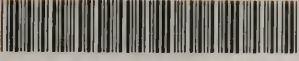


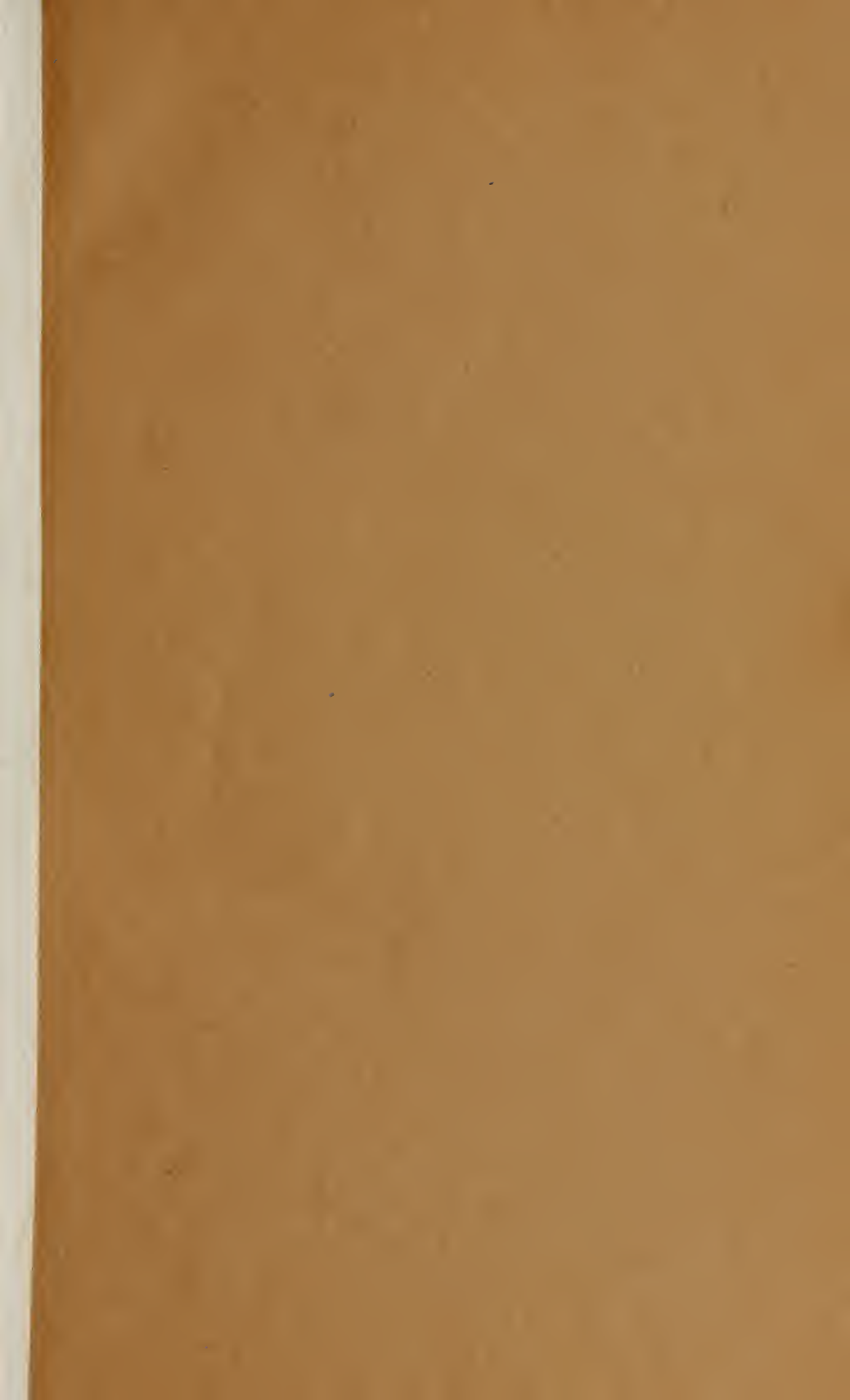
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ON DRYDEN'S RELATION TO GERMANY
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF
GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

BY

MILTON D. BAUMGARTNER

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THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

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I.—ON DRYDEN'S RELATION TO GERMANY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY MILTON D. BAUMGARTNER

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INTRODUCTION

While the literary relation of Dryden to Germany in the eighteenth century is not so significant as that of Shakspeare and of Pope, it is nevertheless of sufficient importance to warrant investigation. No connected study of his relation to Germany has been made, and the discussions of the influence of his individual works are either incidental, or do not recognize the extent of such influence. Koch¹ scarcely mentions him in his treatise on the English and German literary relations in the eighteenth century; Vetter² and Eichler³ do not show the indirect influence of *Mac Flecknoe* upon Bodmer; Fulda⁴ and Pechel⁵ see no con-

¹ *Ueber die Beziehungen der Englischen Litteratur zur Deutschen im 18. Jahrhundert.* (Leipzig, 1883.) Neither Flindt, *Ueber den Einfluss der englischen Litteratur auf die deutsche des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Charlottenburg, 1897), nor Seidensticker, *English and German Literature in the 18. Century Poet-Lore* II, p. 169 ff. (1890) mentions Dryden at all in connection with Germany.

² Bodmer und die englische Litteratur, *Johann Jakob Bodmer Denkschrift zum CC. Geburtstag*, p. 313 ff., Zürich, 1900.

³ Christian Wernicke's *Hans Sachs* und sein Dryden'sches Vorbild *Mac Flecknoe*, *Zeitschrift f. v. Litteraturgeschichte.* (Neue Folge) XVII, p. 208 ff. (1908). Eichler's admirable article exhaustively treats the relations of the two satires, and connects the influence of *Mac Flecknoe* in a general way upon German criticism. I have freely incorporated his results.

⁴ See introduction to Christian Wernicke, in *D. N. L.*, XXXIX, p. 515 ff.

⁵ Christian Wernicke's Epigramme, *Palaestra*, LXXI, Berlin, 1909. All of Wernicke's works are included in this volume, which contains an exhaustive introduction also dealing with *Mac Flecknoe* and *Hans Sachs*. Ferdinand Eichler, *Das Nachleben des Hans Sachs vom 16. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (1904), with Fulda and Pechel sees no connection between Dryden's Satire and German criticism.

nection between this satire and German criticism, while Schmidt,⁶ Bernays,⁷ Borinski,⁸ and Meisnest⁹ only incidentally suggest a relation between Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poesie* and Lessing's seventeenth *Literaturbrief*; and no noteworthy attempt has been made to show the influence of Dryden's dramas, fables, and lyrics upon Germany.

The purpose of this study is to present a connected investigation of the relation of Dryden to Germany, showing the manner of entrance chronologically, as far as possible, and the influence of his works.

CHAPTER I. SATIRES

I. "MAC FLECKNOE" (1662)

At the time of Dryden's introduction, Germany had not attained literary independence. In consequence his critical works first found favor, among which his satires,¹⁰ although poetical in form, must be reckoned. *Mac Flecknoe*, a personal and literary satire,¹¹ was the first satire, and the first work of Dryden to appear in Germany (1702), leaving of all his works the deepest impression with the possible exception of his odes.

⁶ Lessing, *Geschichte seines Lebens, und seiner Werke*, I, p. 376, Berlin, 1884.

⁷ Michael Bernays, *Schriften zur Kritik und Litteraturgeschichte*, III, p. 103, 2d Edition, Berlin, 1903.

⁸ Lessing, I, p. 111, Berlin, 1900.

⁹ "Lessing and Shakespeare," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIX, p. 234 ff. (1904).

¹⁰ Dryden seems always to have had a fondness for the satire. In his student days at Westminster he translated the third satire of Persius as a Thursday night's exercise. In 1662 he wrote a "Satire on the Dutch"; from 1681 to 1687 he produced six satires in poetical form, of which three were political, one literary and personal, and two religious. In 1693 his *Essay on the Origin and Progress of the Satire* was published as a preface to his translations of the satires of Persius and a partial translation of those of Juvenile.

¹¹ *Mac Flecknoe, or a Satire on the true blue Protestant Poet T. S.* was written as a reply to the gross personal libels in Thomas Shadwell's satire, *The Medal by John Bayes*.

Mac Flecknoe was introduced into Germany by Christian Wernicke, diplomat, poet, and as critic a forerunner of Lessing. Under the tutelage of the scholar, Morhof, he had learned to honor and appreciate the poet and critic Opitz¹² and his successors, Gryphus, Hoffmannswaldau, and Lohenstein. In one of his early epigrams¹³ he says:

"Den deutschen Pegases setzte Opitz in Lauf
Und Gryph verbesserte was war an ihm getadelt,
Hernach trat Lohenstein mit Hoffmannswaldau auf
Die unsere Dichtkunst und sich durch sie geadelt."

The dramas of Gryphius had made him one of the foremost literary characters, but when Wernicke began his career, Hoffmannswaldau and Lohenstein were the idolized and imitated poets.

"Der hat den ersten zwar, doch die den grössten Ruhm."¹⁴

Later however, the bombastic, picturesque style which the two latter had imbibed from the Italians, especially Marino, was recognized by Wernicke, and he characterized their poetry as containing "mehr falscher als wahrer Witz"¹⁵

Wernicke's sojourn as diplomat at Paris and London, incidentally, furnished an opportunity for familiarizing himself with the language, literature, and criticism of the two neighboring countries. During his stay in London, Wernicke became somewhat acquainted with Dryden's satires and owned a copy. Aside from *Mac Flecknoe*, he was familiar with at least *Absolom and Achitophel*, and *The Second Part of Absolom and Achitophel*, as he later employs a motive found in each of the two. This familiarity broadened his literary tastes, and the diplomatic service tended to sharpen his already keen, original, critical wit.

Through Wernicke, *Mac Flecknoe* was first introduced at

¹² His *Buch der deutschen Poeterei* (1624), little more than a compilation, had been a guide for German critics.

¹³ "Ursprung und Fortgang der deutschen Poesie."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ See note to the Epigram, *Auf die Schlesischen Poeten, Palaestra*, LXXI, p. 314.

Hamburg. Thus Dryden, like Pope,¹⁶ his pupil and follower, entered Germany by way of Hamburg, but unlike Pope, who came indirectly through the medium of France, Dryden was at first directly introduced from England. Hamburg, replacing Silesia, the home of Opitz, which had formerly been a literary center in a small way, at this time held the foremost place in the commercial, literary, and musical activities of Germany, although it would not be considered a great literary center like London or Paris.

The opera supported by well-to-do commercial patrons, had flourished there two decades under the leadership of composers like Keyser. The opera texts were written by poets and pseudo-poets who chose this as a remunerative profession. Likewise the blood-and-thunder novel and drama were in vogue, written in the figurative, bombastic style of Lohenstein and Hoffmannswaldau.

Among the contemporary writers, Christian Heinrich Postel (1658-1705), the author of many operas and of several epics provided with numerous learned commentaries, was the most worthy poet. Postel endeavored to defend Lohenstein, his patron saint in poetry, in a sonnet which appeared immediately after the publication of Wernicke's epigrams in 1701,¹⁷ and this occasioned the first literary feud at Hamburg.¹⁸ It was the spirit which prompted the sonnet, more than the sonnet itself, that induced Wernicke to take up the cudgel. He was striving for a principle, the rooting out of the "falscher Witz," while Postel, under the pretense of defending the renowned Silesian, Lohenstein, was in reality defending his own poetry patterned after him.

"Schau . . .

Wie jetzt dein Lohenstein, das Wunder aller Erden,
Der Teutschlands Sonne muss mit recht genennet werden,
So frech gelästert wird durch Stolz und Unverstand."¹⁹

Neither Postel's defense of Lohenstein, nor the charging of

¹⁶ J. H. Heinzelmann, "Pope in Germany in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern Philology*, X, pp. 317-364 (Chicago, 1913).

¹⁷ Elias, *Christian Wernicke*, Dissertation, München, 1888, p. 216.

¹⁸ Rudolf Pechel, *Prolegomina zu Wernickes Epigramme*, p. 30.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Wernicke with presumption, nor the ridiculous comparison of him with a hare hopping about on the dead body of the lion, Lohenstein, succeeded in silencing Wernicke. On the contrary, even though his literary work was so slight that he was regarded as a layman of little consequence, he completely silenced Postel by replying to the sonnet with his satire *Hans Sachs*²⁰ in pamphlet form, containing a foreword even more bitter than the satire itself. Shadwell's scathing satire warranted *Mac Flecknoe*, but Postel's sonnet did not warrant *Hans Sachs*. Wernicke endeavored to justify it on the ground that the sonnet was frequently wrongly ascribed to (Nicholas von) Bostel, a contemporary, whose name was confused with Postel. He sought to temper his criticism somewhat by saying that the translation was made to furnish the German reader an innocent pastime, designating it as a "lustige Erfindung."

Wernicke's theories of the satire which he sets up in the introduction to his epigrams in the main agree with those of Dryden. Under the influence of Boileau and Dryden he, like the latter, amends his former criticism with the one difference that he frankly acknowledges his change of viewpoint and justifies the change.²¹ He now deprecates in the Silesian idols and their followers, the fine figures of speech and insists that thoughts are the soul of poetry just as Dryden insists on wit.²²

According to Dryden, "The function of the satire is to lash

²⁰ "Ein / Helden-Gedicht / Hans Sachs genannt / aus dem Englischen übersetzt / Von Dem Verfasser / Der Überschrifte / und / Schäfer-Gedichte / nebst einigen nöthigen / Erklärungen / des Übersetzers (Altona, 1702)."

²¹ "Man hatte als man diese Überschrift schrieb, nicht allein keine Englische und Frantzösische Poeten; sondern auch sogar die besten Lateinischen nichts anders als der Sprache halber gelesen. Wannhero es kein Wunder, dasz man sich damals in seinem Urtheil etwas verstiegen." See *Palaestra*, LXXXI, p. 315 (Berlin, 1909).

²² "Man hält davor, dasz wir bisshero in unseren Versen mit eitlen und falschen Worten zu viel gespielet, und sehr wenig auf das bedacht gewesen, was die Welschen Concetti, die Frantzosen Pensees, die Engländer Thoughts und wir füglich Einfälle nennen können; da doch dieselbe die Seele eines Gedichtes sind." *Ibid.*, p. 120.

vice into reformation;²³ the true end of satire is the amendment of vices by correction;²⁴ or to reprehend severely vice, ignorance and error."²⁵ To lampoon another he holds dangerous but justifies it on two grounds: first, "to avenge when we have been affronted in the same nature; or have in any way been notoriously abused and can make ourselves no other reparation"; and second, "it is an action of virtue to make example of vicious men when they become a public nuisance both for their own amendment and for the terror of others." The most effective attitude to assume in a satire, he maintains, "is a sharp well-mannered way of laughing a folly out of countenance." In the *Essay on the Origin and Progress of the Satire*, Dryden holds up, as his ideal of characterization in satire, his own character sketch of the Duke of Buckingham, whom he satirizes under the name of Zimri in *Absolom and Achitophel*, as a retaliation for the latter's ridicule of him in *The Rehearsal*.²⁶

Wernicke holds that the duty of the satirist is to portray naturally the recognized prevailing vices and follies of the times.²⁷ With Dryden he maintains that the best manner of correcting folly in the world is with a laughing countenance (mit lachendem Munde),²⁸ but to do this much experience and sane reflection are necessary. The lampoon, he justifies also on the ground of being wrongly abused. The prevailing vices and follies he would portray only in a general way, so that those who saw their own image in the portrayal would have no cause to be angry with the author.

²³ Foreword to *The State of Innocence* (1674), *Scott-Saintsbury*, V, p. 100 ff.

²⁴ Foreword to *Absolom and Achitophel* (1681), *ibid.*, IV, p. 214.

²⁵ *Essay on the Origin and Progress of the Satire* (1693), *ibid.*, XIII, p. 1 ff.

²⁶ "The character of Zimri in my *Absolom* is, in my opinion, worth the whole poem: it is not bloody, but it is ridiculous enough: . . . If I had railed, I might have suffered for it justly: . . . I avoided the mention of great crimes, and applied myself to the representing of blind sides and little extravagances; to which the wittier a man is, he is generally the more obnoxious." "On the Origin and Progress of the Satire," *Scott-Saintsbury*, XIII, p. 99.

²⁷ *Palaestra*, LXXI, p. 118.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

Ironically he adds that out of courtesy he would mention neither the real nor the assumed names of the opponent who attacked him first without cause in order to give them "die völlige Freyheit in kurtzer Zeit mit ihren Schrifften vergessen zu werden."²⁹

In practice there is little difference between Dryden and Wernicke in the manner of satirizing. Both were by nature too harsh and too severe. In the foreword to *Absolom and Achitophel*, Dryden says: "I can write severely with more ease than I can gently." Wernicke likewise admits that he was inclined to apply the lash. He maintains that in his early satirical epigrams, "hat man die Laster eifrig und gleichsam mit der Peitsche in der Hand verfolget";³⁰ and he tacitly admits his harshness by suppressing the sharpest criticism in the foreword of the second edition of *Hans Sachs*. Similarly there is little difference in the use of real names. With the exception of *Mac Flecknoe*, Dryden nowhere names his opponent, while in *Hans Sachs* Wernicke uses the transparent anagram "Stelpo" for Postel.

The influence of Dryden upon Wernicke is evident from his accidental choice of *Mac Flecknoe*. He tells us in the preface how he chanced upon it when preparing a reply to Postel's sonnet. "Als ich nun mit diesen Gedanken im Schwange ging, so gerieth ich unversehens unter meinen zusammengesammelten Schrifften auf folgendes sinnreiches Gedicht eines berühmten Englischen Poeten, worinnen er eine Person aufgeföhret hat, welche meinem Widersacher in allen Stücken gleichet, und welche, überdem, damit er sich an der Vergleichung nicht stossen möge, des damaligen Königs von Engelland wohlbestelter gekrönter Poet war. Die Versuchung war zu grosz, dass ich derselben hätte widerstehen können, und das Gedicht kaum überlesen, dasz ich schon dasselbe in unsere Sprache zu übersetzen und dem Teutschen Leser die unschuldige Kurtzweil zu gönnen den Schluss gefasset."³¹ Wernicke acknowledges his debt to Dryden in the foreword of both editions of *Hans Sachs*. In the first he says: "Was im übrigen die Übersetzung dieses Gedichtes betrifft, so

²⁹ Palaestra, LXXI, p. 119.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 117.

³¹ See Elias, p. 220 ff.

wird der Leser, dem hiesiger Ort kündig, ohne meine Anmerkung gleich von selbst ermessen können, dass obgleich dem Englischen Poeten die Erfindung und Ordnung desselben abgeborget, mir dennoch zum Wenigsten die Helfte der Gedanken eigentümlich zugehöre." In the second edition he lays even greater claims to original ideas: "Die Erfindung desselben hat man einem Englischen Poeten abgelehnet, die meisten Einfälle aber von selbst nehmen müssen."

As Wernicke has said, the general plan of *Hans Sachs* is borrowed from *Mac Flecknoe*. Both present the coronation celebration of the chosen heir in the realm of nonsense. They consist of two monologues by the sire king set in a framework of three explanatory links—the introduction, a connecting link, and the conclusion. The introduction (both Dryden and Wernicke 1–13) describes the aged monarch who resolves to abdicate the throne in favor of one of his numerous sons; the first monologue (Dryden 14–59, Wernicke 14–86) names and characterizes the successor, setting forth the reason for the choice; the connecting link (Dryden 60–138, Wernicke 87–170) gives a detailed description of the seat and the ceremony of the coronation; the second monologue (Dryden 139–210, Wernicke 171–263) contains the retiring king's prophecy and testament to the enthroned heir; and the conclusion (Dryden 211–217, Wernicke 264–269) depicts the disappearance of the declaiming king through a trap door, leaving behind his robe which is to clothe his heir with a double portion of his art.

Wernicke follows Dryden throughout in the motives, except where he refers to the literary conditions at Hamburg, and quotes or parodies the works of Postel. The general motive, however, of parodying and quoting from Postel is borrowed from Dryden. He imitates Dryden even in minute details: as for example, Dryden signs himself: "by the Author of Absolem and Achitophel" and Wernicke: "Von dem Verfasser der Überschriftte und Schäfer-Gedichte." The motives which Wernicke borrows from Dryden are: Human things decay and are subject to the decree of fate; an old monarch in the realm of ignorance, weary of rule, wishes to abdicate in favor of an heir; the choice from among

his numerous sons of the one most resembling him; the elimination of all the others, because a beam of wit escapes their souls at times; the ridiculous personal appearance of the heir; the acknowledgment by the king that he was sent to prepare the way for his heir; the musical ability of the king and his heir; the tears of joy shed in rapture over the hopeful son at the conclusion of the first monologue; the description of the environment and seat of the crowning celebration; the prophecy foretelling the reign of the prince of ignorance in the playhouse; the spreading of the report of the crowning celebration through the town; the detailed account of the crowning celebration such as the arrival of a large concourse of people, the carpeting of the way with the leaves of the works of forgotten poets, the bodyguard composed of disappointed publishers, captained by the publishers of Dryden and Wernicke; the cloud of dullness hovering over the heir as he sits next to Rome's other hope; the oath of office compared to that of Hannibal; the vow to maintain dullness in the realm until death; the anointment prepared by the king's own hands; the crown of flowers; the omen of the owls compared with that of Romulus; the sire's prophecy of the expansion of the realm; the interruption of the monologue by the "Amen" of the people; the admonition to increase in impudence and ignorance and to suffer "pangs without birth in fruitless industry"; to toil without wit; to let others in triumph tread the stage; to sketch his fools and heroes in his own image so that posterity might recognize them as his own issue; to trust nature and write naturally-dull; the quotations and parodies of the opponents, Shadwell and Postel; the inoffensive satires of the opponents; the opponent's plays are only farces; the admonitions to practice anagrams and set their own songs to music; and finally the disappearing of the declaiming bard through a trap door, and the leaving behind of his robe to the new king with a double blessing of his art.

The two motives which Wernicke took from the other satires of Dryden have already been referred to above. The first is from the passage in *Absalom and Achitophel* (555-556), devoted to satirizing Zimri (Buckingham). It accuses him of going to extremes in favorable criticism of friend and unfavorable of foe.

"Railing and praising were his usual themes,
And both, to show his judgment in extremes."

Hans Sachs, 238-239:

"Fleuch wenn du tadeln wilt, bey Leib die Mittel-Straass.
Und wenn du jemand rühmst, so halt' auch keine Maass."

The other motive not found in *Mac Flecknoe* is from *The Second Part of Absalom and Achitophel* (457-458), and is the prophetic blessing to be dull, pronounced upon the heir at birth by the nurse.

"The midwife laid her hand on his thick skull,
With this prophetic blessing—Be thou dull."

Hans Sachs, 17-18.

"Selbst seine Amme fasst' nach der Gebuhrt ihn um,
Weissagt' und segnet' ihn mit diesem Wunsch: sey dumm."

This is again repeated, line 90.

"Bestetigend den Wunsch der Ammen: Sey du dumm."³²

This comparison of motives is striking, because the same motives which Dryden applied to Shadwell in the satire, lend themselves admirably to satirizing Postel, thereby substantiating the claim of Wernicke made in the preface, "welcher (Shadwell) meinem Widersacher (Postel) in allen Stücken gleicht." Dryden's motive of choosing the dead poet, Flecknoe,³³ as the sire king, finds a happy parallel in Wernicke's choice of Hans Sachs, so far as the force of the satire is concerned, as it holds Postel up to genuine ridicule.

