, sed per varios illius Bibliothecæ libros dispersa ea fuisse animadverti, de quibus in unum corpus compingendis, dabitur (ut spero) opportunus tecum

at an early point,⁹ and there is clear evidence that he consulted Stow in recounting the adventures of Ebranc and Brutus.¹⁰ It may be safely assumed, indeed, that Milton, throughout the work, bore in mind the plan and the treatment of *Holinshed*, of Stow, and of Speed, who were generously represented in the *Commonplace Book*.¹¹ To them, notably Speed, he could revert at any time to learn what sources were likely to provide the most reliable information, and the widest range of it, for a given period.

The foregoing suggests an important fact. Milton's employment of the works of modern compilers never enslaved him. He is always to be conceived as dividing his attention—or as instructing his readers and amanuenses to divide theirs—between the conspectus on the one hand, and the original authority on the other. He has *Holinshed*, Stow, and Speed at his elbow while he composes the First Book, but he knows that Geoffrey, for a half-historical and half-poetical purpose like that at hand, is the best of the mediæval chroniclers. He

coram consultandi locus; Interim ut egregiis tuis conatibus Deus adsit & benedicat, summis votis exoptat qui

Londini, xii Kal. Jul.

An M. D C. X L.

Ex. animo tuus est,

Ja. Armachanus.

Cf. Nennius, ed. Stevenson, pp. xix–xx. On Usher's interest in early English history, see Adams, *Old English Scholarship*, p. 115.

⁹ P. 167.

¹⁰ Pp. 174–5; see also Stow, *Annales*, ed. 1631, p. 9.

¹¹ For a discussion of this topic, see Charles H. Firth, *Milton as an Historian*, *Proceedings of the British Academy for 1907–8*.

Fueter (*Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*, p. 166) implies that Firth's treatment is inadequate, since the latter compares Milton with only these three chroniclers. Fueter's criticism is unjust. *Holinshed*, Stow, and Speed were, as Firth shows, the modern English historians whom Milton had read with special attention; there is hence a special interest in comparing him with them.

On Milton's relatively sceptical and scientific attitude toward the legendary material, see Firth, pp. 233–6. Of special interest is his comment on the handling of the Arthurian story:

“Milton's treatment of the Arthurian legend is a still more interesting example of the progress of scepticism. The three chroniclers who were the standard historians of Milton's time all doubted the details of the legend, but believed that Arthur was a real king who gained genuine victories. ‘Of this Arthur,’ says *Holinshed's Chronicle*, ‘many things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of authority that confirmeth the same; but surely as may be thought he was some worthy

consequently follows him page by page. When, in the Second Book, he takes up the *De Primordiis* of Usher, he does not limit himself to the scope of that history. Usher's scrupulous respect for ecclesiastical records would persuade Milton to pay him no more than a grudging heed. He therefore makes examination, on his own account, of Ammianus Marcellinus and Dion, of Zosimus and Orosius.¹² The employment of Usher's volume in the Third Book, in like manner, cannot preclude him from consulting Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Bede, and Gildas, with all of whom he has independent acquaintance, relying upon them, in fact, in other parts of his history.¹³

man, and by all likelihood a great enemy to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen, which are the very Britons indeed, have him in famous remembrance.' Then at great length he relates the legendary life and exploits of the hero (Holinshed, *Chronicles*, ed. 1587, bk. 1, pp. 90-3).

"Stow is briefer, but adopts much the same position. 'Of this Arthur there be many fabulous reports, but certain he was (saith William of Malmesbury) a prince more worthy to have advancement by true histories than false fables, being the only prop and upholder of his country.' He supports the truth of the story by identifying the sites of Mon Badonicus and the Castle of Camelot, and describing the remains found there (Stow, *Chronicle*, ed. 1631, pp. 53-5). The critical Speed quotes Malmesbury too, and condemns Geoffrey of Monmouth for discrediting the truth about Arthur by his toys and tales. 'Of his person,' he concludes, 'we make no doubt, though his acts have been written with too lavish a pen' (Speed, *History of Great Britain*, ed. 1632, p. 271).

"Milton is much more thoroughgoing. All that happened about that time is doubtful. 'The age whereof we now write hath had the ill hap more than any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharged with all the idle fancies of posterity.' He introduces Arthur by describing him as a British leader, 'more renowned in songs and romances than true stories.' With real insight he dismisses at once the mediæval fictions and examines the account of Nennius as the only evidence of any real value."

Firth's article, which contains an elaborate treatment of sources, discusses the relation of the *History* to certain additional fields of interest—to Milton's biography and personality, his thought and scholarship; to the literary and philosophical influences which operated upon the composition and content of the work; and to the political and ecclesiastical environment of Milton's age.

With respect to the sources, the present article, which includes some of Firth's material, aims to supplement his treatment by discussing (1) the comparative attention which Milton gave to his several authorities, and the relative degrees in which he employed modern compilations and original sources; (2) the extent to which he put himself in touch with the accessible authorities; (3) the relation of the *History* to Wheloc's Anglo-Saxon scholarship; (4) the use of chronological data; and, especially, (5) Milton's art as a translator from Latin into English.

¹² Pp. 223, 229, 233.

¹³ Pp. 250 ff.



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carum Historia he strives, with frail success, to develop a harmonious statement of the Scandinavian ravages.¹⁸ There is here, also, a strong intimation that Milton, in spite of his stern judgment on the writer, regarded it as too radical and arbitrary to overlook him altogether. Though he "contributes nothing,"¹⁹ it is the part of wisdom and sound scholarship to record that he has been searched.

Milton's usual practice, however, is to take his material from the early authorities. He attempts to discover the "ancientest author,"²⁰ and this done, he addresses himself to the task of determining in what manner his successors have supplemented or repudiated him. He shows his discrimination at the very outset. He knows that behind Geoffrey lie the fables of Nennius;²¹ he is also aware that Geoffrey's account is presented, in substance, by the later Matthew of Westminster.²² Yet in the version of Geoffrey, whom he declares to be "the principal author,"²³ he sees the most promising fund for the treatment of the centuries preceding Cæsar's invasion. Since he knows little or nothing of the more recent science of ethnology, since the terms Celtic, Gælic, and Cymric cannot signify to him what they do to subsequent scholars, he must rest content with the most intelligible and consistent exposition of the old fables and half-truths that he can find. Though he condemns Geoffrey for his simplicity,²⁴ there is the conviction that he, of all the earlier writers, will offer the best material. Varying the narrative with references to Cæsar, Mela, Nennius, Virunnius, Gildas, and Florus;²⁵ with borrowings, as indicated above, from modern English commentators; and with one quotation, by

¹⁸ Pp. 301, 309, 317-8, 347.

¹⁹ P. 347.

²⁰ See mention of Bede on p. 221.

²¹ See p. 167.

²² See Gross, *Sources and Lit. Eng. Hist.*, p. 362.

²³ P. 168.

²⁴ Pp. 220-1, 243.