Other parallel motives that were equally applicable to the German situation are: The imitation of renowned poets (Shad-

³² See Eichler, *Loco citato*, p. 218; and Pechel, *Loco citato*, p. 34.

³³ Richard Flecknoe, a dull but prolific Irish poet, who died in 1678, was chosen as the father of Shadwell and furnished the name and background for the satire. He seems to have been a stock character for satirizing and Dryden speaks of him with contempt in his dedication of *Limberham* (1678).

well imitated the humors of Jonson, while Postel emulated Euripides); the satirizing of their opponents' works and characters; the lame verses in Shadwell's opera, *Psyche*, and the effusive style in Postel's works; and the musical ability of the two opponents.³⁴

With few exceptions, the motives which Dryden applied to his English opponent, Wernicke applied to his German opponent with equal force. Some of the most striking variations in motives are in connection with the seat of the coronation, the attending throng, and the disappearance of the sire king at the conclusion. Dryden has Mac Flecknoe erect Shadwell's throne in the nursery, a training school for young actors, which is situated near the Barbican, formerly a watchtower, but now a ruin surrounded by brothel houses. He has Decker prophesy that a prince of dullness should reign here, while Wernicke substitutes a witch for Decker.

In *Mac Flecknoe* the throng comes to the crowning festivity from "near Bunhill and distant Watling Street," London cemeteries, while in *Hans Sachs* Wernicke prefers to have it come from "Dreck wall," "Mistberg" and "Gänse-Marckt,"³⁵ thereby substituting for the throng of the forgotten past, the living rabble inhabiting Hamburg.

Dryden's motive of having Mack Flecknoe disappear through a trap door, is a parody on Shadwell's play, *Virtuoso*, in which Bruce and Longville, two of the characters, make a third, Sir Formal Trifle, similarly disappear. Wernicke apparently was pleased with the motive, and finding no parallel in Postel's Works, has "V-1" (Vogel),³⁶ who sang the comical roles in Postel's operas, manipulate the trap door which sent Hans Sachs beneath.

³⁴ Shadwell claimed to have assisted in composing the music for his operas, hence Dryden has him perform on the lute, while Postel paraded his performing on the piano, which Wernicke ridiculed.

³⁵ While these ludicrous names of streets in Hamburg are not necessarily in the slum district, yet they were supposed to suggest the rabble.

³⁶ Bodmer (*Critische Schriften*, 1741) in a footnote to his first edition of *Hans Sachs* says: "Vogel war ein Sänger in der Opera, der die lustige Partien von Postels Erfindung abzusingen pflegte, und dem zu gefallen der Pöfel sehr in die Opera lief."

The influence of Dryden upon Wernicke is conclusively proven by the direct translation. Not only did he follow the general plan of *Mac Flecknoe* in *Hans Sachs* and incorporate many of the motives but he has also translated a large number of the lines, either word for word, or freely adopted them in his satire, especially in the first edition. Nevertheless, the omission of "aus dem Englischen übersetzt" in the title of the second edition is justified. He has expanded *Mac Flecknoe*, which has 217 lines, into a German satire of 269. The material he rejected in Dryden's satire dealt with literary conditions in England which would not apply to the literary conditions in Germany; and the new material introduced has to do entirely with literary and personal criticism of Postel, and literary conditions of Hamburg and Germany. The connecting links show the larger percentage of parallel lines. The parallel lines follow:

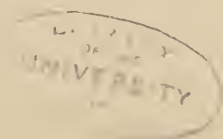
DRYDEN	WERNICKE
1/2. All human things are subject to decay	1/2. Was Irrdich ist, vergeht; was Menschlich ist nimmt ab
And, when fate summons, monarchs must obey.	Und ein Monarch fällt selbst, wenn's Schicksal winckt, ins Grab.
3. This Flecknoe found, who . . had governed long,	3. Diss wurd Hans Sachs gewahr, der Deutschland lang beherrscht.
5/6. In prose and verse was owned without dispute	5/6. Der in der Dummheit Reich, sonst Lobesan genannt,
Through all the realm of Non- sense absolute.	Durch Reim ohn' allen Streit er- hielt die Oberhand.
7/9. This aged prince, now flourish- ing in peace	7/9. Lang war in Fried' und Ruh ihm wiedrigs nicht begegnet.
And blest with issue of a large increase,	Er fand mit manchem Sohn Unzehl- bar sich gesegnet;
Worn out with business, did at length debate	Doch alt, und durch die Last der Sorgen matt gemacht,
10. To settle the succession of the state;	10. So war er, wer im Reich' ihm folgen solt, bedacht.
11. And pondering which of all his sons was fit	11. Er dachte welchem Sohn es möchte meist gebühren,
12/14. To reign and wage im- mortal war with wit,	12/14. Unendlich Zanck und Streit mit der Vernunft zu führen.

- Cried, "'Tis resolved, for Nature
pleads that he
Should only rule who most re-
sembles me.
15. Shadwell alone my perfect
image bears,
17. Shadwell alone of all my sons
is he
- 18/19. Who stands confirmed in
full stupidity.
The rest to some faint meaning
make pretence,
20. But Shadwell never deviates
into sense.
- 21/24. Some beams of wit on other
souls may fall,
Strike through and make a lucid
interval;
But Shadwell's genuine night ad-
mits no ray,
His rising fogs prevail upon the
day.
25. Besides his goodly fabric fills
the eye
26. And seems designed for
thoughtless majesty.
29. Heywood and Shirley were but
types of thee,
- 30/31. Thou last great prophet of
tautology.
Even I, a dunce of more renown
than they,
32. Was sent before but to pre-
pare the way,
34. To teach the nations in thy
greater name.
37. My warbling lute was but the
prelude to that glorious day,
43. Me thinks I see the new Arion
sail,
60. Here stopped the good old sire
and wept for joy,
- Und ruf': Es ist geschen! Denn
Hertz und Neigung schlisst,
Dass dieser herrschen soll, der mir
meist ähnlich ist.
15. Mein Stelpe alleine zeigt mein
Bild an seiner Stirn,
19. Mein Stelpe allein ist der von
allen meinen Söhnen,
- 22/23. Und die Undeutlichkeit am
klärsten uns vorstellt.
Der andern Meynung kan man
noch mit Müh' errathen,
26. Und auch im rechten Weg' aus
Irrthum sich nie findt.
- 27/30. Bissweilen fällt ein Funck
von Witz an andrer Seele,
Und blitzt ein kurzes Licht durch
die verstockte Höle;
Nur Stelpos Grönlands Nacht duldt
keinen solchen Riss,
Kenn't nichts als dürre Kält und
dicke Finsternüss.
31. Zu dem so findt man gleich,
wenn man sein Antlitz
schauet,
33. Dass Unbedachtsamkeit in vol-
ler Majestät
39. Zes' Zeidler, Schoch—sind—
nur arme Sünder; . . .
- 42-43. Du groszer Patriarch von
der Pritzmeisterey.
Ich selbst ein Dudentopf berühmter
als die andern,
45. Auf dass ich dir den Weg
bereitete, O Held,
46. Und deinem gröszern Ruhm
verkündigte der Welt.
53. Doch war mein Dudelsack ein
Vorspiel nur von dir,
55. Mich dünckt, ich hör anitzt
dich neuen Orpheus spielen.
- 87/88. Hier schwieg, gleich als vor
Freuden entzückt, der Greis,
und weint

61. In silent raptures of the hopeful boy.
 85/88. Here Flecknoe, as a place to fame well known,
 Ambitiously designed his Shadwell's throne.
 For ancient Decker prophecied long since
 That in this pile should reign a mighty prince.
 89. Born for a scourge of wit and flail of sense,
 94/95. Now empress Fame had published the renown
 Of Shadwell's coronation through the town.
 96/97. Roused by report of fame, the nations meet
 From near Bunhill and distant Watling-street.
 98/99. No Persian carpets spread the imperial way,
 But scattered limbs of mangled poets lay;
 103. But loads of Shadwell almost choked the way.
 104/105. Bilked stationers for yeomen stood prepared
 And Herringman³⁷ was captain of the guard.
 106/107. The hoary prince in majesty appeared,
 High on a throne of his own labor reared.
 109. Rome's other hope and pillar of the state.
 110/111. His brow thick fogs instead of glories grace,
 And lambent dulness played around his face.
- Die er an seinem Sohn erlebt, und fing mit beyden . . .
 121/124. Hans Sachs hatt dieses Haus vor allen wehrt geschätzt,
 Und hier des Stelpos Thron ehrgeitzig hingesezt:
 Denn es wuste eine Hex schon lang vorher zu sagen,
 Dass ein Tyrann allhier . . .
 127. Geborn dem Witz zu Trotz, und der Vernunft zur Bürd'.
 128/129. Nun hatte Fama schon (2d edit.), die nie mit Schweigen sündigt,
 Des Stelpos Kröhnungs-Tag der gantzen Stadt verkündigt,
 130/131. Es kahn'ein grosses Volk das Haus und Holf liess leer,
 Biss zu dem Gänse-Marckt vom Dreckwall, Mistberg her.
 132/133. Der Weg war nicht wie sonst belegt mit köstlichen Tapeten
 Statt derer lagen hier viel Bogen der Poeten.
 137. Doch Stelpos eigene Werck' erstickten all die andern:
 138/139. Betrogene Drucker War'n anstat der Leibwach' hier,
 Und S——³⁸ ging behertzt als Hauptmann allen für.
 140/141. Vor'm Fürsten sah man zuletzt das Volck sich neigen,
 Und ihn den Thron, den er selbst aufgericht, besteigen,
 Und ihm zur rechten Hand, Roms andre Hoffnung saas.
 144/145. Er war mit dicken Dampf gleich einer Wolck' umfangen,
 Und kecke Dumheit spielt 'um die verwelckte Wangen.

- 112/113. As Hannibal did to the
altars come,
Sworn by his sire a mortal foe to
Rome;
114. So Shadwell swore, nor
should his vow be vain,
- 115/117. That he till death truc
dullness would maintain;
And, in his father's right and
realm's defense,
Ne'er to have peace with wit nor
truce with sense.
118. The king himself the sacred
unction made,
- 126/127. His temples, last, with
poppies werę o'erspread,
That nodding seemed to conse-
crate his head.
- 128/129. Just at that point of time,
if fame not lie,
On his left hand twelve reverend
owls did fly,
- 130/136. So Romulus, 'tis sung, by
Tiber's brook,
Presage of sway from twice six
vultures took.
The admiring throng loud acclama-
tions make
And omens of his future empire
take.
The sire then shook the honours
of his head,
And from his brow damps of ob-
livion shed,
Full on the filial dullness: long he
stood,
138. At length burst out in this
prophetic mood:
- 139/142. Heavens bless my son!
from Ireland let him reign
To far Barbadoes on the western
main;
Of his dominion may no end be
known
- 146/147. Als einsten Hannibal,
vors Vatters Altar tobt,
Und ewige Feindschafft Rom mit
einem Eid anlobt'
148. So schwur auch Stelpo hier,
und wahrlich nicht vergebens
- 149/151. Dass er wolt' unermüdt
Zeit seines gantzen Lebens
Ein Feind der Reinlichkeit der
deutschen Sprache seyn,
Und keinen Frieden nicht mit der
Vernunft gehn ein,
152. Der König wolt' auch jetzt die
Salbung selbst verrichten,
156. Ihm wurd hernach ein Krantz
von Blumen aufgesetzt,
157. Itzt sinkend als im Schlaf
sich neigten vor der Stirn.
- 160/161. Zwölff Eulen sahe man,
wenn nicht die Leute lügen,
Im selben Augenblick Ehrwürdig
vor ihm fliegen;
- 162/168. Und weil die Adler einst
den Euln in Anzahl gleich.
Dem kühnen Romulus verkündig-
ten das Reich,
So wurd auch jetzt vom Volck die
Deutung angenommen,
Und jeder strebt im Wunsch dem
andern vorzukommen.
Es war der alte Greyss hierüber
sehr erfreut,
Und schüttelte vom Kopff Dämpf
der Vergessenheit
An seines Sohnes Stirn. Lang
stand er wie entzückt,
170. Zuletzt brach der prophet in
diese Wörter aus:
- 171/173. Der Himmel segne dich
du Zier von meinem Hauss,
Dass deine Herrschafft nie mög'
seines gleichen haben,
Und sich von Schweitzerland er-
strecke bis in Schwaben

- And greater than his father's be his throne;
144. He paused, and all the people cried "Amen."
- 145/146. Then thus continued he: "My son advance Still in new impudence, new ignorance.
- 147/148. Success let others teach, learn thou from me Pangs without birth and fruitless industry.
- 149/151. Let "Virtuosos" in five years be writ,
- Yet not one thought accuse thy toil of wit.
Let gentle George (Etherege) in triumph tread the stage,
154. And in their folly show the writer's wit.
- 155/156. Yet still thy fools shall stand in thy defence
And justify thy author's want of sense.
- 157/162. Let them all by thy own model made
Of dullness and desire no foreign aid,
That they to future ages may be known,
Not copies drawn, but issue of thy own.
Nay, let thy men of wit too be the same,
All full of thee and differing but in name.
165. And when false flowers of rhetoric thou wouldst cull
- 166/167. Trust nature, do not labor to be dull;
But write thy best and top, and in each line
175. Und man den Vater kaum erkenne vor dem Sohn,
177. Er schwieg, und alles Volck sagt': Aman.
- 178/179. Hernach so fuhr er fort: Mein liebster Sohn nimm du Beyds in Unwissenheit und in Unverschämtheit zu.
- 181/183. Lern'aber du von mir arbeiten ohne Nutzen;
Lern wie man lange Zeit in Kindes-Nöhten ringt,
185. Und(lass) Lohenstein und Gryph ein prächtig Trauerspiel, Schreiben,
188. Lass die mit groszer Müh'oft Jahr und Tag nachsinnen,
194. Lass ihn (Bostel) wie im Triumph deine Bühn beziehen,
197. Und des Verfassers Witz in deiner Thorheit zeigen;
- 198/199. Weil jeder Narr den du in deinem Singspiel weist,
Dein wahres Bildnüs ist, und ewig Stelpo heisst.
- Mach, dass man nicht erkenn, wem du den Vorzug giebst,
Und dass du als Papa die gleich mit jehnen liebst.
- 200/203. Lass deine Helden auch mit jenen sich verpaaren
Und unterscheid sie im Nahmen mit den Narren.
204. Sieh' aber zu, wenn du nach Reim, und Versen fühlest.
- 206/207. Vertrau der Natur, schreib was dir erst fällt ein,
Und brich dir nicht den Kopf ein Dudentopf zu sein.
- 208/209. Lass deine Feder nicht an Fremdling sich vergaffen;



- 171/172. Nor let false friends
seduce thy mind to fame
By arrogating Jonson's hostile
name;
175. Thou art my blood, where
Jonson has no part;
183. Promised a play and dwindle
to a farce?
- 199/201. With whatever gall thou
setst thyself to write
Thy inoffensive satires never
bite;
- In thy felonious heart though
venom lies;
- 210/214. He said, but his last
words were scarcely heard,
For Bruce and Longville had a trap
prepared,
And down they sent the yet de-
claming bard.
Sinking he left his drugged robe
behind,
- 216/217. The mantel fell to the
young prophet's part
With a double portion of his
father's art.
- Was hat Euripides mit dir und mir
zu schaffen,
211. Du bist mein Blut, an dem
hat dieser gar kein Theil.
- 254/255. Und weil er einst ent-
fernt die Traur-Spiel von der
Heerd,
So mach das die verkehrt zu einem
Lust-Spiel werd'.
- 232/233. Zeig, dass dein frevrend
Hertz viel Gall und Gift
umstricke
- Ob Taratantel gleich es gleich nur
Lachen wircke;
- 264/269. Er sagt', und hatte kaum
das letzte Wort gesprochen,
Als V—l welchen hier den falsch
Grund gebrochen,
Ihn taumelnd unter sich auf einem
Fallbrett sandt';
Er sanck, und liess' in Eil zu einem
Unterpfand
Sein Schurtzfell Stelpe nach, worin
er mit viel Segen
Verduppelt seine Kunst.

But Wernicke did more than transform an English satire into a genuine German satire. Through *Hans Sachs* he introduced a direct personal literary criticism which since the time of Gottfried von Strassburg, had not existed in Germany. Hans Sachs and Postel represent two widely divergent extremes in poetic form. At the one extreme stands Hans Sachs, the best representative author of the deteriorated poetry of the sixteenth century "Meistersänger" with its unpoetic "Knittelvers"; at the other extreme

³⁷ Herringman was a noted printer of that time. Formerly he was Dryden's printer and Shadwell made him a journeyman of Herringman in the satire against him. Globe edition, p. 147. Note.

³⁸ S— was Spiering, Postel's printer. See Bodmer in *Critische Schriften*, p. 127, 1741.

is Postel, a representative writer of the highly picturesque and bombastic poetry borrowed from the Italian, Marino, with its French imported Alexandrines. Hence this direct personal criticism of Hans Sachs and Postel is of greater significance than a mere personal lampoon, as it is a real criticism of existing literary defects; and like Dryden in *Mac Flecknoe*, Wernicke in *Hans Sachs* extended his criticism to other poets and their works.

Before resorting to the satire, Wernicke had endeavored to reform the poetry of his country by frankly and directly pointing out its insipidity, as is evident from the foreword of his works (1704 Edition)³⁹ Although his ideals were in advance of the times and were rejected by his contemporaries, his introduction of the satire with the exaggerated personalities, paved the way for the toleration and appreciation of sane, direct personal literary criticism.

a. Hunold's Connection with Hans Sachs

The satire also brought literary cliques and encouraged literary feuds, such as the one now in progress at Hamburg, and the later Swiss-Gottsched and Lessing-Klotz controversies. In Hamburg the feud between Wernicke and Postel had run its course, but the influence of *Mac Flecknoe* continued indirectly through *Hans Sachs*. The controversy was now taken up by Christian Friedrich Hunold (1680-1721), a debauched Hamburg opera writer. Under the pretense of defending Hoffmannswaldau he entered the field against Wernicke with a satirical comedy, *Dem Thörichten Prietschmeister, oder Schwermenden Poeten, in einer lustigen Comoede* (Coblentz, 1704).

In the preface Menantes (Hunold's assumed name) says that he is entering the controversy, since Wernicke had "einen ge-

³⁹ "Man hält davor; und man hoffet es werde dem Verfasser von keinem vernünftigen Menschen übel gedeutet werden, dass er seine Meinung so frey heraus saget." . . . "Man ist gänzlich der Meinung, dass was die Frantzösische Schreib-Art zu der heutigen Vollkommenheit gebracht hat, meistens daher rühre; dass sobald nicht ein gutes Buch an das Licht kommt, dass nicht demselben eine sogenannte Critique gleich auf den Fuss nachfolgen solte.—Sintemahl dadurch ohne alle Ergernüss dem Leser den Verstand geöffnet, und der Verfasser in gebührenden Schrancken gehalten wird."

lehrten und wohlangesehenen Mann auf das schändlichste in einem Pasquil, Hans Sachs genannt, angegriffen,—und mir durch die größten und unflätigsten Columnien die Feder aus der Hand gerissen.”⁴⁰ The theme is the same as in the original. Wernicke is the prince of dullness (Erzpriestschmeister), and in the form of an anagram two fool roles are assigned to him in the comedy. As “Wecknarr” he is the arch-fool, and as “Narrweck” he is a merry fool of the vulgar type who falls in love with the daughter of a cobbler and marries her. The motives found in *Hans Sachs* which he borrows are: the crowning of the opponent (with pitch instead of flowers); the blessing pronounced by the spirit of Hans Sachs, who crowns him as his successor as king of poets, which runs:

“Ich segne dich: sey dum
In lästern sey nicht stum
Was gleich ist mache krum
Und frage nichts darum.”

the quotations from and parodies on the works of the opponent (found largely in voluminous foot-notes); the accusation of plagiarism (dwelt upon at great length although unfounded); the music motive (introducing the bagpipe and the lute); the motive that Wernicke’s works were unsold (and were in junk shops); and finally the personal ridicule of the opponent which deteriorates into personal abuse.

b. Bodmer’s Connection with Hans Sachs

The influence of Dryden continued indirectly through the revival of *Hans Sachs*. After the Hamburg literary feud, *Hans Sachs* disappeared for a time, but was again revived in the next great literary controversy which took place between Bodmer and Gottsched and their allies. In this controversy Bodmer intro-

⁴⁰ Hunold refers to the epigram, “An den Deutschen Maevius” beginning:

“Freund hast du keinen Witz, und willst doch etwas schreiben
Das dem Verleger nicht soll auf dem Halse Bleiben,”

which Wernicke directed against him for the numerous attacks since the appearance of *Hans Sachs*. See *Palaestra*, p. 42 ff.

duced Wernicke's satire as a "Streitschrift" against his opponents. Although primarily interested in the religious epic, like Dryden, the satire always fascinated Bodmer. As early as 1720, he was planning to write satires.⁴¹ In 1737 he translated two books of Butler's *Hudibras*,⁴² and ten years later Pope's *Dunciad*,⁴³ an imitation of *Mac Flecknoe*, which he had originally intended to adapt to German conditions⁴⁴ as Wernicke had *Mac Flecknoe*. He was also familiar with Swift's *The Battle of Books*, as in his *Charakter der Deutschen Gedichte* (1734) he adapts Swift's characterization of Dryden to Amthor, a contemporary poet.⁴⁵ Together with Wieland, Bodmer wrote *Edward Grandison's Geschichte in Görlitz*,⁴⁶ as a reply to Schönaich's *Die ganze Ästhetik in einer Nuss*,⁴⁷ and he also encouraged Wieland in writing the *Ankündigung einer Dunciade für die Deutschen*.⁴⁸

Bodmer was first introduced to *Hans Sachs* through a letter from J. U. König, dated March 28, 1724,⁴⁹ in which Wernicke's works and the Postel-Hunold-Wernicke feuds were briefly

⁴¹ Leonhard Meister, *Ueber Bodmer, öffentlicher Lehrer der Sittenlehre und der Geschichte an der Kunstschule zu Zürich. Nebst Fragmente aus seinen Briefen*. Zürich, 1783. See Bodmer's letter to Meister dated May 5, 1720, p. 76.

⁴² *Versuch einer Deutschen Uebersetzung von Samuel Butlers Hudibras, einem Satyrischen Gedichte wider die Schwermer und Independenten, zur Zeit Carls des Ersten*, Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1737.

⁴³ *Alexander Popen's Duncias mit Historischen Noten und einem Schreiben des Uebersetzers an die Obotriten*, Zürich, 1747.

⁴⁴ See Introduction to the *Dunciade* "An meine Freunde die Obertriten" and his letter to Sulzer, September 12, 1747, in *Briefen der Schweizer Bodmer, Sulzer, Gessner. Aus Gleims lit. Nachlasse*, by W. Körte, p. 69, Zürich, 1804.

⁴⁵ See *Bodmer Denkschrift*, pp. 224-225.

⁴⁶ See *Euphorion*, Vol. 18, pp. 68-89, and Vol. 19, pp. 66-91.

⁴⁷ *Die ganze Ästhetik in einer Nuss, oder neologisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1754. See Lessing's Review in the *Berlinischen privil. Zeitung*, 98. Stück, vom 15. August, 1754.

⁴⁸ *Ankündigung einer Dunciade für die Deutschen. Nebst dem verbesserten Hermann*, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1755. Gessner, Gleim, Sulzer and Ramler took an active interest in this work. See Körte, *Loco citato*, p. 228 ff., p. 234 ff., p. 245 ff.