²⁵ Pp. 165, 166, 167, 171, 179, 180. The reference to Florus seems traceable to Camden. Milton's passage reads (p. 180): "Thus much is more generally believed, that both this Brennus, and another famous captain, Britomarus, whom the epitomist Florus and others mention, were not Gauls, but Britains; the name of the first in that tongue signifying a

way of tribute, from the verses of his admired Spenser,²⁶ he clings to Geoffrey's story through the whole of the First Book. In no other part of the *History* does he employ a source so freely for the same number of consecutive pages.²⁷

When Milton reaches the Second Book, he has his first opportunity to make known what he really believes about the use of historical authorities. He is now within grasp of authentic records; he pauses to reflect that "great acts and great eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand";²⁸ and he forthwith devotes himself to what he calls the "transcription" of the Roman writers. The works of historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries might have supplied him with a large proportion of the data affecting the period from Cæsar's first invasion to the end of Agricola's governorship; but the scruples of the true scholar direct him to ascertain whether "aught by diligence may be added or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explained or more expressed."²⁹ For Cæsar's British campaigns he follows the *De Bello Gallico* faithfully, though with ample regard for English idiom,³⁰ using Suetonius, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, Dion, Pliny, and Bede for only supplementary and confirmatory minutiae.³¹ Recognizing that the first century after Christ is known mainly through Dion's *Historia*, and through the *Annales* and the *Vita Agricolaë* of Tacitus,³² he

king, and of the other a great Britain." Cf. *Britannia*, ed. Gough, I. lxxii-iii: "And some think they can easily prove king Brennus, so famous in Greek and Latin historians, to have been a Britan. Thus much I know, that this name is not yet worn out among the Britans, who call a king in their language *Brennin*. The name shews *Britomarus*, general among them mentioned by Florus and Appian, to have been a Britan, his name importing *Great Briton*."

²⁶ P. 175. The verses are found in *F. Q.* 2. 10. 24.

²⁷ Specimens of Milton's translation of Geoffrey's text, with the Latin in parallel columns, are found below, pp. 125-9.

²⁸ P. 185.

²⁹ P. 186.

³⁰ See, for example, below, p. 130.

³¹ Pp. 186, 188, 189, 192, 195, 196.

³² The following is of interest as an illustration of Milton's close but idiomatic rendering of Tacitus:

Britannorum acies in speciem simul
ac terrorem editioribus locis con-
stiterat ita, ut primum agmen in
æquo, ceteri per adclive iugum

The British powers on the hill side,
as might best serve for show and
terror, stood in their battalions;
the first on even ground, the next

conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit (*Vit. Agric.*, ed. Furneaux, pp. 142-3).

It is enlightening, also, to compare the close translation of Dion in Petrie's *Monumenta Historica Britannica (Ex Scriptoribus Græcis etc.*, p. liv) with Milton's more independent, though accurate, rendering.

Plautius, therefore, had much difficulty in seeking them out; but when he did discover them, as they were not independent but subject to different kings, he overcame first Cataratacus, then Togodumnus, the sons of Cynobellinus, who was now dead. These taking to flight, he brought a part of the Boduni, who were under the dominion of the Catuellani, to terms of peace. Here leaving a garrison, he proceeded farther. But when they arrived at a certain river, which the barbarians supposed the Romans could not pass without a bridge, and in consequence had taken up their position carelessly on the opposite bank, he sends forward the Celti, who, even armed, were accustomed to swim with ease over the most rapid rivers; who, attacking them contrary to their expectation, wounded not the men indeed, but the horses which drew their chariots; which being thrown into confusion, they who rode therein were no longer secure. Next he sent over Flavius Vespasianus, who afterwards enjoyed the supreme rule, and his brother Sabinus as next in command; these also, having passed the river at a certain place, killed many of the barbarians by surprise. The rest, however, did not fly, but the following day again maintained the conflict nearly on equal terms, until Cneius Osidius Geta, though

rising behind, as the hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of horsemen and chariots ranging up and down. Agricola doubting to be overwinged, stretches out his front, though somewhat with the thinnest, insomuch that many advised to bring up the legions: yet he not altering, alights from his horse, and stands on foot before the ensigns (p. 217).

Plautius, after much trouble to find them out, encountering first with Caractacus, then with Togodumnus, overthrew them; and receiving into conditions part of the Boduni, who then were subject to the Catuellani, and leaving there a garrison, went on toward a river: where the Britons not imagining that Plautius without a bridge could pass, lay on the further side careless and secure. But he sending first the Germans, whose custom was, armed as they were, to swim with ease the strongest current, commands them to strike especially at the horses, whereby the chariots, wherein consisted their chief art of fight, became unserviceable. To second them he sent Vespasian, who in his latter days obtained the empire, and Sabinus his brother; who unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the Britons dismayed; but reuniting the next day, fought with such courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the victory: till Caius Sidius Geta, at point to have been taken, recovered himself so valiantly, as brought the day on his side; for which at Rome he received high honours (pp. 200-1).



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amined as a whole, and every one in comparison with every other. This theory is actually applied in the Third Book. Along with Gildas, the earliest of British historians, who furnishes him with much material, he considers Bede, who follows two centuries later, and their followers—Malmesbury, the imaginary Matthew of Westminster, Huntingdon, and Florence. With Usher's *De Primordiis* ready at hand, he is still sensible of the higher value of original authorities; and with these early sources before him, he is conscious that they must be treated as checks and balances upon each other.

In passing from the Teutonic conquest to the Christianization of England,³⁸ Milton encounters a monk whom, in spite of anti-monastic prejudice, he sincerely respects. The *Ecclesiastical History* of the Venerable Bede, with its strong flavor of "superstition and monastical affectation,"³⁹ is not, to be sure, the kind of work that Milton would select, had he the choice of his sources. Complaining in one breath that he is uncertain "whether Bede was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him,"⁴⁰ he acknowledges in the next that the absence of that author will, for the interval ending at the "Danish Invasion,"⁴¹ be felt keenly. His attitude towards this standard history is, in practical effect, one of honest appreciation. In the presence of Bede, as in that of Cæsar and Tacitus, he realizes that he has come into contact with an ultimate source. Although he ignores most of the recitals of miraculous intervention, and the long accounts of ecclesiastical councils, he recognizes that he must delve in chapters full of such material, in order to construct a reliable version of the history of the Heptarchy for the seventh century and the first third of the eighth. The contributions of subsequent authorities, such as Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Florence, Matthew of Westminster, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, are only incidental. But those and others like them are, after Bede's departure, the sources in which Milton

³⁸ Pp. 267 ff.

³⁹ P. 295.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

must repose his faith. It is a dismal prospect he now sees. Some comfort he finds in the "style and judgment"⁴² of Malmesbury, but apart from him he anticipates little except the irresponsible "conjectures and surmises" of the commentators on the "obscure and blockish chronicles." For the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, though in large measure an original authority, offers only spasmodic help. Wheloc's imperfect Latin translation interfered somewhat with intelligent study of this valuable text;⁴³ there seems to have been the thought, besides, that even in its clearest passages it stood in constant need of interpretation. It is charged that the compilers are "ill-gifted with utterance,"⁴⁴ and, in one instance, that they "deliver their meaning with more than wonted infancy."⁴⁵ If he places little trust in the "chief fountain" of his story, as he terms the *Chronicle*,⁴⁶ he reposes

⁴² P. 295.

⁴³ Abraham Wheloc's edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* appeared in 1643. To those unfamiliar with Anglo-Saxon the printing of the *Chronicle* was an occasion of special importance; for by the side of the original text was a Latin translation. As to Wheloc, see Eleanor N. Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566-1800*.

It is clear that Milton, apparently unable to read or understand the Anglo-Saxon, relied upon the Latin. He charges the chronicler with running into "extravagant fancies and metaphors" in his version of the Battle of Brunanburh. Wheloc, indeed, confesses his helplessness before the task of translating the ballad account of the battle, and feels obliged to add the following marginal note for the year 938: "Idioma hic et ad annum 942 et 975 perantiquum et horridum lectoris candorem et diligentiam desiderat." Cf. *Sax. Chron.*, ed. Plummer, 1. CXXVIII. Wuelcker (*Cædmon und Milton, Angl.* 4.404) enlists Milton's disregard of the ballad to prove that he was not familiar with Anglo-Saxon.

The chronicler, wishing to name the place of Eadred's death, says simply: "On Frome" (*Sax. Chron.* 1. 112). Wheloc misinterpreted the phrase, translating it "in ætatis vigore" (*ibid.*, ed. Wheloc, p. 558). Milton, following Wheloc's Latin, says of Eadred that he sickened "in the flower of his youth" (p. 339). Wheloc was evidently misled by the Anglo-Saxon adjective *from* (*freom*), meaning "strong," "abundant," "virtuous."

Again, Wheloc writes "tum exercitus *Ite domum* vociferatur," in an attempt to render "þa se fyrdstemn for ham." See *Sax. Chron.* 1. 103; *ibid.* 2. CXXVIII, note 5; *ibid.*, ed. Wheloc, p. 553. Milton writes unsuspectingly: "Whereat the king's soldiers joyfully cried out to be dismissed home" (p. 330).

⁴⁴ P. 324.

⁴⁵ P. 318.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

even less in its interpreters, nearly all of them monks, of whom he contemptuously observes that they "gloss and comment at their pleasure."⁴⁷ Approaching his material in such a spirit, it is little wonder that, instead of casting his lot with any one writer, he searches among them all, convinced that the best is bad enough. To Simeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*, which became available in print at the appearance of Twysden's *Scriptores Decem* in 1652, and presented the annals in a reasonably clear and objective manner, he gives a certain preference.⁴⁸ It is evident, in the last analysis, however, that from Simeon he derives little more than a *prima facie* version. He borrows copiously from him, but only after weighing him with one or more of a number of others, with the *Chronicle*, Ethelwerd, Malmesbury, Florence, Huntingdon, Hoveden, Ingulf, and the *Flores* of the so-called Matthew of Westminster.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Pp. 296 ff. Firth (p. 230) correctly assumes that Milton used this edition of Simeon, calling attention to the fact that that author is referred to not only in the last two Books, the Fifth and Sixth, but also towards the end of the Fourth (see references to Simeon beginning on p. 296). This circumstance sheds light upon a biographical passage in the *Second Defense* wherein Milton relates that he had hoped, after the establishment of the Commonwealth, to be released from engagements in the public behalf, and that he then turned his attention to continuing the *History*, which, he declares, was to be "from the earliest times to the present period" (Bohn 1. 261). "I had already finished four books," he adds, "when . . . I was surprised by an invitation from the council of state, who desired my services in the office for foreign affairs." He refers to his appointment, in March 1649, as Secretary for Foreign Tongues. Since there is clear evidence of the use of Simeon in the Fourth Book, it is to be inferred that what Milton in 1649—and until 1654, the date of the publication of the *Second Defense*—regarded as the end of the Fourth Book, was a point at or about p. 296 of the Bohn text, where he is taking reflective leave of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and is looking forward, with no little misgiving, to the authority of the later monks. About six years after, instead of beginning the Fifth Book at that point, he merely continued the Fourth, including in the latter the new material from Simeon which had become accessible during the interval.

⁴⁹ For the period of the Saxon Heptarchy, however, Milton's several authorities gave him only meagre satisfaction. "Such bickerings to recount, met often in these our writers, what more worth is it," he queries, "than to chronicle the wars of kites or crows, flocking and fighting in the air?" (p. 304).



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he esteems the *Encomium Emmæ* a source to be reckoned with.⁵² When occasion warrants the relating of personal anecdotes, or the recounting of picturesque and dramatic scenes, he acknowledges the skill of Malmesbury and Huntingdon, both excellent story-tellers, who furnish him with the gossip and the color necessary for such portions of his narrative as the adventures of Edgar,⁵³ the Battle of Brunan-

⁵² Pp. 364 ff. On p. 368, for instance, under the year 1036, Simeon and the *Encomium Emmæ* are used collaterally (see Simeon 2. 158-9; *Enc. Emmæ, Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi* 2. 497-8). An example of Milton's more faithful use of Simeon follows:

Anno MXLII. Rex Anglorum Hardecanutus, dum in convivio, in quo Osgodus Clapa, magnæ vir potentiæ, filiam suam Githam Danico et præpotenti viro Tovia, Prudan cognomento, in loco qui dicitur Lamhithe, magna cum lætitia tradebat nuptui, lætus, sospes, et hilaris cum sponsa prædicta et quibusdam viris bibens staret, repente inter bibendum miserabili casu ad terram corruit, et sic mutus permanens VI. idus Junii feria iii. expiravit, et in Wintoniam delatus juxta patrem suum regem Canutum est tumultatus (Simeon 2. 162).

But Hardecnute the year following, at a feast wherein Osgod a great Danish lord gave his daughter in marriage at Lambeth to Prudon another potent Dane, in the midst of his mirth, sound and healthful to sight, while he was drinking fell down speechless, and so dying, was buried at Winchester beside his father (p. 371).

Observe, also, the following:

Ille vero fugæ præsidio celeriter arrepto, versus austrum cursum dirigens, brevi Sandicum ad portum est appulsus, et obsides qui de tota Anglia patri suo dati fuerant in terram exposuit, illorumque manibus truncatis, auribus amputatis, naribus præscissis abire permisit, et deinceps profectus est Danemarchiam, anno sequenti reversurus (Simeon 2. 147).

Canute in all haste sailing back to Sandwich, took the hostages given to his father from all parts of England, and with slit noses, ears cropped, and hands chopped off, setting them ashore, departed into Denmark (p. 357).

Writing of the persecution and killing of Archbishop Alfage, Milton says (p. 355): "One Thurn, a converted Dane, pitying him half dead, to put him out of pain, with a pious impiety, at one stroke of his axe on the head dispatched him." Firth (*Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1907-8, p. 246) seems to imply that the imaginative phrase, "with a pious impiety," is Milton's own. It was borrowed, however, from Florence's and Simeon's "impia motus pletate" (Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe, 1. 165; Simeon 2. 144).

⁵³ Pp. 342 ff.

burgh,⁵⁴ Cnut's lesson to flatterers,⁵⁵ Harold's visit to Normandy,⁵⁶ and the battle of *Hastings*.⁵⁷ But at almost any juncture he is likely to consult the pages of Ethelwerd, or Ingulf, or Florence, or Hoveden. Eadmer, Brompton, *Ælred's Vita Edwardi*, the laws of Edward the Confessor, and Matthew Paris, receive smaller recognition.⁵⁸

The eclectic habit of mind illustrated when Milton handles a period in which several sources compete has both good and bad phases. Its advantage is that the author is led to consult an authority up to the full measure of what it can profitably bestow. Milton can be depended upon, for instance, not to exclude Asser in favor of the *Chronicle*, or Bede in favor of Malmesbury. His judgment as to the comparative value of the sources before him is, generally speaking, that of a sound critic; and when he excerpts from one or another, his reader may feel assured that he has a sufficient reason. The vice in this eclectic temper is that it produces bewildering effects. In Milton's zealous endeavor to ascertain where his authorities are honest and accurate, and where they are deceptive and heedless, he too frequently forgets to construct a theory of his own. He seldom has difficulty in picking them apart; yet it rarely occurs to him to gather the fragments into orderly array. Though he shows every sign of knowing what the principal writers say about the reputed British birth of Constantine,⁵⁹ he expresses no settled opinion himself. In his closely crowded narrative of the wars and genealogies of the *Heptarchy*;⁶⁰ in his statement of the stories associated with *Æthelstan*;⁶¹ in his discussion of *Harold Harefoot's* origin,⁶² and of the relations between Edward the

⁵⁴ Pp. 334-5.