⁴⁹ *Literarische Pamphlete aus der Schweiz*, p. 32 ff., Zürich, 1781.

sketched. König paid a high tribute to Wernicke and saw in *Hans Sachs* a "Stachelschrift von solcher Schönheit, Stärke, spitziger, feiner und scherzhafter Lebendigkeit," which could be used in a literary controversy, and he himself planned to re-credit it and use it against Brockes and the Hamburg poets but his plan miscarried.⁵⁰ In the following year, as is seen from his letter⁵¹ to Bodmer, dated April 30, 1725, König sent him a transcript of *Hans Sachs* as well as a copy of Hunold's *Des Thörichten Prietschmeisters*.

Although König introduced Wernicke to Bodmer, to Bodmer, however, belongs the credit of introducing him to Germany, and through his publications Wernicke became a renowned poet. Bodmer regarded him as the first German who criticized poetry frankly and independently according to firmly established principles.⁵² The treatise on imagination,⁵³ published by Bodmer and

⁵⁰ See letter to Bodmer, June 27, 1726, which contains a list of the publications that were to appear in the Boberfeldischen Gesellschaft. No. 20 was "Hans Sachs, Heldengedicht mit Erklärungen der dunkeln Stellen und Nachricht von dem Autore und seinen Gegnern." Published by Brandl. *Brockes*, p. 148 ff.

⁵¹ See letter published by Brandl in *Anglia*, Vol. I, p. 460 ff. König sent Bodmer a partial translation of "Paradise Lost" by Haake and "Das andre ist das Heldengedicht Hans Sachs, welches ich abschreiben lassen und unter welcher eigenhändig die Anmerkungen dazu gesetzt, die wenigen bekannt wie mir, . . ."

⁵² "Er urtheilte auf festgesetzte und beständige Grundsätze; welches vor ihm noch keiner gethan hatte. Er betrachtete die Gedichte der Deutschen ohne Vorurtheile, und sah auf die Wahrheit der Sache und nicht auf das Aussehen oder den Beifall anderer. Aufrichtigkeit und Freiheit, mit Bescheidenheit ohne Schmeichelei, führten ihm die Feder." See *Nachricht von dem Ursprung der Kritik bei den Deutschen*, in *Crit. Schriften*, I, Part 1, 103, 1741.

⁵³ *Von dem Einfluss und Gebrauch der Einbildungs-Kraft; zur Verbesserung des Geschmacks*. . . Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1727. Prior to this in the critical poems, *Charakter der Teutschen Gedichte* (1734), he lauds Wernicke's keen criticism

"Den scharfen Wernicke, der Wahr und Falsch nicht mengte,
Und seinen reinen Witz mit Unwitz nicht besprengte
Der das geschminkte Nichts in Waldaus Lied erkannt,
Und der's auch ohne Furcht ein buntes Nichts genannt. . ."

I quote from "Kritischen Lobgedichten und Elegien," p. 40, Zürich, 1747.

Breitinger in 1727, shows the influence of the rational criticism of Wernicke. In the introduction, Bodmer quotes from *Hans Sachs*, by way of illustration, to substantiate his contention that German poets do not base their criticism on reason and only incidentally criticize justly, "wie Hr. Warneck sich ausdrücket, aus Irrthum sich auf dem rechten Wege finden."⁵⁴ This results in romantic heroes in the tragedy, and clowns (Hans-Würste) in the comedy.

During his controversy with Gottsched, Bodmer edited and four times published *Hans Sachs* with commentaries:⁵⁵ in a satire against the Leipzig school he borrowed motives from it;⁵⁶ in his discussion of Wernicke in the treatise on the origin of German criticism he dealt with it and with *Dem Thörichten Prietschmeister*;⁵⁷ and in the discussion of the German theater he quoted from it.⁵⁸ In the preface and footnotes of the first edition (1741),

⁵⁴ Wernicke lines 25-26 are:

"Mein Stelpe ist's allein, der niemals nicht nachsinnt,
Und auch im rechten Weg', aus Irrthum sich nie findet."

⁵⁵ First time in *Sammlung Critischer, Poetischer, und anderer geistvoller Schriften, Zur Verbesserung des Urtheils und des Wizes in den Wercken der Wohlredtheit und der Poesie*, I, Part I, p. 44 ff., Zürich, Bey Conrad Orell und Comp, 1741.

Second time in his first complete edition of Wernicke, *N. Wernnikens, ehemaligen Königl. Dänischen Staatsraths, und Residenten in Paris, Poetische Versuche in Ueberschriften; Wie auch in Helden- und Schäfergedichten. Neue und verbesserte Auflage*. P. 115 ff. Zürich, bey David Gessner, Gebrüdere, 1749.

Third time in *Sammlung der Zürcherischen Streitschriften zur Verbesserung des Deutschen Geschmacks, wider die Gottschedische Schule, von 1741 bis 1744. Vollständig in XII. Stücken*. Neue Ausgabe. II, part I, Zürich, Bey Conrad Orell und Comp., 1753.

Fourth time, reprint of the 1749 edition, 1763.

⁵⁶ "Das Complot der herrschenden Poeten," in *Crit. Schriften*, part 3, 1742.

⁵⁷ "Nachricht von dem Ursprung der Kritik bei den Deutschen." In *Crit. Schriften I*, Part I, pp. 83-180, 1741.

⁵⁸ *Critische Betrachtungen und freye Untersuchungen zum Aufnehmen und Verbesserung der deutschen Schau-Bühne, mit einer Zuschrift an die Frau Neuberin*. Bern, 1743. Bodmer attributes the popularity of Gottsched's play to the actors who performed them, just as Wernicke at-

Bodmer sets forth his reasons for bringing *Hans Sachs* to light again. He esteems this satire for its literary qualities, and not because it is a controversial pamphlet (*Zeitungsblatt*). The many witty jests, the instructive raillery, the manner of expression, the ideas, and pictures (*Gemälde*) it contains per se appeal to him. Then, too, he believes there are still many fools among the poets of his own time who might profit by reading such a satire.⁵⁹

That he regarded Gottsched a "Stelpo," is evident from lines 39-40.

"Schoch, Zeidler, Zes' und Titz, und andre Reim-Erfinder
Sind, wann man sie mit dir vergleicht, nur arme Sünder."⁶⁰

Bodmer again in 1753 directly connects Gottsched and his school with *Hans Sachs*, as is evident from the collection of treatises published under the title: *Zürcherischen Streitschriften—wider die Gottschedische Schule*. *Hans Sachs* is published in this collection. The four editions by Bodmer bespeak the wide circulation which this satire enjoyed during the time when the Swiss-Leipzig controversy was in progress.

The year following the publication of the first edition of *Hans Sachs*, Bodmer published a prose satire, *Das Complot der herrschenden Poeten* against the Leipzig school of poets. Motives for this were taken from *Hans Sachs* and the *Dunciad*. Bodmer compares himself to Wernicke in the passage which he uses to prove that the Gottsched school will be unsuccessful in the endeavor to shelve his own works. "Wernicke hatte in schweren Tagen und unter einer Welt voll Pfuscher die Rechte der göttributed the renown of Postel's plays to the actors and singers. In a footnote (p. 51) he cites sixteen lines from *Hans Sachs* (lines 58-64).

⁵⁹ "Er (the editor) zweifelt nicht, dass man nicht auf dem heutigen Tag noch eine zimliche Anzahl solcher Stelpo antreffen werde, welche den ersten Stelpo nicht verleugnen können." See Bodmer's introduction to the first edition.

⁶⁰ In a note to Schoch in the first edition, Bodmer says: "Hr. Gottsched leget diesem in dem Hauptstücke seiner "Dichtkunst für die Deutschen," wo er von den Hirtenliedern handelt, ein grosses Lob bei, und meint er habe in seinem Blumengarten viel Ehre eingelegt . . . Allein die Strophen die er zur Probe anführet, und vor ungemein ausgiebt, bekräftigen vielmehr das Urteil unsers Satyrici."

lichen Chritik heraus gebracht und verfochten, aber ward zur Strafe in die unterirdischen Gewölber des hamburgischen Doms zu Spirings (Postel's printer) Makulatur geworfen"⁶¹ Instead of making a dead poet the hero Bodmer substitutes "den herrschenden Geschmack" (Gottsched's taste). His hundred sons (Wernicke's countless sons) form a conspiracy against the Swiss school, "each of whom was a poet king, each was powerful enough to rule the monarchy of his father." They make speeches similar to the monologues in *Hans Sachs* in which they quote and parody their own works; they are attended not only by their disappointed publishers but by printers, journalists, and all connected with publishing. Their sire king appeared to them as a spirit (blue vapor) which assumed the form of a throne occupied by the king transformed into human shape. Like Flecknoe, he was ridiculously large and wore a mantel but a fool's mantel. Majesty enveloped him as he sat upon the throne, the antichrist (Dryden's foe) of wit. The sons swear allegiance to the taste in their own works not by *Loves Kingdom* (a play of Shadwell) but by "Stelpo," etc., and vow to be loyal despite proof, reason, and the ridicule of satires. The blessing pronounced upon them by the sire king also contains the extent of the realm. "von Pommern bis in Schwaben, von Crayon bis in Westphalan." "Und sich von Schweitzerland erstrecke biss in Schwaben" (*H. S.*, l. 173).⁶² Finally at the conclusion of his speech the king disappears, and his spirit in the form of a cloud settles upon each of his sons as a portion of his art and purifies their minds of reason. Like Dryden and Wernicke, Bodmer criticizes the poets and the poetry of his time in his satire.

c. Ramler's Connection with *Hans Sachs*

After Bodmer, Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725-1798) was the only author who edited *Hans Sachs* in the eighteenth century. His edition contains merely the first sixty-nine lines of Wernicke's satire, and is only incidentally included in the book of epigrams

⁶¹ *Loco citato*, p. 163.

⁶² Bodmer, *Loco citato*, p. 217.

(among which were many of Wernicke's) edited in 1780.⁶³ Like Lessing, Ramler had a great fondness for the epigram, and together they had edited the epigrams of Logau (1759). Several times before undertaking this edition,⁶⁴ in which he was encouraged by Lessing,⁶⁵ he alludes to Wernicke in his criticism.

Lessing wrote polemics which are unquestionably the most representative of the direct personal criticism. He usually contended for a principle, attacking the opponent and pointing out the fallacy of the principles advocated by him. At times he holds his opponent up to ridicule, as for instance Gottsched in the seventeenth *Literaturbrief*, or Klotz in the *Antiquarischen Briefen* (1768-1769). Of the latter the fifty-first to the fifty-seventh are entirely personal and in the fifty-fourth he quotes from Wernicke.⁶⁶ The quotation is from Wernicke's most scathing epigram, "An den Deutschen Moevius," directed against Hunold, which in spirit and even in motives is akin to Dryden's most poignant array of Shadwell in the second part of *Absolom and Achitophel*. Lessing's familiarity with Dryden and Wernicke and his keen appreciation of their wit make it probable that he knew both *Mac Flecknoe* and *Hans Sachs*, but as he only planned to write a burlesque epic⁶⁷ without really writing a satire, he neither quotes nor cites them; but after his combat with them, Gottsched, Klotz, and even Goeze, were fit candidates for the throne of Mac Flecknoe or Stelpo.

d. Criticism of *Mac Flecknoe* and *Hans Sachs* by Other German Critics

Mac Flecknoe and *Hans Sachs* are frequently referred to

⁶³ *Christian Wernickens Ueberschriften. Nebst Opitzens, Tischerings, Andreas Gryphius and Adam Olearius epigrammatischen Gedichten.* Leipzig, 1780.

⁶⁴ *D. N. L.* 39, p. 523.

⁶⁵ See letters of Lessing to Ramler in 1779.

⁶⁶ "Mein wehrtester Herr, ein andres ist es einem Weihrauch streuen, und ein andres, einem, mit Wernicke zu reden, das Rauchfass um den Kopf zu schmeiszen. . . . Ich will glauben, dass es blosz ihre Ungeschicklichkeit in Schwenkung des Rauchfasses ist: aber ich habe dem ohngeachtet die Beulen, und fühle sie." See *Lessings Werke*, *D. N. L.*, XIX, p. 241.

⁶⁷ See *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assn.*, p. 579 (1909).

throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century by German critics aside from Bodmer and Ramler. *Die Britische Bibliothek* (1758)⁶⁸ says that the laughing satire is more biting than the serious, and that to the former kind Dryden has a just claim, as his *Mac Flecknoe* crowns him with eternal laurels.

Schmid in his *Theorie der Poesie*⁶⁹ (1767) emphasizes the personal element in Dryden's satires, which he illustrates by saying that *Mac Flecknoe* was written against the wretched rhymer who became his successor as poet laureate.

Gerstenberg directly compares Klotz with *Mac Flecknoe* in a review of the Lessing-Klotz controversy concerning *Laokoon* (1769).⁷⁰ "Klotz der den Verstand der meisten Dingen so sonderbar, wie mit Versatz verfehlet, dasz er gleich jenem Mac Flecknoe bey Dryden, ein Gelübde gethan zu haben scheint

"Ne'er to have truce with sense."

In his *Geschichte der komischen Literatur*,⁷¹ Flögel sketches the life and satirical works of Dryden and attaches considerable importance to *Mac Flecknoe*, giving the circumstances of its origin and translating in prose lines 15 to 20, to which he adds: "Dieses ist einer der besten und scharfsten Satiren im Englischen." By way of illustration he quotes the characterization of Shadwell:

"In prose and verse, was owned without dispute
Through all the realm of nonsense absolute."

He states, however, that he is too cruel to Shadwell and oversteps the bounds of truth. The chief motives of the satire are then analyzed, and in his discussion of Wernicke he also gives Dryden as the source for *Hans Sachs*.

Herder admired Dryden as a lyricist, as we shall see later, but was not favorably inclined to the satire. His criticism of Wernicke is for the most part negative, but he mentions *Hans Sachs* in the *Adrastea* (1801),⁷² as the "Heldengedicht, das er gegen den

⁶⁸ In connection with the life of the Duke of Buckingham, p. 396.

⁶⁹ Chr. Schmid, *Theorie der Poesie*, p. 228, Berlin, 1767.

⁷⁰ In the *Hamburgischen Neuen Zeitung*, Aug. 7, 1769.

⁷¹ Carl F. Flögel, *Geschichte der komischen Literatur*, II, pp. 363-368.

⁷² *Herders Werke*, Düntzer, vol. 14, p. 735 ff.

damals blühenden Postel machte." While he asserts that "Nation- und Zeitmäszig folgt daraus wenig," yet he praises Wernicke by saying his depictions are so true that page after page would apply equally well to Germany in 1801 as in 1700, and concludes by imploring the spirits and critics: "thut Eure Kräfte, Eure Launen zusammen, um uns den Lohenstein und Hoffmannswaldau, den neuen Postel und Stoppe aus den Gliedern zu treiben"!

2. OTHER SATIRES OF DRYDEN IN GERMANY

While *Mac Flecknoe* left a deep impression upon German criticism, the other satires of Dryden did not appear prominently and seem to have exerted but little influence. *Absolom and Achitophel*, *The Medal*, and *The Hind and the Panther* are incidentally discussed by critics. Of these *Absolom and Achitophel* plays the most prominent role, due to the famous character sketch of Zimri (Buckingham), which the author himself regarded a model. A part of the Zimri sketch appeared in *The Spectator* (Nos. 163 and 222), translated by Mrs. Gottsched; the whole Zimri sketch is translated in prose in the *Britischen Bibliothek*,⁷³ accompanied with the remark that it fits the Duke's character. The review of Hume's *History of Great Britain*, also in the *Britischen Bibliothek*, lauds the great talent of Dryden, but regrets that in common with other poets he produced so much that was crude, coarse, and smutty, but concludes: "Doch unter der grossen Anzahl unwürdigen Geburten, entdecken einige kleine Stücke, und der grösste Theil seines Absolom und Achitophel so viel Genie, einen solchen Reichtum des Ausdrucks . . ." ⁷⁴ Flögel believes *The Rehearsal* to be a better satire than *Absolom and Achitophel*, however, he pronounces the latter "Eine beissende Satire."⁷⁵ Blankenburg briefly describes it and calls attention to its popularity by citing the two translations made soon after its appearance,⁷⁶ while Bouterwek designates it the most artistic poem of Dryden.⁷⁷

⁷³ Loco citato, p. 86, 1758.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 622, 1757.

⁷⁵ Loco citato, II, p. 263.

⁷⁶ Friedrich von Blankenburg, *Litterarische Zusätze zu Johann Georg Sulzers allgemeiner Theorie der schönen Künste*, III, p. 57^a, Leipzig, 1796.

Flögel and Blankenburg both include *The Medal* in their discussion of Dryden's satires. The former translates in part the prefaced epistle to the Whigs, where Dryden tells them: "Rail at me abundantly, and not to break a custom, do it without wit."⁷⁸

Schmid regards *The Hind and the Panther* a personal satire,⁷⁹ directed against the Whigs; and Flögel analyzes and discusses it. Bouterwek ranks it above *Religio Laici* poetically, but thinks it is so long that it becomes monotonous and is overburdened with unpoetic historical references to the church and the politics of England.⁸⁰

3. "ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE SATIRE"

The criticism of Germany was not only influenced by the satires of Dryden, but also by the history and theory of the satire which he presented in his treatise *On the Origin and Progress of the Satire* (1693). This discourse contained a history of the satire from the beginning; an exhaustive comparison of the satirists Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, and his own theory as to the manner of writing a satire.

Dryden's treatise on the satire found its way into Germany shortly after Lessing's publication of his translation of Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poesie*. In 1762 it was translated and published by Nicolai, Lessing's co-worker, in his *Vermischten Schriften* which, as we shall see later, also contained Warton's *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, and the translations of some of the best English and French critical works. The translation was most probably undertaken at Lessing's suggestion, as Nicolai cooperated with him. It does not include the general and personal matter in the beginning, and wisely omits the unessential parenthetical phrases thrown in for illustration, as for instance, "like my friend, 'The Plain Dealer.'" Nicolai's translation does not lack in clearness for the German reader, but his style lacks the

⁷⁷ Friedrich Bouterwek, *Geschichte der Künste und Wissenschaften*, Vol VIII, p. 48 ff. Göttingen, 1810.

⁷⁸ Loco Citato, II, p. 364.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 365.

⁸⁰ Loco citato, VIII, p. 49.

finish which is so characteristic of the prose of Dryden and Lessing.

The esteem in which other critics held Nicolai at this time, is reflected by their familiarity with the Nicolai translation. Schmid opens his chapter on the satire with: "Cesabanus und Dryden haben die gründlichsten Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Alterthümer der Satyre gemacht," then cites Nicolai's translation.⁸¹ In dealing with Dorset as a satirist, he quotes Dryden: "Graf Dorset hat nach Drydens Urtheil die Kunst der feineren Spöttelei verstanden."⁸² Flögel regards Dryden's treatise on the Greek and Roman satire an authority: "Sie ist mit Geschmack und Gründlichkeit abgefasst."⁸³ Blankenburg is even more emphatic in his commendation. After outlining the satire, he directs the reader to Dryden as the one authority: "Wer mit einer ausführlichen Untersuchung hierübergedient seyn mag, den verweisen wir auf Drydens Abhandlung von dem Ursprung und Fortgang der Satire."⁸⁴

Although less emphatic in his commendation, Bouterwek regards it an exhaustive treatment: "Besonders lesenswerth ist seine (Dryden's) ausführliche Zueignung oder eigentliche Abhandlung über die didaktische Satyre."⁸⁵

CHAPTER II. ESSAY ON DRAMATIC POESIE (1668)

I. EARLY NOTED BY GERMAN CRITICS

Aside from his satires, Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poesie* exerted a greater influence upon Germany than any of his other critical works. While the translation and Bodmer's revival of *Mac Flecknoe* preceded the translation of the *Essay*, the latter preceded the translation of the treatise *On the Origin and Prog-*

⁸¹ Loco citato, p. 235.

⁸² Ibid., p. 238.

⁸³ Loco citato, I, p. 278. Throughout the work he quotes Dryden, I., 175, 278; II, 4, 7, 20, 354 ff., 364-371, 384; III, 464; IV, 83, 90, 217, 300.

⁸⁴ Loco citato, IV, p. 129.

⁸⁵ Loco citato, VIII, p. 55.

ress of the Satire, and was the first work of Dryden noted by German critics. Morhof, in his *Unterricht der deutschen Sprache und Poesie*¹ (1684), discusses and in a chapter on English poetry analyzes it at some length. One of the interesting features of his discussion is that of the four authors dealt with in the *Essay*, Shakspeare, Fletcher, Beaumont, and Jonson. He says that he has read nothing of Shakspeare and Fletcher, and limits his analysis to Jonson. While he concedes, "Dryden hat gar wohl gelehrt von der Dramatica Poesi geschrieben," he regards his claim that the present English writers are superior to all moderns, as too presumptuous. In his "Polyhistor"² (1688-1692), Morhof also twice mentions the *Essay*, and like most German critics in the eighteenth century, speaks of the author as the "celebrated Dryden."

Jöcher's *Gelehrte Lexicon*, (1715)³ characterizes Dryden as "einer von den vortrefflichsten Poeten und Comödien-Schreibern in Engelland, welcher sonderlich sehr viele Schauspiele, auch einen gelehrten Tractat von Dramatik Poesy geschrieben."

As early as 1730 Gottsched quotes from the *Essay* Dryden's definition of humor: "The ridiculous Extravagance of Conversation, wherein one Men differs from all others."⁴ Like Morhof, he accuses Dryden of presumption in the claim that the English surpass all moderns in the use of humor. He regards Jonson the authority on the rules for the English stage, but adds: "darin Dryden auch viel Wercks macht." He knew the *Essay* only through the French translation of the *Spectator*, for his knowledge of English was so limited that he could not even quote accurately, as is evident from the English passages in the *Critischen Dichtkunst*.

¹ See the second edition, p. 226 ff., Lübeck und Frankfurt, 1702.

² See fourth edition, I, p. 763 and 1013, Lubecae, 1747.

³ See the third edition, p. 940, Leipzig, 1733.

⁴ *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen*, p. 639, Leipzig, 1730.

2. ITS RELATION TO LESSING AND HIS SEVENTEENTH *Literaturbrief*

Prior to Lessing's connection with the *Essay*, however, the significance of its relation to Germany was inconsequential. The close relation of the *Essay* to Lessing, especially to the utterances in the seventeenth *Literaturbrief*, has not been adequately treated. Erich Schmidt only vaguely suggests the relation by adding to the sketch of the *Essay*, the single sentence: "Ein Jahr später schrieb Lessing den siebzehnten *Literaturbrief*."⁵ Karl Borinski asserts, that it is quite evident that Dryden is Lessing's guide in the English theater, but does not specify the connection between the *Essay* and the *Literaturbrief*.⁶ Meisnest directly connects the *Essay* with Lessing's utterances on Shakspeare in the *Literaturbrief*, but he did not use the internal evidence to reach his conclusion, and his argument in favor of Nicolai's influence is based on a wrong date.⁷

Before presenting the evidence of relationship between the two, a sketch of Lessing's early acquaintance with Dryden through Voltaire, and Gottsched's later connection with the *Essay*, are necessary for the understanding and the partial justification of the attack upon Gottsched in the *Literaturbrief*. As Erich Schmidt has shown, Lessing was introduced to Shakspeare through Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglais* (1732).⁸ Similarly it may be said that Lessing was also introduced to Dryden through Voltaire's *Lettres*, for the characterization of Shakspeare as a tragedian, and the quotation of "to be or not to be" from *Hamlet* are directly followed in the same *Lettre* with a characterization of Dryden, and the quotation of the well known lines from *Aureng-Zebe*: "When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat." While not altogether

⁵ Lessing, *Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Werke*, I, p. 376, Berlin, 1884.