⁵⁵ Pp. 367-8. See below pp. 135-6.

⁵⁶ Pp. 384-5.

⁵⁷ Pp. 390 ff.

⁵⁸ Pp. 347, 358, 360, 368, 384, 388.

⁵⁹ P. 228.

⁶⁰ Pp. 301 ff.

⁶¹ Pp. 332 ff.

⁶² P. 368.

Confessor and Duke William;⁶³ and, in short, in many passages where the sources conflict, Milton leaves his reader with the sense that the subject has been abandoned prematurely.⁶⁴ The investigator, it is felt, has performed his labor; as artist and critical collator, however, he has been neglectful.

The objection that Milton is disposed to leave matters half-determined applies in far less degree to his chronology.⁶⁵ Contradictions in dates are not so likely to impede him as discrepancies in incidents. In spite of Huntingdon's assertion as to the time of the founding of the East-Saxon kingdom, he adheres to his own conclusion that it was not long after the origin of the East-Anglian;⁶⁶ even the authority of Tacitus cannot satisfy him that Caractacus resisted the Romans nine years, for a "truer computation" reveals that it was only seven.⁶⁷ Milton's chronology is, in large outline, confirmed by later historians.⁶⁸ There is some interest, however,

⁶³ Pp. 384-5.

⁶⁴ Cf. Stern, *Milton und seine Zeit*, bk. 4. 136: "Man sollte wünschen, dass die Kritik Milton's sich hie und da nicht bloss auf eine bequeme Negative beschränkt hätte . . . Er überlässt es häufig dem Leser, sich selbst ein Urtheil zu bilden und begnügt sich, die verschiedenen einander widersprechenden Ueberlieferungen neben einander zu stellen."

⁶⁵ He disclaims any settled opinion as to the chronology of the legendary period. "Nor have I stood with others computing or collating years and chronologies," he asserts, "lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things, whereof the substance is so much in doubt" (p. 184). Holinshed, on the other hand, says that "Brennus and Belinus began to reigne jointlie as kings in Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3574" (*Chronicles*, ed. 1807-8, 1. 452). Stow assigns the beginning of Lochrine's reign to 1084 B.C. (*Annales*, ed. 1631, p. 9).

⁶⁶ P. 257.

⁶⁷ P. 204.

⁶⁸ There are, of course, some inaccuracies. In certain cases Milton erred in his copying. The date 629 (p. 280), for example, should be 628, as it appears in the source (see *Sax. Chron.*, ed. Wheloc, p. 514). See also *Sax. Chron.*, ed. Plummer, 1. 24, and cf. Hodgkin, *Hist. of Eng.*, p. 161. 855, which appears on p. 199 of the first edition, should obviously be 865 (the editor of the Bohn edition has substituted the correct date). Again, the date 953 (p. 339) should be 952, as it appears in Twysden's edition of Simeon, which Milton obviously used at this point (see Simeon 2. 952, and cf. *Sax. Chron.*, ed. Plummer, 2. 148 and Hodgkin, p. 342). The marginal note (see 1st ed., p. 235; Bohn, p. 341) indicating that the date 974 was derived from the *Chronicle* is wrong, for there is no entry for



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in making a cursory survey of his sources. For the Roman period, to which the *Chronicle*, and the Brito-Latin and Anglo-Latin writers, could supply little in the aggregate, he consults in the main the modern treatises, notably those of Usher, Calvisius, and Stow. These works, with occasional glances at Matthew of Westminster⁶⁹ and Florence,⁷⁰ accompany him into the Third Book. Commencing with the Teutonic invasions, however, he follows the *Chronicle*, though with incidental reference to Florence, and in a measure to Bede.⁷¹ In the Fourth Book, Bede and the *Chronicle* are employed together until the former is supplanted by Simeon. It is noteworthy, indeed, that from that point Simeon and the *Chronicle* furnish Milton with almost all his dates, continuing to do so until the meagreness of Wheloc's version compels him to lay the *Chronicle* aside.⁷² After 1017, he uses Simeon almost exclusively. The neat and convenient manner in which the years were listed in the margins of Twysden's edition went far, no doubt, towards inducing Milton and his amanuenses to accept the *Historia Regum* as a chronological guide.⁷³

Milton may accordingly be said to exercise a fairly keen critical faculty, both in the selecting of his authorities and in the comparative evaluation of them.⁷⁴ But he is at his

Elrington ed. of Wks., 5. 434), and in a later passage he quotes Constantius and others to the effect that he died a little after the second. Milton, however, found it necessary to adjust the British transactions of Germanus to the long period beginning in 429, the year of his arrival in Britain (see first edition, p. 104; the Bohn editor incorrectly says 426), and ending in 448 (see p. 247).

Cf. also p. 305: "In Northumberland, Eardulf the year following was driven out of his realm by Alfwold, who reigned two years in his room; after whom Eandred son of Eardulf thirty-three years; but I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better authors."

⁶⁹ P. 244.

⁷⁰ P. 248.

⁷¹ Pp. 255, 261, 262.

⁷² Wheloc offers little after 975, the date of Edgar's death. Milton's last date from the *Chronicle* is 1017, the year of Cnut's accession.

⁷³ Milton used Simeon's *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, as well as the *Historia Regum*. Simeon's writings did not appear in a printed edition until 1652, when these histories were included in Roger Twysden's *Scriptores Decem*.

⁷⁴ An excellent illustration of the scrutiny with which Milton compared his sources occurs in the following passage on p. 378: "King Edward on

the other side made ready above sixty ships at Sandwich well stored with men and provisions." Simeon (*Historia Regum* 2. 168), who, with an incidental glance at John of Brompton, has been closely followed for the events of the year 1052, speaks of forty ships. Malmesbury, whose name appears directly at the side of this passage in the margin of the first edition, says (*Gesta Regum* 1. 243): "Contra quos, a regis parte, plusquam sexaginta naves in anchoris constiterunt." It is likely that the discovery of this slight variation prompted Milton to turn from the one narrative to the other.

See also p. 190: "Four days after the coming of Cæsar, those eighteen ships . . . were by a sudden tempest scattered and driven back, some . . . down into the west country; who finding there no safety either to land or to cast anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled sea; and, as Orosius reports, were most of them cast away." Cæsar, whose *Commentaries* are used at this point, does not say that most of the ships were cast away. Hence this mention of Orosius' account (*Historiarum adversum Paganos Libri VII*, ed. Zange-meister, p. 378).

An interesting example of source-collation is the fixing of the boundaries of Old Saxony (see p. 248). Old Saxony, in the larger sense, extended from the Elbe to the Rhine (Speed, *Hist. Gr. Brit.*, ed. 1627, p. 286): Ethelwerd (see *Chronicorum Libri IV*, ed. Petrie, p. 501) adds that the Saxons stretched from the Rhine to Denmark. In connection with these data, Milton reads Usher's description of the narrower Old Saxony, or Holsatia, finding it bounded on the north by the Eider (Elrington ed. of *Wks.*, 5. 447).

See also p. 284: ". . . for Beda relates him [Kenwalk] oft-times afflicted by his enemies, with great losses: and in six hundred and fifty-two, by the annals, fought a battle (civil war Ethelwerd calls it) at Bradanford by the river Afene—Camden names the place Bradford in Wiltshire, by the river Avon, and Cuthred his near kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no authority." The reference to the Annals, as Milton calls the *Chronicle*, is based upon the following: "652. Her Cenwalh gefeaht æt Bradan forda be Afue." The mention of Ethelwerd is then prompted by the passage: "Post itaque quadriennium, ipse bellum gessit civile, in cognominato loco Bradanforda, juxta fluvium Afene" (Ethelwerd, ed. Petrie, p. 506).

The same care appears in a passage on p. 292: "Victred, loth to hazard all, for the rash act of a few, delivered up thirty of those that could be found accessory, or as others say, pacified Ina with a great sum of money." Cf. Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs, 1. 34): "Temptant regium animum muneribus, sollicitant promissis, nundinantur pacem triginta milibus auri mancis, ut pretio mollitus bellum solveret, metallo præstrictus receptui caneret."

Again, Wheloc's Latin is: "Hic Ethelbaldus castellum de Somertone obsidione cinxit" (*Sax. Chron.*, ed. Wheloc, p. 520). Ethelwerd says (ed. Petrie, p. 507): "Æthelbald rex in potestatem cepit villam regiam." Milton, translating both *castellum* and *villa*, writes (p. 296): "Ethelbald of Mercia besieged and took the castle or town of Somerton." Cf. p. 316 (passage beginning *the Danes, not daring*), where Milton translates *arx* (Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, ed. Stevenson, p. 25) "town and castle"; p. 323 (passage beginning *and on the bank thereof*), where he translates *arcem* (*Sax. Chron.*, ed. Wheloc, p. 544) "a castle"; and p. 330 (passage

best in the literary methods he pursues when the source-texts are converted into a new fabric of his own. Here he is the artist, no less than the critic. In his use of the modern compilers, whom he consults either for general direction or for borrowings of minor consequence, there is no opportunity to give these methods free play, and little stimulus to exercise the imaginative and constructive faculties. It is when he sets out to translate the older writers—Cæsar, or Tacitus, or Bede, or *Huntingdon*—that both his literary scholarship and his literary art stand forth. Should any one desire to know how far freedom and fidelity may be conserved together in the translating of Latin texts, he can do no better than to compare passages in the *History of Britain* with their originals. Doing so, he discerns the fine quality of Milton's feeling for both Latin and English idiom, and the subtle adaptability with which he could bear both in mind at one time; his alert sense of the proper scope of condensation and amplification; and his intense interest in translation as an art. It is not word by word that he follows his sources, nor line by line; but with a certain flexible sympathy that catches the whole meaning of entire passages, suffusing them, in the process, with independent charm.⁷⁵ The boy who wrote Latin poems at Cambridge is reflected in the mature author of the *History of Britain*.

In order to illustrate Milton's rendering of the Latin texts, I have chosen a few specimens, which show both original and

beginning *whereupon the English, from towns and cities*), where he translates *burgum* (ed. Wheloc, p. 552) "town and castle."

For miscellaneous collations, see p. 189 (on Cæsar's landing in Britain); p. 219 (on the events succeeding Agricola's governorship); pp. 220-1 (on the historicity of King Lucius); p. 250 (on the aggressions of the Scots and Picts); p. 252 (on Guortimer's encounters with the Saxons); p. 256 (on King Nazaleod); p. 258 (a comparison of Gildas with the "Saxon relators"); p. 295 (a comparison of Bede with the *Chronicle*); p. 305 (on the period of Eanred's reign); p. 309 (on the extent of the slaughter at the Carr River); p. 334 (on the nomenclature of Brunanburh); p. 342 (on Edgar's dominion); p. 349 (on Æthelred's entertainment of Anlaf); p. 361 (on the alleged identity of "Sherastan" and "Scorastan"); p. 364 (on the manner of Eadric's death); p. 370 (on the place of Harold Harefoot's death); and p. 384 (on Tostig's revenge).

⁷⁵ In general, Milton's translations are also notable for their conciseness. Compare, for example, the two translations below. The original,



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quennio possedisset, forte in Calathario nemore venans, obviavit fratri suo qui depositus fuerat. Ipse vero peragratis quibuscunque provincialibus regnis auxilium quæsiverat, ut amissum honorem recuperare quivisset, nec usquam invenerat: et cum supervenientem paupertatem diutius ferre non potuisset, reversus est in Britanniam, decem solummodo militibus sociatus. Petens ergo illos quos dudum habuerat amicos, prædictum nemo præteribat: quum Elidurus ipsius frater ipsum non speratum aspexit. Quo viso, cucurrit Elidurus, et amplexatus est illum, infinita oscula ingeminans. Et ut diu miseriam fratris deflevit, duxit illum secum in civitatem Alclud, et in thalamo suo occuluit.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Geoffrey, ed. *San Mårte*, pp. 41-2.

⁷⁸ P. 182.

Milton frequently adorns his material with effective dramatic and rhetorical touches. Compare the following:

In his rebus circiter dies decem consumit, ne nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem militum intermissis (Cæsar, ed. Celsus (London, 1819), 1. 183).

Further:

Pugnare adversus suos propinquos et compatriotas pene omnes abhorrebant (Simeon of Durham, ed. Arnold, 2. 169).

Further:

Quod neque insequi cedentes possent, neque ab signis discedere auderent (Cæsar 1. 188).

Further:

Hoc anno de tota Anglia LXXII. millia et de Londonia XV. millia libræ exercitui Danorum sunt persolutæ (Simeon 2. 155. With collateral use of Henry of Huntingdon and Matthew of Westminster).

mean condition; who had been long in vain beyond the seas, importuning foreign aids to his restoration; and was now, in a poor habit, with only ten followers, privately returned to find subsistence among his secret friends. At the unexpected sight of him, Elidure himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open arms; and after many dear and sincere welcomings, conveys him to the city Alclud; there hides him in his own bedchamber.⁷⁸

. and with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting the soldiers day or night, drew up all his ships (p. 193).

. and the soldiers on either side soon declared their resolution not to fight English against English (p. 379).

. for that the foot in heavy armour could not follow their cunning flight, and durst not by ancient discipline stir from their ensign (p. 194).

. to maintain which, the next year he squeezed out of the English, though now his subjects, not his enemies, seventy-two, some say, eighty-two thousand pounds, besides fifteen thousand out of London (p. 364).

In Milton's rendering of Geoffrey's account of Lear and his daughters, special attention is called to the italicized passages.

Dato igitur fati Bladud, erigitur Leir ejusdem filius in regem, qui sexaginta annis patriam viriliter rexit. Ædificavit autem super fluvium Soram civitatem, quæ Britannice Kærleir, Saxonice vero Leir-Cestre nuncupatur: Cui negata masculini sexus prole, natæ sunt tantummodo tres filiæ, vocatæ: Gonorilla, Regan, Cordeilla. Qui eas miro amore sed magis natu minimam, Cordeillam videlicet, diligebat. Cumque in senectutem vergere cœpisset, cogitavit regnum suum ipsis dividere: easque tali-

Hitherto, from father to son, the direct line hath run on: but Leir, who next reigned, had only three daughters, and no male issue: governed laudibly and built Cærlie, now Leicester, on the bank of Sora. But at last, falling through age, he determined to bestow his daughters, and so among them to divide his kingdom. Yet first, to try which of them loved him best, (a trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seemed to know how much the trying behooved him,) he

Further:

Crebra hinc prælia (Tacitus, *Annales*, ed. Furneaux, 2. 263).