⁶ Lessing, I, p. 111, Berlin, 1900.

⁷ Lessing and Shakspeare, *Publication of the Modern Language Association*, XIX, p. 234 ff. (1904). Meisnest dates the review made by Nicolai of the *Neuen Probestücke der englischen Schaubühne* (*Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, VI, Stück 1, pp. 60-74), 1758, while it was not published until 1760, one year after the publication of the *Literaturbrief*.

⁸ Loco citato, I, p. 166.

favorable to Dryden, Voltaire's criticism proclaims him an "Auteur plus fécond que judicieux, qui auroit une reputation sans mélange, s'il n'avoit fait qui la dixième partie de ses ouvrages."

The *Lettres* of Voltaire, which discussed among other topics English tragedy and comedy, did much toward inspiring Lessing to take up the cause of the English drama and Dryden, just as the *Spectator* had first called the attention of Bodmer to Milton and his epic, *Paradise Lost*. The *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters* (1750), edited jointly by Lessing and Mylius, contains a translation of Voltaire's *Lettres*. Lessing, however, planned the work, wrote the introduction, and contributed most of the articles.⁹ In the introduction of the *Beyträge* he says that one purpose of the work will be to translate ancient plays, then modern dramas little known in Germany, especially English and Spanish. He then enumerates a number of dramatists, and among the English commends Shakspeare, Dryden, Wicherly, Vanbrugh, Cibber, and Congreve. "Diese sind alle Männer," he says, "die zwar eben so grosse Fehler als Schönheiten haben, von denen aber ein vernünftiger Nachahmer sich sehr vieles zu Nutzen machen kann." Lessing has enumerated here only the dramatists which Voltaire has discussed in the *Lettres*, and the faults and beauties, which he ascribes to them, are evidently a reflection of Voltaire's criticism.

Even though Lessing at this time still regarded Gottsched as the authority on the German stage, the introduction to the *Beyträge* shows that he is no longer fully in accord with Gottsched's idea of the German theater and that he has greater faith in the English drama as a model for the Germans. He regrets that only the French have been taken as a model, and continues: "Dadurch hat man aber unser Theater zu einer Einförmigkeit gebracht, die man sich auf alle mögliche Art zu vermeiden sich hätte bestreben sollen." He is more emphatic in his views in favor of the English, when he enumerates the list of English dramatists. "Shakspeare, Dryden,—sind Dichter, die man bey uns fast nur dem Namen nach kennet, und gleichwohl verdienen sie unsere Hoch-

⁹ See foreword to the *Theatralischen Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1754), in *Lessings Werke*, V, p. 10, edited by Boxberger.

achtung, sowohl als die gepriesenen französischen Dichter." Still more emphatic, and seemingly prophetic of the future course of the German stage, is the next utterance: "Das ist gewisz, wollte der Deutsche in der dramatischen Poesie seinem eigenen Naturelle folgen, so würde unsre Schaubühne mehr der englischen als französischen gleichen."

Lessing's utterances in the introduction of the *Beyträge* could hardly have escaped the notice of Gottsched, as he had but recently suffered defeat at the hands of the Swiss School of poets, when in 1748 the first cantos of Klopstock's *Messias* appeared. Translations of English plays were beginning to spring up here and there, and Gottsched's followers were daily deserting him. These translations were made a part of the repertoire of the German theatrical troops. At Leipzig, for instance, where Gottsched had enjoyed the dictatorship of the stage, Koch and his troop of players in 1752 successfully performed Weisse's translation of *The Devil to Pay* by Coffey. Gottsched harshly attacked not only this opera, but all English plays, and translators and performers of the translations, maintaining that they defiled the taste (Geschmack) of the German theater.¹⁰ This harsh criticism gave rise to a scandal in which many "Streitschriften" passed between Gottsched and his followers and their opponents.¹¹ Lessing followed this controversy with interest, as is evident from the review in the *Berlinischen privilegierten Zeitung*.¹² While assuming to take a non-partisan role, he defends *Den Teufel ist Los* in its essentials, and reiterates his claim made in the *Beyträge* by saying: "dasz es vielleicht nicht allzu wohl gethan sei, wenn wir unsre Bühne, die noch in der Bildung ist, auf das Einfache des französischen Geschmacks einschränken wollen." He robs Gottsched of the argument, that the English plays violate the rules of the drama, by simply granting that no English play is regular.

In 1752 (Bocage's) *Lettres sur le theatre Anglois*,¹³ containing

¹⁰ *Das Neuste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*, III, p. 128, 1753.

¹¹ Gustav Waniek, *Gottsched und die deutsche Litteratur seiner Zeit*, p. 619 ff., Leipzig, 1897. Cf. also J. Minor, *Christian Felix Weisse und seine Beziehung zur deutschen Literatur*, pp. 130-157.

¹² Dated July 21, 1753. Cf. *Lessings Werke*, IV, p. 175, in D. N. L.

¹³ Two volumes, published in Paris.

a partial translation of Dryden's *Essay*, was published. In order to regain his lost prestige, Gottsched eagerly seized the opportunity afforded by the *Lettres* to introduce Dryden, an English authority, supporting his contention, that the French drama was superior to the English. The *Essay* contains two main propositions for consideration: first, the relative merits of the ancient and modern theater; and second, the relative merits of the French and English dramatists. Four friends debate these two propositions. Crites takes up the issue with Eugenius, and defends the ancients; while Lisidieus takes issue against Neander, and defends the French. Dryden specifically states in the preface that Neander is his spokesman.¹⁴ Now Bocage, and then Gottsched from him, translate the speech of Lisidieus, who argued the cause of the French to prove Dryden an authority favoring the French drama.

Lessing was still partly adhering to Gottsched at the time the latter published his partial translation of the *Essay* of Dryden. His too numerous plans, and his diversified interests prevented him from carrying out the program mapped out in the *Beyträgen* in his new journal, the *Theatralischen Bibliothek*,¹⁵ founded in 1754. But Gottsched's manner of introducing Dryden to prove his own theories, no doubt induced Lessing to turn to Dryden and the *Essay*, when he became convinced that the repudiation of Gottsched was necessary. That he devoted himself to the study of Dryden before the publication of the translation of the *Essay* in 1758¹⁶ is proven by the letter to Mendelssohn in 1756 in which he says: "Bitten Sie doch den Hrn. Nicolai in meinem Namen mir mit ehestem denjenigen Theil von Cibbers Lebensbeschreibungen der englischen Dichter zu schicken, in welchem Drydens Leben steht. Ich brauche ihn."¹⁷

¹⁴ "The drift of the ensuing discourse was chiefly to vindicate the honor of the English writers from the censure of those who unjustly prefer the French before them."

¹⁵ *Lessings Werke*, V, D. N. L., Chap. XIII, contains: Von Johann Dryden und dessen dramatischen Werken.

¹⁶ According to a review in the *Berlinischen priv. Zeitung*, 1759, May 22, it was not published until 1759.

¹⁷ *Mendelssohns Schriften*, V, p. 69, Leipzig, 1756. Cibber's life re-

In the translation of the *Essay* Lessing omits some of the less essential parts, but translates the portion containing the arguments as to whether the French, or the English drama is superior. His translation interprets the English spirit, and like Dryden, he writes an excellent prose, such as none of his predecessors wrote; while Gottsched wrote a less lucid style, and interpreted Dryden solely through French-colored glasses.

The significance of Lessing's translation has not been pointed out by any of his critics. Besides the overthrow of Gottsched's claim, that Dryden preferred the French drama to the English, it directly influenced Lessing in the convictions expressed in the seventeenth *Literaturbrief*, and introduced into Germany one of the best extant English criticisms of the English theater. The immediate occasion for the *Literaturbrief* was a review by Nicolai in which he asserts: "Niemand wird läugnen, dasz die deutsche Schaubühne einen groszen Theil ihrer ersten Verbesserungen dem Herrn Prof. Gottsched zu danken habe . . ." ¹⁸ Lessing took advantage of the opportunity offered by this review, to make a vehement attack upon Gottsched and Voltaire, allegiance to whom he now completely renounces.

Evidences of close relationship between Dryden's *Essay* and the seventeenth *Literaturbrief* are: date; identical arguments in favor of English dramatic supremacy; enumeration of the same English dramatists; proclamation of Shakspeare's genius; emphasis of Corneille's weakness; and the compliance of the scene from Lessing's *Faust* quoted in the *Literaturbrief* with the theories set up by Dryden in the *Essay*. The connection between the date of the two is striking, as the number of the *Theatralischen Bibliothek* containing the translation of the *Essay* was published either at the close of 1758 or early in 1759, while the *Literaturbrief* is dated February 16, 1759. The close succession of the two is significant. Lessing wrote the *Literaturbrief* when his translation of the *Essay* was either in the press,

ferred to is "Mr. (Theophilus) Cibber, *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1753. Dryden's life is in Vol. 3, p. 85 ff.

¹⁸ *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, III, p. 85, 1758.

or had just come from the press. It becomes doubly significant, when we consider that Dryden's theme in the *Essay*, and Lessing's in the *Literaturbrief* are identical, namely, to prove the superiority of the English theater over that of the French. Whether this relation of time and theme be conscious or unconscious on the part of Lessing is immaterial in proving Dryden's influence upon Lessing.

Dryden's first argument for the superiority of the English drama is that it has a greater variety of plot and action than the French. Through his spokesman, Neander, he concedes that the French contrive their plots more regularly, and observe the decorum of the stage, and the unities with more exactness, but is of the opinion, that neither the faults of the English, nor the virtues of the French are considerable enough to deny the superiority of his countrymen in the drama. He maintains that many more "accidents" can naturally happen if two or three days are allowed for the maturity of the design, than could happen with any probability in the compass of twenty-four hours. Especially is this true of the tragedy in which the design is greater. The servile observation of the unity of place often forces absurdities upon the French poets and prevents the change of scene, and the too strict observance of the unities of time and place limits the action. "If we are to be blamed for showing too much of the action," he adds, "the French are as faulty for showing too little of it"; and in characterizing Shakspeare he says: "When he describes anything you more than see it, you feel it too."

Lessing recognizes the similar tastes of the English and the Germans in the drama, and in a passage in the *Literaturbrief* almost parallel to the one used by Dryden, he calls attention to the inclination of the Germans for a larger scope of action and greater profoundness in the tragedy than the French possess. "Er (Gottsched) hätte aus unsern alten dramatischen Stücken, welche er vertrieb, hinlänglich abmerken können, dass wir mehr in den Geschmack der Engländer als der Franzosen einschlagen; dass wir in unsern Trauerspielen mehr sehen und denken wollen, als uns das furchtsame französische Trauerspiel zu sehen und zu denken gibt"

As an other argument for English superiority in the theater, Dryden claims greater and more numerous characters, and greater passions for the English drama with its complicated plots. He takes exception to the French custom of making only one person considerable in a play. Instead he would have several "shining characters," some almost equal to the first, so that greatness may be opposed to greatness, and all the persons made considerable not only by their quality, but also by their action. In defense of his claims he refers to Shakspeare and Fletcher: "We endeavor to follow the variety and greatness of characters which are derived to us from Shakspeare and Fletcher"; and, "Shakspeare is always great, when some great occasion is presented to him."

Likewise Lessing maintains in the *Literaturbrief*, that Gottsched should have perceived "dass das Grosse, das Melancholische besser auf uns wirkt als das Artige, das Verliebte . . ."

To the accusation of the French that the English show too much tumult on the stage, Dryden replied: "Whether custom has so insinuated itself into our countrymen, or nature has so formed them to fierceness I know not; but they will scarcely permit combats and other objects of horror to be taken from them"; and, "I dare boldly affirm that in most of the irregular plays of Shakspeare and Fletcher there is more masculine fancy, and more spirit of writing, than there is in any of the French."

The Germans, according to Lessing, are by nature more virile than the French. "Gottsched hätte aus unsern alten dramatischen Stücken, welche er vertrieb, hinlänglich abmerken können, dass—das Schreckliche—besser auf uns wirkt, als—das Zärtliche."

Further Dryden argues that by pursuing a single theme the French lose the advantage of expressing and of arousing the passions. "I confess," he continues, "their verses are to me the coldest I have ever read. Neither indeed is it possible for them in the way they take so to express passion that the effects of it should appear in the concernment of the audience.—Their speeches are so many declamations which tire us with their length. We are concerned as we are in tedious visits of bad company, and are in pain until they are gone."

Lessing also contends that the German taste does not run in the

direction of the too simple, and that Gottsched should have observed, "dass die zu grosse Einfalt uns mehr ermüde, als die zu grosse Verwicklung." Then he concludes his general arguments in favor of the English theater, which are identical with those of Dryden in the *Essay*, with the remark: "Er (Gottsched) hätte also auf dieser Spur bleiben sollen, und sie würde ihn geraden Weges auf das englische Theater geführet haben."

The same English dramatists are also grouped together by Dryden and Lessing. The request of Eugenius that Neander, the spokesman for Dryden, give a character sketch of Jonson and tell his opinion frankly whether all writers, both French and English, should give place to him, was granted; but in granting the request Neander reserved the right of also characterizing Jonson's rivals in poetry, Shakspeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher. These four English dramatists are given the first rank by Neander, and are the only ones he dwells upon at length in the *Essay*.

Singularly Lessing enumerates just these four, when he accused Gottsched of giving the first rank to Addison's *Cato*. "Denn eben dieses, dass er den Addisonschen Cato für das beste englische Trauerspiel hält, zeigt deutlich, dasz er hier nur mit den Augen der Franzosen gesehen und damals keinen Shakspeare, keinen Jonson, und keinen Beaumont und Fletcher u. s. w. gekannt hat . . ." ¹⁹ On the surface this may simply be ascribed to commonly accepted knowledge, but Lessing's criticism is usually based on careful investigation of the source, or upon the conclusions of a recognized authority. At best his first-hand knowledge of English dramatists at this time was still rather limited. Then it is not to be forgotten that before he and Voltaire were estranged, he commended Shakspeare, Dryden, Wicherly, Vanbrugh, Cibber, and Congreve after reading the *Lettres*, which discussed these same dramatists; and now after translating the *Essay*, he commends Shakspeare, Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher.

Four times he groups them thus: twice in the explanatory links in the translation of the *Essay*; once in the "Geschichte der

¹⁹ Immediately following the characterization of Dryden, Voltaire in his *Lettres* places Addison and his *Cato* above Shakspeare and all other English dramatists.

deutschen Schaubühne," published in the same number of the *Bibliothek* with the *Essay*; and again in the *Literaturbrief*, as already mentioned. Lessing's first grouping in the *Essay* is in his explanation of the "last age" used by Crites. "Er versteht unter diesem letztvergangenen Weltalter die kurz vor dem bürgerlichen Kriege vorhergegangenen Jahre, die Regierung der Königin Elisabeth und Jakobs I., unter welcher Shakespeare, Johnson und andere grosze Genies lebten." The second grouping is in connection with the dialogue of Eugenius and Neander, where the former interrupts the latter in the examination of the *Silent Women* to beg for the sketch of Shakspeare, Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher. This Lessing condenses as follows: "Ehe es hierzu kömmt, ersuchet Eugenius den Neander, den Charakter ihrer vier vornehmsten dramatischen Dichter zu entwerfen, welches er in folgenden thut."

The passage in the *Geschichte der deutschen Schaubühne* runs: "Shakspeare, Beaumont, Fletcher und Ben Johnson waren die groszen Genies, die es [das vorige Jahrhundert] mit unsterblichen Werken bereicherten und es auf einmal zu einem Theater machten, welches nach dem griechischen für einen Kenner der schönen Wissenschaften das allerinteressanteste ist und dem Anschein nach auch bleiben wird."²⁰

Furthermore Dryden and Lessing in common emphasize the weakness of Corneille. Measuring him by the definition of a play laid down in the *Essay* ("a just and lively imitation of nature, representing its passions and humors"), Dryden finds many weaknesses in Corneille, the "arch-dramatist" of the French. He grants that his plays are regular, but adds: "What is more easy than to write a regular French play, or is more difficult than to write an irregular English one, like those of Fletcher, or of Shakspeare"? He regards the plots of Corneille as "flat designs," and compares them with "ill riddles" found out ere they are half proposed. To him Corneille's best comedy, *The Liar*, lacks humor, and does not compare favorably with many comedies of Fletcher and Jonson. Corneille's tragedies do not move the passions, according to Dryden, on account of their long tedious speeches.

²⁰ *Lessings Werke*, V, p. 351.

"Look upon the *Cinna* and the *Pompey*; they are not so properly to be called plays, as long discourses of reason of state; and *Polieucte* in matters of religion is as solemn as the long stops upon our organs." Even his most popular play, *Andromede*, Dryden finds teeming with improbabilities.

As compared with the English, especially Shakspeare, Lessing also claims that Corneille lacks in the essentials of tragedy, in power over the passions, and in wit; but concedes that he observes the rules of the ancients. In the language of the *Literaturbrief*: "Auch nach den Mustern der Alten die Sache zu entscheiden, ist Shakspeare ein weit grösserer tragischer Dichter als Corneille, obgleich dieser die Alten sehr wohl und jener fast gar nicht gekannt hat. Corneille kömmt ihnen in der mechanischen Einrichtung und Shakspeare in dem Wesentlichen näher. Der Engländer erreicht den Zweck der Tragödie fast immer, so sonderbare und ihm eigne Wege er auch wählet, und der Franzose erreicht ihn fast niemals, ob er gleich die gebahnten Wege der Alten betritt. Nach dem 'Oedipus' des Sophokles muss in der Welt kein Stück mehr Gewalt über unsere Leidenschaften haben als 'Othello,' als 'König Lear,' als 'Hamlet' u. s. w. Hat Corneille ein einziges Trauerspiel, das Sie nur halb so gerühret hätte als die 'Zaire' des Voltaire? Und die 'Zaire' des Voltaire, wie weit ist sie unter dem 'Mohren von Venedig'?"

Both Dryden and Lessing proclaim Shakspeare a genius. At the time Dryden wrote the *Essay*, the idea of genius had not been formulated, but already he had ventured to place Shakspeare above Jonson²¹ and all English poets. In the *Dedication to the Rival Ladies*, published four years before the *Essay*, he attributes to him "a larger soul of poesy than any of our nation";²² and in the *Essay* itself, comparing him with Jonson he says: "Shakspeare, the Homer or father of our dramatic poets, is the greater wit." With some reserve he places him above the ancient poets. "He was the man who of all modern, and perhaps ancient poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul." Later Dryden formu-

²¹ Malone, *Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, I, part I, p. 61, London, 1800.

²² Scott-Saintsbury, II, p. 136.

lated the idea that genius is superior to any rule. This declaration is coupled with Shakspeare in a letter to Dennis (1693): "He had a genius for tragedy and we know that genius alone is a greater virtue than all other qualifications put together."²³ Although he formulated the idea of genius, it was Young who developed the idea,²⁴ which Lessing accepted, and the "Sturm und Dränger" disseminated.²⁵

While Lessing probably did not know the Dryden-Dennis letter, he knew from the *Essay* that Dryden considered Shakspeare a greater dramatist than all modern writers, and in the *Literaturbrief* he commends the translation of Shakspeare's masterpieces, and proclaims him a genius. "Denn ein Genie kann nur von einem Genie entzündet werden, und am leichtesten von so einem, das alles bloß der Natur zu danken zu haben scheint . . ." Like Dryden, he utters this in Shakspeare's presence with the translation of the *Essay* still fresh in mind.

Finally Dryden lays down the principle, and throughout the *Essay* insists, that short speeches and quick replies move the passions more, and bring greater pleasure to the audience than the long speeches. "It cannot be denied that short speeches and replies are more apt to move the passions and beget concernment in us, than the other; for it is unnatural for any one in a gust of passion to speak long together . . ." In the *Comedy* he regards repartee one of its chief graces. "The greatest pleasure of an audience," he says, "is a chase of wit, kept up on both sides, and swiftly managed." Beaumont and Fletcher he regards supreme in quickness of wit in repartee, but in wit he naturally places Shakspeare above Jonson.

Similarly in the conclusion of the *Literaturbrief* Lessing commends a chase of wit. "Das aber unsre alten Stücke wirklich sehr viel Englischens gehabt haben, könnte ich Ihnen mit geringer Mühe weitläufig beweisen. Nur das bekannteste derselben zu nennen, 'Doctor Faust' hat eine Menge Szenen, die nur

²³ Scott-Saintsbury, XVIII, p. 117.

²⁴ Kind, *Edward Young in Germany*, p. 2 ff., New York, 1906.

²⁵ Hamelius, *Die Kritik der englischen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, p. 49, Leipzig, 1896.

ein Shakspeare'sches Genie zu denken vermögend gewesen." Then he quotes a fragment of his own *Faust*, depicting the scene between Faust and the seven fleet spirits of hell, which is made up of short speeches and quick replies. At the close of the scene he adds: "Was sagen Sie zu dieser Szene? Sie wünschen ein deutsches Stück, das lauter solche Szenen hätte? Ich auch."

3. GERMAN CRITICISM OF THE *Essay* AFTER LESSING'S TRANSLATION

Naturally Dryden's *Essay* won prestige in Germany through Lessing's translation, and the utterances in the *Literaturbrief*. After Lessing's connection with it German critics quote from and cite the *Essay* as if it were generally known and accepted as an authority. Concerning Dryden's claim for English humor, especially in Jonson, the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (1762) remarks: "Dasz die Franzosen, wie Dryden anmerket, nichts aufweisen können, was dem Humor des Ben Jonson gleich käme."²⁶ In the *Hamburgischen neuen Zeitung Gerstenberg* substantiates his claim that nothing is easier than writing a French tragedy with: "Schon Dryden sagte zu seiner Zeit, dasz nichts leichter wäre, als ein französisches Trauerspiel zu schreiben."²⁷ Schütze, the Hamburg theater-historian, laments that Gottsched introduced from France the servile observance of the stage. "Schon der Britte, Driden, warf den Franzosen vor, dasz sie durch die zu ängstliche Beobachtung des Regelmässigen den grössten Haufen der Zuschauer einschläferen."²⁸

Further proof of Dryden's influence upon Lessing is furnished by the commendatory reviews of the *Essay* itself, and of Lessing's translation. The *Berlinische priv. Zeitung* (May 22, 1759) designates the translation "einen lehrreichen Auszug."²⁹ Dryden's *Essay* is one of the few English works on the drama known to Schmid, who gives it the first rank, and also cites Lessing's trans-

²⁶ VII, Stück 2, p. 354.

²⁷ See *Literatur Denkmale*, CXXVIII, p. 155, Berlin, 1904.

²⁸ *Hamburgische Theatergeschichte*, p. 216, Hamburg, 1794.

²⁹ Julius W. Braun, *Lessing im Urtheile seiner Zeitgenossen*, p. 96, Berlin, 1884.

lation.³⁰ Bouterwek regarded Dryden the founder of the theory of the English drama "durch seinen vortrefflichen Versuch über die dramatische Dichtkunst."³¹ Besides making a detailed analysis of the *Essay* he also prints in foot-notes the passages from the *Essay* containing the characterization of Shakspeare, and that dealing with the decorum of the French stage. He considers the criticism of Dryden in the *Essay* and elsewhere both sane and impartial.