. small frays and bickerings (p. 205).

Cf. also:

Et nox quidem gaudio prædaque læta victoribus (Tacitus, *Vita Agricolaë*, ed. Furneaux, p. 148).

The Romans jocund of this victory, and the spoil they got, spent the night (p. 218).

Again (observe Milton's rhetorical independence):

Moris namque continui erat genti, sicut et nunc est, ut infirma esset ad retundenda hostium tela et fortis esset ad civilia bella et peccatorum onera sustinenda, infirma, inquam, ad exequenda pacis ac veritatis insignia et fortis ad scelera et mendacia (Gildas, *De Excidio et Conquestu Britannicæ*, ed. Mommsen. In *Monumenta Germanicæ Historica*, *Auct. Ant.* 13. 36).

And this quality their valour had, against a foreign enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to civil broils eager and prompt. In matters of government, and the search of truth, weak and shallow; in falsehood and wicked deeds, pregnant and industrious (p. 246).

Again:

Quibus omnibus ad velle peractis (Simeon 2. 145).

These things flowing to his wish (p. 356).

Again:

Vallum magnum imperavit (Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, ed. Stevenson, p. 12).

He drew a trench of wonderful length (p. 302).

bus maritis copulare, qui easdem cum regno haberent. Sed ut sciret quæ illarum majore regni parte dignior esset, adivit singulas ut interrogaret, quæ ipsum magis diligeret. Interrogante ergo illo Gonorilla prius numina cæli testata est, patrem sibi plus cordi esse quam animam, quæ in corpore suo degebat: cui pater: “Quoniam senectutem meam vitæ tuæ præposuisti, te, charissima filia, maritabo juveni quemcunque elegeris cum tertia parte Britanniae.” *Deinde Regan, quæ secunda erat, exemplo sororis suæ benivolentiam patris allicere volens, jurejurando respondit: se nullatenus conceptum exprimere aliter posse, nisi quod ipsum super omnes creaturas diligeret. Credulus ergo pater eadem dignitate, quam primogenitæ promiserat, cum alia tertia parte regni eam maritavit. At Cordeilla ultima, cum intellexisset eum prædictarum adulationibus acquiescisse: tentare illum cupiens aliter respondere perrexit: “Est uspiam, mi pater, filia, quæ patrem suum plus quam patrem diligere præsumat? non reor equidem ullam esse, quæ hoc fateri audeat: nisi jocosus verbis veritatem celare nitatur. Nempe ego dilexi te semper ut patrem: nec adhuc a proposito meo divertor. Etsi a me magis extorquere insistis, audi certitudinem amoris, quem adversus te habeo: et interrogationibus tuis finem impone. Etenim quantum habes, tantum vales, tantumque te diligo.” Porro pater ratus, eam ex abundantia cordis dixisse. vehementer indignans, quod responsurus erat manifestare non*

resolves a simple resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to believe. Gonorill, the eldest, apprehending too well her father's weakness, makes answer, invoking Heaven, “That she loved him above her soul.” “Therefore,” quoth the old man, overjoyed. “since thou so honourest my declining age, to thee and the husband thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my realm.” *So fair a speeding, for a few words soon uttered, was to Regan, the second, ample instruction what to say. She, on the same demand, spares no protesting; and the gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that “She loved him above all creatures;” and so receives an equal reward with her sister. But Cordeilla, the youngest, though hitherto best beloved, and now before her eyes the rich and present hire of a little easy soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and virtuous answer: “Father,” saith she, “my love towards you is as my duty bids: what should a father seek, what can a child promise more? They, who pretend beyond this, flatter.” When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking; with a loyal sadness at her father's infirmity, but something, on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her sisters than speaking her own mind, “Two ways only,” saith she, “I have to an-*



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In the ensuing, Milton blends his own characteristic fluency with Cæsar's plain directness.

At illi, intermisso spatio, imprudentibus nostris atque occupatis in munitione castrorum, subito se ex sylvis ejecerunt, impetuque in eos facto, qui erant in statione pro castris collocati, acriter pugnaverunt: duabusque missis subsidio cohortibus a Cæsare, atque his primis legionum duarum, cum hæ perexiguo intermisso loci spatio inter se, constitissent, novo genere pugnae perterritis nostris, per medios audacissime perupperunt, seque inde incolumes receperunt.⁸¹

Here the British horse and charioteers: . . . after some pause, while Cæsar, who thought the day's work had been done, was busied about the intrenching of his camp, march out again, give fierce assault to the very stations of his guards and sentries; and while the main cohorts of two legions, that were sent to the alarm, stood within a small distance of each other, terrified at the newness and boldness of their fight, charged back again through the midst, without the loss of a man.⁸²

Milton frequently condenses, and with considerable discrimination. Compare the extracts below, with special reference to the italicized passages.

Ceterum animorum provinciæ prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriæ sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. a se suisque orsus primum domum suam coërcuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. *nihil per libertos servosque publicæ rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut*

But by far not so famous was Agricola in bringing war to a speedy end, as in cutting off the causes from whence war arises. For he knowing that the end of war was not to make way for injuries in peace, began reformation from his own house; permitted not his attendants and followers to sway, or have to do at all in public affairs: lays on with equal-

arum of the imaginary Matthew of Westminster. The couplet reads (*Flor. Hist.* 1. 412):

In clenc sub spina jacet in convalle bovina,
Vertice privatus, Kenelmus rege creatus.

Milton's translation is (p. 306):

Low in the mead of kine under a thorn,
Of head bereft, lieth poor Kenelm kingborn.

For a more prosaic treatment, compare Speed, *Hist. Gr. Brit.*, ed. 1627, p. 322.

⁸¹ Cæsar, ed. Celsus, 1. 187.

⁸² P. 194.

precibus centurionem militesve accire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. omnia scire, non omnia exsequi. parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec pœna semper, sed sæpius pœnitentia contentus esse; officii et administrationibus potius non peccaturos præponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. frumenti et tributorum exactionem æqualitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quæ in quæstum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur. divortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret.

Hæc primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quæ vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. sed ubi æstas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coërcere; loca castris ipse capere, æstuarια ac silvas ipse prætemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis ostentare. quibus rebus multæ civitates, quæ in illum diem ex æquo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et præsidiis castellisque circumdatæ sunt tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britannicæ nova pars pariter illacessita transierit.