CHAPTER III. THE DRAMA

Although the dramas of Dryden constitute the larger part of his literary efforts, they are inferior to his critical, satirical, and lyrical works. His twenty-six plays consisting of ten tragedies, ten comedies, three tragi-comedies and three operas, cover a period of twenty-five years of his career, beginning with *The Wild Gallant* published in 1669 and concluding with *Love Triumphant*, published in 1694. Many of them were heroic plays based on the French romances of Madame Scudery and others. For a time they were exceedingly popular with the theater-going public of the Restoration Period, but were short lived on account of their bombast. His comedies as well as his serious plays abound in heroic speeches, and more frequently portray types than individual characters, but for all that they contain many beautiful passages.

I. THE FOUR PLAYS TRANSLATED IN GERMANY

Four plays of Dryden were translated in Germany: *The Spanish Friar* (1681), *The State of Innocence* (1674), *Oedipus* (1679), and *All for Love* (1678); but their influence on the German stage is not marked, and the translations were not made by the first poets of Germany. Unfortunately Lessing's plan to translate and discuss the plays of Dryden in the *Theatralischen Bibliothek*¹ did

³⁰ *Theorie der Poesie*, p. 404.

³¹ *Loco citato*, VIII, p. 54 ff., 1810.

¹ *Loco citato*, chapter XII, p. 360 in *Lessings Werke, D. N. L.*, vol. 62 (1755).

not materialize; probably due to the later discovery of the real character of the plays and to his other numerous undertakings.

A. *The Spanish Friar*

The first play of Dryden translated in Germany was *The Spanish Friar*, but it was never published. A written copy is in the "geheimen Haus- und Staatsarchiv" at Stuttgart with the title: *Comocdia, genannt Der Spannische Münch und Ehrlich Rebell, wurde presentiert vor Carolo dem 2ten König von Grosz-Britanien Durch dero Hoff Comoedianten componiert. . Von Johann Dryden höchstberühmten Poeten und übersetzt ausz dem Englischen in das Hochdeutsche Durch Casper Spannagel, Englischer Künstler.*² As the play was not printed until 1681 and the reign of Charles II closed in 1685, the Court Comedians must have performed it during that interval. The date of the translation cannot be definitely established, as nothing is known of the translator, and the translation is not dated, but it was probably made during the author's lifetime or soon after. Germany's interest in the "Singspiele" and the opera at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, and Dryden's renown as poet likely account for the translation. The records apparently do not show whether the play was performed at the court of Württemberg, but the translation is significant, because it indicates that even during the Restoration English comedians seem to have had some relation to Germany.

B. *The State of Innocence*

The Spanish Friar was followed by *The State of Innocence*, which attracted but little attention in England and was brought into Germany as a companion work of *Paradise Lost*, the source for Dryden's opera. The enthusiasm for Milton's epic spread by Bodmer, and the religious sentiment prevailing in Germany and Switzerland account for its introduction and translation. Bodmer early became acquainted with this play through the

² Josef Sittard, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Württembergischen Hofe. Nach Originalquellen*, Erster Band, 1458-1733, p. 223, Stuttgart, 1890.

English moral weeklies, and the references to it in the introduction of *Paradise Lost* which he translated along with the epic itself in 1724.³ The introduction contains the account of Milton's original intention of writing a play on the fall of man and the later rejection of this plan which Dryden took up, transforming the material into an opera. It also contains a characterization of Dryden's work: "Darinn findet sich zwar eine neuere und feinere Sprachart als in Miltons Paradiese, aber in den verliebten Theilen äussert sich mehr Künsteley und mehr Galanterie als mit dem Stande der Unschuld überein kömmt. Die Vorrechte der Weisheit Adams und die Schönheit der Eva werden nicht geschickt genug aus einander gesetzt."

Bodmer frequently quoted passages from *The State of Innocence*, or *The Fall of Man*, as the Germans usually designated it, and almost invariably translated them. Most of these passages are to be found in the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, but it scarcely seems possible that he was not familiar with the opera itself, since he was so deeply interested in the theme of the fall of man. As early as 1740 some of these passages and an original criticism of *The Fall of Man* appeared in his treatise *Von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie*, which he published in conjunction with his defense of *Paradise Lost* and Addison's essay on its beauties.⁴ The criticism is in connection with the scene in which Adam accepts the forbidden fruit from Eve. He regards Dryden's characterization of Adam in the scene superior to that of Milton because it is consistent with his character of a romantic lover throughout the play. "Hingegen hat der lose Dryden seinem Adam durch sein ganzes Gedicht eine verzärtelte und aus sich selbst gesetzte Liebe

³ *Johann Miltons Verlust des Paradieses. Ein Heldengedicht. In ungebundener Rede übersetzt.* Zürich, Gedruckt bey Marcus Rordorf, 1732. Bodmer completed the translation eight years before it was published. See Th. Vetter in *Johann Jakob Bodmer Denkschrift Zum CC. Geburtstag*, p. 349, Zürich, 1900.

⁴ Joh. Jacob Bodmers *Critische Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie und dessen Verbindung mit dem Wahrscheinlichen in einer Verteidigung des Gedichtes John Miltons von dem Verlorenen Paradiese; Der beygefüget ist Joseph Addisons Abhandlung von den Schönheiten in diesem Gedichte*, verlegt Conrad Orell und Comp., Zürich, 1740.

zugeschrieben, in welcher er beynahe die grösste Vortrefflichkeit und das höchste Gut der ersten Menschen zu setzen scheint. Drydens Adam ist sich also in solchen ungereimten Ausschweifungen beständig gleich, Miltons aber scheint mir von seiner ersten Hohenheit und Obermacht des Verstandes einen plötzlichen Sprung zu solcher auszuschweifenden Leidenschaft zu thun."⁵

Bodmer's familiarity with *The Fall of Man* and Dryden is again evident from the commentaries of the 1742 edition of Milton's epic, which contain numerous citations from Dryden's Play, an analysis and criticism of the scene between Eve and the serpent,⁶ a comment from Steele on the bower scene which apparently was for the purpose of refuting Addison's contention, that Dryden at times offended good morals,⁷ a quotation from *All for Love*,⁸ and one from *The Flower and the Leaf*.⁹

The translation of Dryden's *State of Innocence* was probably hastened by Lauder's *Essay*¹⁰ in 1750 in which he accused Milton of plagiarism. Although the accusation was at once proved unfounded, it revived the Gottsched-Bodmer controversy in which Nicolai¹¹ and Lessing¹² also took a part, and because of its close

⁵ Ibid., p. 195.

⁶ Bodmer says (p. 399): "Dryden hat in seinem Drama von dem Fall der Menschen . . . nicht ohne sonderbare Kunst gedichtet, weil Eva neben dem Baum gestanden und, gewünschet, dass ihr alle andere Bäume, nur dieser nicht wären untersagt worden."

⁷ *Loco citato*, p. 348 ff. The quotation is from the *Tattler* No. 6, which relates the liberties a Miss Sappho took in her conversation, but which every one excused because they knew it was her custom. When Mr. Bickerstaff called upon her she had just broken her fan on which Adam and Eve were artistically portrayed asleep in paradise with arms entwined. This gave occasion for the reading of the passages on the theme from Milton and Dryden and comparing them.

⁸ Ibid., p. 167.

⁹ Ibid., p. 193.

¹⁰ *An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost*, London, 1750.

¹¹ *Untersuchung ob Milton sein Verlohrnes Paradies aus neuern lateinischen Schriftstellern ausgeschrieben habe. Nebst einigen Anmerkungen über eine Recension des Lauderischen Buchs von Miltons Nachahmung der neueren Schriftstellern*. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1753.

¹² Lessing reviewed Nicolai's work in the *Berlinischen priv. Zeitung*, December 25th, 1753, and is extremely harsh in his criticism of Gottsched.

relation to *Paradise Lost*, *The State of Innocence* also became involved.¹³ Of *The State of Innocence* three translations were made in Switzerland;¹⁴ the first was published in 1754,¹⁵ the second in 1757,¹⁶ and the third in 1761.¹⁷ The translations appeared anonymously, but from the following evidence I conjecture the first to belong to Simon Grynaeus: The preface is signed "G" and a "G" appears on the upraised standard of the etching on the frontispiece. Grynaeus was in the habit of using this signature in his letters to Bodmer;¹⁸ in 1753 Grynaeus made a prose translation of *Paradise Regained*, to which he added a sketch of the life of Milton; this translation is in prose and has a sketch of Dryden added; in 1756 he translated a collection of English works in hexameters¹⁹ and merely signed his name to the preface; likewise the translation of Nathaniel Lee's poem dedicated to *The State of Innocence* and prefaced to this translation is in hexameters and only the preface has a signature; and finally, Grynaeus

¹³ Gottsched argued that *The State of Innocence* proved conclusively that Milton was a plagiarist. "Das Trauerspiel, vom Stande der Unschuld, oder Fall des Menschen, welches Dryden aus dem miltonischen verlorne Paradiese gezogen, gibt endlich den vollkommensten Beweis ab; indem es zeigt, dasz dasjenige, was aus einer Tragödie entstanden, auch sehr leicht wieder in eine Tragödie verwandelt werden könne. Nur dieser merkliche Unterschied befindet sich unter den zween Verfassern, dass Dryden, der doch eben nicht für den strengsten Moralisten bekannt ist, frey gestanden, wem er seine Erfindung schuldig wäre." See *Das neuste aus der Leipziger Anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*, p. 351, 1752.

¹⁴ I had access only to the first translation, and to the two scenes published in the review of the third in *Anmuthige Gelehrsamkeit*, p. 613 ff., 1761.

¹⁵ *Der Stand der Unschuld und Fall des Menschen. Ein aus dem Englischen des berühmten Dryden übersetztes Schauspiel. samt einer Lebens-Beschreibung des Verfassers. Franckfurt und Leipzig, Zu finden in der Buchnerischen Handlung, 1754.*

¹⁶ *Der Fall des Menschen; Ein Schauspiel aus dem Englischen, Basel, 1757.*

¹⁷ *Der Fall des Menschen; aus dem Englischen, weiland Herr Dryden, Frankfurt und Leipzig, in der Fleischerischen Buchhandlung, 1761.*

¹⁸ See *Bodmer Denkschrift*, p. 282.

¹⁹ See Lessing's *Literaturbrief*, 39.

was interested in the fall-of-man theme and also made a partial translation of *Paradise Lost*.²⁰

The second translation was made by Spreng.²¹ The third translation I again conjecture to be the work of Grynaeus. It could not have been Spreng, as Gottsched said the translator had given the translation to Spreng,²² who changed it. In the review which Gottsched made at his request, as he tells us, he characterizes the translator as a German meriting respect, a clever fellow who was known through his numerous other works. This characterization fits Grynaeus, who had made a number of classical translations besides that of the Bible. Moreover he was also a theologian apparently interested in the theme, and as stated above, had used blank verse in other translations.

The 1754 translation is a literal prose rendering of the text, showing marks of the Swiss dialect and an occasional error in translation. Prefaced to the text are Dryden's *Dedication to the Duchess of York*, and his *Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic License*. The sketch of Dryden's life (20 pages), taken from the *London Magazine* for the year 1752, is added as an appendix to the text. This as well as the *Apology for Heroic Verse* is an important contribution so early, as they appeared only four years after the translation of Voltaire's *Lettres*, and four years previous to Lessing's translation of Dryden's *Essay*. The preface of the translator speaks of Dryden as if he were familiar to his readers, and excuses his literal prose translation by calling attention to the *Nachtgedanken* and other poems sub-

²⁰ Baechtold, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur der Schweiz*, pp. 486-488.

²¹ The review in *Anmuthige Gelehrsamkeit* (1761) by Gottsched says: "Vor etlichen Jahren gab der Hr. Uebersetzer (of the third translation) sie dem Hrn. Prof. Spreng, der nach Belieben damit geschaltet hat. Er reimte sie, setzte zu, und that davon; und ging weit von Dryden ab: und so gab er sie unter seinem Namen heraus. So sah dann die Tochter vor der Mutter das Licht."

Baechtold, *loco citato*, says: "1753 uebertrug er (Spreng) Dryden's Schauspiel von dem Fall des Menschen in Blankversen. . . . Dasselbe erschien in 1757 zu Basel in Druck."

²² See note 21.

ject to the same criticism. The lines dedicated to the translator by B(odmer) show his intimate connection with the translation.

“Du stellst, geehrter Freund! das würdigste Gedicht,
So Dryden England gab, in Deutschland an das Licht
Dein Leser wird gewisz sich dir verpflichtet erkennen,
Und, wann er Dryden nennt, auch dich mit Achtung nennen.”

Of the 1757 translation the criticism of Baechtold cited above, that it is in blank verse, and that of Gottsched, that Spreng deviated from the original, is all the evidence at my disposal. The 1761 translation is not perfect, as is seen from the following passages which for the sake of comparison are added:

1754.	ACT I, SCENE I.	1761.
Ist dieses der Wohnplatz, welchen uns der Sieger angewiesen hat? Ist dieses das Clima, welches wir für den Himmel verwechseln müssen? Dieses sind die Gegenden, die Reviere, welche meine Waffen erobert hat; Dieses trauervolle Reich ist des Überwundenen Loosz: In flüsizigen Feuerbränden, oder auf einem dürren ausgediegenen Lande zu wohnen, hierinn bestehet die ganze traurige Abwechslung der Hölle. Aber siehe, der Sieger hat von weitem her seine Kriegsknechte, die Stürme, seiner Diener der Rache zurückberufen: Seine Pfeile sind verschossen, und seine ermüdete Donner schlafen; Sie brüllen nicht mehr durch die grenzenlose Tiefe. Das beste wird seyn, wenn wir diese Feuermeere verlassen, alldieweil uns Musse dazu uns vergönnet ist.		Ist diesz der Sitz, den uns der Ueberwinder gab? Und solchen Tausch dringt er uns für den Himmel auf? Mein Krieg erwarb diesz Reich und diese Gegenden. Diesz leidige Fürstenthum, ist des Besiegten Loos, Wo theils ein flusz'ger Brand, theils Dürren zu bewohnen, Der Höllen einziger, unseliger Wechsel ist. Doch, sieh, es ruft dort in der Ferne schon, Der Sieger seinen Rachgewittern. Den Dienern seines Kriegs, zurück. Die Pfeile sind verthan, sein müder Donner schläft, Und brüllt nicht mehr, durch die grenzlosen Tiefen. Das Beste ist, Da es Gelegenheit, und Zeit erlaubt und giebt, Wir winden uns aus diesen Feuerwellen.

ACT V, SCENE I.

Mir dünkt, ich gehe leichter davon; Meine hurtige Füße pralen von den unbeschädigten Blumen zurück; Ich wandle in der Luft, und achte mich zu gut für diese irdische Wohnung; Der Himmel ist mein Palast; dieses ist meine schlechteste Hütte. Himmel, nimm mich nicht zu frühe zu dir; es würde was unfreundliches seyn, wenn ich meinen Bettgeferten zurück liesse. Ich liebe die Unglückseligen. Doch, halt, soll ich ihm Theil hievon geben? Er ist bereits schon zu viel mein Herr. Nun steht es bey mir, die Herrschaft an mich zu bringen; und weil mein Erkenntnis grösser ist, seinen hochtrabenden männlichen Sinn zu beugen.

Mich deucht ich trete leichter als zuvor.
 Mein flinker Fuss, drückt kaum den Rasen nieder,
 So prellt er wieder auf, als flög'ich in der Luft.
 Pfuy dieses Erdsitzes!
 Der Himmel ist mein Wohnpallast
 Diesz Paradiesz nur eine Nebenhütte.
 Doch, Himmel, nimm mich so geschwind nicht auf,
 Es wäre hart, den Bettfreund so zu lassen.
 Der Unglückselige! ich lieb'ihn dennoch fort.
 Doch! 'Geb'ich ihm auch Theil?
 Er meistert schon zu viel.
 Die Einzelmeisterschaft, steht nun in meiner Macht,
 Und da ich weiser worden bin,
 Ists nun an mir, die Mannheit ihm zu beugen.

C. Oedipus

From the French the Germans borrowed the idea of translating and publishing plays in collected form. The first collection of English plays thus translated into German appeared anonymously at Basel in 1758 under the title: *Neue Probestücke der Englischen Schaubühne aus der Ursprache übersetzt von einem Liebhaber des guten Geschmacks*.²³ This collection which Baechtold ascribes to Grynaeus,²⁴ contains nine plays by Young, Addison, Dryden and Lee, Otway, Shakspeare, Congreve, Mason, and Rowe. Nicolai in his review found fault with the translation, but commended the undertaking, and like Lessing in the *Literaturbrief* recommended the translation of Shakspeare.²⁵ Accord-

²³ See Gottsched's *Zusätze*, p. 295, Leipzig, 1765.

²⁴ *Loco citato*, p. 546 and Anhang, p. 174.

²⁵ *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, VI. pp. 60-74.

ing to Nicolai the iambic pentameters in blank verse were at times so jolting, so devoid of harmony, so full of dialect [so schweitzerisch], that prose would have been far preferable. Then while here and there a passage was well done, others were insipid, tedious, abounding in inartistic and unusual expressions.

The first play in the third volume was *Oedipus, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen, aus dem Englischen des Herrn John Dryden und Nathaniel Lee*. There seems to have been a revival of *Oedipus* about the middle of the eighteenth century in Europe, and that accounts for the translation of the Play by Dryden and Lee.²⁶ In a review of one of these plays in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, the criticism that Dryden made of Sophocles' Play on the same theme is referred to by the reviewer.²⁷

D. All for Love

Dryden's best play, *All for Love*, received the greatest recognition in Germany. It was one of the first English plays read by Bodmer²⁸ in 1723. Citations from it were not uncommon.²⁹ It was translated and used as a source for a German play after Shakspeare's play on the same theme had been translated by Wieland and Eschenburg. The first translation was made by Schmid in 1769³⁰ under the title *Kleopatra*. Schmid was not a master of English and many glaring errors crept into the translation. He learned to know the Play through Prévost's French translation which appeared in Paris in 1735.³¹ While he regarded

²⁶ Voltaire's play gave the first impulse in this revival. In 1748 his *Oedipus* was translated at Braunschweig, and in 1749 at Vienna. See Gottsched's *Nöthiger Vorrath zur Geschichte der Deutschen Dramatischen Dichtkunst*, pp. 328, 333, etc., Leipzig, 1757.

²⁷ VII, Stück 2, p. 326. 1762. The review is of the *Drei neuen Trauerspiele, nämlich Johanna Grey, Tokenburg und Odip*, Zürich, 1761.

²⁸ See *Bodmer Denkschrift*, p. 322.

²⁹ See note to p. 167 of Bodmer's 1742 translation of *Paradise Lost*, and *Aesthetik in einer Nusz*, p. 384.

³⁰ Christian Heinrich Schmid, *Englischs Theater*, bey Dodsley und comp., Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1769. *All for Love* is in the second volume, page 1 ff.

³¹ See Schmid's *Theorie der Poesie*, p. 471, and *British Museum Catalogue* under Dryden.

All for Love as Dryden's masterpiece, he did not give his tragedies a high rank. "Seine Trauerspiele haben mehr Tragische Sprache, als tragische Situationen und wie er selbst gesteht, liesz er sich darinnen oft zum Pöbel herab, oder ward übertrieben, wenn er erhaben sein wollte."³² Reviews of Schmid's translations appeared in the *Göttingischen Anzeigen für Gelehrten Sachen*,³³ and in the *Almanach der deutschen Musen*. The latter commends the undertaking, but bewails the lack of unity and calls it "Eins der deklamierenden Trauerspiele."³⁴

A second translation appeared anonymously at Mannheim in 1781 under the title: *Alles für Liebe, ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Aus dem Englischen des Dryden*. Mannheim became prominent as a literary center during the latter part of the eighteenth century. One of the most active members of the Mannheim literary group was Professor Anton von Klein.³⁵ He was editor in chief of the collection of foreign translations, in which a revised edition of Eschenburg's Shakspeare translation also appeared. Dalberg and Gemmingen, also active members of the group, translated an *Englisches Theater*. *All for Love* was the first play included in this collection. In the preface the editor says that good translations of English and French plays are always welcome, but that for the most part Germany can not be proud of her translations, as they do not include the best plays and contain numerous errors. He then points out some of the errors in Schmid's translation of *All for Love*, which he considers one of the best English plays. "Es sind wenige Stücke, selbst unter den shakspearischen, worinn mehr grosze und herrliche Züge vorkommen als in diesem. Die Charaktere sind vortrefflich gezeichnet. Der Plan ist sehr gut ausgelegt und das ganze fast durchaus gut geführt. Indessen hat es seine kleinen Flecken und seine groszen Fehler. . . . Hier übergiebt man das Trauerspiel getreu nach dem Original in die Hände des Publikums um den groszen Mann,

³² Loco citato, p. 471.

³³ P. 1290, 1769.

³⁴ For 1770, p. 176.

³⁵ See B. Seuffert, "Geschichte der deutschen Gesellschaft in Mannheim in *Anz. für d. Altertum*," VI, p. 276 ff.; and J. H. Heinzelmann, "Pope in Germany in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern Philology*, X, p. 348 ff.

den erhabnen Verfasser in seiner Grösse und Schwäche, so wie er ist, zu zeigen."³⁶

The translation is in prose and is on the whole well done, but the beginning of Act II will show that the translator has not succeeded in always rendering the text "getreu nach dem Original":

KLEOPATRA, IRAS UND ALEXAS

K. "Was soll ich thun, oder wohin soll ich mich wenden? Ventidius hat gesiegt, und er wird gehen.

A. Er geht für dich zu kämpfen.

K. Dann würde er mich sprechen, ehe er ginge. Schmeichle mir nicht; ist er einmal fort; so ist er verloren; und alle meine Hoffnungen sind vernichtet.

A. Kömmt diese schwache Leidenschaft einer mächtigen Königin zu?

K. Ich bin keine Königin. Heiszt das eine Königin seyn, wenn man von jenen stolzen Römern ('yon insulting Roman') belagert ist und jede Stunde des Siegers Ketten erwartet? Dies sind die geringen Uebel: Antonius ist verloren, und ich kann in der Welt für nichts als für ihn trauern. Itzt komm Octavius! ich habe nichts mehr zu verlieren; bereite deine Bande; nun kann ich eine Gefangene seyn: Antonius verläßt mich—es ist ein Glück, eine Sklavinn zu seyn.

("I'm fit to be a captive: Antony

Has taught my mind the fortune of a slave.")

All for Love was also one of the sources for a play at Vienna, where at this time the English influence on the theater displaced the French.³⁷ In 1783 Cornelius Hermann von Ayrenhoff's tragedy, *Kleopatra und Antonius*, was performed at the royal theater of Vienna. In the introduction the author mentions Shakspeare, La Chapelle, Lohenstein, and Dryden as sources. He used only the German translations of the plays of Shakspeare and Dryden; in the latter case it was the Mannheim *Alles für Liebe*.³⁸

³⁶ Vorrede, p. xix.

³⁷ Emil Horner, "Das Aufkommen des Englischen Geschmacks in Wien, und Aurenhoffs Trauerspiel, Kleopatra und Antonius." *Euphorion*, II, pp. 556-571 and 782-797.

³⁸ Whether Leopold Neumann's duodrama on the Antony and Cleopatra theme, published at Dresden in 1780, was connected with Dryden's play, I was unable to determine, as I did not have access to the play.