Sequens hiems saluberrimis con-

ity the proportions of corn and tribute that were imposed; takes off exactions, and the fees of encroaching officers, heavier than the tribute itself. For the countries had been compelled before, to sit and wait the opening of public granaries, and both to sell and to buy their corn at what rate the publicans thought fit; the purveyors also commanding when they pleased to bring it in, not to the nearest, but still to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excused, or by causing a dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. These grievances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into some credit; which before, since the Romans coming, had as ill a name as war. *The summer following, Titus then emperor, he so continually with inroads disquieted the enemy over all the isle, and after terror so allured them with his gentle demeanour, that many cities which till that time would not bend, gave hostages, admitted garrisons, and came in voluntarily.* The winter he spent all in worthy actions; teaching and promoting like a public father the institutes and customs of civil life. The inhabitants rude and scattered, and by that the proner to war, he so persuaded to build houses, temples, and seats of justice; and by praising the forward, quickening the slow, assisting all, turned the name of necessity into an emulation. He caused moreover the noblemen's sons to be bred up in liberal arts; and by preferring the

sillis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adiuuare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes: ita honoris æmulatio pro necessitate erat. iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.⁸³

wits of Britain before the studies of Gallia, brought them to affect the Latin eloquence, who before hated the language. Then were the Roman fashions imitated, and the gown; after a while the incitements also and materials of vice, and voluptuous life, proud buildings, baths, and the elegance of banqueting; which the foolisher sort called civility, but was indeed a secret art to prepare them for bondage.⁸⁴

It is interesting to notice the graceful ease with which he weaves his own comment on Redwald's attitude towards religion into the straightforward account of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

Et quidem pater eius Reduald iam dudum in Cantia sacramentis Christianæ fidei inbutus est, sed frustra; nam rediens domum ab uxore sua et quibusdam peruersis doctoribus seductus est, atque a sinceritate fidei deprauatus habuit posteriora peiora prioribus; ita ut in morem antiquorum Samaritanorum et Christo seruire uideretur et diis, quibus antea seruiebat; atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi, et arulam ad ultimas dæmoniorum.⁸⁵

He had formerly in Kent received baptism, but coming home, and persuaded by his wife, who still it seems was his chief counsellor to good or bad alike, relapsed into his old religion: yet not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either, for more assurance to keep them both; and in the same temple erected one altar to Christ, another to his idols.⁸⁶

⁸³ Tacitus, *Vit. Agric.*, ed. Furneaux, pp. 113-8.

⁸⁴ Pp. 213-4.

⁸⁵ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Plummer, 1. 116.

⁸⁶ P. 276.

Milton displays considerable skill in the manipulation of parenthetical



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eodemque Domino, qui se nobiscum usque in finem sæculi manere pollicetur. Nam etiam signum diuini miraculi, quo eiusdem feminæ sepulta caro corrumpi non potuit, indicio est, quia uirili contactu incorrupta durauerit.

Quæ multum diu regem postulans, ut sæculi curas relinquere, atque in monasterio, tantum uero regi Christo seruire permetteretur; ubi uix aliquando inpetrauit, intrauit monasterium Aebbæ abbatissæ, quæ erat amita regis Ecgfridi, positum in loco, quem Coludi urbem nominant, accepto uelamine sanctimonialis habitus a præfato antistite Uilfrido. Post annum uero ipsa facta est abbatissa in regione, quæ uocatur Elge; ubi constructo monasterio uirginum Deo deuotarum perplurium mater uirgo, et exemplis uitæ cælestis esse cœpit et monitis. De qua ferunt, quia, ex quo monasterium petiit, numquam lineis, sed solum laneis uestimentis uti uoluerit; raroque in calidis balneis, præter imminentibus sollemniis maioribus, uerbi gratia paschæ, pentecostes, epifaniæ, lauari uoluerit; et tunc nouissima omnium, lotis prius suo suarumque ministrarum obsequio ceteris, quæ ibi essent, famulis Christi; raro præter maiora sollemnia, uel artiore necessitate, plus quam semel per diem manducauerit; semper, si non infirmitas grauior prohibuisset, ex tempore matutinæ synaxeos, usque ad ortum diei, in ecclesia precibus intenta persteterit. Sunt etiam, qui dicant, quia per prophetiæ spiritum, et pestilentiam, qua ipsa esset moritura, prædixerit, et nu-

merum quoque eorum, qui de suo monasterio hac essent de mundo rapiendi, palam cunctis præsentibus intimauerit. Rapta est autem ad Dominum in medio suorum, post annos VII, ex quo abbatissæ gradum susceperat; et æque, ut ipsa iusserat, non alibi quam in medio eorum, iuxta ordinem, quo transierat, ligneo in locello sepulta.⁸⁷

In the following passages one may observe Milton's treatment of episodic material found in *Huntingdon* and *Malmesbury*.

Tertium, quod cum maximo vigore imperii, sedile suum in littore maris, cum ascenderet, statui jussit. Dixit autem mari ascendenti "Tu meæ ditionis es; et terra in qua sedeo mea est: nec fuit qui impune meo resisteret imperio. Impero igitur tibi ne in terram meam ascendas, nec vestes nec membra dominatoris tui madefacere præsumas." Mare vero de more condescendens pedes regis et crura sine reverentia madefecit. Rex igitur resiliens ait: "Sciant omnes habitantes orbem, vanam et frivolum

He caused his royal seat to be set on the shore, while the tide was coming in; and with all the state that royalty could put into his countenance, said thus to the sea; "Thou, Sea, belongest to me, and the land whereon I sit is mine; nor hath any one unpunished resisted my commands: I charge thee come no further upon my land, neither presume to wet the feet of thy sovereign lord." But the sea, as before, came rolling on, and without reverence both wet and dashed him. Whereat the

⁸⁷ *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Plummer, 1. 243-4.

⁸⁸ P. 291. In the passage immediately following the account of St. Audrey's death, the translator manages to include one of his characteristic attacks against Ireland (see also pp. 197, 223; also *Eikonoklastes* (Bohn 1. 407 ff.), *First Def.* (Bohn 1. 201), *Oberv. Art. P.* (Bohn 2. 181), and *Of. Ref.* (ed. Hale, pp. 57-8). Cf. source and translation:

Annō dominicæ incarnationis DCLXXXIII. Ecgfrid rex Nordanhymbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Bercto, uastavit misere gentem innoxiam, et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita ut ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis (*Eccl. Hist.*, ed. Plummer, 1. 266).

In the mean while Ecfrid had sent Bertus with power to subdue Ireland, a harmless nation, saith Beda, and ever friendly to the English; in both which they seem to have left a posterity much unlike them at this day; miserably wasted, without regard had to places halowed or profane.

regum esse potentiam, nec regis quempiam nomine dignum præter Eum, cujus nutui cælum, terra, mare, legibus obediunt æternis.⁸⁹

Denique in quodam convivio, ubi se plerumque fatuorum dicacitas liberius ostentat, fama est Kinnadium regem Scottorum ludibundum dixisse, mirum videri tam vili homuncioni tot provincias subjici; idque a quodam mimo sinistra aure acceptum, et Edgardo postmodum sollempni convitio in os objectum. At ille, re suis celata, Kinnadium, quasi magni mysterii consultandi gratia, accersiit, longeque in sylvam seducto, unum ex duobus, quos secum attulerat, ensibus tradidit; "Et nunc," inquit, "licebit vires tuas experiare cum soli simus. Jam enim faxo ut appareat quis alteri merito supponi debeat; tu quoque ne pedem referas quin mecum rem ventiles. Turpe est enim regem in convivio esse

king quickly rising wished all about him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous power of a king, and that none indeed deserved the name of king, but he whose eternal laws both heaven, earth, and sea obey.⁹⁰

Kened king of Scots, then in the court of Edgar, sitting one day at table, was heard to say jestingly among his servants, he wondered how so many provinces could be held in subjection by such a little dapper man: his words were brought to the king's ear; he sends for Kened as about some private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his garment two swords, which he had brought with him, gave one of them to Kened; and now, saith he, it shall be tried which ought to be the subject; for it is shameful for a king to boast at table, and shrink in fight. Kened much abashed fell presently at his feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spok-

⁸⁹ Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Arnold, p. 189.