2. *The Tempest or the Enchanted Island*, A SOURCE FOR
BODMER'S *Noah*

No other plays of Dryden were translated in Germany during the eighteenth century, but Bodmer incorporated lines and situations from *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (1670). As early as 1743 he spoke of the beauty of innocence as depicted in *The Enchanted Island* and *The Conquest of Mexico*.³⁹ Three years later he translated a number of lines from *The Tempest*, which he prefaced with "In einem Engell. Schauspiel, die bezauberte Insel betietelt, wird ein junger Mensch eingeführt, der niemals keine Frauenpersonen gesehen hat; ihm eine Furcht vor ihnen einzujagen, beschreibt sie ihm sein Oheim also: Bilde dir ein Mittelding zwischen jungen Männern und Engeln ein . . ." ⁴⁰

Later this situation and a number of others from *The Enchanted Island* were incorporated by Bodmer in his epic, *Noah*.⁴¹ In Dryden's *Tempest* Prospero, Duke of Milan, brings up his two daughters and Hippolito, heir to the Dukedom of Mantua, in exile on an enchanted island, keeping them ignorant of the opposite sex. Bodmer similarly depicts the three sons of Noah and the three daughters of Sipa, who were isolated from the world, being inclosed by mountains. As Prospero warns his charges against the wildness of man and the enticing danger of women, so the sons of Noah and the daughters of Sipa were similarly warned.

The parallel passages follow.

Prospero describes women to Hippolito as:

"Something between young men and angels . . .
Calm sleep is not so soft; nor winter suns
Nor summer shades, so pleasant. . . .
Their voices charm beyond the nightingales":—II, 2.

Japhet, Noah's youngest son, described the maidens thus:

"Sie sind ein Mittelding zwischen Jüngling und Engel. Der Schlaf ist Nicht so sanft, als ihr Thun, noch die kühlenden Schatten so lieblich, Als ihr erquickender Mund: Musik ist in jeglichem Worte," III, 595 ff.

³⁹ *Critische Schriften*, VII. p. 9.

⁴⁰ *Der Maler der Sitten*, I, pp. 419-420, Zürich, 1746.

⁴¹ *Der Noah*, in *Zwölf Gesängen*. Zürich, bey David Geszner, 1752.

In reply to Prospero's description: "Those who once behold them are made their slaves forever," Hippolito says:

"Can they be fairer than the plumes of swans? . . .
Or than the gloss upon the neck of doves?
Or have more various beauty than the rainbow?" II, 2.

Sham asks Japhet:

"Ist sie so fürchterlich grosz, ist der Mädchen Schönheit so Sieghaft?
Können sie heller seyn, als die weissen Federn der Schwäne,
Oder anmutiger, als der Glanz am Nacken der Dauben?
Oder sind ihre Farben verschiedner und feiner vertheilet,
Als der träufelnde Staub, der die Sonnenstrahlen gebrochen," III, 582 ff.

At first sight both Hippolito and Japhet believe the maidens to be children of the heavenly sun.

"What thing is this? Sure 'tis some infant of the
Sun, dressed in his father's gayest beams,
And come to play with birds": II, 3.

". . . o flieht nicht, Kinder der himmlischen Sonne, . . .
Schön geschmückt . . . in der hellsten Farben der Sonne, . . .
Mit dem schlechtern Schmuck der Blumen zu spielen."

The first sight Dorinda gets of Hippolito has the same effect upon her as the first sight of Japhet has upon the three daughters of Sipa:

"At first it stared upon me, and seemed wild,
And then I trembled; yet it looked so lovely,
But when I would have fled, my feet
Seemed fastened to the ground . . ." III, 2.

"Eben so schienen die Mädchen bestürzt, und standen erstaunt da,
An den Boden der Fusz, das Aug an Japhet geheft." I, 141-142.

Hippolito and Ferdinand are described as a bud and a full-blown flower:

"For shortly, my Miranda, you shall see
Another of his kind, the full-blown flower
Of which this youth was but the opening bud." III, 2.

Japhet compares his lovely maid to the opening bud, and her sisters to full-blown roses:

“Eine nicht völlig entwickelte Rosenknospe, . . .
Zwo entfaltete Rosen in ihrer vollkommenen Blüthe.” III, 62i ff.

Both Ferdinand and Japhet believe their fair ones to be divine apparitions:

“Fair Excellence! if, as your form declares,
You are divine, be pleased to instruct me how
You will be worshiped; so bright a beauty
Cannot belong to human kind.” III, 5.

“Schönste Gestalt des Menschen, vernimm die flehende Bitte;
Bist du. ich muss es billig besorgen, von himmlischer Ankunft.
So entdecke, mit welchem Gehorsam kann ich dich halten!” I, 166 ff.

The feelings which Hippolito and Japhet experience when they first touch the hands of the maidens are akin:

“. . . there is something,
When I touch yours (hand) which makes me sigh: . . .
Yet mine's a pleasant grief; . . .” II, 3.

“Aber voraus durchlief mich ein zärtlich fließender Schmerzen.
Mit so lieblichen Schlägen; dass ich vor süßzer Empfindung
Seufzete, da ich die Hand des einen Mädchen ergriffen.” III, 616 ff.

Both Hippolito and Japhet are haunted by the fear of losing their fair maids through other lovers:

“And would you have her too? That must not be:
For none but I must have her.” III, 4.

“Lasset mir die, und theilet euch in den übrigen beyden; . . .
Was für ein Unmuth droht in mein Gemuthe zu schleichen,
Wenn ein andrer sich um die schöne Blume bemühte.” III, 623 ff.

This fear is allayed by the replies of Ferdinand and Sham:

“All beauties are not pleasing alike to all.” III, 4.
“Jegliche Schönheit thut nicht den gleichen Anfall auf alle.” III, 692.

CHAPTER IV. THE FABLES AND POETIC-CLASSICAL
TRANSLATIONS

The fables¹ of Dryden were more popular in Germany than his dramas. Although written in his old age, they have a charm and sprightliness which today still give them a high rank among his works. Their poetic charm may be attributed to the nature of the composition. Inasmuch as the translations were free, the author could concentrate his efforts upon the form and meter. It was this elegance of form which appealed to the German poets, and in turn influenced their form.

Dryden's fables were reviewed early in Germany. About the middle of the eighteenth century they attained their highest popularity, and at the conclusion of the century they were again revived; it was at this time that *Alexander's Feast*, on account of its lyrical elements, was so highly esteemed as an ode among the Germans. A commendatory Latin review of the fables appeared at Leipzig in the same year in which they were published in England.² Four of the fables in this collection: *Philemon and Baucis*, *Cymon and Iphigenia*, *The Cock and the Fox*, and *Theodore and Honoria* found their way into Germany, the last two being translated.

Philemon and Baucis was a source for a fable with the same title by Hagedorn (1708-1754).³ Hagedorn's fondness for the fable, upon which his fame as a poet rests, drew him to La Fontaine, Gay, and Prior more frequently than to Dryden, whose fables he however learned to know during his stay in England in 1729.

In his *Philemon and Baucis* (1739) Hagedorn introduces more of the idyllic and naive element, dwelling on some details which Dryden merely indicated. In his versification, however, the influence of Dryden and his pupil Pope, is more evident. He em-

¹ *Fables, Ancient and Modern, Translated into Verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer, with Original Poems*, London, 1700.

² *Acta Euriditorum* . . . , pp. 321-325, Lipsiae, 1700.

³ The *Göttinger Zeitung von Gelehrten Sachen* (p. 108, 1739) reviews Hagedorn's fables, and calls attention to Dryden as one of the sources for *Philemon and Baucis*.

loys their iambic pentameter, but at times expands it into six feet, or contracts it into four. Similarly he occasionally substitutes alternating rhyme for their rhymed couplets. In a number of his other fables and poems he uses the iambic pentameter rhymed couplet throughout, or as in *Philemon and Baucis*, substitutes it for the alternating rhyme.⁴

Like Hagedorn, Bodmer and his friends were also interested in the fables of Dryden. Spreng esteemed Dryden as a poet and fable-writer.⁵ "Seine Fabeln," he says, "verdienen den Beifall aller Kenner." In 1742 Bodmer quoted and translated the first six lines of *The Flower and the Leaf*.⁶ He was also fascinated by the idyllic character of *Cymon*, and wished Gleim to make use of Bocaccio's *Cymon* for a Schäferspiel.⁷ For the ensuing two years in their correspondence Bodmer, Sulzer, Gleim, and Ramler discussed the writing of a Schäferspiel on the same theme. Bodmer first suggested to Gleim that Hagedorn or Rost make use of the material,⁸ but later himself made a prose sketch and wished Gleim or Kleist to put it into verse.⁹ That Gleim seriously considered writing on the theme is apparent from his subsequent letter. "Ich las neulich den 'Timon des Dryden'; die Fabel schien mir bequemer zu einer Erzählung, als zu einem theatralischen Stücke. . . . entweder ich, oder einer meiner Freunde, den

⁴ In *Herrn Friedrich von Hagedorns Poetische Werke bey Johann Carl Bohn*, 3 vols., Hamburg, 1757, the following imitate the meter of Dryden and Pope: *Der Ursprung des Grübchens im Kinne*, II, 186-184; *Der Falk*, II, 293-304; *Aurilius und Belzebub*, II, 122; *Paulus, Purgenti, und Agnesi*, II, 179-185; *An einen Maler*, I, 152; *An Murtzerpheus*, I, 167; *Auf einen ruhmredigen und schlechten Maler*, I, 170; *Wohlthaten*, I, 171; *Unterrecht für einen Reisenden*, I, 205; *Horaz*, I, 100-122. For Horaz see Muncker in *D. N. L.*, XLV, p. 31.

⁵ See note to page 219 of his edition of *Drollingers Gedichte*, Frankfurt am Mayn, bey Frantz Barrentrapp, 1745.

⁶ See Bodmer's 1742 edition of his translation of *Paradise Lost*, note to p. 193.

⁷ *Briefe der Schweizer Bodmer, Sulzer, und Gessner aus Gleims litterarischem Nachlass herausgegeben von Wilhelm Körte*. Zürich, bei Heinrich Gessner, 1804. See Bodmer's letter to Gleim, dated July 11, 1745 (p. 15).

⁸ *Loco citato*, Bodmer to Gleim, July 11, 1745 (p. 15).

⁹ *Idem*, Sulzer to Gleim, January 23, 1747 (p. 43).

Plan bebauen wird."¹⁰ Gleim had previously asked Ramler to put it in verse, for in a letter to Gleim the latter writes: "Cimon ist ein artiges Stück, und verdient den Klang des Silbenmasses, aber geben Sie es Uzen, wenn Sie es durchaus von sich ablehnen wollen. . . . Es ist aus Drydens Erzählung genommen, worin unter anderen der Vers steht: Er piff indem er ging aus Mangel der Gedanken. . . ." ¹¹

While *Cymon and Iphigenia* was discussed by a group of poets, *The Cock and the Fox* was translated in Germany. *The Spectator* (no. 621) quoted the description of spring (lines 455-460) which Mrs. Gottsched¹² translated in her usual happy manner:

"Darauf wandt er sich und sprach zum Partlet: Sieh mich Freund,
Wie die Natur das Jahr so reich und schön geschmücket;
Die blasse Schlüsselblum und die Viol erscheint,
Da sich der Vogel Hals zum Singen wieder schicket.
Diesz alles ist für uns, wo ich mit Freuden seh,
Wie mich der Mensch begaff und auf zwey Beinen geh."

In 1758, however, a complete translation of *The Cock and the Fox* was published in the *Neuen Erweiterungen der Erkenntnis und des Vergnügens*. This monthly magazine, published at Frankfurt and Leipzig, devoted itself to sketches of English writers, and to translations of their works. The first number contains a sketch of the life of Dryden, "eines groszen englischen Dichters des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts."¹³ The sixty-seventh number contains a lame prose translation of Dryden's fable, *The Cock and the Fox*, which was based on *The Nun's Priest Tale* of Chaucer.¹⁴

¹⁰ Idem, Gleim to Bodmer, April 29, 1747.

¹¹ *Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Ramler*, hrsg. von Schüddekopf. I, p. 78, Tübingen, 1906. Ramler to Gleim, March 2, 1747.

¹² *Der Zuschauer*, VIII, p. 274, 2d edition, Leipzig, 1749. The beautiful description of May also appeared in *The Spectator* (V, no. 365), taken from *Palamon and Arcite*, Bk. II, lines 55-57, and Bk. I, 176-180, beginning:

"Für dich, du erste nicht, doch die schönste Zeit des Jahres,
Sieht man so Feld als Wald, die grünen Kleider tragen . . ."

¹³ X, pp. 52-65, 1753.

¹⁴ *Der Fuchs und der Hahn. Eine Erzählung aus dem Englischen des Dryden*, Stück 62, pp. 97-125.

The translator's task was made more difficult through Dryden's retention of some of the obsolete words of the Middle English. Whenever the translator found a word or an expression he was unable to translate, he either omitted it entirely, or substituted an idea of his own. The defects of the translation are apparent from the subjoined opening and closing lines.

"In alten Zeiten lebte, wie uns die Schriftsteller erzählen, eine Wittwe, die schon etwas bey Jahren und sehr arm war. Ihre mit Stroh gedeckte Hütte stand einsam unter dem Schatten eines Waldes. (Deep in a cell her cottage lonely stood, Well thatched, and under covert of a wood.) Diese Wittwe, auf welche sich meine Erzählung gründet, führte nach dem Tode ihres Mannes, ein schlechtes aber ruhiges Leben, und hatte genug zu ihrem Unterhalte. . . ."

"Besser, Herr Hahn, sagte Reinart, setzet allen Streit bey Seite, kommt herunter, und laszt uns einen Frieden schliessen. (let us treat of peace) Einen Frieden; von ganzem Herzen? versetzte Chenteclär; aber mit eurer Erlaubnis, ich will ihn hier oben schliessen; und wenn der Friede mit Verrätherey sollte verknüpft seyn, so ist es wenigstens mein Vortheil, ('Tis my concern) den Baum zwischen uns zu haben."

While *Theodore and Honoria* was not translated by Eschenburg he prints the English text in his *Beispielsammlung*.¹⁵ He prefaces the text with a characterization of Dryden as a fable writer, in which he places him above Boccaccio, and ranks his fables among his best works. . . . "Seine Fabeln, oder Erzählungen, aus dem Homer, Ovid, Boccac und Chaucer geschöpft," he says, "schrieb er erst in seinen letzten Lebensjahren; sie gehören aber zu seinen besten Arbeiten, und verrathen durchaus einen sehr gebildeten Geschmack und wahres dichterisches Gefühl. Man darf folgende Erzählung nur mit der Novelle im Boccac vergleichen, aus welcher ihr Stoff genommen ist, um des englischen Dichters Ueberlegenheit in der Erzählungsgabe, und den mannichfachen Antheil seines

¹⁵ *Beispielsammlung zur Theorie und Literatur der schönen Wissenschaften* von Johann Joachim Eschenburg, Berlin und Stettin, 1788-1795. *Theodore and Honore* are in I, pp. 126-138, 1788.

Genies und der ganzen Ausführung überall wahrzunehmen. Besonders haben die beschreibenden Stellen auffallende Vorzüge."

*Theodore and Honoria*¹⁶ was later translated by Bürde, a lyricist of note, who included the translation among his works.¹⁷ The favorable criticism of Eschenburg, no doubt, as well as the poetic elements of the fable, fascinated Bürde. Like Kosegarten, as we shall see later, he does not follow the original slavishly, but aims to give it poetic expression. To accomplish this he freely expands the fable, and influenced by the varying rhyme of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* he uses a fluctuating rhyme. The rhymed couplet of the original he changes to aa, abba, and abab which tends to enliven his translation. While he retains the iambic pentameter of Dryden, like Hagedorn, he at times contracts it into four feet. The added lines from the opening of the translation will show the hand of the poet and the deviations from Dryden in matter and form.

"Trotz irgend einer Stadt des Alterthums,
 War einst Revenna im Besitz des Ruhmes
 Der Waffen, der Gelehrsamkeit, und Kunst:
 Die Reichen waren frey von niedrigem Geize,
 Die Groszen, zart empfänglich für die Reize
 Des Schönen, gingen, ohne Stolz, mit Gunst
 Und milder Spende dem Talent entgegen;
 Doch unter allen ragte Theodor,
 Der Edle, durch Geburt, Gestalt, Vermögen,
 Und selbst erworbenen Ruhm hervor.
 Und doch ward seine Brust von stillem Gram
 Zernagt. Zu seinem Unglück sah
 Er einst die schönste junge Dame;—
 Denn dafür galt Honoria—
 Bey Männern-ohne Wiederrede."

That the popularity of Dryden's fables was enduring in Germany, the criticism of Bouterwek will suffice to show. "Die poetischen Erzählungen," he says, "die er (Dryden) unter dem

¹⁶ In the Introduction to the fable Scott calls it: "The most admirable poem of its kind ever written." XI, 463-476.

¹⁷ *Poetische Schriften von Sam. Gottlieb Bürde*. Erster Theil, pp. 117-131. Breslau und Leipzig, bei Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1803.

Titel Fabeln (Fables), nach Chaucer, Boccacaz, und einigen andern Dichtern, noch in seinen alten Tagen schrieb haben zwar nicht die charakteristische Naivetät der Erzählungen des französischen Dichters, Lafontaine; aber sie gehören doch zu den gelungensten Werken dieser Art in der neueren Litteratur."¹⁸

Closely related in spirit to Dryden's fables are his poetic-classical translations. Of these the complete translations of Virgil, and the partial translation of Homer and Ovid are the most noted, and indeed the favor with which they were received incited Dryden to take up the translation of the fables. His classical translations, especially that of Virgil, found early recognition in Germany. *The Beyträge zur Critischen Historie der deutschen Sprache und Beredsamkeit* (1732) contains a review of the German translation of Virgil which states: "Wenn ihm eine Stelle des Grundtextes etwas dunkel geschienen, hat er das fürtreffliche englische Virgil Drydens in 3 Octavbänden nachgeschlagen. . . ." The same review asserts that Dryden immortalized the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. The *Beyträge* also reviews a translation of *Anacreon* in which it commends the classical translations of Pope, Creech, and those of Dryden.

The citations from Dryden's classical translations, and the manner in which they were quoted indicate that they were generally known in Germany. König,¹⁹ for instance, quotes from his Ovid and Virgil translations and, contrary to his manner of dealing with other English authors, finds it unnecessary to enlighten his readers in regard to Dryden and his works. Spreng says of Dryden's Latin translations: "Er hat verschiedene lateinische Poeten in englische Verse gebracht, und sonderlich durch die Übersetzung des Virgil einen ewigen Namen bei seinen Landsleuten erworben."²⁰ The *Brittische Bibliothek* (1757) twice commends Dryden's translation of Virgil (pp. 89 and 328). Lessing was also familiar with the Virgil translation, and refers to it in his

¹⁸ Loco citato, VIII, p. 52.

¹⁹ *Untersuchung von der Einsylbigen Wörtern in der Teutschen Dichtkunst von Johann Ulrich König ausgefertigt*, appended to the life and works of Besser, pp. 887 and 889. Leipzig, 1732.

²⁰ See note to *Drollingers Gedichte*, p. 219.

Laokoon;²¹ and even at the close of the eighteenth century Blankenburg wrote of Dryden's translation of Virgil's *Aeneas*: "Unter den poetischen Uebersetzungen wird die von Dryden noch immer für die Beste gehalten."²²

CHAPTER V. THE LYRICS

I. DRYDEN'S FAME AS A LYRICIST IN ENGLAND DUE LARGELY TO *Alexander's Feast*

While his fables and classical translations found favor, no other work of Dryden elicited so much commendation from the best critics and poets of England and Germany as his lyrics. This is particularly true of *Alexander's Feast, or the Power of Music*, an ode written in honor of Saint Cecelia's Day. A brief account of its reception in England will aid in better understanding the reception accorded it in Germany. At the time of its first appearance it was recognized as a lyric of unusual merit, and the number of single editions alone in the eighteenth century, more than a dozen in number, exceeded that of any of his other works.¹ This recognition continued throughout the eighteenth century, and even at the beginning of the nineteenth it was still considered the best English lyric.² Dryden himself regarded it as his greatest literary effort.³ It also called forth the favorable criticism of Pope,⁴

²¹ *Lessings Werke*, IX, part I, p. 43.

²² *Zusätze*, I, p. 17a, 1796.

¹ See *British Museum Catalogue* under Dryden, p. 46 ff.

² The two greatest biographers of Dryden are boundless in their praise, holding *Alexander's Feast* to be not only the greatest English lyric but the greatest lyric in all literature. Malone designates it "the greatest composition of its kind in the English language" in his *Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden*, . . . , I, p. 285, London, 1800. Scott says: "In lyrical poetry Dryden must be allowed to have no equal. 'Alexander's Feast' is sufficient to show his supremacy in that brilliant department." See *Scott-Saintsbury*, I, p. 409.

³ In a letter to his publisher, Tonson, he wrote: "I am glad to hear from all hands that my ode is esteemed the best of all my poetry by all the town. I thought so myself when I writ it, but being old I mistrusted my judgment." See *Scott-Saintsbury*, XI, p. 46.

⁴ From the beginning of his career, Pope was an ardent admirer of

Ayres,⁵ Young,⁶ Warton,⁷ and Brown,⁸ besides odes on the same theme by Addison, Congreve, and Pope, while Jeremiah Clark and Handel set it to music.

A. Musical Compositions a Potent Factor in Perpetuating *Alexander's Feast*

These musical compositions for *Alexander's Feast* aided materially in perpetuating its renown as a lyric.⁹

Clark's composition was made for its first presentation, and was repeated at least three times in London shortly after the first regular performance. As a musical performance, however, *Alexander's Feast* seems to have been attended with only moderate success until Handel's composition revived it in 1736, when it was

Dryden. In his *Essay on Criticism* he lays down the essentials of genuine poetry, insisting that poetry must have more than cadence and rhyme, that the words must convey the thought and action conforming with the theme. *Alexander's Feast* he cites as such a poem (lines 374-383).

⁵ Ayers in his work on Pope asserts that Pope was urged by his friends to write a Cecelia ode with the hope that it would bring him great renown as it had Dryden, but that it was evident that he was unable to cope with his predecessor. See Gottsched's review of *Ayres' Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Alexander Pope* (London, 1745) in *Neuem Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*, I, p. 142. Leipzig, 1745.

⁶ Young says in his *Essay on Lyrical Poetry, The Works of the Author of the Night's Thoughts*, vol. 6, p. 164. London, 1778, that in his opinion Dryden's ode is equal to any work of similar nature, and praises especially the varying meter corresponding with the mood depicted.

⁷ Warton is most profuse in his praise of the ode, "which places the British lyric poet above that of any other nation." See *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, II, p. 20.

⁸ Brown introduces it several times in his treatise on poetry and music, commending its popularity due to its simplicity, and its power over our emotions. See *Dr. Brown's Betrachtungen über Poesie und Musik . . . übersetzt von Joachim Eschenburg mit Anmerkungen*, pp. 367 and 393, Leipzig, 1769.

⁹ Both Malone and Scott have given a history of the patron saint of music, and of the odes written and performed in commemoration of Saint Cecelia's Day, which was celebrated in London by the Musical Society and throughout all Europe by music lovers. Dryden furnished the odes for two of these commemorations (1687 and 1697). The first was entitled: *A Song for Saint Cecelia's Day*; the second, *Alexander's Feast*.

performed at the Royal Theater in Covent Garden under the composer's direction with marked success, according to press reports.¹⁰ The frequent subsequent performances in England and on the Continent were due to the excellency of Handel's composition. That this composition contributed to the popularity of the lyric itself is evident from the numerous new single editions of the ode appearing immediately after Handel set it to music.¹¹

B. Reasons for the Favorable Reception of Dryden's Ode in Germany

As in England, the favorable reception of Dryden's ode in Germany was due in a large measure to the prevailing enthusiasm for lyrical and emotional poetry, and to the accompanying revival of music. Shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century German poetry gradually changed from the rational and descriptive to the imaginative and lyrical. Gottsched under the influence of the French championed the cause of the rational and moral elements in poetry, while Bodmer and Breitinger under the influence of Addison and Milton advocated the imaginative and wonderful as prerequisites for real poetry.

Descriptive poetry was brought into Germany through Thomson's *Seasons*, and influenced Brockes' *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*, Haller's *Die Alpen*, Kleist's *Der Frühling*, and similar poems. The protest against descriptive poetry was raised first in England. Pope condemned it very severely.¹² Warton took up the issue

¹⁰ *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser* for February 20, says: ". . . there never was, upon like occasion, so numerous and splendid an audience at any theater in London, there being at least thirteen hundred persons present; . . . It met with general applause." *Scott-Saintsbury*, I, note to p. 344.

¹¹ *British Museum Catalogue*. See under Dryden, p. 46 ff.

¹² In his Prologue to his Satires Pope says of descriptive poetry:

" . . . who could take offence,

While pure Description held the place of Sense?" (l. 147)

Warburton in his edition of Pope makes the following comment on the above passage: "He uses 'pure' equivocally, to signify either chaste or empty; and has given in this line what he esteemed the true character of descriptive poetry, as it is called. A composition, in his opinion, as absurd as a feast made up of sauces."

against Pope, asserting that descriptive poetry was a sister art of landscape painting, and claiming that those who condemn Thomson must also condemn the greater part of Lucretius, and the *Georgics* of Virgil.¹³ In reviewing the attitude of Warton Mendelssohn points out the weakness of his arguments. "Ohne uns eigentlich wider die malerische Poesie zu erklären, glauben wir, dass die Gründe unsers Verfassers nichts beweisen. . . . So verschwistert die Dichtkunst und Malerei sind, so hat doch eine jede Kunst ihre angewiesenen Grenzen, die durch das Werkzeug der Sinne, für welches sie arbeiten, bestimmt werden. Virgils Landbau und Lukrezens Natur der Dinge scheinen uns von Thomsons Jahreszeiten wesentlich unterschieden zu sein. Die Römer wollen eigentlich unterrichten, und malen nur zu Veränderung; der Engländer hingegeben hat keine andere Absicht als zur malen."¹⁴ This stand taken by Mendelssohn in 1759 reflects the general trend growing up in Germany against descriptive poetry. Lessing more clearly than his predecessors defines the fields of poetry, painting, and music in his epoch-making work, *Laokoon*. With Pope, whom he quotes,¹⁵ he agrees that descriptive poetry, per se, is puerile. Had the principles which Lessing laid down in *Laokoon* appeared earlier, descriptive poetry could never have gained such a foothold in Germany and Switzerland.

The literary enthusiasm of Germany at this time was expressed by the lyrical, imaginative, and emotional poems, as is shown by the number of translations and imitations of the odes of Horace, and the songs of Anacreon, made by such poets as Hagedorn, Gleim, Ramler, and Weisse. The ode was regarded as the best vehicle for poetic enthusiasm. Wieland wrote in a letter to Zimmermann in 1758: "Sie wissen ohne mich, dass der poetische Enthusiasmus eigentlich für die Ode ist. Der Poet ist da ganz im Affect, und gleichsam ausser sich selbst."¹⁶ The odes of Klopstock, express-

¹³ *Loco citato*, I, p. 49.

¹⁴ "Moses Mendelssohn. Versuch über Popens Genie und Schriften" in *Bibliothek der Schönen Wissenschaften*, IV, 500-532 and 627-669, Berlin, 1758 and 1759 (p. 512 ff.).

¹⁵ *Lessings Werke*, IX, p. 104, in D. N. L.

¹⁶ *Ausgewählte Briefe von C. M. Wieland an verschiedene Freunde in den Jahren 1751 bis 1810 geschrieben*, I, p. 263, Zürich, 1815.

ing deep emotions of religion, patriotism, and love, even though often bordering on sentimentality, furthered this movement of poetical enthusiasm which culminated in the theories set up by Herder, that the folk-songs contained the highest poetical elements of all poetry, since they express the genuine national feelings and emotions of a people, even if such poetry belong in the category of occasional poetry to which the Saint Cecilia odes belonged.¹⁷ In 1778 Herder, influenced by Percy's *Reliques*, made his collection of *Stimmen der Völker* to prove his theories in regard to folk-songs.

With the growth of poetical enthusiasm in Germany, the awakening of musical interest went hand in hand, directly increasing the appreciation of Handel's compositions for *Alexander's Feast* and indirectly the appreciation for the ode itself as a lyric. Naturally the folk-songs were written to be sung and not read, and spread among the masses. Ramler's interest in this popular movement is evident from the number of "Kriegslieder" and cantatas he himself wrote, and from the collection and edition of the two volumes of German songs published in 1758 with the aid of Krause, a composer of considerable note, the author of a book on musical poetry, and the reviser of Handel's composition for *Alexander's Feast*.¹⁸

The revival of the popular song was accompanied with the revival of the operetta which came in vogue through Weisse's "Sing-spiele," set to music by Hiller. Although the former was not a great opera writer nor the latter a really great composer, the operettas resulting from their combined efforts became extremely popular and opened the way for better operas and more classical music,

¹⁷ In England the movement for the collection of old songs and ballads was begun by Dryden, Dorset, and others, and culminated in Bishop Percy's *Reliques* (1765). *The Spectator* [no. 71] commended the movement, and Hagedorn and Herder attributed to it the great lyrical poetry of the English. For Hagedorn, see his introduction to *Oden und Lieder in fünf Büchern*, Hamburg, 1747; for Herder, see his chapter "Von der Ähnlichkeit der mittlern englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst," first published in the *Deutschen Museum* (1777).

¹⁸ See Ramler's biography appended to his *Poetischen Werken*, II, 314. Berlin, 1801.

such as Handel's *Alexander's Feast* and his *Messiah*, and the compositions of Gluck¹⁹ and Mozart.²⁰ The latter rescored *Alexander's Feast* in 1790.

Undoubtedly the translation of favorable English criticism of *Alexander's Feast* also greatly aided the reception accorded Dryden's odes, and hastened their translation in Germany. Most of this criticism was incidental in connection with Pope, whose popularity was then at its greatest height in Germany. These translations and reviews of them were made by Drollinger, Gottsched, the *Britischen Bibliothek*, Mendelssohn, and Nicolai. Drollinger's translation of the *Essay on Criticism*, containing the eulogy of *Alexander's Feast*, was published by Bodmer in 1741.²¹ Pope regarded the ode as an illustration of real poetry, which stirs and moves us. In the words of Drollinger's translation: "Höre die veränderlichen Thöne des Thimotheus, wie sie uns rühren, wie sie den Begierden gebieten, wechselweise zu steigen und zu fallen. Man schauet den Sohn des Lybischen Jupiters nach jeder Tonveränderung bald brennend von Ruhmbegierde, bald weich von Liebe. Aus seinem wilden Blicken funkeln jzt Wuth und Rasen, und jzt bricht er in Seufzer aus, und zerschmelzt in Thränen. Perser und Griechen finden gleiche Regungen bey sich, und den Weltbezwinger bezwingen die Thöne. Noch jzo müssen alle Herzen die Macht der Musik bekennen, und was einst ein Thimotheus war, ist jzt ein Dryden."²² Apparently Drollinger was inspired by this criticism to also write a Saint Cecilia ode, for which he chose the same title used by Pope, *Auf die Musik*, and at least the opening lines show similarity:

"Auf, rühret euch ihr muntern Saeten,
Und flammet meine Geister an,

¹⁹ Gluck also planned a composition of *Alexander's Feast*. See Otto Jahn's *Gesammelte Aufsätze über Musik*, p. 227, Leipzig, 1867.

²⁰ *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, p. 52, New York, 1890.

²¹ *Critische Schriften*, I, pp. 49-84. It is reedited with notes by Johann Jakob Spreng in *Herrn Carl Drollingers Gedichte, samt ander dazu gehörigen Stücken*. Franckfurt am Main, 1745. Drollinger made the translation at least two years before it was first published. See letter to Gottsched, dated March 12, 1739, in *Gedichte*, p. 327.

²² *Loco citato*, I, p. 69.

Damit ich euren Trefflichkeiten,
Ein würdigs Opfer bringen kan."²³

It is also quite probable that he knew Dryden's ode, for he would not be apt to translate the eulogy of *Alexander's Feast*, and then write an ode to music without consulting that of Dryden.

Gottsched's review of the work of Ayers on Pope²⁴ indicates the interest in the Saint Cecilia odes, and Pope's intimate connection with the introduction of *Alexander's Feast* into Germany. It concludes with the statement: "Allein es zeigte sich, dass er [Pope] kein so guter Kenner, derer zur Musik sich schickenden Wörter war, als Dryden gewesen."²⁵

The *Essay* of Warton was more widely disseminated in Germany than any other English criticism of *Alexander's Feast*. The *Brittische Bibliothek*, published at Leipzig in 1757 and following, in reviewing the *Essay* says: "Das Fest des Alexanders, ein Gedicht von Dryden ist das beste lyrische Stück der Engländer. . . er [der Verfasser] bedauert zugleich, dass Popens Ode nicht ebensowohl als Drydens von Handel in Noten gesetzt sei."²⁶

Mendelssohn published an extensive review of Warton's *Essay* in the *Bibliothek des schönen Wissenschaften* wherein he discusses Dryden's odes. Of the second he says: "Drydens Alexanders Fest hält er [Warton] für das vortrefflichste unter den neuern lyrischen Gedichten, und räumt der popischen Ode auf die Musik die zwote Stelle nach diesem Gedichte ein."²⁷

²³ *Loco citato*, p. 78.

²⁴ *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Alexander Pope*, 2 vols., London, 1745.

²⁵ *Neuer Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*, I, p. 142, Leipzig, 1745.

²⁶ II, 377 (1757). The *Brittische Bibliothek* also points out the favorable reception of Handel's composition in connection with the "Life of Handel" published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April and May, 1760. "Kurz nach seiner Zurueckkunft (to London from the Baths at Aachen in 1736) wurde sein Fest des Alexanders in Covington-Garden aufgeführt und wohl aufgenommen," V, 201, 1760. Again in reviewing the *Sketches; or Essays on various subjects* by Temple published in London in 1759, the harmonious verses of Dryden are commended. "Dryden's Verse hätten mehr Harmonie, als jemals Verse gehabt hätten." IV, p. 591, 1759.

²⁷ IV, p. 314, 1758.

In 1763 Nicolai, the co-worker of Mendelssohn and Lessing, made a literal translation without comment of Warton's *Essay*, which he published in the "Sammlung der vermischten Schriften."²⁸ His prominent position as editor of the *Bibliothek*, as critic and publisher, assured the translation of the *Essay* a wide circulation among German scholars. It is significant to note, as we shall see, that the translation of the ode of Dryden was also published in 1763.

Four years previously Nicolai had translated the *Essay on Lyrical Poetry*²⁹ by Young to whom Warton dedicated his *Essay*. Young took a national pride in Dryden's ode which Nicolai translated as follows: "Allein nach dem allem muss ich zur Ehre unsres Vaterlandes noch hinzusetzen, dass, nach meinem Urtheil, des Drydens Ode auf den Tag der heiligen Cäcilia keiner Arbeit von dieser Art etwas nachgebe. Ihre vornehmste Schönheit besteht darinnen, dass sie einen Sylbenmass hat, welches auf das Glückliche zur Abwechslung der Umstände gewählt ist."³⁰

C. Translations of *Alexander's Feast*

During the eighteenth century *Alexander's Feast* was translated in Germany by Weisse, Ramler, Kosegarten, Nöldeke, and T—r, followed by many other translators at the beginning of the nineteenth. Weisse's translation was published in the "Anhang" of his *Schertzhafte Lieder*³¹ in 1763, together with the translations of the *Cecelia* odes of Pope and Congreve. His esteem for Dryden is intimated in his review of Brown's ode, *The Cure of Saul*, an imitation of *Alexander's Feast*, which likewise appeared in 1763. "Die Erfindung, Die Heilung Sauls betitelt, wäre der Ausführung eines Dryden wohl würdig gewesen, da sie unter des V. (Verfassers) Händen mittelmässig gerathen ist."³²

Ramler made two translations of Dryden's ode which were

²⁸ Friedrich Nicolai, *Sammlung der vermischten Schriften*, VI, p. 1—end. Berlin, 1763.

²⁹ *Loco citato*, II, pp. 206—219.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³¹ The text at my disposal was the *Kleine lyrische Gedichte*, III, pp. 157—172, published at Leipzig in 1772.

³² *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, X, p. 175.

printed in 1766 and 1770 respectively. The second translation was a revision of the first and was included in his *Lyrischen Gedichten*³³ in 1772 and in subsequent editions of his works. The first was set to music by Krause who modernized Handel's composition. The revised translation was said to have been made at the request of Princess Amalia, a sister of Frederick II, who desired a German text for Handel's music.³⁴ It was performed a number of times at Berlin.

Kosegarten (1758-1818) won recognition as a lyricist through his three volumes of rhapsodies, including many translations of English lyrics. The third volume of the rhapsodies contained among others, translations of the Saint Cecelia odes of Dryden, Pope, and Congreve, previously translated by Weisse, to which he also added Smart's ode on the same theme.³⁵ Kosegarten's translation of *Alexander's Feast*, however, had already been published by Schiller in the "Musenalmanach" for the year 1800.³⁶

In the same year the translation of Nöldeke and that of the anonymous T—r were published in the "Neuen Teutschen Merkur," edited by Wieland.³⁷ That Dryden's ode had gained its greatest popularity at the beginning of the nineteenth century is evident from the close succession in which new translations were published, for it also appeared at Zürich in 1805,³⁸ and again at Vienna in 1812.³⁹

³³ Karl Wilhelm Ramler. *Lyrische Gedichte*, pp. 303-316. Berlin, 1772. For the separate translations of 1766 and 1770 see *Goedeke*, IV, p. 101. The texts at my disposal were the reprint in C. D. Edeling's *Hamburgischen Unterhaltungen*, X, pp. 83-89. Hamburg, 1770; Ramler's 1772 edition just cited, and his *Poetische Werke*, II, pp. 49-55. Berlin, 1801.

³⁴ See "Anmerkungen" to Ramler's translation in *Poetische Werke*, II, p. 272. Edeling in a note to the text mentions Krause's composition.

³⁵ *Rhapsodien von Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten*, III, p. 5 ff. Leipzig, 1801. The first volume appeared 1790.

³⁶ *Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1800. herausgegeben von Schiller*, pp. 185-108, Tübingen.

³⁷ *Der neue teutsche Merkur*, 10. Stücke, pp. 81-93, Oktober, 1800.

³⁸ "Die drei Hymnen auf den Cäcilientag von P. [ope]. Congreve und Dryden mit metr. Treue aus dem Engl. übers.: *Isis Mtssch. usw.*" Zürich, 1805. März S. 193/210. See *Goedeke*, VII, p. 716.

³⁹ *Dichtungen der Britten in metr. Übersetzungen von Johann Baptist*

4. COMPARISON OF THE TRANSLATIONS

Before taking up the comparison of the translations of the Ode, Dryden's versification will be analyzed in brief. Throughout the verse is irregular in rhyme and meter, but the rhymed couplet and the iambic tetrameter predominate. The meter varies in length from two to seven feet; in the two, three, and four foot verses the iambus, trochee, and anapest are employed, while in the five, six, and seven foot measures only the iambus appears, but there are comparatively few of these longer verses. As was his custom, Dryden interspersed the rhymed couplet with triplets; here and there the alternating rhyme is substituted for the couplets.

In their translations of Dryden's ode Weisse and Ramler followed the original rather closely in thought, but Kosegarten frequently deviated from the source according to his fancy. While differing from each other, these three translations embodied the spirit of the original and the characteristics of each translator as a lyricist. Weisse imitated Dryden in a general way in both rhyme and meter, but often varied the number of feet in a verse. Although Ramler had the groundwork of Weisse to build on and discarded the rhyme, his task was more difficult, since he followed the original absolutely in the number of feet in order to adapt it to Handel's music. Kosegarten worked independently of the original, using blank verse interspersed with passages in rhyme. Dryden's 141 verses Weisse expanded into 148, Kosegarten into 183, while Ramler naturally kept the original number. The translations of Nöldeke and T—r lacked the poetic finish of the other three, but that of Nöldeke was far superior to that of T—r. Both endeavored to follow Dryden in rhyme and meter; in rhyme Nöldeke more nearly approached him than any of the others and both retained approximately the same number of lines found in the original.

D. German Criticism of the Original and the Translations

Both the original and translations of *Alexander's Feast* called *Rupprecht*. Erster Bd. Wien, 1812. The title is: "Alexanders Fest, oder die Gewalt der Musik, eine Ode zu Ehren des St. Cäcilien-Tages," S. 392/400. *Goedeke*, VII, p. 699.

forth criticism in Germany from such poets as Hagedorn, Herder, Eschenburg, Boie, Schubart, and Böttiger. Hagedorn, who had traveled in England, was familiar with Dryden, Waller, Sidney, Addison and Prior, and was an ardent admirer of Pope and at every opportune occasion commends or quotes from his works. In the foreword to his odes he discusses the beauty of the irregular verse of Homer and other classicists to which he adds: "Von gleicher Beschaffenheit sind die fürtrefflichen Oden des Dryden, Congreve, Addison, und vor allen andern, des Pope auf das Fest der heiligen Caecilia."⁴⁰

No other German critic has so frequently and thoroughly criticized *Alexander's Feast* as Herder. His interest for Dryden's ode grew out of his natural inclination for poetic enthusiasm such as he found expressed in this ode, his fondness for varying rhyme and meter, and his esteem for Saint Cecelia and Handel. Two years after Ramler's translation, when he was just beginning his career and Hamann had but introduced him to Shakespere and Ossian, Herder cites the ode in the *Fragmente*, in discussing the advisability of the Germans adopting the harmonious meter of the English, which Hagedorn had already commended. While he did not entirely agree with Lessing's disapproval of descriptive poetry, he maintained that Brockes and others had over-stressed natural description. He believed in "Wohllaut" in poetry, but it must have life and move the emotions by clearly visualizing. "Man laufe die Reihe dieser Klageworte durch; oder besser man empfinde den Wohllaut derselben in unsern Dichtern, die nicht schrieben sondern sangen, unter welchen ich Klopstock, Hagedorn, von Gerstenberg, und in seinen Kantaten auch Rammlern, besonders nenne: man gehe z. E. die Uebersetzung durch, die der letzte von Drydens Ode auf die Musik geliefert, alsdenn erinnere man sich, wie weit Brockes und andere diesen lebendigen Wohlklang haben übertreiben können, und man wird, wie ich hoffe, nicht mehr an der malenden Musik zweifeln."⁴¹

In the *Zerstreuten Blättern* Herder has a chapter on "Cecelia" in which he traces her legend and cites the odes of Dryden, Addi-

⁴⁰ *Oden und Lieder in fünf Büchern*, p. xxxii ff. Hamburg, 1747.

⁴¹ *Ueber die neuere Deutsche Litteratur, Fragmente*, p. 72, Riga, 1768.

son, Pope, Congreve, and Handel's musical composition for *Alexander's Feast* as classical masterpieces composed for her celebration.⁴² At the conclusion of the chapter he adds a religious rhapsody, *Die Tonkunst*.⁴³

To Herder the religious song, the hymn, was the highest and most natural expression of music and reverence; but he was not an extremist in his romanticism for the religious hymn in the sense of Klopstock, nor did his enthusiasm carry him to the extremes of a Novalis, for instance, for whom feeling was everything. In the *Adrastea* he writes: "denn Andacht, dünkt mich, ist die höchste Summe der Musik, heilige himmlische Harmonie, Ergebung und Freude. Auf diesem Wege hat die Tonkunst die schönsten Schätze erbauet, und ist zum Innersten der Kunst gelanget. . . . Die tiefste Grundlage der heiligen Musik ist wohl der Lobgesang, Hymnus; ich möchte sagen, er sei dem Menschen natürlich."⁴⁴ He does not reckon *Alexander's Feast* among the sacred odes, but says it is a worthy greeting to Saint Cecelia, because it is a melody appealing to the heart [Herzensmelodie], a national melody expressed in simple tones.

In 1780 Herder translated Pope's *Messiah*⁴⁵ for which Handel had composed an oratorio. However in the biography of Handel he ranked the composition for *Alexander's Feast* the greatest and most enduring of all his compositions. "Alexanders Fest, das er nach seiner Rückkunft (von Aachen) gab, schaffte ihm nicht nur die Gunst der Nation wieder, sondern wurde auch den Grundstein seines bleibenden Ruhmes; denn seine Opern und Sonaten sind verhallet. Sein Alexanders Fest dauert."⁴⁶

Interwoven in the biography of Handel is a characterization of the genuine ode and lyric which Herder links with music. *Alexander's Feast*, called forth by the patron saint of music, in his opinion complies with the requirements of a great ode and is superior

⁴² *Zerstreute Blätter von J. G. Herder*, V, 289-326, Gotha, 1793.

⁴³ The first refrain runs:

"Ewige Harmonie! Kling' ein in meine Saiten.
Heilige Harmonie! Kling ein in meine Seele."

⁴⁴ *Loco citato*, p. 295.

⁴⁵ *Gothaische gelehrte Zeitung*, VII, 255. 1780.

⁴⁶ *Adrastea*, III, 319-349.

to all others dedicated to her. "Jede wahre Ode sollte ein solcher Flug der Phantasie und Empfindung seyn, die bald wie ein Adler aufstrebt und scwebt, oder niederfährt und ergreift; bald wie eine Taube girrt, und wie die Nachtigall schmettert. Am zarten Faden der Empfindung, oder am rastlosen Gange der Gedanken und Gefühle hangt der Zauber der lyrischen Poesie, den in allen seinen Wendungen die Musik mit allen ihren Modulationen begleitet. Ueber eine ode solcher Art, Alexanders Fest, breitete sich Handels Geist aus; andere von andern Dichtern, Pope, Congreve, Gray, Smart u. f. sind ihr gefolget."⁴⁷

In differentiating between spurious and genuine musical description in poetry, Herder analyses and compares the Saint Cecilia odes of Pope and Dryden. The harmonious lines in Pope's ode,

"Dreadful gleams,
Dismal screams,
Fires that glow,
Shrieks of woe . . .,"

and the entire first stanza are to him only pictures and imitations of sounds and tones which do not vivify our emotions. On the other hand Dryden's "None but the brave" etc. expresses a national feeling, and the falling of Darius, the powerful monarch of the earth moves us to pity, so that we see, hear, feel, and mourn, forgetting the medium of sound and language. In Herder's own excellent translation of this passage:

"fällt, fällt, fällt,
Von seiner Höhe fällt,
Und liegt im Blut.
Verlassen in der letzten Noth
Von allen, die sein Herz geliebt,
Auf kaltem Boden hingestreckt
Ohn' einen Freund, der ihm das Auge schlieszt."⁴⁸

Herder never directly mentions Weisse's translation of *Alexander's Feast*, but as already noted, pays a tribute to that made by Ramler, and reviews that of Kosegarten in connection with the

⁴⁷ Ibid., 332 ff.