⁹⁰ Pp. 367-8. The prefatory note to Wordsworth's *A Fact, and an Imagination; or Canute and Alfred, on the Sea-Shore* declares that "one or two expressions are taken from Milton's *History of England*." The part of the poem so borrowed is apparently the following:

Deaf was the Sea;

Her waves rolled on, respecting his decree
 Less than they heed a breath of wanton air.
 —Then Canute, rising from the invaded throne,
 Said to his servile Courtiers, —"Poor the reach,
 The undisguised extent, of mortal sway!
 He only is a King, and he alone
 Deserves the name (this truth the billows preach)
 Whose everlasting laws, sea, earth, and heaven, obey."

Milton, rather typically, adds his own comment on Cnut's lesson, remarking that the truth which the King intended to impress "needed no such laborious demonstration," and, further, that it was "so evident of itself that unless to shame his court-flatterers, who would not else be convinced, Canute needed not to have gone wetshod home."



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several sources.⁹⁶ The italicized passage in Milton's text illustrates his skill in weaving and assimilating material.

Quapropter, sicut hi quibus id muneris est lascivientes arboris ramos solent succidere, ut reliquorum, vitæ succo suo possit sufficere, sic incolæ aliquorum expulsione matrem allevant, ne tam numerosæ prolis pastu exhausta succumbat: sed, ut facti minuant invidiam, sorte ducunt eliminandos. Inde est quod illius terræ homines invenerint sibi ex necessitate virtutem, ut natali solo ejecti peregrinas sedes armis vendicent.⁹⁷

Inierunt autem certamen contra Pictos et Scottos, qui jam venerunt usque ad Stanfordiam, quæ sita est in australi parte Lincolnia, distans ab ea quadraginta miliaribus.⁹⁸

Et mox contra Scotos causa probationis mittuntur: tandem non morata juvenus, pectora induunt armis, temptant quoque prælia peregrina: miscetur viro vir, ruit Germanus, ruit Scotus, ex utraque parte miserrima cædes: victores post Saxones existunt.⁹⁹

Quod ubi domi nuntiatum est, simul et insulæ fertilitas, ac segnitia Brettonum; mittitur confestim illo classis prolixior, armorum ferens manum fortiolem, quæ præmissæ adiuncta cohorti in-

The British Nennius writes, that these brethren were driven into exile out of Germany, and to Vortigern who reigned in much fear, one while of the Picts, then of the Romans and Ambrosius, came opportunely into the haven. For it was the custom in Old Saxony, when their numerous offspring overflowed the narrowness of their bounds, to send them out by lot into new dwellings wherever they found room, either vacant or to be forced. *But whether sought, or unsought, they dwelt not here long without employment.* For the Scots and Picts were now come down, some say, as far as Stamford, in Lincolnshire, whom perhaps not imagining to meet new opposition, the Saxons, though not till after a sharp encounter, put to flight: and that more than once; slaying in fight, as some Scotch writers affirm, their king Eugenius the son of Fergus. Hengist perceiving the island to be rich and fruitful, but her princes and other inhabitants given to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good success. Who returning with seventeen ships, were grown up now to a

⁹⁶ For passages containing the material from Nennius, see Usher, *De Primordiis*, ed. 1687, pp. 207, 239. Cf. Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, ed. Stevenson, p. 24 (in *Collection of Monastic Chronicles*, published by Eng. Hist. Soc.). As to the manner in which Nennius may have been suggested to Milton at this point, see the marginal references in Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Wheloc, pp. 58-9. As to the Scottish authority, cf. Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, trans. Aikman, 1. 227.

⁹⁷ Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs, 1. 8-9.

⁹⁸ Huntingdon, ed. Arnold, p. 38.

⁹⁹ Ethelwerd, ed. Petrie, p. 502.

uincibilem fecit exercitum. Susceperunt ergo, qui aduenerant, donantibus Britannis, locum habitationis inter eos, ea condicione, ut hi pro patriæ pace et salute contra aduersarios militarent, illi militantibus debita stipendia conferrent.¹

sufficient army, and entertained without suspicion on these terms, that they "should bear the brunt of war against the Picts, receiving stipend, and some place to inhabit."²

When the *History of Britain* is compared with the works of other writers of English history belonging to Milton's age and to that immediately preceding it, one finds that the author has, in the large, been diligent and circumspect in choosing his authorities. There are numerous instances in which Holinshed and Speed consult modern digests totally ignored by him; but it cannot be urged that they have, on the whole, succeeded better than he in tracing their way to the ultimate springs. Bearing in mind the general availability, in the seventeenth century, of printed editions relating to the sources and literature of English history, Milton may be said to have put himself in touch with a considerable part of the entire field. If his work does not derive from the leading Welsh sources, the *Annales Cambriæ* and the *Brut y Tywysogion*; if it disregards Eddius' *Life of Wilfrith* and the valuable *Lestorie des Engles* of Geoffrey Gaimar; if, in the period of the Danish invasions, it might have been enriched through the *Heimskringla af Snorre Sturlasson*, it should not be forgotten that these writings were not accessible in print until after his time,³ and that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did much towards introducing British and English material to historical scholars. In like manner, if his narrative of the Norman Conquest is uninfluenced by the stimulating pictures of the Bayeux Tapestry, it is to be recalled that this highly interesting piece of work was employed, throughout the seventeenth century, chiefly as a festal decora-

¹ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. Plummer, 1. 31. See also Nennius, ed. Stevenson (in *Collection of Monastic Chronicles*), p. 28.

² P. 250.

³ See Gross, *Sources and Lit. Eng. Hist.*, pp. 237, 347, 107, 364, 255. See also Hodgkin, *Hist. Eng.*, Appendix I, where the authorities for pre-Conquest history are discussed.

tion for the nave of Bayeux Cathedral.⁴ Yet some sources there were, overlooked or ignored by Milton, that he might have used. The contributions of the Norman William of Jumièges⁵ and William of Poitiers,⁶ bearing closely on the events of the Conquest and on Duke William's career, were included in Duchesne's *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores*, published at Paris in 1619; yet he appears to owe no debt to these writers, who, along with other Norman and Anglo-Norman authorities, have been studied with eagerness by more recent historians. Nor can it be denied that he unjustly withholds recognition from the ecclesiastical writers and the theologians. Especially as to the former, his position is outspoken; he discerns no good purpose in reporting the "long bead-roll of archbishops, bishops, abbots, abbesses, and their doings, neither to religion profitable, nor to morality."⁷ He resorts to the *Ecclesiastical History*, to be sure, but he picks his way gingerly, that he may avoid "bead-rolls" and the like. He manifests respect for Alcuin; yet instead of gaining a first-hand acquaintance, in accessible editions,⁸ with the material furnished to English history by this "learned monk,"⁹ as he calls him, he is content to know him through the pages of Malmesbury. It is certain that he had some familiarity with the early laws.¹⁰ In Wheloc's volume of 1644, which added Lambarde's *Archaionomia* to Bede and the *Chronicle*,¹¹ he might have found them in Latin parallel texts. He makes no truly earnest attempt, however, to enlist their aid in reaching historical fact.¹² Milton's selection of his sources, in a word, is that of a judicious and conservative scholar who, though in no danger of missing the great high-

⁴ Fowke, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, p. 3.

⁵ Gross, p. 375.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

⁷ P. 299.

⁸ See Hardy, *Cat. of Materials*, 1. 688.

⁹ P. 307.

¹⁰ See *First Def.* (Bohn 1. 173).

¹¹ See Adams, *Old Eng. Scholarship*, p. 54. As to the volume of 1643, see *supra*, p. 115, note 43.

¹² Such passages as those on pp. 260-1, p. 249, and p. 358 are exceptional.



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