⁴⁸ *Adrastea*, loco citato, p. 339.

third volume of his *Rhapsodies*.⁴⁹ He commends this translation since it conveys the spirit of the original, but regrets that Kosegarten deviated too far from Dryden's words which Handel had canonized with his composition, and admonishes the translator not to be too effusive and picturesque. ". . . die englischen Gedichte, die den grössten Teil (of the "Rhapsodies" III) ausmachen, sind mit gleichem Geist in unsere Sprache nicht so wohl uebersetzt, als im Hauch uebertragen. Die vier prächtigen Lobgesänge auf die Tonkunst, auf welche die Britten stolz sind, Alexanders Fest von Dryden, Congreves Hymnus an die Harmonie, Popes and Smarts oden am Cäcilienfest machen den Anfang. Die drei ersten waren ins deutsche, einige mehrmals übersetzt. . . . Bey der ersten werden es manche bedauern, dass sich der deutsche Wortbau hie und da etwas zu weit von der Ursprache entfernte, in der Händel fast jedes Wort, jeden Einschnitt des Rhythmus canonisiert hat. . . . Auch der süssten Worte lass nicht zu viel sein."⁵⁰

Like Herder Eschenburg was greatly interested in English literature as is shown by his translation of Shakespere, his *Beispielsammlung* and criticism of English works. He received a copy of Dryden from Lessing in 1776.⁵¹ His translation of Brown's work on poetry and music mentions in a note the translations of *Alexander's Feast* by Weisse and Ramler. "Eine glückliche Uebersetzung dieser zwo berühmten Oden hat uns Hr. Weisse in dem Anhang seiner scherzhaften Lieder geliefert. Die Uebersetzung von Alexanders Fest ist durch Hr. Ramler so eingerichtet, dass sie der Handlischen Musik kann unterlegt werden und so in Berlin aufgeführt und einzeln abgedruckt."⁵² It is significant that Eschenburg mentions Weisse's translation which Herder had not done. In the *Beispielsammlung* he gives Dryden a high rank as a lyricist. "Man kennt seine Stärke in der höhern Ode aus dem Alexanders Feste";⁵³ and in discussing the Kantaten he seems to have combined the praise of Young, Warton, and Pope in his

⁴⁹ Loco citato, III, p. 5 ff., 1801. For the review see *Hempel*, XVII, p. 670.

⁵⁰ See Dünzer's note in *Hempel*, loco citato.

⁵¹ See letter of Lessing to Eschenburg, dated Dec. 20, 1776.

⁵² *Betrachtungen ueber Poesie und Musik*, p. 384, 1769.

⁵³ Loco citato, V, p. 61.

tribute to Dryden's ode: "Seine gleichfalls für den Cäcilientag bestimmte musikalische ode, Alexander's Feast, ist einer, der herrlichsten Meisterstücke der neuern Poesie; reich an zaubervoller Mannigfaltigkeit der Bilder und Beschreibungen, an Schönheit und Wohlklang des Ausdrucks, und am wirkungsvollsten Wechsel der Empfindung. . . . Gar sehr aber übertraf er sich selbst, und alle seine Vorgänger und Nachfolger, in gegenwärtiger ode, die Pope in seinem Essay an Criticism sehr treffend charakterisiert. . . . Uebrigens weiss man dass Händel im Jahre 1735, (date is 1736) dies Meisterstück in eben so meisterhafte Musik setzte; und dass wir es Hr. Ramler zu verdanken haben, der einen deutschen Text mit Grundlage der Weissischen Uebersetzung, zu dieser Komposition einrichtete, dass diese letztere auch in Deutschland bekannter geworden, und mehrmals von Kennern bewundert ist."⁵⁴ The English text now follows. Eschenburg's criticism contributed to the awakening of new interest in the ode a decade before the close of the century.

Among the other criticisms of *Alexander's Feast* those by Boie, Schubart, and Böttiger are the most significant. In 1771 Boie reviewed Ramler's second translation of Dryden's ode in the *Almanach der deutschen Musen*, the organ of the "Dichterbund." Naturally the members of this union were enthusiastic for the lyric and the ode. In the review Boie says: "Schon lange ist Ramlers vortreffliche Uebersetzung der nie genug zu bewundernde Ode von Dryden den Liebhabern bekannt gewesen, hier erscheint sie aufs neue einzeln gedruckt, und Zeile für Zeile meisterhaft gebessert. Drydens Geist ist in eine so feurige und körnigte und harmonische Sprache uebertragen, dass man diese einem Original gleich schätzen musz."⁵⁵

Schubart, the journalist, musician, and lyricist, was the author of a number of cantatas, but bewailed the lack of religious cantatas among the Germans. "Die wahre geistliche Kantata ist beinahe noch unbearbeitet (among the Germans) wie schon Herder und Goethe bemerkt haben. Freilich keinen Dryden, keine Cäzilia-

⁵⁴ *Loco citato*, VI, p. 373, 1791.

⁵⁵ *Almanach der deutschen Musen*, p. 106, 1771.

oden haben wir; aber doch köstliche Oratorien von Niemeier und Sangstücke von Kosegarten."⁵⁶

B. (öttiger), associate editor of the *Neuen Teutschen Merkur*, in a comment to the two translations of *Alexander's Feast* published in that journal, voices the general esteem and the popularity of the translations, and even of the original of Dryden's ode at the beginning of the nineteenth century. "Es gibt gewisse Meisterstücke der Verkunst, durch deren treue Uebertragungen in andere Sprachen fast jeder wahre Künstler von jeher sein Studium machte. . . . Wer hat nicht z. B. die Ode der Saffo von der Gewalt der Liebe, oder Petrarchas Sonet auf Bauclose einmal wenigstens seiner geheimen Tafel in einer Uebertragungsversuch anvertraut? Ein solch oft versuchtes Stück ist auch Drydens berühmte Ode auf das Cäcilienfest. . . . Das Original ist aus Retzer's *Choice*⁵⁷ oder jeder andern nur erträglichen Chrestomathie in jedermanns Händen."⁵⁸

The other criticism, though not so important and for the most part not original, indicates the general recognition of *Alexander's Feast* in the eighteenth century. Schmid speaks of the renowned ode of Dryden, and mentions the happy translation which Weisse made, apparently ignorant of that made by Ramler.⁵⁹ Flögel says that Dryden's genius and phantasy seemed to become more active in his old age, for in his sixty-eighth year he wrote the ode for Saint Cecelia's Day which was regarded as the most perfect in all languages.⁶⁰ Blankenburg says it is known among the Germans through the translations of Weisse and Ramler, and calls it an excellent poem but criticises the close.⁶¹ Bouterwek pronounces it a widely known and much admired ode; a masterpiece for its

⁵⁶ (C. D. F.) *Schubarts Leben und Gesinnung von ihm selbst im Kerker aufgesetzt. Herausgegeben von seinem Sohne, Ludwig Schubart.* II, p. 30. Stuttgart, 1793.

⁵⁷ I did not have access to Retzer's *Choice of the best Poetical Pieces.* Vienna, 1783 ff. See *N. T. Merkur*, Vol. 54, p. lxxxvii.

⁵⁸ *Loco citato*, p. 81.

⁵⁹ *Theorie*, *loco citato*, II, p. 367.

⁶⁰ *Loco citato*, II, p. 367, 1785.

⁶¹ *Zusätze*, II, p. 443a, 1796.

kind without a model in the early English literature, which won the favor of those who did not prize Dryden's fables.⁶²

In a few instances the interest in Dryden in other European countries is so closely related to Germany as to warrant brief consideration. Simultaneously with Ramler's first translation of *Alexander's Feast*, a French translation in verse appeared in Paris.⁶³ Since the French translator included this in his collection of Gessner's pastorals and Haller's poems, it would inevitably attract the attention of the Germans.

The close relation of Voltaire to Germany, and the high esteem in which he was held by Frederick the Great and by the German scholars and critics made his criticism potent in that country. Contrary to his neighbor critics he did not give Pope the first rank, but regarded Dryden superior to all English poets and equal to all ancient.⁶⁴

Like the Germans Voltaire greatly esteemed the ode, and his enthusiasm for *Alexander's Feast* even surpassed that of Eschenburg and Herder.⁶⁵ In his estimation it was superior to that of Pope and all modern odes, and a hundred times more admirable than all of Pindar.⁶⁶

⁶² Loco citato, VIII, pp. 34 and 51, 1810.

⁶³ "Traduction libri de l'ode—sur le pouvoir de la Musique; ou la Fête d'Alexandre, en l'honneur de Sainte Cécile." See *Brit. Mu. Cat.* under Dryden and Gessner (S).

⁶⁴ "Ses [Dryden's] ouvrages sont plein de détails naturels à la fois et brillians, animés, vigoureux, hardis, passionés, merite qu'aucun poëte de sa nation n'égale, et qu'aucun ancien n'a surpassé. Si Pope, qui est venu après lui, n'avait pas, sur la fin de sa vie fait son *Essai sur l'homme*, il ne serait pas comparable à Dryden." See "Siècle de Louis XIV" in *Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, Tome, XXIV, p. 248. De L'Imprimerie de La Société Littéraire-Typographique, 1785.

⁶⁵ "De contes les odes modernes, celle où il règne le plus enthousiasme qui ne s'affaibloit jamais, et qui ne tombe ni dans le faux, ni dans l'ampoulé, est le Timothée, ou la Fête d'Alexandre par Dryden: elle est encore regardée en Angleterre comme un chef-d'oeuvre inimitable, dont Pope n'a pu approcher, quand il a voulu s'exercer dans le même genre. Cette ode fut chantée; et si on avait en un musicien digne du poëte, ce serait le chef-d'oeuvre de la poésie lyrique." See the chapter on enthusiasm in *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, loco citato, LI, p. 48.

⁶⁶ "Vous appelez Cowley le Pindare anglais; Le vrai Pindare est

Voltaire was quoted on Dryden's ode by the *Göttingischen Anzeigen* in 1786: "Seine [Dryden's] Ode Timotheus muss wohl vortrefflich sein, da sie den Beifall einer so gelehrten Nation, und, was manchen noch wichtiger erscheinen mag, Voltaires Beifall erhalten hat."⁶⁷ Strangely enough the German review is in connection with an Italian criticism, and shows that the Italians likewise had noted Dryden's ode, and that Voltaire's criticism of it was known to the Germans.

Bouterwek commends and quotes the first stanza of Arango de Azavedo's Portuguese translation of *Alexander's Feast*, which was published along with the English text at Hamburg in 1799.⁶⁸ "Seine vortrefflichen Uebersetzungen des Alexander-festes von Dryden, einiger Oden von Gray, und der bekannten Elegy of a Country Church von demselben Dichter sind seine wahre Bereicherung der Portugiesischen Nationalliteratur."⁶⁹

Even in the nineteenth century the ode of Dryden was perpetuated through the many performances of Handel's music. In his letters to Goethe Seltner often speaks of the beauty of Handel's composition;⁷⁰ and finally the Handel Societies organized in England and in Germany in the nineteenth century have published standard editions of Handel's composition, accompanied with the

Dryden, auteur de cette belle ode intitulée La Fête d'Alexandre et Timothée. Cette ode, mise en musique par Purcell (si je ne me trompe) passe en Angleterre pour le chef-d'oeuvre de la poésie la plus sublime et plus variée; et je vous avoue que, comme je sais mieux l'anglais que le grec; j'aime cent fois mieux cette ode qui tout Pindare." See letter written to Chabanon, dated March 9th, 1772. *Loco citato*, LXXXI, p. 268.

It seems strange that Voltaire was ignorant of the fact that Handel had set the ode to music.

⁶⁷ *Loco citato*, p. 1042.

⁶⁸ For the original title, etc., again see *British Museum Catalogue* under Dryden, p. 47.

⁶⁹ *Loco citato*, IV, p. 394. 1804.

⁷⁰ *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zeltner in den Jahren 1796 bis 1832. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer*, 6 volumes. Berlin, 1833. Zeltner mentions it in letters number 109, 112, 362, 425, and 788. Together they planned a cantata for a Luther celebration, and in the sketch drawn up by Goethe he says that Handel's *Alexander's Feast* served as a model. See No. 277, Goethe's letter to Zeltner, which contains the sketch.

text of Dryden, which will aid in perpetuating the composer and lyricist.

2. THE RELATION OF DRYDEN'S OTHER LYRICS TO GERMANY

The other lyrics of Dryden show comparatively little relation to Germany, save the first Cecelia ode, *A song for Saint Cecelia's Day*. On the whole this ode lacks the virility of *Alexander's Feast*, and with the exception of the first two and the last stanzas is either descriptive or imitative of the sounds of instruments, as lines 25-28:

"The trumpets loud clangor
' Excites us to arms
What shrill notes of anger
And mortal alarms."

It was the popularity of the second Saint Cecelia ode of Dryden that brought the first to the attention of the Germans, just as the success of the composition for the second induced Handel to set the first to music in 1739.

In a footnote in his *Essay*,⁷¹ Warton published the second stanza which induced Mendelssohn to say: "Unser Verfasser . . . führt bei dieser Gelegenheit in einer Note eine Strophe aus einem unbekannt gewordenen Gedichte von Dryden auf die Musik an, die wir ihrer vorzüglichen Schönheit halber hierher setzen wollen."⁷² He not only published the original of the stanza but also made a translation. Nicolai also included this in his translation of the *Essay*,⁷³ but the superiority of Mendelssohn's translation is very apparent when compared with that of Nicolai.

Mendelssohn.

"Wie mächtig kann die Tonkunst das Gemüth bewegen!
Als Jubals Saitenspiel erklang,
Da horchten um ihn seine Brüder,
Und fielen auf ihr Antlitz'nieder,
Vor diesem himmlischen Gesang;
Ein Gott, so dachten sie, muss sich hierinnen regen;

⁷¹ *Loco citato*, I, p. 52.

⁷² *Loco citato*, IV, p. 513. 1758.

⁷³ *Loco citato*, VI, p. 53. 1763.

Denn sich! Das Zauberwerk ist hohl,
 Das so begeisternd sprach, so wohl.
 Wie mächtig kann die Tonkunst das Gemüth bewegen!"

Nicolai.

"Was für Affekt kann die Musik nicht erregen und dämpfen!
 Als Jubal die mit Saiten bezogene Muschel berührt,
 Standen seine horchende Brüder rund um ihn staunend,
 Und verwundernd fielen sie auf ihr Angesicht nieder,
 Um den himmlischen Ton in tiefer Anbetung zu ehren;
 Nur ein Gott, so glaubten sie, kann in der Höle der Muschel
 Wohnen, nur er kann so lieblich und süß sich mit uns unterhalten.
 Was für Affekt kann die Musik nicht erregen und dämpfen!"

Both Mendelssohn and Nicolai translate the criticism of Warton in the *Essay*, that this ode is an excellent subject for an historical painting since the artist would only have to transform the words into color. It was probably the opinion of Warton expressed in the *Essay* that induced Lessing in the *Laokoon* to refer to the ode of Dryden as an illustration that musical pictures are superior to those painted with a brush. "Nun kann der Dichter zu diesem Grade der Illusion, wie die Erfahrung zeigt, auch die Vorstellung anderer als sichtbare Gegenstände erheben. Folglich müssen dem Artisten ganze Klassen von Gemälden abgehen, die der Dichter vor ihm voraus hat. Drydens Ode auf den Cäcilientag ist voller musikalischer Gemälde, die den Pinsel müßig lassen."⁷⁴

Bürde was also greatly interested in the Saint Cecilia odes, and his ode *Die Griechische Tonkunst* has a number of the motives of Dryden's ode, but I think Koch is hardly warranted in calling it a translation of the first Saint Cecilia ode of Dryden, since in subject matter, in arrangement, and in form it differs from Dryden.⁷⁵ The second stanza runs:

"Ich seh den Aether sich erhellen;
 Die Schöpfung schwimmt in neuem Purpurlicht.
 Ein Jubal steigt, und tausend Stimmen schwellen.
 Die weite Luft, gedrängt in hohen Wellen;
 Wie auf dem Ocean sich Wog'an Woge bricht."⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *Lessings Werke*, IX, part I, p. 90, D. N. L.

⁷⁵ *Stud. zur verg. Litteraturgeschichte, Ergänzungsheft*, p. 38, 1905.

⁷⁶ Published in Schiller's *Neue Thalia*, III, pp. 47-50. Leipzig, 1793.

Two other odes by Bürde are published in Schiller's *Horen*;⁷⁷ the first, *An Cecilia*, begins: "Wenn ich deine Zauberstimme höre"; the second, *Der neue Orpheus* "Heil euch süsse Harmonien."

The remaining reviews of Dryden's first *Cecelia* ode are connected with the discussion of *Alexander's Feast* and appear near the end of the eighteenth century. The *Göttingische Anzeigen von Gelehrten Sachen* pronounces it rather flimsy and too artificial;⁷⁸ in his *Beispielsammlung* Eschenburg commends the very beautiful passages it contains;⁷⁹ Blankenburg calls it "eine ganz gute Ode";⁸⁰ and Bouterwek, who prints the first stanza in English, commends the beginning and the conclusion.⁸¹

The lines dedicated to Milton and printed under his picture in which Dryden attributes the genius of Homer and Virgil to the English poet was imitated and translated in Germany. Before he knew English,⁸² Gottsched quotes then in the *Critischen Dichtkunst*⁸³ from the *Spectator* to show the greatness of Milton, as the feud between him and Bodmer had not yet begun. Two years later Bodmer translated and published it in the preface to the first translation of *Paradise Lost*.

"Drey Dichter hat die Zeit hervor gebracht,
Der Griechen Zier, der Römer und der Britten;
Im ersten herrscht Erhabenheit und Macht;
Im andern Schönheit; beides in dem Dritten.
Als die Natur nicht weiter konte gehn,
Vereinte sie im Letztern jene Zween."

Kasper Gottl. Lindner wrote a treatise on the life and works of Martin Opitz in 1740, and in the dedication he imitates Dryden's tribute to Milton.

⁷⁷ VI, Stück 6, p. 102, Tübingen, 1796.

⁷⁸ For the year 1786, p. 1046.

⁷⁹ Loco citato, VI, p. 373, 1791.

⁸⁰ Loco citato, II, p. 443a, 1793.

⁸¹ Loco citato, VIII, p. 51, 1810.

⁸² The two lines he quotes as follows:

"The force of Nature could no further go
To make a third, she joined the former two."

⁸³ Loco citato, p. 177, 1741.

"Was einst Horaz, Homer, Virgil und Pindar war,
Das stellt uns Schlesien in dem Opitz dar."

Gottsched reviewed the work and would have it read:⁸⁴

"Was Hesiod, Horaz, Petrarch und Ronsard war,
Und Spenzer noch dazu, das stellt uns Opitz dar."

Of the other lyrics of Dryden his *Roundelay* (1693) was translated and published in the *Neuen Wiener Musenalmanach* in the year 1800.⁸⁵ Nicolai also translated the last eight lines of the poem dedicated to the painter, Sir Godfrey Kneller, which he found in Warton's *Essay*.⁸⁶ The poem written at the death of Mrs. Killigrew, Eschenburg pronounces a beautiful lyrical poem, and adds that in the lighter lyrical songs Dryden was successful, which he exemplifies by adding the English text of his *A Song*.⁸⁷ Blankenburg regards the *Ode to Mrs. Killigrew*⁸⁸ one of the best English odes. Bouterwek believes that Dryden was not a lyricist who really sang from the fullness of his heart, but at times was in a happy lyrical mood, and pronounced the poems written in a lighter vein "vortrefflich."⁸⁹

Notwithstanding the fact that Dryden no longer ranks as a great lyricist in England and Germany, it cannot be denied that in the eighteenth century he was ranked by both English and German critics as a lyricist of the first magnitude. The popularity of *Alexander's Feast* in England, upon which the fame of Dryden as a lyricist primarily rests, paved the way for his popularity in Germany. The change in the nature of German poetry, the revival of folk-songs and music, and the translation of favorable English criticism of Dryden during the second half of the century, also accounts for his cordial reception. The favorable attitude of the German critics, and the numerous translations convince us that Dryden's lyrics combined with Handel's musical compositions

⁸⁴ *Critische Beyträge*, IV, part 1, p. 514, Leipzig, 1741.

⁸⁵ See *Goedeke*, VII, p. 703.

⁸⁶ *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 1763.

⁸⁷ *Loco citato*, V, p. 61, 1790.

⁸⁸ *Loco citato*, II, p. 446a, 1796.

⁸⁹ *Loco citato*, VIII, p. 51, 1810.

played a part in shaping the lyrical poetry of Germany during the eighteenth century.

CONCLUSION

In this study it has been shown that Dryden, unlike Pope, was first introduced into Germany directly from England. At Hamburg *Mac Flecknoe* was translated and adapted early in *Hans Sachs*. *Hans Sachs* fostered literary cliques, and as a result there was introduced into Germany a direct personal literary criticism. Later it was revived by Bodmer and utilized in the Swiss-Gottsched controversy. The other satires of Dryden were not closely related to Germany, but the *Treatise on the Origin and Progress of the Satire* was translated by Nicolai, and accepted as a guide.

While early noted by German critics the *Essay on Dramatic Poesie*, however, was not introduced into Germany until after the partial French translation, which Gottsched in turn translated. Although Lessing learned to know Dryden through Voltaire's *Lettres*, Gottsched's translation induced him to translate the *Essay*. His translation proved the fallacy of Gottsched's contention, that Dryden preferred the French theater to the English. The *Essay* also influenced Lessing's utterances in the seventeenth *Literatur-brief*, as is shown by the external and internal evidence. Lessing's translation won recognition for it in Germany.

The relation of Dryden's plays to Germany is not so consequential as that of his satires and the *Essay on Dramatic Poesie*; nevertheless four of his plays were translated. *The State of Innocence* and *All for Love* played the most prominent part; the former at Zürich, and the latter at Mannheim. *The State of Innocence* was introduced as a companion piece of *Paradise Lost*; and *All for Love* found its way into Germany because of its connection with Shakspeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, and became Dryden's most widely disseminated play.

The fables and poetic-classical translations of Dryden owe their popularity in Germany to their elegant form. This characteristic of Dryden's fables exerted an influence upon Hagedorn, and caused him to follow this elegance of form in his own poetry.

Hagedorn even used *Philemon and Baucis* as a source for a fable. In addition to *Philemon and Baucis* there were translated *The Cock and the Fox*, and *Theodore and Honoria*. The relation of Dryden's fables to Germany was not limited to one literary center, nor to one period of time. The poetic-classical translations, particularly that of Virgil, found admiration in Germany during the greater part of the century.

As a lyricist Dryden was esteemed in both England and Germany during the eighteenth century. His fame as a lyricist rests primarily on *Alexander's Feast*. Its popularity in England also gave it popularity in Germany. The change in the nature of German poetry during the latter half of the eighteenth century also accounts for its cordial reception, as the descriptive and rationalistic literary currents gave way to the enthusiasm for folk-songs and lyrics. The favorable criticism of recognized critics and translations by renowned poets, combined with Handel's musical compositions, made Dryden a factor in shaping the lyrical poetry of Germany.

Although not all the translations of Dryden faithfully interpret the English author, and Dryden at no time, and in no particular literary center was as prominent as Shakspeare, Pope, and Young, nevertheless the recognition in the numerous fields of poetry, and his wide dissemination in Germany during the eighteenth century prove that his relation to Germany was of considerable importance.



